



# National Defense

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## **Nahyan bin Mubarak:**

**“Declaring the Year of Tolerance is an expression of pride in the thought and achievements of the Founding Father of the state, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan.”**

**National security in today's  
global economy**

**Russia's Return to the  
Middle East**

**Hybrid Warfare**

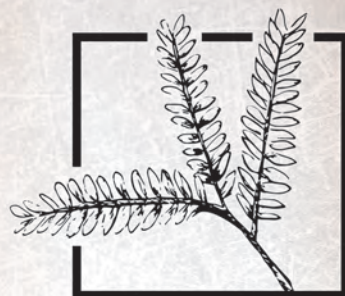
## **Mohammed bin Rashid:**

**We are proud of our young people and we provide them with all the possible opportunities to encourage them for science and learning.**





Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan



عام التسامح  
YEAR OF TOLERANCE

**Tolerance is a key to solidarity, and we have always stressed the importance of having a unified position and promoting solidarity, cohesion and harmony among brothers.**



# Editorial

The second decade of the 21st century is fast approaching its close, and with a careful look at the achievements of the countries and people of the world, one can identify the United Arab Emirates standing out in a leading position. This is an indication of the success of our wise leadership in developing its strategies for this century, which is teeming with challenges as well as opportunities.

Moreover, this success is an indication that these strategies are critical for recent requirements as well as the experience gained in facing future transformations, opportunities, and challenges. Reviewing the UAE's progress, one can also capture the UAE's clear vision as being the cornerstone for the UAE national strategy. Ever since the late 1960s the UAE aspired to achieving the union, which was accomplished by the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan and his Founding Brothers, leading to the adoption of a range of ambitious strategies that have transformed this country into a nation with a clear vision, with no arbitrary or random reactions – a positive country that formulates its policies and strategies efficiently, and defines its objectives and interests clearly, realistically, and ambitiously.

As for military education and training in general, the level of education is rising on a systematic scale. Training can now meet the requirements of the leadership, and the role of the National Service in strengthening the national capabilities of the state cannot be overlooked. Our National Defense College continues to move forward to realize its vision, mission, objectives, and to achieve a prominent position locally, regionally, and internationally – all thanks to Allah the Almighty, the support of our wise leadership, and our clear vision and goals. Our college delivers a quality program that aims at unifying the thinking and concepts for NDC graduates and enables them to engage the strategic environment and to contribute effectively to the national effort as well as understanding the national instruments of power and the strategic planning and coordination of the national resources in all sectors of the state to ensure the achievement of national goals and interests.

As with other state institutions, our armed forces work with determination and resolve to keep up with the requirements of this modern age in order to fulfil their role to the maximum, and to strengthen their capabilities to carry out their various tasks and duties with the utmost efficiency, thereby ensuring victory and deterrence against all those who try to undermine our achievements, sovereignty, and capabilities, and despite the challenges posed by modern hybrid warfare, the Fourth-generation warfare, and any future wars. Our armed forces are at high readiness to deter and confront hostile threats, and their strong and distinctive presence continues to play a pivotal role in safeguarding international peace and regional stability, in addition to contributing to the creation of a secure and strategic environment necessary for comprehensive national development. Moreover, our armed forces are actively engaged in the development process and the achievement of the national goals of our blessed United Arab Emirates.



Major General Staff Pilot

**Rashad Mohamed Alsaadi**

Commandant of the National Defense College (NDC)

NDC military and civilian graduates have been able to acquire the knowledge and skills related to the strategic environment by keeping pace with events and understanding the causes, motives, and forms of changes as well as the ability to anticipate their effect on the national interests of the state. Upon graduation, they acquire the strategic knowledge and leadership skills that enable them to interact with change with more comprehensive insights and horizons to achieve greater professional and leadership experience by applying what has been learned in order to implement the national security strategy. Furthermore, the NDC faculty members have a prominent role in linking academic programs to reality and managing the educational process in an interactive approach that matches well the level and experience of participants and motivates their learning and research. These NDC success indicators have become clearer year by year as a result of the support received from the NDC Supreme Council and the GHQ UAE Armed Forces, in conjunction with the cooperation of state institutions and officials, as well as the competencies and enthusiasm of all the NDC staff. In this current issue of the NDC Journal, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all those involved in the preparation of this issue and to express my due respect and appreciation to the editorial staff for their strenuous efforts in providing diversified and distinguished articles to address the needs of a wide range of readers.

Indeed, it is my pleasure to congratulate the graduates of the 6th NDC course who have set an example through their excellent performance and dedication as a highly motivated group who have worked assiduously to make the most of the NDC course. They have a burning passion to dedicate their skills to the service of their beloved home country. They have firm self-confidence and a sincere belief in paying back to their country and its wise leadership. I wish all of them great success in achieving the very best possible outcomes for the UAE.

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# National Defense



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### Nahyan bin Mubarak:

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On 15th December 2018, His Highness Sheikh Khalifa, may Allah protect him, declared 2019 as the Year of Tolerance in the UAE, highlighting the value of tolerance as an extension of the approach adopted by the Founding Father, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan.



# National Defense

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Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan



عام التسامح  
YEAR OF TOLERANCE

**We aim to contribute to building communities that believe in the value of tolerance, openness, and dialogue among cultures, and that establish real models for improving tolerance in the Arab region and worldwide.**



In 2018, the UAE celebrated the Year of Zayed 'The Benevolent' whose renown has spread far and wide. Sheikh Zayed 'The Benevolent' is globally recognized as an international humanitarian and philanthropist whose legacy still supports nations and people across the world. In 2019 the UAE celebrates the Year of Tolerance, whose foundations had been laid by the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, the UAE's Founding Father. During its short journey, the UAE has come to represent a civilized model of tolerance, which has restored a sense of hope and a human approach against a changing international environment of rising nationalism and racist conflicts. Establishing the UAE Ministry of Tolerance epitomizes the far-sighted approach of the UAE's balanced policy towards the 200+ nationalities currently residing in harmony in the United Arab Emirates.

The interview with His Excellency Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak Al Nahyan, the Minister of State for Tolerance, marks the culmination of the process of tolerance in the country and elsewhere. His Excellency praises the UAE's successful model of tolerance, which is based on a wise leadership, a peaceful people, an authentic heritage, effective laws and legislation, in addition to well-established and supportive institutions at the national and international levels.

This NDC Journal has evolved to reflect a full academic year's efforts of the 6th NDC course. The outcome of this course is to imbue participants with a profound knowledge in the field of Strategic and Security Studies to be future strategic leaders and confront threats and challenges by formulating effective strategies and implementing the instruments of national power to achieve the national security interests. Moreover, the program of regional and international study visits conducted to assess and analyze the comprehensive strategies and capabilities of various states has undoubtedly added a real world practical dimension by applying the academic concepts and theories studied in order to draw comparisons and conclusions from what they have experienced on the respective study tours.



Brigadier General Staff Engineer

**Ahmed Al Khoury**

Editor in Chief

In this current publication, our journal contains a range of articles addressing contemporary and future national security challenges and threats in the international, regional and local contexts.

Today, our journal presents a wealth of articles of in-depth academic analysis in accordance with the international relations theories, strategy, and the implementation of national instruments of power as well as strategic leadership, risk analysis and the decision making process.

Last but not least, I would like to invite all faculty members and researchers to contribute to the NDC Journal with articles and studies in the field of Security and Strategic Studies. Such valuable research on contemporary issues that affect our national interests, the stability of the region and the related international security environment is of critical importance.

## INTERVIEW WITH THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR TOLERANCE



### His Excellency Sheikh **Nahyan bin Mubarak Al Nahyan**

Minister of State for  
Tolerance

On 15th December 2018, His Highness Sheikh Khalifa, may Allah protect him, declared 2019 as the Year of Tolerance in the UAE, highlighting the value of tolerance as an extension of the approach adopted by the Founding Father, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, may Allah have mercy upon him. The aim of the declaration is to affirm the UAE as a global hub for tolerance via a series of major projects and special initiatives in this field. The declaration also asserts the value of tolerance as a sustainable institutional endeavor aimed at deepening the values of tolerance, dialogue, openness to other cultures and peoples and instilling these values in future generations.

The NDC Journal has the honor to





conduct a special interview with His Excellency Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak Al Nahyan, Minister of State for Tolerance, to address and answer our questions regarding the Year of Tolerance.

**Question:** HH the UAE President declared 2019 as the Year of Tolerance, how do you see that?

**Answer:** The declaration of 2019 as the Year of Tolerance by His Highness the Father, the UAE President, is a great national initiative that affirms the UAE's leading position as a haven for tolerance, peace and prosperity all over the world.

Declaring 2019 as the Year of Tolerance is an expression of pride in the thought and achievements of the Founding Father of the United Arab Emirates, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, may Allah have mercy upon him, who showed us that tolerance and co-existence embody the true teachings of Islam that emphasize living in peace with others without discrimination and equal treatment of all people is the



path to harmony, compassion and dialogue.

The declaration of the Year of Tolerance in the UAE is a strong message from the UAE to the whole world that tolerance and coexistence are a prerequisite for establishing peace, achieving development, and solving problems and conflicts

in society and across the world. It is also a clear message that tolerance and coexistence are an effective means of linking the entire population in one community and making them able to reject extremist and destructive ideas. It is a message to the whole world that the UAE represents an advanced model of development, stability and prosperity. The Year of Tolerance is a significant event in which we celebrate the UAE's development process with its noble principles of humanity.

It is important for me to stress that the declaration of the Year of Tolerance is an expression of the UAE's commitment to the principles of justice, equality,

human rights and the rule of law, and to establishing friendly relations and cooperation with all nations and peoples, thus contributing to peace, security and prosperity for all.

**Question:** There are more than 200 nationalities living and working in the UAE. They come from different countries, with a diversity of cultures, religions, languages and customs that may sometimes be inconsistent or even contradictory. In your point of view, how do we enhance the concept of tolerance and associated values to be integrated in the UAE society with its Arab and Islamic customs and culture?

**Answer:** Thankfully, our country treats all residents according to the principle of tolerance and we work with everyone for the good and the benefit of all. Everyone here means citizens and expatriates, young and old, women and men, people of determination, so that everyone works together, with resolve, enthusiasm and commitment.

In dealing with the communities living in the UAE, we are very keen to provide everyone with the opportunity to fully contribute to the development of the UAE, because we strongly believe that this is the path to human progress as well as a successful society.

In the UAE, we are committed to providing a tolerant and peaceful environment that allows everyone to work, produce and live in safety and stability. We also seek to provide a decent life for the whole population

within a framework of strict respect for human rights. Diverse communities living in the UAE play an important role in delivering the message of tolerance to the whole world. We work together constantly to organize joint events and festivals, both inside and outside the country, and encourage cultural exchange between the UAE and other countries. We exert every effort to ensure that these communities enjoy all human rights while at the same time serve as a link between the activities of tolerance in the UAE and the parallel activities of their countries.

**Question:** The United Arab Emirates has become a world center for moderation and tolerance. This was reflected in the historic visit of His Eminence Dr. Ahmed Al-Tayeb, the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, and His Holiness Pope Francis, Head of the Catholic Church. How would you rate this visit from a global and national point of view?

**Answer:** The visit of His Holiness Pope Francis, along with the His Eminence Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Dr. Ahmed Al-Tayeb, was successful by all accounts, and clearly demonstrated that the UAE is truly a global hub of tolerance and human fraternity. We have seen with pride the signing of the Human Fraternity Document called the “Abu Dhabi Declaration” which highlighted the values of communication and dialogue and opened up an opportunity for constructive and meaningful relations among all people so as to promote tolerance, dialogue and coexistence across the world without any kind of discrimination.







This visit was an excellent opportunity, as we have seen, to launch a message of peace and love from the UAE to the whole world. It was a powerful plea for peace and coexistence in order to spread far and wide the UAE's leading model of tolerance and coexistence. Such visits offer a great opportunity for cooperation with the Vatican and Al-Azhar in order to uphold noble human values, which aim to achieve stability and prosperity across the world.

As we all know, such visits have been a success thanks to the hard work and sincere efforts made by His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces, who always embodies the qualities of wise leadership and strong commitment to serve the UAE. I just want to say, with all the sons and daughters of the UAE, thank you Mohammed bin Zayed, for your tireless efforts on behalf of the UAE, and for your sincere work in order to affirm rapprochement among peoples and to maximize the UAE's contributions at the national, regional, and international levels.

**Question:** The soft power of the UAE is of great importance. His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum has launched the World Tolerance Award as a part of the UAE's soft power and an instrument to support its prominent position in the world. Could you please elaborate further on how does this award uphold the value of tolerance and reinforce the soft power of the UAE?

**Answer:** Tolerance is certainly part of the UAE's

soft power. As you know, soft power is the culture, heritage, values, lifestyle of society, foreign policy, and the advanced model of stability and prosperity. In the UAE tolerance is an essential part of confirming the state's position and an effective tool in shaping our external relations with all countries and peoples. Here in the UAE tolerance is an affirmation of our strong desire to achieve coexistence and communication among people and to renounce hatred, extremism and violence for peace and stability throughout the world.

As for the Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Tolerance Award, it will be an international award that will contribute effectively to spreading a culture of tolerance and coexistence throughout the world and to confirming the good reputation of the state in this field. It will certainly comprise part of the UAE's soft power and strengthen its position across the globe.

**Question:** The term 'Islamophobia' and attempts to distort the true image of Islam by linking it to terrorism, especially in the absence of an influential Western-oriented media explaining the truth and principles of Islam, have emerged. What media strategy narrative do you think is appropriate to be sent to the world?

**Answer:** There is undoubtedly a clear bias among a number of malicious individuals and ill-intentioned media against Islam and Muslims - some of whom label Muslims and immigrants as a source of threat to Western societies. Others claim that the attack on Islam and Muslims is a defense of democracy and human rights and falsely accuse Islam of being

incompatible with these values and concepts. We see the consequences of Islamophobia – fear of Islam and Muslims in many societies around the world.

I always say that effective education - through schools and universities – is the inevitable way to confront this abhorrent phenomenon. Through the media, we must make clear at every opportunity that Islam is a world religion that calls for knowledge and positive communication with all people. I have also called for the establishment of an 'Islamic Observatory' to monitor and document all cases of hatred and violence against Islam and Muslims. It is important to work hard and diligently to build strong alliances in different countries of the world, including both Muslims and non-Muslims, in order to be able to deal with each situation and analyze its causes and motives, and develop relevant laws and legislation. I also stress the need to develop the economic and social welfare of Muslims everywhere in the world, so that Muslims will be the symbol of success, development and prosperity across the globe, and international role models in the pursuit of peace and coexistence for all the world's people.

**Question:** Your interest in communicating, talking and discussing with the NDC course participants had a great impact on creating a high value educational environment which is based on a stable national basis, marked by loyalty and belonging to our country, and underpinned by science and knowledge for the future foresight. What message would you like to send to the NDC course participants?

**Answer:** I was delighted to meet with the NDC course participants last year as I greatly appreciate the important role played by the National Defense College in preparing prominent national leaders. I was also very proud of the NDC course participants' clear commitment to understanding the development process and supporting the UAE's objectives and aspirations. I also took pride in their strong strategic outlook on issues and challenges and their determination to be role models for the UAE community in law-abiding behavior and responsibility.

My advice today is as same as last year: you should understand the causes and factors that shape the UAE's development process, with increasing its

strengths and reducing its vulnerabilities. I hope that they support the UAE's vision in which tolerance is part of the smart power of the state. I hope that they, as citizens of the state, make the noble Arab and Islamic civilization known to the world. I hope that they take tolerance as a way to build relationships and alliances across the globe, develop the ability to work, and achieve mutual trust and respect with others. I call on them to be proud of what tolerance represents in the UAE as a leading global model, and to work together to continually develop it in the future. I ask them to work with the Ministry of Tolerance to promote the values of the UAE in preventing extremism and terrorism and to make tolerance a natural gateway to world peace and effective human and international relations.

**Question:** In the context of the Gulf countries, with their own traditions and distinctive features, does the concept of tolerance need to be adapted to suit the Arabian Gulf area?

**Answer:** Community concepts are inherently relative and may differ from one society to another and from time to time, according to the prevailing demographic structure, the different heritage, history and culture that shape the nature of the society, the stage of development, and the security and political challenges. In societal concepts, there is, of course, an essential part that constitutes a common heritage and stems from human nature and the common pursuit of happiness, as well as a changing part that depends on nature, guidance and priorities of each society.

Our heartfelt aspiration is that the common part of human beings grows with the passing of time, with the evolution of societies, in addition to the disappearance of challenges which may require temporary action in order to maintain security, safety and peace. It is vital to emphasize that tolerance should never be used to interfere in the affairs of states or to promote slogans to achieve goals that have no relation to tolerance and coexistence in society. Each country has its own conditions and the full capacity to take such policies and measures as it deems appropriate to this end.

**Question:** Last but not least, we would like to conclude our discussion with asking Your Excellency





to send a message to the national institutions in particular and the honorable people of the UAE, and all loyal residents and expatriates in order for the UAE to remain at the forefront of countries in terms of development, modernization, leadership, justice and tolerance, security and safety, as well as happiness and prosperity.

**Answer:** Thank you so much, and I would like to refer to the definition of tolerance applied in the UAE, which forms the basis of our work in the Ministry of Tolerance and in all state institutions. It summarizes perfectly the significant points I have talked about today. Here is the definition:

**First:** Tolerance in the UAE is a living embodiment of the teachings of true Islam and real expression of pride in the greatness of the Arab and Islamic heritage. Therefore, Tolerance is for all, without distinction on the basis of gender, nationality, culture, language, ability, or status. It is Tolerance that leads to harmony, compassion, and dialogue among all, for the benefit of all people all over the world.

**Second:** Tolerance in the UAE is to live in peace with others and to respect their beliefs and cultures. It is a realization that pluralism and diversity in the characteristics of the population are a source of strength for human societies.

**Third:** Tolerance in the UAE stresses the importance

of developing knowledge among all people with positive openness, correcting misconceptions, and eliminating negative stereotypes about others. It is thus an invitation for all to understand the positive relations among all beliefs and cultures and to take pride in national identity and culture.

**Fourth:** Tolerance is that the UAE leadership and people are fully determined to provide a decent life for the entire population. In the UAE, we are fully committed to the noble values to which all human beings adhere, to the achievement of justice, the rule of law and peaceful coexistence among all. Tolerance in the UAE is a successful way of dealing with conflicts, spreading love and peace.

**Fifth:** Tolerance in the UAE is not only a moral obligation but also an essential instrument for achieving comprehensive and sustainable development, social and economic progress, as well as a reaffirmation of the international community's respect for the UAE. Tolerance in the UAE is the way to build positive international relations in a world marred by diversity and pluralism.

Thank you very much, and I pray to Allah the Almighty, to keep the UAE strong and proud with its people, leaders and noble human values. I also pray to Allah the Almighty to guide us towards all useful deeds in order to establish peace, safety and stability in this country.

# Russia's Return to the Middle East

Ambassador Grigol Mgaloblishvili,  
Faculty, UAE NDC



**M**oscow's withdrawal from the Middle East under then President Mikhail Gorbachev at the start of the first Gulf War marked the decline of the Soviet Union's superpower status. Russia's reappearance as a player in the Middle East under President Vladimir Putin has the aim of restoring the country's position as a great power outside of the former USSR."

Dimitri Trenin

In recent years, we have observed the significant increase of Russia's influence in the Middle East. Alongside pragmatic considerations, Moscow's re-emergence in the region has a symbolic meaning for Russian leaders. It marks Russia's return to a global power status. For President Putin, who considered the collapse of the Soviet Union as the greatest geopolitical tragedy of the 21st Century, this 'recovery' of the former glorious status is an important policy driver. In recent years, the Russian leadership has capitalized on the growing power vacuum in the Middle East and managed to seize an opportunity and to re-establish itself as a credible counterweight to the U.S. in the region; thus, cementing its





position as a major player on a global scale.

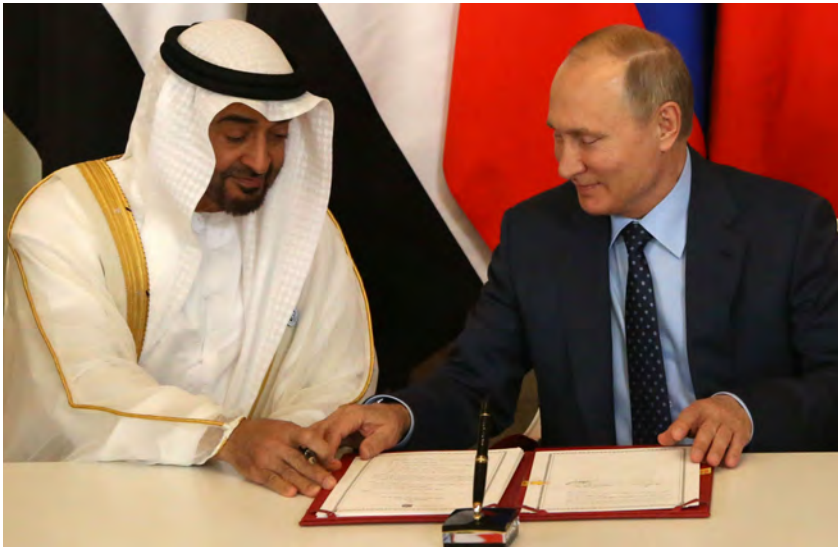
Russia's resurgence in the Middle East has significantly changed the political landscape of the region. It has substantially altered the power balance as well as reshaped the alliance structures among the major regional and global actors. Given this development's significant implications for regional security in general, and the UAE's in particular, there are several questions that are relevant for further consideration, "What factors led to the increase of Russian influence in the region?" "What are the strategic objectives that Moscow is pursuing in the Middle East?" Finally, "How can rising Russian influence impact the UAE's national security interests?" Answering these

questions is important not only for analyzing this trajectory of Russia's foreign policy but also for elaborating the policy options available to the UAE.

There are multiple factors that have enabled Russia to seize the initiative and to re-establish itself as a major player in the Middle East. Two of them, in particular, merit our attention. Firstly, the swift and violent changes of the Arab Spring created a fear of imminent external interventions and potential internal uprisings among the major regional actors. Moscow capitalized on this fear. It positioned itself as a defender of existing state structures, in accordance with the principle of state sovereignty, against external interventions and internal insurrections. Moscow's stance in this regard

has greatly appealed to the concerns of the regional states and has significantly increased its standing as a credible partner. Secondly, the perception of the U.S. withdrawal from the Middle East strengthened Moscow's position as an alternative power pole in the region. The culminating point, in this regard, was the Syrian conflict. The U.S. administration's indecisive posture to use force against the Assad regime on one hand, and Moscow's swift and determined military actions to protect its troubled ally on the other, substantially increased Russia's credibility as a reliable partner among regional states. The Syrian conflict enabled Moscow to emerge as the U.S. counterweight in the region and as a staunch defender of existing state structures from





external interventions as well as internal uprisings.

Russia's reappearance as a major actor in the Middle East, particularly by capitalizing on the Syrian conflict, has served Moscow's strategic interests in multiple ways. Regaining influence and strength in the Middle East considerably strengthened Russia's position as a major power on a global scale – an objective that has been pursued by the Kremlin since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Russia used its pivot to the Middle East to break its international isolation, imposed by the U.S. and the EU since the annexation of

Crimea. Furthermore, Moscow has succeeded not only to preserve but also to expand its military presence in the region. Naval and air military bases in Tartus and Latakia respectively are clear manifestations of the expansion of Moscow's military footprint in the region. In addition, the Kremlin has successfully expanded its export market for Russia's defense capabilities by attracting the newly acquired clients from the region. For the Russian defense industry, the countries in the MENA region have become important customers, accounting for 36% of Russia's defense deliveries in 2015. Finally, by increasing its

military footprint in the region, Moscow has managed to contain and diminish threats associated with 'Islamist' extremism and radicalism that otherwise could have expanded into Russia itself. The huge influx of Muslim migrants from post-Soviet states as well as 12% of its own population being Muslim, keep Moscow alert to the threats of radicalization and extremism. Overall, Russia's assertive policies in the region have smoothed the way for Moscow to achieve significant political, economic and security objectives at a lower cost and with minimal losses.

This significant geopolitical shift





undoubtedly impacts the UAE's national interests in multiple ways. Increasing Russian influence significantly alters the balance of power in the region. The time when the U.S. was the single major actor in the Middle East has passed. What we are witnessing now is the emergence of alternative power centers in the region, capable and willing to act as the U.S. counterbalance in political processes. This development clearly requires a re-calibration of the UAE's foreign policy priorities to reflect the unfolding shifts in the region. Russia's assertive reappearance in the Middle East also strengthens

the positions of the UAE's adversaries, especially Iran. The major challenge, from the UAE's perspective, associated with the rise of Russia's influence is that it weakens the standing of its traditional allies and strengthens the positions of its regional rivals. The ways of addressing this unfavorable shift in the regional balance of power strongly underpin strategic discourse in the UAE.

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# Hybrid Warfare

Sheikh Suroor bin Saeed bin Mohamed Al Nahyan  
Participant, UAE NDC



**W**arfare by its very nature and with its different types is only a continuation of the political struggle by applying military force. The goal of war can be political, economic, cultural, psychological, or ideological or a combination of two aspects or more. The military goal is usually dictated by the general political goal, which helps achieve that attainable military goal. It is important to note here the extent of evolution in warfare that has taken place since the adoption of primitive means of military fights until the emergence of modern and hybrid concepts of war (5th, 6th and 7th generations of warfare) where war is fought remotely without direct confrontations between the warring parties and without the actual use of various military equipment and conventional or non-conventional weaponry systems.

Under these new forms of war, states and individuals are targeted via the Internet (Cyber Warfare), or through the use of satellite-guided high precision ammunition. The evolution in the various instruments of war came as a result of the constant development in military sciences that are designed to serve the objectives of a state policy.

It can be said that tactics of hybrid warfare have revolutionized the strategic concepts of war theories where boundaries between the so-called generations of warfare have virtually vanished. The concepts in these generations of warfare in their totality have reflected the development in the practice of war for achieving policy objectives. They have introduced overlapping





army and militia groups with certain agendas. As for the 3rd generation of warfare, the focus was placed on the use of mechanized units as the major fighting element in armies during that period with emphasis on maneuvering and speed to bypass enemy lines, achieve surprise, and capture the rear. The 4th generation of warfare, however, represents a confrontation between a regular army and an unclearly defined opponent without a constant base of operations with fighting cells dispersed in all different parts of the world (Al Qaeda, and ISIL as examples). This was also described later as asymmetric warfare, a new theory of war that was developed by the U.S. army in the aftermath of 9/11. In this kind of war, the U.S. fought against well-organized and professional armed groups with advanced technological



ways and means that went beyond the traditional military confrontation between regular armies through the employment of new technological, media, economic, cyber, and soft power tools.

The various generations of warfare have varied in terms of their techniques and means. The 1st generation of warfare, for example, was characterized by conventional military operations between regular armies, while the 2nd generation of warfare was characterized by guerilla warfare operations when a military confrontation takes place between a regular

capabilities, which did not in themselves constitute an army nor a state. They primarily depended on techniques to demoralize states from inside through fueling destructive religious, ethnic, and cultural conflicts across the country while avoiding direct military confrontations.

The concept of warfare has dramatically changed and has eventually entered into the 5th generation in recent times, which has been termed as "Hybrid Warfare." In this kind of war, a military strategy is used where the concepts of conventional warfare with those



of non-conventional and cyber warfare are combined together. Moreover, nuclear, chemical, biological, and radioactive attacks, as well as IED attacks can be used as tools in this war. This strategy depends on the use of conventional/non-conventional, organized/unorganized, declared/undeclared means to offset the strength of a more powerful opponent in the conventional war, and more importantly in cyberspace. Based on the hybrid warfare tactics used in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, it became evident that those involved in this type of war tend to capitalize on the tactical advantage in space and time without subjecting themselves to the rules of conventional military engagement. Therefore, they tend to intensify their military tactical engagements to amplify their message while demoralizing their opponents. Perhaps, the burning alive Jordanian pilot Moaaz Al Kasasbeh by ISIL after his aircraft crashed in Syria is a good example of this technique. In other words, those non-



state actors tend to integrate all means at hand including various types of weapons and fighting techniques including guerilla warfare to wear down and exhaust their opponents and force them to give up and abandon their goals no matter how legitimate their means and modus operandi are.

In short, hybrid warfare is a modern model of guerilla warfare where military operations are carried out by a small but well-trained and well-equipped group of individuals to realize the set objectives by spreading chaos and horror and employing advanced psychological warfare techniques. These groups engage in activities similar to those carried out in guerilla warfare environment and operations in built-up areas including ambush operations, hit-and-run attacks, and targeting strategic sites. These groups tend to wait for the right moment to attack their opponents and use a mixture of weapons that may include among other things anti-aircraft guns, NBC devices, explosive charges as well as information war techniques. Moreover, these groups use their propaganda machines and other online media platforms



to promote their message, spread chaos, and intimidate their enemies. They do not act as regular combat units as they choose to operate in a stretched area of operation and use non-linear war tactics without fixed defensive lines, well-prepared trenches bunkers, and troop build-up in rear areas. They would rather use the technique of early deployment over a large area as a better passive defensive measure against enemy reconnaissance actions and concentrated air strikes while maintaining the ability to take the appropriate formation to engage the enemy troops at the right time and place. Therefore, hybrid warfare reflects the complicated dynamics in the battlefield that require extremely flexible and resilient responses.

Hybrid warfare can be best described as a covert and deniable war supported either by conventional or nuclear forces that aim to influence the domestic policies of targeted countries. Outcomes of hybrid warfare have proven that political interference and military interventions in other countries



no longer require big and costly military effort, as was the case of the conventional military interventions in the past. This, of course, would support the possibility of expanding the use of hybrid tactics in the future. However, this would also lead to more development in the countermeasures and deterrence against hybrid warfare tactics by many affected nations. NATO has already suggested that its war strategies are no longer appropriate to address this kind of war, and that their relevant strategies need to be restructured.

There will be probably more expansion in the use of hybrid warfare tactics by giving some of these responsibilities to private security companies that work on behalf of armed forces. This, of course, would guarantee that no one party can press charges against the state or official authorities in case hybrid warfare tactics are used in an any given conflict. Moreover, some powers involved in certain conflicts may choose to expand their support for specific militia groups, as their proxies, which can use sophisticated hybrid warfare tactics.

This emerging trend in warfare has led to the development of new weaponry systems that can be remotely operated such as drones and unmanned vehicles. Russia has virtually confirmed that it has manufactured Platform-M, which is a remote-controlled robotic unit on a crawler and armed with grenade launchers and rifles. This system ensures that there will be fewer human

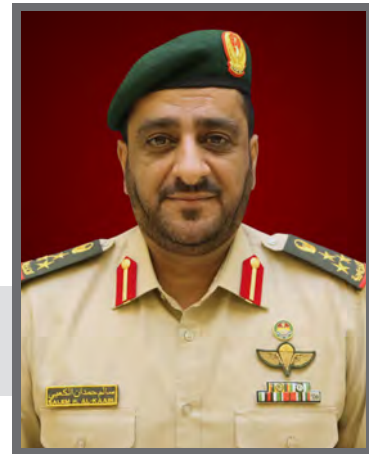
and material losses on the battlefield, with even better results. In other words, this trend would constitute a turning point in the history of warfare, where focus on military operations will be placed on quality rather than on quantity. Russia has been engaged in this kind of covert and deniable war activities in Syria through the use of mercenaries who were not part of the Russian troops. Those paid secret soldiers were brought into Syria by private Russian companies and contractors to fight on behalf of Moscow, such as the private military contractor "Wagner," and the Slavic Corps that were established by retired Russian security officers. These two units include hundreds of soldiers who are paid for their services on condition they do not associate themselves with the Russian army. This policy serves dual purposes: First, Moscow does not face any protests internally against its military involvement in Syria because those soldiers do not belong to the Russian army, and their activities cannot be connected to the Russian government. Second, pursuing this approach, Russia can promote the idea that it consistently avoids military confrontation and the use of military force. More importantly, it seems that denial of involvement in attacks and attempts to shift responsibility have been another characteristic of the new Russian combat doctrine. For example, the offensive against a U.S. outpost near Deir Al Zur in the eastern part of Syria

in February 2018 could have plunged Russia and the United States into a bloody conflict, had Washington not accepted Moscow's denial of involvement in such an attack. In reality, that offensive was launched by Russian mercenaries probably part of the Wagner Company who acted on behalf of Moscow in that conflict. The then U.S. Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, stated that it is understandable that there are some elements involved in that complicated struggle that Russia cannot have them under control. This evidently reflects one of the hybrid warfare tactics where fighters pursue unconventional strategies and asymmetrical means, which make both their intentions and next moves unpredictable to take their enemies by surprise and achieve a decisive victory in the battlefield.

In order to effectively deal with asymmetrical, hybrid and other non-conventional types of war, a comprehensive strategy must be put in place that can address political, military, security, and economic aspects. Instruments of national power can serve as the framework to implement this strategy. However, there is an urgent need to educate local communities on the objectives and techniques of hybrid warfare and to raise the loyalty of people to their society and state by engaging them in national development projects. Therefore, the focus on media and education in this regard can be instrumental in dealing with hybrid warfare.

# The Global Race to Build the Elements of AI National Power

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**A**rtificial Intelligence (AI) can have a drastic effect on national security in a number of ways. National power stems in many ways from the intersection of economic power and military power, but a strong economic base is required over time for military advantages to be sustained.

The right adaptation of AI technology can allow a nation to maintain a prominent position in the world, as the technology provides various capabilities that affect economic and military power. Having AI national power elements has, therefore, become a driving force for AI dominance, and it is essential to maintain a nation's power in a changing global environment, as AI technology is a crucial enabler of future economic success. The questions are: Which elements of AI national power can be used to exploit the technology's potential and who are deploying comprehensive AI strategic plans in the world?

Owning large quantities of the right type of data is one of the critical elements. Data



**Table 1. Main goals of China's Artificial Intelligence development plan**

2020	2025	2030
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop the next generation of AI technologies on big data, swarm intelligence, hybrid enhanced intelligence and autonomous intelligence systems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Make AI the primary driver for China's industrial advances and economic transformation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Become the world's premier AI innovation center</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gather the world's leading AI talents together</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use AI in a wide range of fields – manufacturing, medicine, national defense</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop major breakthroughs in research and development</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish initial framework for AI laws, regulations, ethics and policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Become a leading player in AI research and development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Expand the use of AI through social governance and national defense</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Finalize AI laws, regulations, ethical norms, policies and safety mechanisms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Create leading AI innovation and personnel training bases</li> </ul>

Source. Sizing the prize – What's the real value of AI for your business and how can you capitalize', PwC, 2017



is vital in AI techniques such as machine learning, as its performance often has more to do with data quantity and quality than the specific algorithm used

to do the learning. This makes it advantageous for nations with better datasets to develop superior AI applications. In May 2017, the cover story of The

Economist magazine argued that oil was being replaced by data as "the world's most valuable resource." (Economist 2017). AI will add to the national



power of those nations that can identify, acquire, and use large, economically and militarily important datasets to build AI systems with high performance capabilities (Horowitz et al. 2018).

AI will automate many current tasks and jobs, but many nations are facing a significant shortage of skilled human capital in AI. Governments need a sufficient number of qualified people to develop and use AI technology across society. Countries with AI education, training, research, and immigration policies will reap the benefits of building the skills and recruiting highly qualified people from their citizens and expatriate workers to create a

talent pool as an element of AI national power.

It is important for nations to be able to adapt to rapid technological changes to be ready to address the AI's current and future impact. Therefore, governments should increase cooperation and exchange of information among diverse stakeholders (e.g., industry, academic institutions, and government bodies) to harness AI technology for national security. This collaborative approach promotes the exchange of knowledge, information, and insight into AI. The best way to foster a collaborative atmosphere is to promote a culture that respects and rewards collaboration and

commitment. It is essential that a culture of collaborative environment be in place for any nation to harness AI opportunities.

The existence of a law and policy framework is an important element of AI national power because it is a means of encouraging innovation, use, and investment to promote AI technological developments. AI opportunities are exploited by nations with data privacy, cybersecurity, digital and cloud adoption policies, and AI technical standards. Furthermore, laws on intellectual property that protect and enforce misappropriations and violations of technological developments are essential





in promoting innovation and development.

Nations across the globe are implementing comprehensive AI strategic plans, research and development activities, and extensive private investment programs. China intends to become the world leader in AI by 2030 with its strategy (Table 1). The Chinese government has announced specific objectives for 2020, such as mass production of neural network chips and a 10% increase in manufacturing efficiency. The US and Canada are also developing their own strategies. The Canadian objective is to improve scientific excellence in AI and to develop ethical,

political, and legal frameworks for AI. The US focuses on the need for long-term AI research but regards the government role as a regulator to be minimal. In Europe, France has commissioned a task force to propose an AI strategy. It will include measures to promote AI development (such as creating a favorable regulatory framework) and measures to ensure the protection of individual rights (European Strategic Center 2018)

AI systems are likely to initiate a new technological revolution that will reshape the world economy. It is therefore essential to manage the development and application of AI technology. Several countries

around the world, such as the US, Canada, and China, are leading the AI revolution. They are working to ensure that they are leaders in the development and adoption of AI capabilities through targeted investments and policy interventions adjusted to the particular needs and strengths of each country.

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# The GCC and the Concept of Integration

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**T**he relatively small size of most GCC states compared to the wealth they are blessed with, given surrounding security threats has determined the need for collective action to preserve their status. Thus, the integration of the GCC states under one umbrella was critical. The concept of integration has been widely discussed by scholars since the Second World War. In the two decades post 1945, the debate in the International Relations realm was between two views or schools; the realist and the integrationist. The former argues that the study of International Relations should be focused on the state or the nation states because they are the influential actors.

On the other hand, integrationists believe that the state at the international level can achieve different objectives such as improved welfare of the people through integration. Thus, the state is not the only actor in international relations.

## Integration Concept Definition

The most prominent integration theorists in the 1950s and 1960s were Karl Deutsch, and Ernst Haas (Reyadh, 2007). According to Deutsch, integration is a process which could cause a condition when a group of people “attained within a territory a sense of community and of institutions and practice strong enough to assure for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population” (Deutsch, 1957). Deutsch collaborated with other





scholars at Princeton on a study of ten cases. These cases were: the United States in 1789 and the post-Civil War reunion, the England-Scotland union in 1707, the 1921 breakup of the union between Ireland and the United Kingdom, the German unification of 1871, the Italian unification of 1860-1859, the dissolution of the German Empire in 1918, the Norway-Sweden union of 1814 and its break-up in 1905, the gradual Swiss integration that culminated in the federation of 1884, the England-Wales union after 1485 and the formation of England in the Middle Ages. The study concluded that there were two concepts; integration and amalgamation, "The former has to do with the formation of communities and the latter with the establishment of organizations, associations or political institutions" (Makhawi, 1991).







Accordingly, international communities can be categorized as either amalgamated or pluralistic. According to Deutsch (1957 cited in (Harvey, 2011) by amalgamation, "We mean the formal merger of two or more previously independent units into a single larger unit, with some type of common government after amalgamation. This common government may be unitary or federal. The United States today is an example of the amalgamated type. It became a single governmental unit by the formal merger of several formerly independent units. It has one supreme decision-making center." Whereas a pluralistic security community according to Deutsch (1957), "retains the legal independence of separate governments".

The conditions for the emergence of a pluralistic security community are threefold: (a) compatibility of major values; (b) mutual responsiveness and (c) mutual

predictability of behavior (Costopoulos, 1997). Such communities asserted by Deutsch can be achieved through different approaches such as conquest, explicit agreement, gradual habituation, or banding various combinations of these factors. In order for the foregoing security communities to succeed, there are twelve background conditions that need to exist according to Deutsch and his colleague. These background conditions are:

- (1) Mutual compatibility and main values.
- (2) A distinctive way of life.
- (3) Expectations of stronger economic ties or gains.
- (4) A marked increase in political and administrative capabilities of at least some participating units.
- (5) Superior economic growth on the part of at least some participating units.
- (6) Unbroken links of social communication, both geographically between

territories and sociologically between different strata.

(7) A broadening of the political elite.

(8) Mobility of persons at least among the politically relevant strata.

(9) A multiplicity of communication and transaction.

(10) Compensation of flows of communications and transactions.

(11) A not too infrequent interchange of group roles; and

(12) Considerable mutual predictability of behavior (Stubb, 2014)

One of the findings that emerged from the study was that a pluralistic community is easier to achieve and retain compared to the amalgamation version.

Neo-functionalism theory suggests that the catalyst to integration among states is their interdependency. In order for the process of integration to be fostered societal actors embracing supranational loyalties and interest is essential.





This concept stems from David Mitrany's Functionalism Theory. The latter's approach of integration developed as a substitute for the prevailing federalism approach by the middle of the past century (Alexandrescu, 2007).

According to (Haas, 1958) integration is defined as a process, "whereby political actors in several, distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states" (p.16). Haas argues that during the integration process the interests of actors are obtained through a pluralist process.

Adding to the efforts of the above scholars, Joseph Nye (2004) suggested another definition for integration. His approach is based on breaking the idea or concept of integration into measurable constituent parts. These parts

are economic, social and political integrations, which lead to the founding of transnational economies, societies, and political interdependence.

### Conclusion

Considering the literature and theories that address the concept of integration, it is clear that political leaders play a major role in the success of integration. Their mutual understanding, trust, and contact are significant. This is particularly true in the case of the GCC's formation. There was a high level of communication between the leaders, which played a significant role in establishing the GCC. What has been instrumental is the high level of homogeneity of political systems among Arabian Gulf states. Therefore, "A high degree of integration rests on a high degree of contacts between the elite" (Makhawi, 1991). In addition to the elite's influence, cultural uniformity is an essential factor that promotes the notion of integration among states.

The similarity of language, religion, and ethnicity is present in the case of GCC. Despite the commonalities among the states, the sought-after unity was not achieved. Another major factor that might represent a motive to integration is the nature of the threats states are encountering.

Most importantly, experts argue that there are a set of background conditions that need to be fulfilled in order to form a successful integration.

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# The Study of the World Wars: Its Importance in Professional Military Education

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**O**ver the last thirty years, studies on the two world wars have decreased in staff colleges and military academies. Since the American-led campaigns against Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, scholars of war and strategy have significantly reoriented their focus away from the world wars and onto more recent campaigns which, they believe, better illustrate insurgencies and how to defeat them. Needing to know how to defeat the Taliban or ISIL, they argue that these types of small wars provide more immediate and relevant lessons than those previous state-on-state conventional wars.

It is naturally important to devote attention to case studies that will enrich our knowledge of today's conflicts and provide useful lessons on how best to gain success. The Civil War in Syria and the emergence of the ISIS pseudo-state seem more "relevant" than across-the-trenches battles such as the Somme, Passchendaele, and Verdun, or the over-the-beaches assaults of Guadalcanal, Anzio, or D-Day. They certainly make the strategic air campaigns over Germany and Japan look like strange and almost unbelievable memories that have no modern relevance. It is the same with those monster meat-grinder battles like Stalingrad and Berlin, whose daily death toll of ten thousand soldiers seem unrelated to the relatively low-casualty combat seen in





Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Yet the world wars have more to recommend them as the focus of attention in staff colleges and military academies than one might at first think. This article will attempt to demonstrate why this is so.

First, it is right to hope that major theater-scale conventional warfare has disappeared and is unlikely to

devastate continents as it did during the first half of the 20th century, but we have no certainty or even likelihood that it will not reoccur. Studying the causes, course, and consequences of the two world wars is, in fact, the best way to ensure that it will not. However, should some monstrous violence occur, involving a contest between, for

example, Russia and NATO, or China and America, we might find more relevant lessons from those wars than from the current crop of nasty but small wars. We would at least learn something about how to raise,



maintain, deploy, and maneuver large forces and how to implement strategy on a grand scale.

Yet the world wars should not be studied only in anticipation of a possible return to warfare on a large scale. Those wars actually contain a far greater wealth of relevant lessons for today's students of war, strategy, and leadership than one might think. For example, although the "Partisan" insurgencies in various occupied countries during the Second World War — for example, in Russia, Yugoslavia, and Greece — were greatly overshadowed by the big battles, they were substantial, sustained, and sometimes successful. There is certainly plenty for today's counter-insurgents to learn from analyzing the way

Josip Broz Tito transformed a small, poorly equipped, and internally fragmented resistance movement into a cohesive, powerful, and highly effective insurgency that inflicted surprisingly heavily losses on the German Army in Yugoslavia. One finds similar lessons when studying the Polish resistance movement, which, with the Polish Home Army at its forefront, was the largest insurgent movement in occupied Europe.

The important thing about the world wars is that they happened long enough ago that scholars have been able to comb the archives, to find and study primary sources, including war and personal diaries, and to create scholarship that is far more reliable and evidence-based than the study of more recent or current conflicts

and operations. For reasons of operational security, official diplomatic and military sources for current operations are mostly classified and thus inaccessible to scholars who rely instead on observation or secondary sources, many of them produced by the media. We know from the contemporary (as-it-happened) academic and media coverage of the Vietnam War, the 1973 October War, and the 1982 Falklands War that this analysis often later turns out to have been speculative and highly inaccurate. By contrast, scholars investigating a battle such as Stalingrad can now read declassified military documents from both sides, including minutes of war cabinet and high command meetings, radio, and telegraphic communication to and from the front, and the personal diaries of commanders





and other decision-makers. This wealth of source material allows scholars of leadership and decision-making access to the minds of strategists and warfighters in a way that is not yet possible with those leading and fighting today's small wars.

We should also not forget that despite the differences in scale, intensity and lethality between the world wars and today's wars, there are striking similarities that are worth our attention. For example, we acknowledge that many of today's wars are heavily ideological, including the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan and ISIS's attempt to establish a state. Therefore, with the world wars, we have clear examples of ideologically motivated military aggression that we can draw upon to understand what might make

ordinary people fight and die for ideological causes. Learning how young men became radicalized by Fascism, Nazism or Communism can tell us a great deal about how, in today's world, radicalized young people are being drawn into conflict by a perverse misreading of Islam.

Related to that, the study of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and other dictators from the 1930s and 1940s helps us understand the thoughts, actions, and aspirations of dictators like Kim Jong-un, authoritarian leaders like Vladimir Putin and ultra-populists like Donald Trump. Likewise, nationalism — an excessive belief that one's own country is somehow superior to other countries, or has rights that outweigh theirs — was powerfully instrumental in causing both world wars, yet we today see that nationalism

remains a potent force in various parts of the world, where it continues to twist otherwise healthy patriotism into a potential source of conflict. Understanding the catastrophic potential consequences nationalism can serve is an invaluable reminder that respect-based co-operation between states serves the course of peace better than the selfish competition.

It is clear, therefore, that staff colleges and military academies still have much to learn from including the world wars in their curricula. They provide invaluable strategic and leadership lessons that will help modern decision-makers better able to understand conflict and how to avoid or resolve it.

# Hybrid Coalition a New Form of Security Challenges

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**W**ithin the framework of social development, the strategic determination of national security gives priority to components that, by their nature, are directed towards the international environment. With the new form of hybrid coalition, one can learn about the extent to which security systems are adapting to changes in the changing geopolitical environment, which increasingly takes on the dimension of geo-economic and geo-energetic redistribution and interest.

An imperative initial type of effort is the dynamic activity of a state's political elite and leadership in relation to the operationalization of a permanent goal towards permanent sub-goals achieved by identifying the vital state values. This is the goal of national power which realizes, maintains and improves the national security system. However, national interests at a particular time often reflect only the subjective understanding and attitude of the state's political elite. Possible leaks in their selfish perception can lead to making wrong decisions regarding the protection and development of national values.

However, there is a possibility that the goal for a subject is determined





by its subjective positive understanding and according to the criteria of the objective environment. Independent from the type of goal, approaching the subject to the goal implies progression that can be evolutionary (gradual) or revolutionary (abrupt) and indicates the possibility of its realization. However, eventual obstacles that could constrain, hinder, disable or move a subject from the goal imply a downturn, which ultimately can prevent the achievement of the goal itself.

On the contrary, it is a possibility for a particular subject to be able to exercise his/ her will within a specific social communication relationship, regardless of the type of resistance of other subjects. Such an ambitious goal depends on the amount of power, knowledge, and skills it has, and to a greater extent on the way it is used. Consequently,

to define a hybrid alliance or coalition, it is important that a particular subject is able to materialize his/her thoughts (the registered objective - the future state) by his/her effective practical engagement.

Based on the current Russian energy policy defined in "Russian Energy Strategy 2020" adopted in 2003, one will be able to infer the pragmatic discourse of Russia in the Arabian Gulf. The interpretation is that Russia has large energy resources that are one-third of the world's gas reserves, one-tenth of the world's oil reserves, one-fifth of the world's coal reserves and 14% of the world's uranium reserves. The energy policy should focus on switching from raw material suppliers to an active participant in the global market. This ensures the energy security of Russia and keeps it a stable and reliable partner of the European countries and the whole world. While ensuring

a non-discriminatory transit of energy, the strategy identifies Europe and Asia as the primary market for Russia's foreign energy policy by formulating the strategic interests of Russia to fit a common energy policy and energy and transport infrastructure in Europe and Asia. The document entails that the state will encourage the participation of Russian companies in the development and implementation of large international gas and oil transportation projects to the West and the East. The transit problems for Russia have a special meaning. It means that the Central and Western Europe market will be one of the largest markets in the next 20 years.

The Russian foreign policy concept of 2008 sets out important tasks ahead for Russian diplomacy such as strengthening strategic partnerships with leading energy producers and developing an



active dialogue with consumer and transit countries. In this national security strategy, energy has a more prominent place as a resource and as a security issue. Energy is presented as an instrument of power that strengthens Moscow's position in international affairs and provides resources for strategic deterrence. Therefore, President Putin declared in 2005, that Russia has no other area in which it can be a leader as it possesses competitive, natural and technological advantages that can be placed as a leading place in the global energy sector. On the same occasion, at the meeting of the National Security Council, he said: "energy is the most important force of the world economic progress. It has always been, and it will be in the future too."

Hybrid coalitions are just tools to reach the goal as soon and as cheaply as possible, which completely alter the



current conceptual ideas. One of these coalitions is mentioned by Turkey, Iran, and Russia, who successfully presented their test results in the Qatar case. A special challenge is the appearance of new coalitions through the procrastination of the 21st century global multidimensional concept of the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI) which includes the Sea Silk Road and the Economic Belt. This long-term project assumes direct participation of about 60 countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe. So far, the memoranda and other documents on joining the implementation of this initiative have been signed by

about 30 countries. About \$ 900 billion will be invested in it, plus \$ 315 billion to be invested in the European Union to expand and modernize its own infrastructure.

The funds envisaged would be invested in the construction and modernization of the network of roads, railways, air transport, telecommunications, ports, waterways, and logistics to ensure the efficiency of trade, investment, industry, energy, and other fields of cooperation.

This initiative will contribute to a quick overcoming of socio-economic problems. For a large number of countries, participating in the initiative will increase opportunities for youth employment, eradicate poverty, reduce space for various forms of extremism, stigma migration, and settle conflicts. The BRI also includes linking in culture, science, media and all other areas of importance for



strengthening understanding, mutual respect, and cultural and social progress.

Scientifically perceived pragmatism is a kind of opportunity that should be represented by the active thought of the minority in relation to the operationalization of the permanent goal of permanent sub-goals. But in such philosophical political consideration of reality, we remain the only consistent with Makiavel's principle that the goal justifies the means.

The original Hybrid Coalition has presented new challenges to security systems, which means a high degree of pragmatism, political imagination, and analytical observations. The attachment to certain military collectivity does not guarantee internal stability. Economic dependence is a space for numerous political security manipulations. In this context, the best example is Turkey which entered a hybrid coalition with Russia primarily to increase its energy potential, which created the preconditions for its independence and the strengthening of its political capacities in the negotiations and relations with other countries.

National values can be endangered in three global threats. Internally, by independent unlawful destructive actions when citizens join illegal, semi-legal or legal collectivities or by actions of external factors that are physically present in the territory. Externally, it could include aggressive actions

of non-sovereign (non-state and transnational) subjects or activities of the sovereign state, federation of states, or group of states. Endangering activities can be public or secret. However, it is important to keep in mind that the predominant number of publicly endangering activities must precede the undertaking of secret activities. Therefore, if the national security system effectively finds out and monitors the scope of secretly endangering activities, it creates the conditions for planning and adopts the adequate offensive defense measures to ensure a successful defense of vital values against both secret and publicly endangering activities.

In such a discourse, hybrid coalitions should be considered, both as a potential threat and as a potential mechanism for strengthening their own capacities with an emphasized preservation of internal hypersensitivity and the possibility of self-protection.

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# The UAE's Pivotal Role in Dismantling Extremist Ideology

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**T**he UAE is leading efforts to confront extremist ideology at the regional and global level, seeking to dismantle the logic and pretexts with which it tries to influence young minds by manipulating them into adopting ideas and practices that threaten communities, countries, and global security.

## Fundamental Premises

In its approach to dismantling extremist ideology, the UAE relies on a set of fundamental premises. The most important of these are:

Extremist ideology represents a gateway to terrorism and is one of its main causes. Those who embrace extremist or radical ideology are prepared to resort to violence to defend their beliefs. This is especially the case when individuals already predisposed to join terrorist organizations are targeted by recruitment campaigns that focus on extremist ideologies. Therefore, confronting extremist ideology is at the heart of a comprehensive response to terrorism and represents a proactive approach to addressing its dangers.





Extremist ideology is the main source of religious, doctrinal, and sectarian conflict in societies. It is based on the rejection of others, at times labeling them infidels to justify bloodshed and as a pretext for inflicting harm, which results in dismantling societies and driving them toward civil war.

Extremist ideology triggers, and nurtures, tendencies toward the clash of civilizations, cultures and religions, which in turn threatens coexistence at the international level, adding more causes of tension worldwide. Extremist ideology, as it leads to conflict, tension and deadlock in society, is one of the greatest

impediments to development and progress. It hinders the process of mobilizing resources of societies that should otherwise serve development and progress aspirations. It also prevents national consensus on higher interests and goals, and creates loopholes that enemies exploit to undermine security,



development and the stability of societies.

Extremist ideology represents an affront to religions as extremists hijack religion, distort interpretations of it, and commit crimes in its name. This is far worse than the most dangerous of crimes, due to the influence that religion, any religion, has on people anywhere and at any time. Currently, the focus is on the extremist religious ideology of powers and groups affiliated to Islam, yet this type of extremist ideology is not limited to a specific religion, race or geographical region, rather it was, and still is, present in all societies and religions to varying degrees. I have explored in detail the issue of the extremist ideology, the groups that embrace it and the danger it poses, in my book, *The Mirage*.

#### **A Comprehensive Approach**

In its quest to dismantle extremist ideology, the UAE has adopted a comprehensive approach, based on two levels;

the intellectual-value level, and at the practical-institutional level.

At the intellectual-value level, the UAE works to consolidate anti-extremism values. While fanaticism, radicalization, isolation and rejection of the other dominate the extremist ideology, regardless of its types and sources, the UAE disseminates, entrenches and consolidates a system of counter-extremist values based on tolerance, moderation, coexistence, and acceptance of and openness to the other. The UAE sees religious, doctrinal, sectarian, and ethnic diversity as a source of integration, cooperation, and connection between people, and not as a cause of confrontation and conflict. This was expressed by His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces (may God protect him), in his statement to the whole world when His

Holiness Pope Francis, and His Eminence Dr. Ahmad Al Tayyeb, Grand Imam of Al Azhar Al Sharif, visited the UAE in February 2019. His Highness said: "The universe accommodates all of us, diversity is a source of wealth and not a cause of conflict or strife. God has created us different so that we can complement and know each other, and work together for the sake of peace and prosperity for all of us."

In addition to being a role model for the world in bringing together over 200 nationalities living in tolerance, love, and harmony, the UAE strives to promote and bolster these principles in the global arena. This was reflected in the signing of a historic and exceptional document, during the visit of His Holiness the Pope and the Grand Imam of Al Azhar to the UAE. The Human Fraternity Document spreads a message of coexistence, peace, and love from the UAE to the entire world, and affirms the UAE's status as a global





capital for tolerance. I stressed in the article, UAE: a Global Capital of Tolerance, published by Al-Ittihad Newspaper on 5 March 2019 that following the visit of the Pope and the Grand Imam of Al Azhar to the UAE, and its substantial outcomes for global peace, security and coexistence, the UAE leadership, and both the Pope and Grand Imam of Al Azhar, deserve the Nobel Peace Prize.

At the practical-institutional level, the UAE fights extremist ideology by launching initiatives and institutions designed to dismantle it. This includes, but is not limited to, the Dubai International Peace Convention in 2010, and the Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Award for World Peace launched in 2011, which totals 1.5\$ million. The International Center of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism (Hedayah), established in 2012, aims to become the first international institute for training, dialogue, collaboration and research

combating all forms of violent extremism. The Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies was established in 2014, while the Muslim Council of Elders intends to spread peace and coexistence in the Islamic world, as well as to counter sectarianism. The UAE also enacted a law to combat discrimination and hatred in 2015, which criminalizes and severely punishes any act of religious vilification, fights speech that triggers hatred and labels other as infidels, and prevents all forms of discrimination based on religion, doctrine, belief, creed, caste, race, color, or ethnic origin. In 2015, Sawab Center was launched, in partnership with the U.S., as an interactive digital communication initiative to enhance the efforts of the global alliance in fighting extremism and terrorism. In 2016, the UAE Cabinet approved the National Tolerance Program to foster the true image of moderation and respect for other's beliefs,

and to promote principles of tolerance and coexistence. The UAE also created the first Ministry of Tolerance in 2016, as well as the International Institute for Tolerance in 2017. His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, President of the UAE (may God protect him), also declared 2019 the Year of Tolerance, underlining the UAE leadership's sincere belief in the significance of tolerance in combating extremism and terrorism, and its ills that go beyond state borders, targeting all, without exception.

These initiatives reflect some of the UAE's efforts in fighting extremist ideology, yet it is not the end of the journey. What is remarkable about the UAE's approach is that it is continuous and ever-evolving as a result of the profound attention it gives to the severe threat of extremist ideology and the importance of a ceaseless movement to counter it.

# Explaining Intelligence Failure

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**M**odern states possess a range of intelligence gathering tools capable of collecting an unprecedented amount of information. As has been the case for thousands of years, human intelligence operatives observe and record the behavior of allies and adversaries alike. However, in the 21st century, technology has dramatically expanded our intelligence collection capabilities.

Satellites provide imagery revealing the construction and movement of military assets. Signals intelligence collection tools capture telephone conversations, text messages, and emails among persons of interest. It is even possible to use laser imagery to detect the presence of chemical and biological weapons in a specific location. Given the increasing sophistication of intelligence collection capabilities, it is puzzling that even the best-equipped states remain vulnerable to surprise attacks by other states and non-state actors. The past two decades have witnessed numerous terrorist attacks executed by groups such as Al Qaeda and ISIL in Britain, France, Belgium, the United States, and





elsewhere. While conventional wars between sovereign states have become less common in recent decades, states are still able to surprise their adversaries, as Russia demonstrated in its annexation of Crimea in 2014, as well as in its interference in the U.S. elections in 2016.

Why are intelligence organizations still prone to failure, given the range and sophistication of tools at their disposal? Ultimately, intelligence is simply processed information. It is the responsibility of human beings – intelligence analysts as well as political and military decision-makers – to interpret



this information and act on it. Human beings, however, are prone to biases and misperceptions. The most basic challenge involved in the analysis of intelligence from any source is that of distinguishing signals from noise. Intelligence practitioners use the term “signals” to refer to pieces of information that are accurate and relevant. “Noise” refers to information that could be inaccurate, irrelevant or both. In practice, relevant signals indicating a specific threat from a particular adversary will be







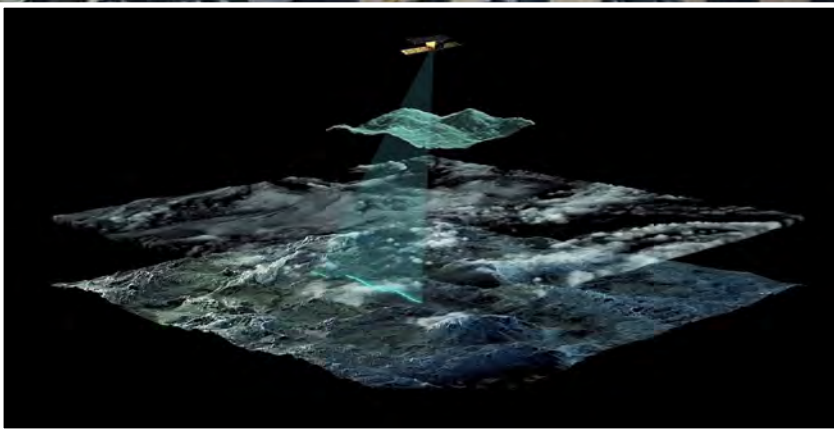
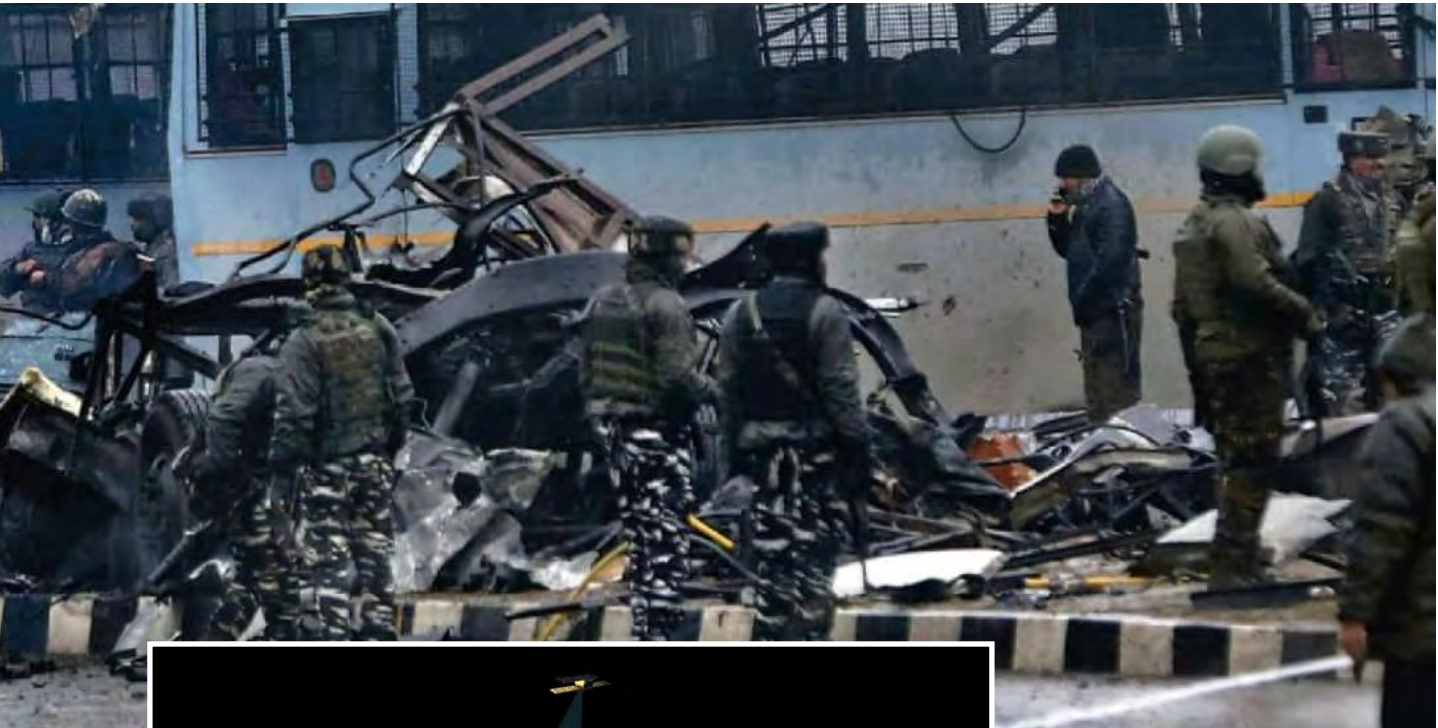
buried in an immense amount of noise. For example, an analyst monitoring communications between suspected members of a terrorist group for evidence of an impending attack will have to sift through conversations on a wide range of mundane topics. Even the few conversations that discuss potential attacks may not indicate a specific target, and even those that do may never result in an actual attack. To cope with an overwhelming mass of data, intelligence analysts rely on working theories regarding an adversary's capabilities and intentions. If these theories are incorrect, however, they can act as filters that prevent the identification of relevant signals. American intelligence analysts detected Japanese military preparations well before the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Nevertheless, their working theory - that Japan was preparing for an offensive in Southeast Asia -

led them to overlook evidence of an attack directed against the United States. Deception by the adversary compounds the difficulty of identifying legitimate signals. When the Japanese fleet set sail for Pearl Harbor, its radio operators stayed in Japan where they continued to broadcast, giving American intelligence the impression that the fleet remained in port, further diminishing their chances of detecting the attack before it occurred.

Even when individual analysts are able to detect legitimate threats, intelligence organizations may not be able to act on them quickly enough. Prior to the September, 11 2001 attacks against the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation focused primarily on the investigation and prosecution of crimes, rather than the gathering of intelligence, and the agents involved in these two missions did not regularly share information. As a result,

even though Minnesota FBI agents developed suspicions about the so-called "20th Hijacker," Zacarias Moussaoui, during the summer of 2001, they were unable to investigate fully his links to other terrorists before the attacks. The division of the United States intelligence community at the time into multiple organizations without a single coordinating body also hindered the sharing of vital information about Moussaoui and other suspects. Given these difficulties, cautious intelligence analysts may be tempted to emphasize worst-case scenarios, on the grounds that it is better to be safe than sorry. However, forecasting events that do not transpire can undermine the credibility of analysts or even the intelligence community in the eyes of decision-makers. After multiple warnings of events that do not occur, decision-makers may view subsequent alerts with less urgency. This was the case in





the months prior to September 11, 2001 when the director of the American National Security Agency identified more than 30 general warnings of terrorist attacks against the United States, none of which materialized.

In the face of these challenges confronting both analysts and decision-makers, technological advances may provide some grounds for optimism. It is now possible to process more information more quickly than ever before. But there is also far more data available than ever before: digital records of emails, phone conversations, text messages, financial transactions, and other

exchanges of information. In quantitative terms, the increase in available information is staggering. Between 2016 and 2025, the size of the data sphere – the global sum of all available information – is expected to grow by a factor of ten. As a result, even with assistance from Artificial Intelligence, the fundamental challenge of separating signals from noise will remain. We should not, therefore, expect perfection from intelligence organizations. Nevertheless, we should be aware of the tendencies that inhibit the detection and warning of threats and encourage practices that minimize mistakes.

These include adopting the perspective of our adversaries, or “red-teaming”, as well as sharing information among intelligence organizations. While absolute safety will remain an elusive goal, such practices can improve our ability to identify and avert serious threats to our security.

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# National Security in Today's Global Economy

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**N**ever before have countries primarily relied on their economic might rather than the power of the gun to achieve their strategic goals in foreign policy. From Washington to Beijing, through Abu Dhabi, the power of arms and the sacrifice of men and women in uniform continue to be a central pillar of national security architecture. According to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the world's military expenditure shows a regular decline, from just below US\$ 1500 billion at the end of the 1980s to about US\$ 1000 billion in 1996, and a steady increase after 1998, before plateauing since 2010, with a record US\$ 1739 billion in 2017.

This overall upward trend in military expenditure is correlated with the rise of the global economy. The size of the world's economy is projected to more than double by 2050, far outstripping the world population growth due to continued economic innovation. The center of gravity of the world's economy has now shifted from West to East. The economic size of Asia is set to be bigger than the combined size of the rest of the world's economy in 2020. Global economic power will further shift to the E7 (Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey) group of emerging market economies by 2050.

A country's wealth has now become more important





than military force, and the world's economies have become more interdependent. With this reality, a new set of actors have emerged, aided by large current account surpluses and the accumulation of huge foreign reserves. These massive financial weapons have allowed them to protect their economies and national interests from the mood of volatile international capital markets, and also to engineer new approaches of economic statecraft for foreign security purposes. Countries that are skillfully using these new approaches include but are not limited to China, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia.

Greater wealth among nations and economic

interdependence have increased foreign security externalities and favored a more systematic use of economic means as foreign policy tools. The phrase 'security externalities' refers to the security consequences associated with economic interactions. The "use of economic instruments to promote and to defend national interests, and to produce beneficial geopolitical results; and the effects of other nations' economic actions on a country's geopolitical goals" is known as geo-economics. Our modern-day geo-economics

is concerned with reinforcing, reducing, or capitalizing on these security consequences.

Preoccupations over the security externalities of other countries' economic actions have become a major national security concern. In particular, political leaders of the European Union (EU) and the USA are worried, and this is the core reason behind President Trump's anti-China trade policies. The EU views China as a 'systemic rival'. For instance, the Germans were stupefied by a Chinese billionaire becoming the largest shareholder of Daimler (Mercedes-Benz, Smart) on 24 February 2018. Brigitte Zypries, the German Minister of Economy expressed



her concerns saying that this purchase should not be “a gateway to serve the industrial policy of other states.” As an echo of the complexity of the issue, Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor, tried to reassure that there was no “infringement” in this operation and that her country is open to business partners. Perhaps, the German Chancellor’s remarks are a sign that the economy prevails over purely security concerns, at least when the security threat or challenge is not seen as vital.

Similar worries were expressed in France. For instance, the Minister of Finance, Bruno Le Maire, declared that “Openness does not mean looting our technologies, our skills, and our know-how”.

At the same time, European countries want foreign investors. Italy has thus become the first G7 member country to endorse China's Belt

and Road Initiative of maritime and terrestrial infrastructure launched in 2013. Italy is expecting to attract Chinese investment to power its stagnant economy. The two countries have signed several contracts, especially in the telecommunication sector, for about 20 billion dollars. Italy made this move despite strong opposition from its national security allies, especially the USA.

The question now is whether countries should prevent foreign investments in certain sectors or not. The response seems to be yes. In certain countries, France, for example, some sectors are subject to prior state authorization for the validation of foreign investment. They include transport, energy, telecommunications, water, health, defense, data storage, drones, space, research, and development in the fields

of Cybersecurity, Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Additive Manufacturing (3D printing), Semiconductors, and Financial Infrastructure. The USA and other countries have similar validation mechanisms.

When Amazon announced in 2017 the acquisition of UAE-based *souq.com*, the largest e-commerce platform in the Arab World, some actors in the UAE domestic market voiced concern. For instance, Mohamed Alabbar, the founder of *noon.com* and Chairman of Emaar said that Amazon was a threat to the UAE domestic market. Conversely, the reaction of Majid Saif Al Ghurair, Chairman of Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry, was to say that Amazon was not a threat to the UAE retail sector. Each of the two business actors points to legitimate national interests concerns. As regards national security, in China, for





example, Amazon is required to follow regulations over online data, which forbid non-Chinese companies from owning or operating certain technology for the provision of cloud services.

What national security measures can countries adopt to prevent weaponized foreign investments? There are certain steps countries can take to safeguard both their security and economic national interests. This involves determining the criteria for defining which activities will be considered strategic and establishing national security red lines. These latter imply banning mergers and acquisitions of national security relevant infrastructure. Furthermore, the foreign acquisition should not be made in biased conditions, for example with the support of a state, or through a foreign branch in a country. Finally, countries should also implement the reciprocity principle as a

response to the merger and acquisition policy practiced in the country of the acquirer.

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# Arabian Peninsula Histories:

## The 1962-67 Civil War in

### (North) Yemen:

### A Historical Perspective

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**E**ver since classical geographers named the region '*Arabia Felix*' or 'Happy Arabia' (Thomas, 1938: xii) the history of Yemen has ironically been plagued by conflict due to its strategic positioning as the cornerstone of the Arabian Peninsula and northern gateway to the East. The 1962-67 (North) Yemen Civil War was borne of the clash between the long-established Yemeni Imamate and the nationalist uprising backed by the United Arab Republic (UAR), under President Gamal Abdul Nasser as part of the chess board of intrigue during the Cold War (Walker, 2004: xviii). After a destructive and costly five year war involving numerous outside states, the legacy of the 1960s Yemeni civil war of instability and division continues to the current day.

#### Background

With the death of the northern Yemeni Imam in 1962 and the succession of his son, a coup instigated by the Palace Guard Commander, Colonel Abdullah Al-Sallal, soon forced the new leader to flee into exile. President Nasser, keen to promote his vision of a socialist United Arab Republic, the removal of British Middle Eastern influence and the overthrow of the Gulf monarchies, sent a military force to bolster the new Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) administration under Sallal's presidency. Despite formal YAR recognition by both superpowers many countries did not reciprocate, including the UK and Saudi Arabia with both concerned over Republican/UAR designs





on territories under their control; fears proven credible as Saudi border territory came under repeated attack. The UAR eventually committed over 70,000 troops with plentiful Soviet-supplied weapons, artillery, and aircraft to the campaign against the Imamate forces, who were in turn funded and backed by Saudi Arabia and trained and organized by British-led mercenaries. The stage was therefore set for a drawn-out and brutal conflict.

#### Action/Results

Britain was at the time greatly concerned about instability in its Aden



Protectorate, which housed the UK's largest military forces outside the British mainland and

over 25,000 service personnel/families (Edwards, 2012 :162). Nasser's intelligence services

armed and bankrolled both the (rival) National Liberation Front (NLF) and Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) groups who were sponsoring terrorism and widespread unrest (Edwards, 2012 :155) in Aden in an attempt to force the UK's exit. As such Britain found itself closely aligned with the interests of Saudi Arabia but diplomatically unable to intervene overtly in the conflict in part as YAR had been formally recognized by its close ally the USA. Britain, therefore, turned to 'deniable' means to take back the initiative.

Formed in 1963 by former CO of 21 SAS, Col. Jim Johnson, the small band of mercenaries known as the British Field Liaison Force (BFLF) consisted primarily of ex-UK forces personnel. The group was never officially sanctioned/supported by the British government but had tacit approval for their actions and extensive connections in the contemporary UK establishment/intelligence services (Hart-Davies, -15 2012:12). Initially funded by the exiled Yemeni Royalist leadership and later by the Saudi government, the group purchased weapons and trained the Royalist armies in guerilla warfare. As a result, the Royalist forces achieved considerable success and halted the expanding control of the country by Republican/UAR troops, limiting their control to Hodeidah port, Sana'a and the connecting roads only. To maintain maximum offensive military pressure, aid was not



only procured from the Shah of Iran but more controversially (and without the knowledge of the Saudis/Royalist leaders), the BFLF mercenaries arranged covert weapon drops from Israel. Eager for Nasser's forces to be tied-up and weakened fighting in Yemen as long as possible, over a two-year period unmarked Israeli air force planes entered Yemeni airspace and dropped over a dozen large-scale weapons caches for the BLFL to equip the Royalist forces.

Unable to win and with mounting casualties, Nasser began to systematically withdraw his forces from mid-1965 as part of a coordinated 'peace' process (Jeddah agreements). This was temporarily reversed in late 1966 due in part to the ill-advised publication of the British government White Paper which announced (against the stated government policy of maintaining Aden base indefinitely) the intention to quit Aden in 1968 which was

vindication for Nasser of his anti-British policies in Yemen and Aden. Nasser reversed the withdrawals and increased support for the anti-British factions in Aden in the "...grim war" (Paget, 1969 :260) and the UK's only clear cut counter - insurgency defeat in the post-Colonial era (Mockaitis, 1993: 8 - 9 ) which resulted eventually in the deaths of dozens of British soldiers and hundreds of civilians (Jones, 2014 :192). Despite this, after a heavy defeat in the Six-Day War, a full withdrawal of UAR forces was complete by late 1967.

### Consequences/Legacy

With Britain humiliatingly forced to "scuttle" (Jones, :191 2014) from Aden earlier than planned in 1967, although portrayed as a 'win' for Nasser and his brand of militant socialist Arab Nationalism, in reality, the wider Yemen campaign was a spectacular defeat. In over five years of bitter fighting the Republican/UAR forces suffered over 50,000 casualties with





over 10,000 men killed (Walker, 2004:127); indeed it has been said that Nasser later came to look upon the campaign as "...his Vietnam" (Hart-Davies, 2012:19). Nasser's defeat ended his vision of a single unified Arab state, and his other key aim of the "annihilation" (Hart-Davies, 2012 :6) of the state of Israel also did not materialize. The low morale of the battle-weary UAR conscript forces (plus 1/3 of the army still stationed in Yemen) contributed to the success of the pre-emptive Israeli strikes in June 1967 resulting in the swift conclusion of the Six-Day War. As a result, Nasser effected a complete troop withdrawal by Oct 1967, Sallal was removed to exile in a coup, and the new

Republican leadership garnered Soviet military assistance to defend Sanaa against the massed ranks of Royalist militia on its perimeter. The Royalist armies were then systematically worn down until in late 1968 the Civil War was effectively over.

With the British withdrawal from Aden resulting in the new Marxist People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) and increased Soviet influence in the republican YAR regime, this merely exchanged one existential threat for another for the Gulf monarchies. Furthermore, post-Civil War stability remained elusive with conflict between the two new Yemeni states occurring in 1972 and 1979 and a brief civil

war in 1994 following unification as the Yemen Arab Republic in 1990. The war also saw the end of Nasser's vision of a wider UAR under Egyptian 'leadership' and for the destruction of Israel. The Middle Eastern political landscape has changed significantly since the (North) Yemen Civil War with the withdrawal of British colonial rule and the ending of the Cold War/Soviet interference. Previously dominant Arab nations have also been surpassed by independent, wealthier and more progressive Middle Eastern states and newer threats have emerged. In this era of change one aspect remains constant however; the challenge of Yemeni instability and how best to overcome it.

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# Homelessness in Dublin: Opportunities and Challenges

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**T**he Republic of Ireland is an island in the northern Atlantic Ocean, with a population of 4.8 million people. The total number of homeless people living in the capital of Ireland has recently increased considerably and has a devastating impact on the health and welfare of young families as well as their children. This long-term homeless crisis in Dublin not only ruins the fabric of society, but also has devastating impact on the economic competitiveness of Ireland and its national security.

This article is an attempt to explore the issue of homelessness in Dublin, to examine the link between homelessness and national security, and identify sustainable, practical, and innovative solutions that are considered by the Irish government jointly with other relevant stakeholders to alleviate homelessness.

Ireland's homelessness crisis is associated with "scarring" effects as it damages the physical and mental health of populations of different age groups, contributes to quick deterioration of family relationships, results in anxiety and reduced socialization, increases the risks of long-term unemployment, widens racial disparities, and contributes to vulnerability of the country on





the international arena (Lambert, O'Callaghan and Jump 2018). According to credible statistical data provided by Focus Ireland, there were approximately 10,000 homeless persons in the first month of 2018 across Ireland (Lambert, O'Callaghan and Jump 2018). The percentage of homeless families in Dublin has increased by above 20% since 2017 (Harris 2018). The Department of Housing confirms that there were above 150 persons sleeping rough on the territory of Dublin (Harris 2018). Although family homelessness reports are updated each month, Focus Ireland emphasizes that the percentage of families losing their homes in Dublin is continuously increasing. Broadly speaking, pervasive

homelessness in Dublin is caused by multiple structural, economic, and personal factors, including the following: the presence of the broken and inefficient housing system, lack of affordable housing opportunities, massive family breakdown, and severe crisis in the private rented sector (Culhane 2016). This evidence suggests that dysfunctional and ineffective private rented sector, poor government support, and insufficient social housing are the most common factors that explain widespread homelessness in Dublin.

The government of the country at local, regional, and national levels is directly responsible for designing,







enacting, and implementing regulatory policies purported to combat homelessness. In an attempt to overcome this complicated issue, the government of the country has launched an official Homelessness Policy Statement that is proposed to put an end to this serious issue by adopting a so-called “housing-led” approach that focuses on the provision of safe and secure housing (O’Sullivan 2016). In 2016, a professional Homelessness Oversight Group was created to control and measure the progress of the country towards eliminating homelessness. The government

of the country utilizes a wide range of mechanisms to minimize the number of persons sleeping rough, strengthen the provision of emergency as well as long-term accommodation, lessen the amount of time Irish families spend with their children in emergency homes, and strengthen the physical and mental health of the homeless (O’Sullivan 2016). In order to combat chronic homelessness, the government of the country offers high-quality training and education and empowers people who have experienced long-term homelessness to work as tour guides of their native town as this innovative

strategy enables them to recover, combat depression and anxiety, strengthen their spiritual health, and earn a living (Wood 2017). In addition, the government of Ireland promotes peer-working as this innovative approach enables people who experienced homelessness in the past to support individuals who are currently homeless. This strategy is useful because peers have a clear understanding of the severe reality of homelessness and are aware of multiple barriers faced when accessing caring services (Wood 2017).

Regardless of the fact that having a safe and





secure place to call home is recognized as one of the fundamental human rights, long-term homelessness in Dublin is a sad and painful reality. Implementation of sustainable local and national solutions is fundamentally important because widespread and long-term homelessness in Ireland threatens national security, including its citizens of the country, economy, and institutions. The government should develop and implement innovative solutions to this pressing issue to stabilize the health of people through shelter, demonstrate that they are listened to and respected,

enable them to move forward, and contribute to the health and wellness of these marginal groups. Although the UAE does not suffer from homelessness, the UAE may consider Ireland's innovative solutions and courses of action to tackle any future challenges.

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# The Effectiveness of UAE Outward FDI in Gaining Political Influence

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**T**he UAE as a relatively young nation has been investing in oil revenues and surpluses by creating Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs) to ensure stability and diversification. Today, the UAE is among the top countries in the size of its wealth funds spearheaded by Abu Dhabi Investment Authority and followed by Mubadala, Invest AD, and The Investment Corporation of Dubai plus others with total assets valued at more than 1 trillion US Dollars. (Largest Sovereign Wealth Funds, 2018).

This article aims to analyze the international political economy tools used by the UAE and its effectiveness in strengthening the UAE at the global stage. The effectiveness of foreign investments and financial aid vary between countries and in many cases, years of large investments both in direct outward investments and in financial aids were not effective in gaining the desired influence.

In the current global political situation, the UAE cannot repeat the Pakistan scenario; billions of dollars were invested over decades yet Pakistan chose to remain neutral and refused to aid the Arab Coalition in Yemen. A similar scenario occurred with the UAE's relationship with





Somalia. The UAE has provided more than 440 million USD in developmental assistance and humanitarian aid to provide technical expertise in military training and equipment to assist the Somali government in its development and security efforts.

These initiatives might have been a great relief to the Somali people but it did not withstand the test of time as the UAE-Somali diplomatic relations were strained when Somali forces detained Emirati military instructors and seized 9.6 million USD on board an Emirates plane under pressure and influence of Qatari ties to the current government. On the investment side and across the border from Somalia, DP World, a Dubai based Multi-National Corporations (MNC) with operations in 40 countries around the world, has invested

in Djibouti by building and operating Doraleh Container Terminal in exchange for 33% ownership stake since 2006. In 2017, the Djibouti government issued laws to end DP World's concession agreement and to terminate their operations contract of the container terminal. Moreover, it rejected the reconciliation attempts and the London Court of International Arbitration (LCIA) ruling. (Dudley, 2018)

FDI is one of the vital economic drivers that countries aspire to attract to its economy in order to reap its benefits. It acts as the main driver to job creation and sustaining profitable work for local businesses by assigning contracts and paying high salary jobs. The main objectives of creating SWFs in the UAE are; creating economic stabilization, creating a long-term saving

vehicle and direct and indirect aid in economic development, and more recently increasing non-oil dependency and economic diversification efforts. The SWFs are categorized into two categories; first and second generations, depending on their mandate of creation. The first generation of SWFs aims at investing oil revenue surpluses in equity and high-value assets in developed countries. The second generation of SWFs is dynamic in nature as it acts as an outward FDI driver for the UAE as well as a catalyst for economic diversification efforts by kick-starting emerging industries in the local economy. (Rutledge, n.d.) In the UAE, ADIA is a typical example on the first generation of SWFs while Mubadala is a perfect example on the second generation of SWFs.

The level of effectiveness in utilizing the economic instruments of nations in gaining political influence varies depending on the country and its circumstances. While some countries use their funds in financial and humanitarian aid, others use state-owned enterprises to push a political agenda and national interests. One of the major uses of investments for political influence is the Chinese checkbook diplomacy; which was once used by Taiwan in exchanging investments in African countries for political recognition and now is reversed by massive Chinese investments in the African continent. The clear evidence of this influence is the Chinese push of its investment recipient countries to denounce their recognition of Taiwan as a sovereign state. China repeated this act of imposing a condition of financial investment and military aid on countries in both Africa and Latin America.

Another example of the use of the economic instrument in serving the national interests of a country is weapons sales. A great example is how the Qatar government spent millions of dollars on lobbyists and think-tanks to influence the public opinion and the U.S. leadership against the accusations of the boycotting Arab Quartet: Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kingdom of Bahrain, and Egypt. With the start of the political rift between the quartet and Qatar in the summer of 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump had called Qatar in a press conference as being a sponsor



of terrorism. This was changed within a few days after signing a deal to sell 36 combat aircraft to Qatar, a deal of 12 billion USD with the option to double the number in the future. The press statement by the Pentagon following the deal softened the U.S. President's previous statement and substituted it with the aim of increasing security cooperation between the two nations.

Finally, while covering financial aid, it is important to pay attention to international organizations that act as lenders to developing countries such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank dedicates 25-20 billion USD for financial aid and development projects around the world. Yet, those loans are usually conditional to specific requirements and fiscal performance of countries are closely monitored to ensure adherence to it. Some would argue that such conditions are compromising the sovereignty

of nations, as some of the main requirements are to liberalize economic activities, which benefit the multinational corporations.

The UAE is at a great standing when it comes to the diplomatic, information and financial tools used to gain political influence both regionally and globally. Yet, these tools require a clear strategic direction and specialized organizational and execution structures. The following are recommended policy options to consider for capitalizing on current achievements and overcoming any possible challenges.

### **Maintain Status Quo**

The UAE government stays on the current course of separating investments and financial aid from any strategic or political agenda. SWFs and private outward FDI will continue to operate on a pure commercial basis, which will preserve the country's standing as a strong financial powerhouse without violating





Santiago principles. On the other hand, the flow of financial aid will continue to go to friendly countries whether during environmental crises or dire economic situations requiring sweeping interventions. Although this option does not require any effort or structural changes to the way things currently operate, yet it does not resonate with the political ambitions of the UAE.

#### **Aggressive Approach/ Checkbook Diplomacy (Chinese Model)**

Another option for the UAE government to consider is emulating the aggressive Chinese checkbook diplomacy. This will guarantee political influence to a certain extent, yet that influence will be limited and exerted only on countries that have limited influence on the global stage. In addition, such an approach has negative ramifications on the UAE's reputation in the long run, as it will affect its existing diplomatic and financial relationships. A

similar approach will be difficult for a country the size of the UAE, which depends heavily on exports, and economic relations with the global system. One of the challenges facing China for adopting the checkbook diplomacy is the growing reluctance of countries to accept Chinese investments to avoid any repercussions or falling in possible debt traps. Considering the current political and economic context of the UAE, it is evident that the challenges of this approach outweigh its benefits.

#### **Hybrid Model**

The recommended approach for the UAE is to create a hybrid model of directing investments and financial aid towards serving the national interest of the country and increasing its political influence. Investments from Sovereign Wealth Funds, state-owned enterprises and UAE private companies of specific volume have to be approved by the Soft (now Smart) Power Council

to ensure its alignment with the national interests of the UAE and to maximize its influence effects by supporting it with other means of state instruments. Moreover, it is important to set up a clear mechanism to ensure the profitability of the commercial aspects of those investments and financial aid deposits and to provide guarantees from financially aided countries to adhere to the agreed-upon political conditions. This approach along with the current weapons procurement programs will ensure the preservation and advancements of the national interests of the UAE to match its progressive vision.

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# The Lessons of Strategy in History: Visiting the Louvre Abu Dhabi Museum

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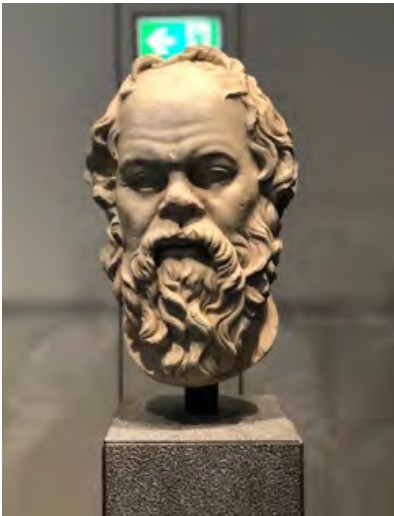


**I**n November 2017, the Louvre Abu Dhabi officially opened to the public. What makes the Louvre Abu Dhabi unique is its universal approach to interpreting the human experience throughout history and across cultures. Unlike traditional art museums organized by region and time periods, the Louvre Abu Dhabi organizes art based on shared themes and ideas that shed a common light on life that the different colors of human experience are merely reflections of a single source of human light.

In addition to the beauty of its collections and architecture, a thoughtful visit to the Louvre Abu Dhabi provides a window into the strategy lessons of history. With artifacts from great civilizations, such as the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, Islamic Civilization and Europeans, visitors come into contact with the vestiges of the past. While technology has changed the circumstances of human experience, a study of history suggests human nature has not changed. This is the basis of the argument that history repeats itself.

Visiting the Louvre Abu Dhabi is an integral part of the elective NDC 4021 Thucydides and Machiavelli, where participants discuss lessons learned from two





influential classical strategists: the Athenian military historian Thucydides and the Italian political scientist Niccolo Machiavelli. What follows is a sample of lessons in strategy from the NDC elective that are highlighted in the visit to the Louvre Abu Dhabi.

Above is a funerary pot from Boeotia, Greece, 400-450 BCE. Boeotia (the capital is Thebes), was an ally of Sparta

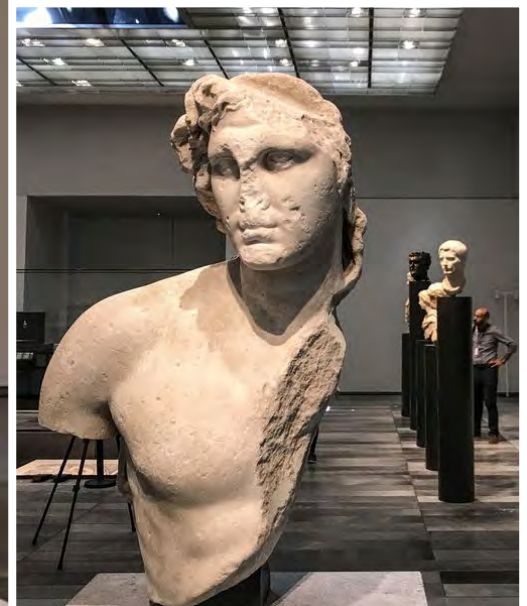


in the Second Peloponnesian War (404-431 BCE). Spartan allies had convinced Sparta to declare war against Athens because they argued that the growth of Athenian power was destined to change the balance of power in the Greek world, which was then dominated by Sparta. However, after ten years of fighting there was a stalemate and Athens and Sparta agreed to stop fighting signing the Peace of Nicias in 421 BCE. Some Spartan and Athenian allies such as Thebes, Megara,



Corinth, and Argos were upset with the Peace of Nicias because it did not secure them against Athenian aggression and expansion. Therefore, these smaller allies conspired to induce Sparta and Athens to break the Peace of Nicias and resume the war. The above funerary pot is from that period and is possibly a decoration of the grave of a nobleman from Boeotia who witnessed these





events. Lessons in strategy from seeing this funerary pot include questions about the trade-offs of peace negotiations. Often larger powers do not want to involve smaller allies in peace negotiations because they risk making the negotiations fail; but at the same time, if the smaller allies are not involved in a peace treaty, they can often become spoilers.

The Louvre Abu Dhabi has a bust of the famous Greek philosopher Socrates (399–470

BCE). Socrates taught in Athens during the Peloponnesian War, with famous students such as Plato. While there are many lessons in history connected to Socrates, his bust in the Louvre Abu Dhabi reminds us of one of his students whose rhetoric and military leadership shaped the outcomes of the Peloponnesian War. Alcibiades (404–450 BCE) was a pupil of Socrates and convinced the Athenian assembly to undergo a disastrous military campaign

in Sicily in 415 BCE, which broke the Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta and arguably set the conditions for Athens' eventual defeat in the war. At different times in the war, Alcibiades worked for the Athenians, Spartans, and Persians. At first glance, Alcibiades is an example of a traitor and the dangers of being persuaded by a gifted orator. However, a closer look at Alcibiades offers insights into the role of empathy in





successful strategic thinking and influencing. As Alcibiades understood Athenian, Spartan, and Persian thinking, he could anticipate each's tactical, operational, and strategic moves. Empathy is a defining characteristic of an effective strategist. Moreover, during wartime, a country might know a leader who is capable as a strategist and influencer, but might be unsure of their loyalties. Many might dismiss the person as one who cannot be trusted. However, in times of war, leaders might have no better options than employing the services of a leader who possess empathy and influence over the warring parties, even though the country does not trust the person's loyalty. The lesson in strategy is that just because you might not trust someone's loyalty does not mean you cannot use their/ them to help your side gain an advantage in war.

On display at the Louvre Abu Dhabi is the sword of the last Emir of Granada, Abu Abdullah Mohammed XII

(1460-1533), known as Boabdil in Spanish. He was forced to surrender the city of Granada in Al-Andalous on January 2, 1492 to the Spanish King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella. In the same month, Ferdinand and Isabella agreed to finance the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus' ambitious expedition to India via the Atlantic Ocean (instead, Columbus discovered the American continent). Machiavelli praised King Ferdinand II in his famous book 'The Prince' for how he used religion and territorial expansion to secure his kingdom's interests. Seeing the sword of Boabdil while studying Machiavelli inspires students of strategic studies to ask probing questions about the factors leading to the rise and fall of civilizations and how strategic leadership is a vital factor to a nation's fate.

Lastly, geographical instruments are important tools in strategy. The Louvre Abu Dhabi has a fascinating exhibition on maps and geography, including a section with astrolabes. The astrolabe

was the iPhone of the Middle Ages and Arab and Islamic engineers were its masters. It measures the position and altitude of the stars to tell time and to calculate geographic position. It was invented by Babylonians, developed by the Greeks, and perfected by the Arabs. It held major importance for navigating on the high seas and was used by European explorers such as Christopher Columbus. Looking at a collection of astrolabes at the Louvre Abu Dhabi inspires thoughts of how a civilization can regain the scientific expertise and innovative edge it once enjoyed in the past.

These are just a few examples of how a visit to the Louvre Abu Dhabi can aid strategic studies. As an institution that develops the strategic thinking of its participants, the National Defense College is fortunate to have a treasure like the Louvre Abu Dhabi nearby to help discover and illustrate the lessons of strategy in history.

# Information Warfare and the Rise of Computational Propaganda: a New Security Dilemma?

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**P**ropaganda has a new face or at least a new means of transmission. As contemporary headlines attest, there is a rise in the use of different internet platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to spread propaganda. Whether it is Russian information warfare techniques used in Ukraine and the United States or ISIS e-magazines, propaganda has moved online.

This rise of this so-called 'Computational Propaganda' (CP) presents an increasing challenge to governments worldwide as state and non-state actors increasingly use online platforms to achieve their strategic objectives. The increasing prevalence of this phenomenon also leads to an important question, "Does the rise in use of online platforms for information warfare constitute a new security dilemma?"

The short answer to this question is yes. To begin to understand why this is the case, we must first define what we mean by 'Computational Propaganda' (CP). While there are a number of ways to define this term, the work of the Computational Propaganda Project (CPP) within the Oxford





Internet Institute (OII) is the clearest and the most concise. The CPP defines 'computational propaganda' as:

"The use of algorithms, automation, and human curation to purposefully distribute misleading information over social media networks"<sup>1</sup>.

This definition has three important terms that distinguish computational propaganda from other forms of propaganda. These terms focus on the way propaganda

is spread and represent a qualitatively different challenge than that facing governments even ten years ago.

By taking advantage of algorithms and automation on social media platforms such as Twitter, state and even non-state actors can control the flow of information concerning their chosen target. This is done through creating 'trending topics' using automated programs called 'bots'. A 'bot' is a software program that is

used to control an account linked to Twitter's Application Programming Interface or API (the communication protocol that handles the posting of each contribution or 'tweet' to the Twitter network). Taking advantage of how Twitter posts new information (denoted queuing), actors can create a trending topic simply by increasing the number of mentions a topic has and asking others to comment or forward their own comment.





As the number of mentions increases, the topic steadily rises to the top of the Twitter feed, exposing it to more and more accounts. Eventually, it becomes a trending topic thus controlling the discussion. For example, 45 percent of Twitter activity in Russia is controlled by these type of accounts.

From a strategic standpoint, this also represents a profound change in how information warfare is conducted in terms of the narratives and counter

narratives communicated to both target and even non-target audiences. This change is profound in three ways:

- The number of narratives that are communicated
- The speed with which narratives spread to and beyond the target audience
- How far the information spreads in both friendly and adversarial social networks.

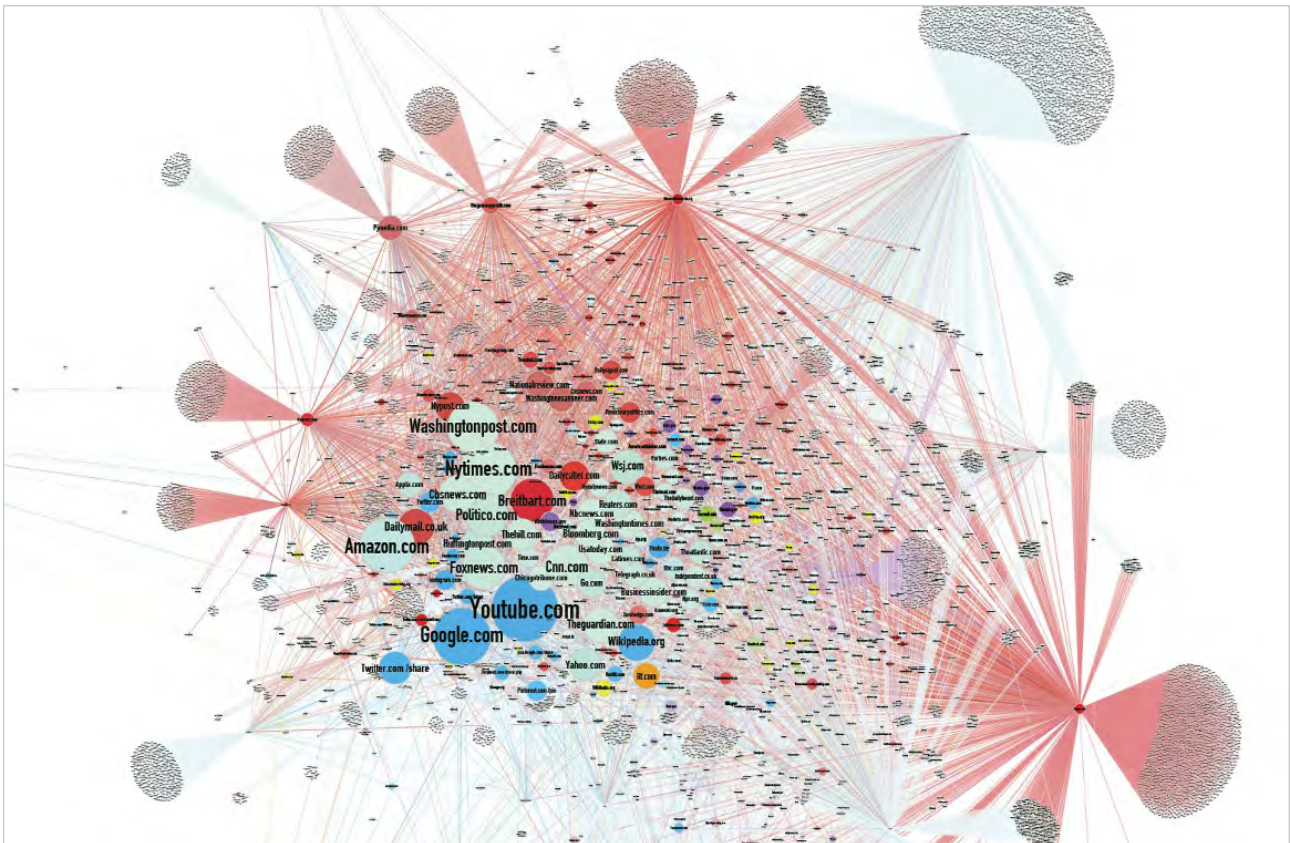
When combined with human actors whose objective is to stir up conflict and controversy (denoted as 'trolls')

both state and non-state actors have the ability to control the conversation over international events and even destabilize the dialogue of their adversaries' domestic narratives.

This has been amply demonstrated by the Russian information warfare campaigns waged in the past five years – first in Ukraine over the downing of Malaysian Airlines flight MH17 over eastern Ukraine in April 2014 and later in the 2016 US presidential election.

Now that these





information warfare campaigns have proven effective, governments are scrambling to find effective ways to detect these 'bots' and 'trolls' in order to control alleged 'fake news'. Herein lies the security dilemma – as state and non-state actors develop increasingly sophisticated methods to detect these programs, their adversaries will develop increasingly sophisticated means to avoid detection.

An example of this is the use of Artificial Intelligence to create ever more realistic accounts and images to avoid detection. This technology will be widely used in future information warfare campaigns and represents a significant challenge not just for governments, but for all citizens as they attempt to discern what is 'real' and what is 'fake' news.

One possible solution to this new security dilemma

is for actors to reach a more formal agreement on the rules of engagement when it comes to information warfare – an ostensible 'digital' Geneva Convention. In practice, this would be hard to enforce given the difficulty in attributing bots or trolls to a specific actor, especially in real time.

A second possible solution would be for governments or even more likely private sector companies, to develop a forensic tool that would be able to authenticate content, be it audio, video or written, before it is uploaded. This would be analogous to a digital fingerprint and represents a more manageable solution as there are currently private sector companies working on such tools based on blockchain technology. The concept here is to create a unique digital signature at the moment the content is created and then to

record it on a file that can be viewed by anyone who wants to identify the author.

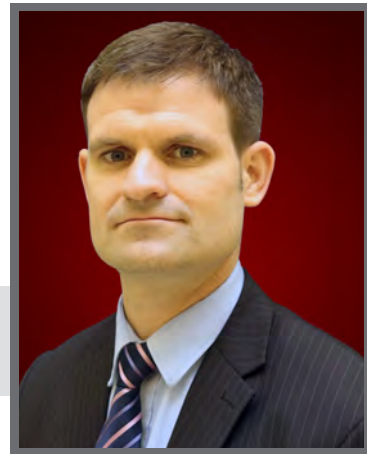
The essential point here is that the rise in computational propaganda reflects not an aberration but an adaptation of the principles of information warfare. As new technologies emerge, all actors, be they private, public or even voluntary, will have to deploy increasingly innovative means to achieve their ends and thus achieve their objectives. By addressing the challenge of this new security dilemma we can turn it into an opportunity.

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# China's Aircraft Carrier Development: a Great Leap Backward?

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**I**t is interesting to speculate about future developments in the Chinese military in light of a continuing analysis of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Recent reports indicate that Beijing plans to build multiple aircraft carriers. The possibility of a rising superpower with aircraft carriers has generated a deep interest in China's military ambitions. Lost in the concern, however, is the issue of whether or not a carrier is congruent with Beijing's strategic needs.

While carriers and their accompanying battle groups are surely a sign of national power and prestige, both of which Beijing's seeks, there is a reason to question the strategic value of carriers.

The task of building and testing a new carrier costs billions of dollars. According to former American Admiral Stansfield Turner, American carriers currently cost more than \$10 billion each. Turner, a former CIA director and commander of NATO's Southern flank, went so far as to call aircraft carriers "superfluous" and not essential in modern warfare. What made his comments particularly interesting is that they were not aimed at dissuading Beijing from developing a carrier, but were directed at the U.S.



navy. He delivered his startling message in the “Proceedings” magazine, the Navy’s semi-official publication.

On the modern battlefield, with few exceptions, carriers are fast becoming a weapons system of the past. They were indispensable when bombing Japan in WWII and in the Vietnam War, but even against Japan, they suffered grievous losses when attacked by Kamikazes. In an age when precision-guided munitions can be launched from underwater or from a much smaller surface combatant, carriers are becoming too vulnerable and thus are increasingly obsolete.

As of 2018, China had less than 20 accredited naval pilots after more than seven years of intensive training. In addition, most Chinese naval pilots can only fly in two of the four required weather conditions (normal and complicated daylight.) It was only in May 2018 that the Chinese navy announced its first nighttime take-offs

and landings on a carrier. Commentators often overlook the difficult and dangerous art of takeoff and landing. According to the U.S. National Defense Magazine, in 1954 alone the Americans reportedly lost 776 naval aircraft. Many were lost trying to master jet takeoffs and landings. Even in 1999, 22 advanced naval aircraft were lost. Is Beijing prepared to lose



its top fighter jets and pilots in training accidents before they are even tested in combat?

A primary reason behind Beijing's program is not so much strategic, but psychological. The Chinese feel they cannot become a great power without having an operational carrier. The "mianzi" (face) factor must not be overlooked here. The Chinese people and their leaders want to be perceived as a great power comparable to the Americans and the development of a carrier is seen as a necessary step in this direction. A carrier project can extend a nation's political and military power to all parts of the globe even if they are vulnerable. It is in large part because of this that the Chinese navy will field a fully operational carrier in the not too distant future.

The resources required to produce a carrier are enormous. Over the past two decades, the Chinese military has been wise in its allocation of funds to develop a modern military that can fight "limited wars under high technological conditions." The foreign acquisition and indigenous development of submarines and destroyers testify to this.

Although China has participated in anti-piracy activities near Somalia and has sent naval vessels to the far corners of the globe, these actions do not yet constitute a viable Chinese blue water navy that has the ability to conduct sustained combat operations thousands of miles from China. However, as China's maritime interests continue to expand.



Beijing will increasingly feel the need to protect the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) that help fuel its growth. With 95-100 percent of China's trade with the Middle East, Africa and Europe transiting the northern Indian Ocean, Beijing feels justified in building a navy that can protect its interests. The real question is will a carrier with all its potential vulnerabilities and costs be more useful to China in this endeavor than dozens of smaller, faster and cheaper ships that together would cover a much larger area of water?

While Beijing maintains that its 'Belt and Road Initiative' is not centered on strategic concerns, Chinese leaders do feel the need to protect their assets abroad and have opened a military base in Djibouti. While this base is not yet at full capacity, it would be a convenient place for a carrier to make a port visit.

In terms of greater strategic importance, however, a carrier force may constitute a step backward in China's military modernization. China's advancements in asymmetric warfare, while not a great





contribution to power projection, have been of significant concern to the Americans. In the event of a confrontation over Taiwan, the Americans would have to gauge just how close they could get to the island that China claims as its own. China's investments in missile technology and submarines are seen as a clear and present danger to any approaching American aircraft carrier battle group. This is in stark contrast to 1996 when two American carrier groups cruised close to the island while Beijing was conducting live fire

exercises in the Taiwan Strait.

A China that is preoccupied with building a weapons system that reached its peak in the twentieth century is not a China that will be capable of facing the security challenges of the 21st century. It is for this reason that those in Washington as well as in Asia who view China's military modernization as a threat should encourage China to develop a weapons system that may be obsolete before it is even fully operational.

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# The Importance of Organizational Identity in ANSF

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**T**he Resolute Support Mission (RSM) was established January 1, 2015 to assist in the continued development of Afghanistan's National Security Forces (ANSF). Despite the improvement in the ANSF, the organization has recruitment, retention, and public trust challenges. These challenges are in part the result of a larger problem that RSM has not addressed, and this is essential in establishing an enduring security force in Afghanistan.

## Background

Unit cohesion is a central factor in the recruitment, retention, and functionality of the ANSF. Four interrelated components are required for group cohesion within a military organization: peer (horizontal), leader (vertical), organizational, and institutional bonding. (Siebold, 2007) Organizational and institutional bonding are of particular importance to the ANSF as these two components look at the relationship between personnel and their structural and institutional organization. In other words, it looks at the relationships between soldiers and their unit and soldiers and their organization. A positive organizational and institutional relationship is particularly difficult for the ANSF, which is





ethnically diverse, plagued with corruption, and has a history of ethno-political conflict.

Developing soldiers' skill sets, providing materials, and removing corruption are only part of building a positive organizational and structural relationship among the ANSF; building a strong organizational identity is equally important, as it is a basis for institutional bonding. Organizational identity comprises the characteristics of an organization that are considered central distinctive and enduring, characteristics that members feel are fundamental (central), uniquely

descriptive (distinctive) of the organization, and persist (enduring) over time. (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 20) An organization's leadership must manage the organization's identity against competing internal and external identities, such as ethno-political identities in the case of Afghanistan. Organizational leaders manage their organization's identity by managing those central distinctive and enduring elements they consider important and this is done through organizational narratives.

The concept of organizational

narratives goes beyond the popular idea of narrative, which is just a buzzword for perception. An organizational narrative creates meaning, sets boundaries of interpretation, and provides the organization its identity. It tells members who they are and what it means to be part of the organization. Moreover, it tells outsiders what the organization is in a larger context. In the case of the ANSF, a strong organizational narrative and corresponding identity will build cohesion amongst its members and connects the ANSF to the larger national identity of Afghanistan.





### Impact on RSM's Mission

Organizational narratives as a means of understanding organizational identity can have a significant impact on how RSM conducts its training and assessment of the ANSF. Organizational narratives are now recognized as a form of data (Mitroff & Killman, 1976), a theoretical framework (Pentland, 1999), and a methodological approach (Boje, 2001). These works and others define organizations as storytelling systems. As such, narrative understanding has affected socialization processes (Brown M. H., 1986), learning (Tenkasi & Boland, 1993), and culture formation (Jordan, 1996) of institutions. Let us consider the following challenge at the Afghan National Training Command Training Advisory Group (ANATC TAG) and

a recent case study that demonstrates the importance of understanding the role of organizational narratives in an organization going through organizational identity and cultural change.

A challenge facing ANATC TAG concerns the organizational identity of ANATC in terms of a local (decentralized) identity versus a national (centralized) identity. ANATC-TAG sees this issue as affecting the Afghan National Army's perception of itself, what its mission is, and the future of ANATC as a 'national' institution, among other concerns. The advisory group believes that a better understanding of which identities are dominant in the organization will aid in the ANATC transition plan and provide advisors with the information necessary to

more effectively provide advice to ANATC on maintaining a positive relationship between the center (ANATC/MOD) and the regional commands.

A 2005 case study is illustrative of the role of organizational narratives in the continuity and change of organizational identity. Chreim conducted an empirical study on the continuity and changes in the organizational identity of the Bank of Montreal (BMO), a Canadian chartered bank. (Chreim, 2005) The study traced the narratives authored and employed by senior bank leadership between 1986 and 1997. Analysis indicated that senior manager narratives, which selectively reported the past, present, and future of the organization allowed for the change or maintenance of meaning,



values, and identifications within the organization. The study also revealed, however, that external narratives (in this case the press) could strengthen senior leadership narratives if in concordance and undermine them if in opposition. Similar to BMO, the ANSF consists of organizations attempting to create or change their organizational identities to create a cohesive and enduring national organization. Identifying, analyzing, and reporting the existing and competing organizational narratives will give advisors the knowledge to better assist the ANSF in its efforts.

RSM, Coalition Forces, and other organizations have conducted research and analysis on the development, effectiveness, and ethno-political challenges facing the ANSF; however, no one has looked at the development of the ANSF's organizational identity. Furthermore, no one has determined if the ANSF has institutional narratives that develop its organizational identity, if the leadership is promoting those narratives, and if those narratives and corresponding organizational identities are being socialized among the forces. This leads to three sets of questions: First, what are the ANSF's organizational identities (narratives) if they exist among the leadership? Are those organizational identities different at the center (ANATC/MOD) compared to the regions? Second, are those organizational identities

(narratives) socialized into the various ANSF organizations and what identities/narratives are challenging the organizational identities? Do members of the organizations view themselves as a national organization? Third, are the socialized identities (narratives) enduring? Do members of the organization keep the organizational identities after completing their training? As long as the Afghan Government and the Resolute Support Mission are unable to answer these questions, the ANSF will continue to have issues of recruitment, retention, and public trust.

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