

CHRISTOPHER M. DAVIDSON

# Dubai

*The Vulnerability of Success*

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

## CONTENTS

<i>Map</i>	viii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
1. The Birth of a Sheikhdom	9
<i>The early struggle</i>	9
<i>A breakaway state</i>	12
<i>Safeguarding neutrality</i>	14
<i>Political dependency on Britain</i>	17
<i>Economic dependency on Britain</i>	22
<i>Poverty and resistance</i>	29
<i>The Dubai reform movement</i>	32
2. From Arab Nationalism to Collective Security	39
<i>Evidence of imported Arab nationalism</i>	39
<i>Indigenous Arab nationalism and the Dubai National Front</i>	43
<i>Short term solutions: the Sudan connection</i>	51
<i>Long term solutions: the road to federation</i>	54
<i>The United Arab Emirates</i>	58
3. The Foundations of a Free Port	67
<i>Flourishing free trade</i>	67
<i>Textiles, gold, and electronics</i>	69
<i>Persian immigration</i>	71
<i>Abu Dhabi immigration</i>	76
<i>Sharjah immigration</i>	84
<i>Other Arab immigration</i>	87
<i>South Asian immigration</i>	89

## DUBAI

<i>Gambling on infrastructure</i>	91
4. The Diversification of the Economy	99
<i>Oil strategies</i>	100
<i>Oil limitations and the shadow of Abu Dhabi</i>	103
<i>Diversification – more commercial infrastructure</i>	106
<i>Diversification – light manufacturing and agriculture</i>	113
<i>Diversification – free zones</i>	114
<i>Diversification – tourism and leisure</i>	119
<i>Diversification – real estate</i>	128
<i>Superficial success</i>	135
5. Political Stability and the Ruling Bargain	137
<i>Strengthening a dynasty</i>	138
<i>Sheikh Muhammad's succession</i>	144
<i>Distributed wealth</i>	147
<i>Preserving the rentier elite</i>	151
<i>The patrimonial network</i>	153
<i>A hybrid government</i>	158
<i>Controlled political reform</i>	163
<i>Ideological, cultural, and religious resources</i>	167
6. The Dubai Paradox	177
<i>Rentier pathologies</i>	178
<i>Diversification pathologies</i>	182
<i>The expanding expatriate population</i>	189
<i>Loss of identity and the erosion of the ruling bargain</i>	193
<i>The labour nationalisation conundrum</i>	206
<i>Civil society and the media</i>	209
7. The Stability of the Federation	219
<i>Preserving flexibility</i>	220
<i>Federal incoherence</i>	224
<i>Federal integration and disintegration</i>	229
<i>Problems in Abu Dhabi</i>	234
<i>Problems in Sharjah</i>	249
<i>Problems in other emirates</i>	255

## INTRODUCTION

8. Security, Crime, and Terror	263
<i>Military power</i>	264
<i>The Western security umbrella</i>	267
<i>The Iranian threat</i>	271
<i>Other regional threats</i>	275
<i>Smuggling and contraband</i>	277
<i>Gunrunning and the Merchant of Death</i>	279
<i>Slavery and human trafficking</i>	282
<i>Money laundering and terror funding</i>	285
<i>A history of terror</i>	289
<i>The present threat of terror</i>	295
Notes	299
Bibliography	353
Index	365