

BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE TRUCIAL STATES PRIOR TO 1971

INTRODUCTION

MANY WILL HAVE VISITED THE UAE, FORMERLY CALLED THE TRUCIAL STATES AND SEEN AND MARVELLED AT ITS GARISH OPULENCE, TOWERING BUILDINGS, MAN-MADE CANALS, SHOPPING MALLS, INDOOR AQUARIUMS AND SKI SLOPS ETC. FEW MAY BE AWARE OF BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO ITS DEVELOPMENT DURING WHAT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS "THE END OF EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST".

[COVER SLIDE \(LIWA\)](#)

AIM

TO TELL YOU ABOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE SOUTHERN GULF FOR OVER 350 YEARS BETWEEN 1615 AND 1971, AND THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS THAT DEFINED OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REGION.

ORIENTATION

[MAP](#)

THIS MAP SHOWS THE PRESENT DAY BOUNDARIES OF THE UAE WITH QATAR, SAUDI ARABIA AND OMAN IN THE WEST AND SOUTH, ALSO DEFINED BY THE SOUTH COAST OF THE PERSIAN (OR ARABIAN) GULF IN THE NORTH, AND THE GULF OF OMAN IN THE EAST.

THE 7 EMIRATES OR PRINCIPALITIES WITH HEREDITARY EMIRS ARE:

- ABU DHABI THE LARGEST (300 MILES BY 150 MILES), THE SIZE OF BELGIUM, AND LATER THE RICHEST AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF ON AND OFF SHORE OIL FIELDS.
- DUBAI THE MOST ADVANCED AND INITIALLY THE MOST IMPORTANT AND GO-AHEAD. OFF SHORE OIL FIELDS EVENTUALLY DISCOVERED.
- SHARJAH THE FIRST STATE TO BE CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH GREAT BRITAIN, BUT ONE OF THE MOST TROUBLESOME IN TERMS OF OPPOSITION TO BRITISH INVOLVEMENT. HAD A QAWASIMI TRIBE RULER. GAS DEPOSITS FOUND.
- AJMAN THE SMALLEST GEOGRAPHICALLY WITH PERHAPS THE MOST POPULAR RULER WITH THE BRITISH.
- UM AL QAWAIN ONCE THE MOST IMPORTANT PORT IN THE AREA, BUT LATER BECAME OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE, OTHER THAN BY VIRTUE OF INTELLIGENT RULER, WHO OFTEN ACTED AS ARBITRATOR IN DISPUTES BETWEEN ITS NEIGHBOURS.

- RAS AL KHAIMAH ALSO OCCUPIED BY A QAWASIMI TRIBE RULER, EQUALLY DIFFICULT TO HANDLE. HE WAS USUALLY THE LAST TO AGREE ANYTHING RECOMMENDED BY THE BRITISH .
- FUJAIRAH THE ONLY STATE BORDERING THE GULF OF OMAN, CONTAINING THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF THE TRUCIAL STATES.

NOTE THE INTRICATE NATURE OF THE INTERNAL BOUNDARIES OF THE 6 NORTHERN STATES, BASED UPON TRIBAL LOYALTY, WHICH WERE EVENTUALLY DEFINED WITH BRITISH HELP WHEN THE PROSPECT OF OIL EXPLORATION REQUIRED SUCH DEFINITION – *EXPLAIN WITH EXAMPLES.*

PART 1 – PRE WWII

EARLY EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF

BRITAIN WAS NOT THE FIRST EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO GET INVOLVED IN THE GULF: THAT HONOUR LIES WITH THE PORTUGUESE WHEN IN 1506 ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE, BATTLED WITH SAFAVID PERSIA TO DOMINATE THE GULF.

HE CAPTURED SUCOTRA, BURNED KHOR FAKHAN AND SACKED FUJAIRAH IN THE TS, TOOK THE PERSIAN ISLAND OF HORMUZ WHICH DOMINATES THE ENTRANCE TO THE GULF (OCCUPIED FOR ABOUT 100 YEARS) AND ADVANCED INTO THE PERSIAN GULF AS FAR AS BASRA.

THEIR OBJECTIVES WERE TO BYPASS ARAB TRADERS AND DOMINATE THE MOST IMPORTANT TRADE ROUTE FROM EUROPE TO PORTUGUESE EAST INDIAN COMPANY TERRITORIES, I.E. MEDITERRANEAN SEA TO SYRIA, OVERLAND TO SOUTHERN IRAQ (BASRA), THENCE BY SEA THROUGH THE PERSIAN GULF AND GULF OF OMAN TO THE EAST (NOTE NO SUEZ CANAL THEN, AND TRAVEL BY SEA VIA THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TOOK LONGER). ALSO TO DETER REBELLIOUS ARAB TRIBES BY BUILDING FORTS AND TO PREVENT CHALLENGES FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

1615 BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY NEGOTIATED A TRADING AGREEMENT WITH SHAH ABBAS, AND A TRADING RESIDENCY WAS ESTABLISHED IN PERSIA. SAME YEAR SHAH ABBAS RETOOK HORMUZ ISLAND WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BEIC NAVY. PORTUGUESE THEN EJECTED FROM BANDAR ABBAS AND FROM RAS AL KHAIMAH IN 1620, AND FROM THE AREA ENTIRELY BY THE ARABS IN 1650.

FOR NEXT 100 YEARS BEIC LAGGED BEHIND THE DUTCH AND THE FRENCH WITH THEIR IMPERIAL EXPANSION IN THE GULF, AND TEMPORARILY WITHDREW FROM THEIR TRADING POSTS.

1763 BEIC RE-ESTABLISHED THEIR RESIDENCY IN BUSHIRE AND SUCCESSFULLY REPULSED A FRENCH NAVAL ATTACK ON THEIR BANDAR ABBAS TRADING POST.

ROYAL NAVY THEN SENT SHIPS IN THE GULF TO THWART FRENCH AMBITION AND PROTECT THE PASSAGE OF TRADE TO AND FROM INDIA. 1775 EVEN NELSON ARRIVED ON HMS SEAHORN.

BY 1775 ARAB RULE IN THE LOWER GULF HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED THROUGH A SUCCESSION OF SHEIKHS, WHO JEALOUSLY GUARDED THEIR TERRITORY AND INDEPENDENCE, OFTEN AT WAR WITH EACH OTHER, MAKING USE OF THEIR MARITIME SKILLS BY ROBBING EACH OTHER'S SHIPPING.

THE BRITISH CALLED IT "THE PIRATE COAST".

[PIRATE SLIDE](#)

1809 QAWASIMI PIRATES UNDERTOOK A BLOODTHIRSTY AND SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON THE BEIC MERCHANTMAN MINERVA, KILLING THE CREW AND CONVERTING THIS VESSEL TO THEIR PIRATE FLAGSHIP IN RAS AL KHAIMAH.

[RAK ATTACK SLIDE](#)

SAME YEAR 1809 EXPEDITION MOUNTED AGAINST RAK FROM BRITISH INDIA, WITH INFANTRY AND NAVAL VESSELS. RAK SACKED, 3 PIRATE BASES AND OVER 100 VESSELS DESTROYED, MINERVA RAN AGROUND ON SAND BANK. BEIC TROOPS THEN WITHDREW THINKING THEIR JOB DONE. AFTER 2-3 YEARS PIRATE ATTACKS CONTINUED AGAIN.

1819 BEIC MOUNTED A LARGER ATTACK ON THE 5 SHEIKHDOMS FROM RAK TO DUBAI TO BRING RULERS TO HEEL. THEY REMAINED IN SITU UNTIL A PEACE TREATY HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

[TREATIES AGREEMENT \(1\)](#)

1820 TREATY OF PEACE

- INVOLVES 5 RULERS ONLY (NOT ABU DHABI) PLUS BAHRAIN.
- BRITISH RECOGNISE THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

- RULERS WERE OBLIGED TO “REFRAIN FROM ATTACKS AND PLUNDER ON THE SEAS AND ON LAND AGAINST THIRD PARTIES, UNLESS AS A RESULT OF AN ACKNOWLEDGED ACT OF WAR”.
- LAST QUALIFICATION HAD THE EFFECT OF ALLOWING THE RULERS TO CONTINUE THEIR WAR-LIKE ACTS AGAINST EACH OTHER.

(EXPLAIN ARAB VIEW ON THE BEIC ATTACK AS GIVEN IN BOOK WRITTEN BY PRESENT RULER OF SHARJAH).

1835 TEMPORARY MARITIME TRUCE

TREATIES AGREEMENT (2)

NEGOTIATED AFTER CONTINUING ATTACKS AND SHEIKHS SIGNED A TRUCE, AGAIN AGREEING NOT TO ATTACK EACH OTHER BY SEA.

1822-47 ANTI-SLAVERY AGREEMENTS *(EXPLAIN EXTENT OF SLAVERY IN THE TRUCIAL STATES)*

TREATIES & AGREEMENT (3)

SEVERAL AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO WITH EACH RULER INDIVIDUALLY, INCLUDING ABU DHABI, TO “RESTRICT AND FINALLY ABOLISH THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES”.

1853 PERPETUAL MARITIME TRUCE SIGNED BY RULERS

TREATIES AGREEMENT (4)

- CONTAINED CLAUSES SAYING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING ITS OBSERVANCE.
- RN WERE ABLE TO STOP AND SEARCH DHOWS.
- THIS PREVENTED SLAVE IMPORTATION FROM EAST AFRICA (ZANZIBAR), BUT SLAVE MARKET IN AL AIN CONTINUED UNTIL 1950S, SLAVES BEING OBTAINED BY KIDNAP (BANDITRY), SHIPWRECKED MARINERS, OR INTER-TRIBAL RAIDS, OFTEN SOLD TO SAUDI ARABIA. MARKET EVENTUALLY CLOSED DOWN BY GOVERNOR OF AL AIN, SHEIKH ZAYID.
- “PIRATE COAST” RENAMED BY THE BRITISH “THE TRUCIAL STATES” (TRUCIAL COAST) AFTER THE TREATY.
- GULF BECAME A BRITISH LAKE, WITH PEACE AT SEA KEPT BY BEIC AND ROYAL NAVY.
- ENSURED NON-INTERFERENCE IN IMPORTANT PEARLING INDUSTRY.

BEIC POLICY ON TS PRIOR TO 1947

“SO LONG AS THE BRITISH CONTROLLED THE GULF WATERS, THEREBY, SAFEGUARDING TRADE ROUTES TO AND FROM INDIA, THEN THE BEIC WAS NOT GOING TO GET INVOLVED IN LOCAL POLITICS AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IN THE TRUCIAL STATES” – SIR DONALD HAWLEY

1892 EXCLUSIVE TREATY AGREEMENT

TREATIES AGREEMENT (5)

- RULERS UNDERTOOK NOT TO HAVE DIRECT RELATIONS WITH, NOR TO SELL OR CEDE LAND TO ANY FOREIGN POWER OTHER THAN THE BRITISH.
- BRITAIN ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND EXTERNAL DEFENCE, I.E. THE TRUCIAL STATES BECAME IN EFFECT PROTECTED STATES (NOT PROTECTORATES – *EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCE*. “*WHILE BOTH (UNLIKE COLONIES) REMAIN FOREIGN TERRITORY, IN A PROTECTORATE THE CROWN RESERVES THE POWER TO MAKE LAWS FOR ITS PEACE, ORDER AND GOOD GOVERNMENT, WHERE AS IN A PROTECTED STATE THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE RULER WAS RECOGNISED AND SUCH RIGHTS AS THE CROWN EXERCISED HAD TO BE ACQUIRED BY TREATY*” – GLEN BALFOUR PAUL).

1914-18 WAR DID NOT AFFECT TS MUCH DIRECTLY, BUT OMAN BEGAN TO SUFFER FROM IMAN’S REBELLION WHICH WOULD LATER BECOME OF SIGNIFICANCE TO THE TRUCIAL STATES.

TREATIES AGREEMENT (6)

1919 BOUNDARY DEFINED BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND ABU DHABI BY BRITISH AND OTTOMAN TURKS. S ARABIA OBJECTS:

- BECAUSE THEY CLAIMED HISTORICAL RIGHTS TO ABU DHABI TERRITORY.
- BECAUSE THEY CLAIMED THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND CERTAINLY WITHOUT THEIR APPROVAL.
- PERHAPS A DUBIOUS ACTION BY THE BRITISH, DESIGNED TO ENSURE ABU DHABI BENEFITED FROM OIL PROSPECTING IN THE LIWA ETC.
- THIS MATTER BECAME A MAJOR AND ON-GOING SOURCE OF ARGUMENT AND CONFLICT FROM THEN ON.

TREATIES AGREEMENT (7)

1913-32 OIL CONCESSION AGREEMENTS FOR ALL GULF STATES

- RULERS UNDERTOOK NOT TO AGREE TO ANY COMPANY CONDUCTING OIL PROSPECTING WITHOUT BRITISH AGREEMENT. TO KEEP OUT UNDESIRABLES LIKE OTTOMAN TURKS AND TO PROMOTE BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTEREST.
- 1930 OIL CONCESSION SIGNED BY RULERS WITH IRAQ PETROLEUM COMPANY (BRITISH OWNED) FOR EXPLORATION IN ABU DHABI. FIRST PROSPECTING BEGAN IN 1938.
- 1960 FIRST COMMERCIAL OIL DEPOSITS DISCOVERED IN MURBAN OIL FIELD – A SLOW START, 22 YEARS LATER!!

- 1962 OIL PRODUCTION BEGINS IN ABU DHABI, SOME 20-30 YEARS AFTER ITS SHEIKHLY COMPETITORS TO THE NORTH. TS CONSIDERED BY BRITISH TO BE THE LEAST DEVELOPED STATES IN THE GULF.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PEARLING

PEARLING SLIDE

- BY 1900 PEARLING HAD BECOME A MAJOR INDUSTRY IN THE GULF IN ALL INVOLVING SOME 4,500 BOATS AND SOME 74,000 MEN (NOT ALL FROM TS).
- GREAT SOURCE OF TAX (ZAQAT) FOR SEVERAL RULERS (ABU DHABI AND DUBAI) BRINGING IN £1.5M A YEAR IN TOTAL.
- 1930s JAPANESE CULTURED PEARLS PLUS THE GREAT DEPRESSION PUT AN END TO THIS INCOME.
- GOLD TRADING REPLACE IT IN DUBAI, BUT ALL THE OTHER TS BECAME EVEN MORE POVERTY STRICKEN.

AIRFIELDS

SHARJAH AIRFIELD

- 1932 SHARJAH CEDES LAND TO BRITISH ON WHICH THE FIRST HARD AIRFIELD RUNWAY WAS BUILT AS A STAGING AND REFUELLING POST FOR IMPERIAL AIRWAYS. FACILITIES FOR FLYING BOATS ESTABLISHED AT DUBAI AND RAS AL KHAIMAH. THE FIRST NON-POLITICAL PRESENCE OF BRITISH PEOPLE IN THE TS. SHARJAH GOT RENT FROM BRITAIN.
- 1939-45 WWII DID NOT AFFECT THE TS GREATLY, BUT THIS AIRFIELD BECAME EVEN MORE VITAL FOR RAF AND USAF REFUELLING. A SMALL RAF DETACHMENT WAS BASED THERE, REMAINING UNTIL 1971.

PART II POST WW II

POLITICAL SITUATION

SLIDE OF ATLEE

- NEW LABOUR GOVERNMENT, BRITAIN FINANCIALLY BROKE, LOSING INTEREST IN ITS EMPIRE, BUT STILL BESTRODE AND DOMINATED THE MIDDLE EAST LIKE A COLOSSUS.
- BRITAIN HAD BASES IN EGYPT AND IN ADEN, WHICH DOMINATED THE SUEZ CANAL, CONSIDERED TO BE THE JUGULAR VEIN OF THE EMPIRE.

- THE PALESTINE ISSUE CONTINUED TO BUBBLE AWAY, BUT 4 KINGS USUALLY FRIENDLY TO BRITAIN THEN RULED EGYPT, JORDAN, IRAQ AND EVEN SAUDI ARABIA.
- BRITAIN HAD TREATY ARRANGEMENTS WITH S. ARABIAN PROTECTORATE STATES (LAHEG AND MUKULLA), OMAN, AND THE GULF STATES.
- OIL PROSPECTS WERE GOOD AND BENEFICIAL FOR UK OWNED COMPANIES IN THE GULF (70% OF BRITAIN'S OIL CAME FROM THE AREA).
- SOVIET UNION CASTING ITS EYES OVER THE GULF OIL PRODUCING STATES AND AFRICA.
- IN 1945 WAR BROKE OUT BETWEEN DUBAI AND ABU DHABI WHICH CONTINUED UNTIL 1948 WHEN 50 RAIDING MANASIR TRIBESMEN LOYAL TO ABU DHABI, WERE KILLED BY DUBAI LOYALISTS. BRITAIN NEEDED TO GET MORE INVOLVED IN TS.
- ATLEE DECIDED UK MUST CONTINUE AND IMPROVE ITS PRESENCE IN THE GULF.

CHANGE OF POLICY

- 1947 BRITISH RESIDENCY MOVED FROM BUSHIRE IN IRAN TO BAHRAIN AND FOREIGN OFFICE TOOK OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR POLITICAL RESIDENT AND POLITICAL AGENTS/OFFICERS DEPLOYED IN THE GULF AND IN OMAN.
- POLICY CHANGED FROM ONE OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE TRUCIAL STATES TO ONE OF POSITIVE INVOLVEMENT, WITH 2 POLITICAL AGENTS/OFFICERS TO BE BASED IN THE COUNTRY.

PROBLEMS FACING THE POPULATION OF TRUCIAL STATES IN THE '40s & '50s – WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE?

SLIDE PROBLEMS

- CLIMATE, POVERTY (LOST INCOME FROM PEARLING AND OIL REVENUE NOT YET AVAILABLE); NO MAINS ELECTRICITY; NO SANITATION, NO TELEPHONES; NO PROPER HOSPITAL; NO PROPER SCHOOLS.
- **WATER PROBLEMS** **WATER SLIDE**
- **ROAD CONDITIONS** NO TARMAC ROADS. **SLIDE TRACKS**
- **LIVING CONDITIONS** PRIMITIVE. **SLIDE HOUSING**
- **SECURITY** BANDITRY, RAIDING, KIDNAPS **WILFRED THESIGER**
LINKS WITH EDWARD HENDERSON.
- LET US NOW LOOK AT THE BRITISH AND ARAB PERSONALITIES IN THE TS.

BRITISH POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

SLIDE PRs/PAS

- **POLITICAL RESIDENT** CALLED BY SHEIKHS IN ARABIC “FAKHAMAT RA’IS AL KHALEEJE” – “HIS EMINENCE THE CHIEF OF THE GULF” (I.E. TREATED AS A PARAMOUNT SHEIKH). SIR WILLIAM LUCE, VERY EXPERIENCED SENIOR DIPLOMAT, SERVED IN SUDAN, S. ARABIA (GOVERNOR OF ADEN), SKILLED IN HIS DEALINGS WITH GULF RULERS.
- **POLITICAL AGENTS** ALSO VERY ASTUTE ARABISTS, ALL BECAME ME AMBASSADORS IN DUE COURSE AND MOST AWARDED CMGs OR KNIGHTHOODS.

TASKS OF POLITICAL AGENTS

TASKS SLIDE

- SUBORDINATE TO POLITICAL RESIDENT IN BAHRAIN
- BRITISH GOVERNMENT’S REPRESENTATIVES IN TRUCIAL STATES
- PRESENTATION OF BRITISH VIEWS TO RULERS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE
- REPRESENTATION OF RULERS’ VIEWS TO POLITICAL RESIDENT AND BRITISH GOVERNMENT
- GENERAL ADVICE TO THE 7 RULERS ON COMMERCIAL, DEFENCE AND INTERNAL SECURITY MATTERS
- SETTLING DISPUTES BETWEEN RULERS
- MANAGEMENT OF TRUCIAL STATES DEVELOPMENT FUND
- PRESIDING OVER TRUCIAL STATES COUNCIL OF RULERS ESTABLISHED IN 1953
- JURISDICTION OVER NON-TRUCIAL STATES SUBJECTS.
- LOCAL POLITICAL DIRECTION OF TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES/SCOUTS

Explain slides and give examples from Donald Hawley’s Diary of their activities.

THE RULERS AND THEIR TERRITORIES

- **DUBAI** (*EXPLAIN EACH SLIDE*) **4 SLIDES**
- **SHARJAH** **3 SLIDES**
- **AJMAN** **1 SLIDE**
- **UM AL QAWAIN** **1 SLIDE**
- **RAS AL KHAIMAH** **2 SLIDES**
- **FUJAIRAH** **3 SLIDES**
- **ABU DHABI** **5 SLIDES**

THE FORMATION OF THE TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES IN 1951

HANKIN-TURVIN SLIDE

- FO HAD BEEN DISCUSSING FORMATION OF A GENDARMERIE FORCE IN THE TS TO HELP THE RULERS STOP SLAVERY AND TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER OUTSIDE OF THE TOWNS WHERE THE RULERS THEMSELVES KEPT ORDER WITH THEIR RETAINERS AND LATER POLICE FORCES.
- PA WAS SHOT AT IN 1950, RAIDING AND BANDITRY WERE RIFE, EVERYONE CARRIED A RIFLE AND WAS PREPARED TO USE THEM.
- DECISION TAKEN TO FORM THE TOL, USING SOLDIERS FROM THE JORDANIAN ARAB LEGION FIRST, UNTIL LOCAL ARABS COULD BE RECRUITED AND TRAINED. A DIFFICULT TASK AS LOCAL BEDU WERE NOT INTERESTED IN JOINING.
- SAUDI ARABIA OBJECTED: AFTER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BRITISH AND IBU SAUD, TOL SIZE LIMITED TO 100 MEN ONLY FOR 2 YEARS!

THE FIRST TOL ACTION TO HELP RULER OF RAS AL KHAIMAH – JULY 1952

SLIDE RAK & RAMS

- SHEIKH OF RAMS REFUSED TO ACCEPT AUTHORITY OF SHEIKH SAQR OF RAK.
- BOATLOAD OF ARMED SUPPORTERS OF RAMS SAILED FROM DUBAI AND CAPTURED FORT AT DHARYAH WITH SHIHU (OMANI TRIBE) SUPPORT.
- SAQR'S ATTEMPT TO REGAIN THE FORT FAILED, HIS MEN TOOK CASUALTIES AND HE ASKED FOR SUPPORT FROM THE TOL.
- TOL CAPTAIN (2IC) DROVE UP TO RAK WITH ONLY SOME 25 MEN AND MET WITH REBELS AND ARRANGED A TRUCE UNTIL 8 PM THAT NIGHT.
- PA OUT OF THE COUNTRY IN BAHRAIN, TRAVELLED BY RN SHIP IN HASTE TO RAK ARRIVING BEFORE THE TRUCE DEADLINE.
- DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN PA, RULER (WHO HAD BEEN INJURED IN HIS EYE) AND TOL 2IC AND DECISION TAKEN TO ATTACK THE REBEL OCCUPIED FORT.
- 60 SAILORS AND TOL EASILY CAPTURED THE FORT IN A NIGHT ATTACK. SHIHU TRIBESMEN TOOK TO THE NEARBY HILLS BUT CONTINUED TO FIRE AT THE BRITISH/JORDANIANS.
- DAWN PATROL BY TOL REVEALED THAT SHIHU HAD RETURNED TO OMAN TERRITORY.
- AUTHORITY OF SAQR RESTORED AND OTHER RULERS IMPRESSED.

THE NEXT TEST OF THE TOL – THE BURAIMI DISPUTE 1952-55

BURAIMI SLIDE

- STORY BEGINS IN 1949 WHEN SAUDIS CLAIMED VIRTUALLY ALL OF ABU DHABI (90% OF THE COASTLINE, THE LIWA AND ALL OF THE BURAIMI OASIS [ABU DHABI AND OMANI TERRITORY]).
- NEGOTIATIONS ACHIEVED NOTHING OTHER THAN A “STANDSTILL AGREEMENT” THAT NO SAUDI NOR ABU DHABI TROOPS WERE TO DEPLOY IN BURAIMI.
- BETWEEN 1950 AND 1952 SAUDIS SUCCESSFULLY WOODED OMANI TRIBES IN HAMASA AND BURAIMI VILLAGES, THROUGH BRIBERY, WEAPONS AND PAID FOR VISITS TO SAUDI. ABU DHABI VILLAGES REMAINED LOYAL TO SHAKHBUT AND ZAYID.
- IN AUGUST 1952 SHEIKH RASCHID BIN HAMED OF THE ABU SHAMIS TRIBE RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA, BRINGING WITH HIM 40 ARMED SAUDI MEN UNDER COMMAND OF EMIR TURKI BIN ABDULLAH TO OCCUPY RASCHID’S FORT AT HAMASA.
- THIS WAS CLEARLY A BREACH OF THE STANDSTILL AGREEMENT AND A TOL DETACHMENT WAS DESPATCHED TO AL AIN OCCUPYING FORT JAHILI.
- A LETTER SENT BY SAUDIS TO ALL LOCAL TRIBAL LEADERS INCLUDING TRUCIAL STATES RULERS, STATING THAT THIS ACTION HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT TO PROTECT THEIR CITIZENS AT THEIR OWN REQUEST.
- FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BRITISH DIPLOMATS AND SAUDIS ACHIEVED NOTHING OTHER THAN A SECOND STANDSTILL AGREEMENT.
- EDWARD HENDERSON, AN OIL COMPANY MAN TEMPORARILY SECONDED TO THE FO, WAS ASKED TO ACT ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS AS HE KNEW ALL OF THE LOCAL RULERS BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.
- MEANWHILE THE SULTAN OF OMAN HAD ASSEMBLED 8,000 TRIBESMEN TO THE SOUTH OF BURAIMI IN ORDER TO RECLAIM HIS TERRITORY. THE SECOND STANDSTILL AGREEMENT WAS A BAD DECISION BY THE BRITISH WHO WERE ACCUSED OF TREACHERY BY THE SULTAN AND BECAUSE IT DELAYED THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM BY A FURTHER 2 YEARS.
- TOL REINFORCED BY 60 MEN FROM THE ADEN PROTECTORATE LEVIES (APL) BUT THEY REFUSED TO ACCEPT BEING PLACED UNDER TOL COMMAND.
- IN MARCH 1953 TURKI BEGAN TO COLLECT ZAQAT (TAXES) ON BEHALF OF SAUDI ARABIA AND HIS TROOP NUMBERS AND VEHICLES HAD BEEN FURTHER REINFORCED FROM SAUDI ARABIA. ATTEMPTS TO COLLECT TAXES IN ABU DHABI VILLAGES WERE THWARTED BY FIRM TOL ACTION.

- ADDITIONAL TOL THEREFORE SENT TO AL AIN AND WITH THE HELP OF OMANI REGULARS, TURKI WAS BLOCKADED IN HIS FORT BY SEVERAL STATIC POSTS ESTABLISHED AROUND IT.
- REGULAR APL SOLDIERS THEN SENT BACK TO ADEN AND RETIRED APL SOLDIERS RECRUITED IN THEIR STEAD. THEY HAD NO LOYALTY TO ABU DHABI AND BEHAVED BADLY SELLING AMMO AND PETROL TO THE LOCALS AND BY BULLYING LOCAL TRIBESMEN.
- IN NOVEMBER 1953 2 LOCAL MEN WERE SHOT AND KILLED BY 4 ADENI SOLDIERS. AN UNARMED PARTY CONSISTING OF SQUADRON COMMANDER (THWAITES), RAF DOCTOR (DUNCAN), A JORDANIAN RSM AND 2 BRITISH NCOs, WENT OUT TO LOCATE AND ARREST THE ADENIS WHO HAD FLED THE SCENE. WHEN THEY FOUND THEM, THE ADENIS SHOT AND KILLED THWAITES AND DUNCAN, AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDED 2 OF THE REMAINING 3 LEVIES.
- SHEIKH ZAYID'S TRIBESMEN TRACKED THE CULPRITS AND ARRESTED THEM.
- THE TOL COMMANDER DISBANDED THE COMPANY AND REPLACED IT BY ANOTHER SQUADRON WITH LOCAL TROOPS.
- BANI KAAB, OMANI TRIBESMEN, CONTINUOUSLY HARRASSED LOCAL TOL SUPPLY CONVOYS. THE NEW SQUADRON COMMANDER, MACDONALD, SAID THAT DURING THE 6 MONTHS WHEN HIS SQUADRON WAS IN BURAIMI, ONLY 30 NIGHTS PASSED WITHOUT SHOOTING INCIDENTS – THE LONLIEST 6 MONTHS OF HIS LIFE, HE SAID.
- DISPUTE THEN SENT TO ARBITRATION AND TROOP LEVELS WERE LIMITED BY 3RD STANDSTILL AGREEMENT TO 15 MEN FROM EACH SIDE. TURKI LEFT BURAIMI FOR SAUDI ARABIA, REPLACED BY SAUDI POLICEMEN.
- TOL RECRUITS HEAVILY IN 1954, STRENGTH RAISED TO 3 SQUADRONS OF LOCAL TROOPS.
- JULY 1955 A FIRE OCCURRED AT HAMASA. TOL RELIEF COLUMN SENT FROM SHARJAH AND SUPPLIES WERE REFUSED BY SAUDI HEAD POLICEMAN. A FURTHER BANI KAAB ATTACK WAS MOUNTED AND REPULSED ON A TOL POST. SAUDIS BEGAN TO SEND MONEY AND WEAPONS TO THE OMANI REBELS IN THE JEBEL AKHDAR AREA TO UNDERMINE THE SULTAN'S AUTHORITY.
- IN SEPTEMBER 1955 ARBITRATION DISCUSSIONS BROKE DOWN AFTER SAUDIS INSULTED BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE JUDGES. BRITAIN DECIDED TOL SHOULD EJECT SAUDIS FROM HAMAS BY FORCE.
- 26 OCT 1953 ATTACK ON HAMASA MOUNTED BY 2 SQUADRONS. THE NORTHERN SQUADRON (STEGGLES) GOT INTO DIFFICULTIES WHEN THEY FOUND THE VILLAGE TO BE

OCCUPIED BY AN ESTIMATED 200 ARMED TRIBESMEN. THE SOUTHERN ATTACK (NORMAN SMITH) ON THE SAUDI POLICE POST WAS MORE SUCCESSFUL, THE COMMANDER AND HIS MEN WERE CAPTURED, BUT THE COMMANDER WAS WOUNDED WHILE TRYING TO FLEE WITH A CHEST OF SILVER. A NIGHT ATTACK WAS PLANNED BY THE SOUTHERN SQUADRON TO RELIEVE THE ONE IN THE NORTH. MEANWHILE HENDERSON ARRIVED BY AIR AND SKILLFULLY NEGOTIATED THE SURRENDER OF THE 3 REBELLIOUS TRIBAL LEADERS, AND THEIR TRANSPORTATION BY AIR TO SAUDI ARABIA. TOL COMMANDER SEARCHED THE BURAIMI FORT (NUAMI RULER) AND RELEASED A PRISONER WHO HAD BEEN KEPT DOWN A 40FT HOLE BY THE WALI FOR 8 YEARS. HE ALSO FOUND 12 CHESTS FULL OF SILVER AND BANK NOTES THAT HAD BEEN LOCKED AWAY IN A SEPARATE BUILDING. THIS MONEY WAS SECURED AND LATER TRANSFERRED BACK TO THE SULTAN OF OMAN AND THE POLICE COMMANDER'S SILVER WAS SENT TO SAUDI ARABIA.

- THE NORTHERN SQUADRON COMMANDER (STEGGLES) WAS AWARDED AN MC, THE TOL COMMANDER (JOHNSON) AN OBE AND THE TOL WAS REMANED TRUCIAL OMAN SCOUTS BY ORDER OF THE BRITISH CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE STAFF (TEMPLER), IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR CHANGE OF ROLE.

DHOFARIS RECRUITED FROM OMAN

DHOFARI TRIBESMEN SLIDE

IN 1956 THE SCOUTS RECRUITED A LARGE NUMBER OF DHOFARI TRIBESMEN FROM SOUTHERN OMAN TO SWELL THEIR NUMBERS. THESE WERE EXCELLENT SOLDIERS, TOUGH AND WELL DISCIPLINED. UNFORTUNATELY IN LATER YEARS THEY BECAME UNPOPULAR WITH SHEIKH ZAYID AS SOME WERE RETURNING TO DHOFAR AT THE END OF THEIR 3 YEAR CONTRACT AND JOINING WITH MAOIST REBELS WHO WERE ATTEMPTING TO OUST THE SULTAN AND HIS BRITISH MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS. ZAYID ALSO BELIEVED THEY COULD BECOME A SUBVERSIVE THREAT TO HIM.

TOS COME TO THE AID OF THE SULTAN OF OMAN ON 3 OCCASIONS BETWEEN 1957 - 1959

VERY BRIEF SUMMARY

4 SLIDES

TOS IN THE 1960s

9 SLIDES

A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF PERSONALITIES, DEPLOYMENT AND METHOD OF OPERATION.

RULER OF SHARJAH DEPOSED IN LATE 1965

1 SLIDE

- ANTI-BRITISH PROPAGANDA FROM RADIO CAIRO AND FROM TEACHERS BROUGHT IN FROM EGYPT.
- SCOUTS OPENED THEIR OWN RADIO STATION TO COUNTER THE ABOVE.
- SAQR PERSUADED NASSER TO ARRANGE ARAB LEAGUE VISIT TO THE GULF, CONTRARY TO AGREEMENTS WITH THE BRITISH.
- VISIT PRODUCED RIOTS IN QATAR AND DUBAI. SHAKHBUT IGNORED VISITORS.
- SHARJAH AND RAS AL KHAIMAH BOTH AGREED TO THE OPENING OF ARAB LEAGUE OFFICES WHICH ANGERED THE BRITISH.
- SAQR PERSUADED NASSER TO OFFER A £5 MILLION TO THE MINOR RULERS WHO WERE DELIGHTED. BRITAIN INSISTED THIS COULD ONLY HAPPEN THROUGH THEIR OWN TRUCIAL STATES DEVELOPMENT FUND. NO MONEY FORTHCOMING.
- SAQR TOLD MINISTER OF STATE, GEORGE THOMPSON, THAT HE WOULD DO WHATEVER HE WISHED DESPITE TREATY OBLIGATIONS.
- SAQR'S FAMILY AGREED HE SHOULD BE REPLACED. THIS WAS ENGINEERED BY PA, GLEN BALFOUR PAUL AFTER INVITATION TO TEA, AND SAQR SENT INTO EXILE IN EGYPT.
- SHEIKH KHALED BIN MOHAMMED, SAQR'S COUSIN, BECAME RULER.
- QUASIMI RULER OF RAS AL KHAIMAH GATHERED 100 ARMED MEN TOGETHER AND THREATENED TO ADVANCE ON SHARJAH TO REINSTATE HIS COUSIN. 2 SCOUT SQUADRONS BLOCKED HIS ROUTE AND CRISIS WAS AVERTED.

RULER OF ABU DHABI DEPOSED AT THE END OF 1966

1 SLIDE

- SHEIKH ZAYID RELUCTANTLY AGREED THAT AFTER 4 YEARS OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIS BROTHER SHAKHBUT AND WITH HIS FAMILY'S AGREEMENT, SHAKHBUT SHOULD BE DEPOSED.
- A MUCH MORE COMPLICATED PROBLEM AS RECENTLY FORMED ABU DHABI DEFENCE FORCE WERE TRAINING CLOSE TO SHAKHBUT'S FORT WHICH WAS ALSO GUARDED BY A POLICE POST AND HIS OWN RETAINERS.
- TWO TOS SQUADRONS DROVE AFTER DARK TO A RENDEZ-VOUS NEAR RULER'S FORT WITH GLEN BALFOUR PAUL (THEN ACTING POLITICAL RESIDENT), SHEIKH ZAYID AND THE COMMANDER OF TOS.

- ALL POTENTIAL OPPOSITION CORDONED OFF BY THE SCOUTS AND BALFOUR PAUL ENTERED FORT ON HIS OWN TO DELIVER A LETTER FROM ZAYID ON BEHALF OF SHAKHBUT'S FAMILY SAYING THAT THEY WISHED HIM TO RETIRE.
- SHAKHBUT FLEW INTO A RAGE AND ORDERED HIS RETAINERS TO DEPLOY AMMUNITION TO THE ROOFTOPS AND DEMANDED TO SPEAK TO HIS BROTHER BY RADIO.
- COMMANDER TOS FEARING FOR BALFOUR PAUL'S SAFETY, SENT 2 HEAVILY ARMED ARAB NCOs INTO THE FORT TO GIVE HIM PROTECTION.
- FOR AN HOUR HEATED DISCUSSIONS WENT ON BETWEEN BROTHERS UNTIL FINALLY SHAKHBUT AGREED TO LEAVE.
- SCOUTS PROVIDED GUARD OF HONOUR TO ENSURE HE DEPARTED WITH RESPECT AND ESCORTED HIM TO SHARJAH AIR FIELD.
- SHAKHBUT WENT INTO EXILE BUT RETURNED AFTER ABOUT A YEAR TO LIVE OUT THE REST OF HIS LIFE IN DIGNITY IN AL AIN.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM ADEN & THE GULF

SLIDE OF HAROLD WILSON

- 1966 TO THE ALARM OF THE RULERS, BRITAIN DECLARED INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING FROM ADEN IN 1968.
- AFTER THE 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, REBELLION BROKE OUT AGAIN IN ADEN TO WHICH BRITAIN RESPONDED.
- IN NOV 1967 THE FRA MUTINIED AND THE BRITISH WITHDREW UNDER FIRE FROM THE COLONY (MAD MITCH), EARLIER THAN PLANNED.
- ANTI-BRITISH DEMONSTRATIONS IN BAHRAIN AND DUBAI.
- NOV 1967 WILSON SENT NEW MINISTER OF STATE, GORONWY ROBERTS, TO VISIT ALL RULERS IN THE GULF AND TO REASSURE THEM CATEGORICALLY THAT THE BRITISH PRESENCE WOULD BE MAINTAINED. THE PRIME MINISTER HAD SAID THE SAME THING JUST BEFORE THE VISIT.
- IN JAN 1968 ONLY 2 MONTHS LATER, ROBERTS RETURNED IN EMBARRASSMENT AND DECLARED THAT BRITAIN HAD NOW DECIDED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE GULF BY THE END OF 1971, GIVING THE RULERS 3 YEARS TO MAKE PREPARATIONS. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS BY ALL ACCOUNTS THAT THE UK NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE, UNDER BARBARA CASTLE, WISHED TO INTRODUCE FREE DENTURES, WHICH WOULD COST ABOUT THE SAME AS MAINTAINING THE BRITISH MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE GULF.

- SHEIKH ZAYID AND SHEIKH RASCHID OF DUBAI IMMEDIATELY OFFERED TO PAY £12 MILLION EACH YEAR OUT OF THEIR OWN BUDGETS, TO ENSURE CONTINUED BRITISH PRESENCE. DENNIS HEALEY REJECTED THIS IMPOLITELY IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW.
- TED HEATH, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, HINTED THAT CONSERVATIVES MIGHT REVERSE THIS DECISION IF THEY WON THE 1970 GENERAL ELECTION. THIS CAUSED ADDITIONAL CONFUSION TO THE RULERS. HE WON THE ELECTION, REVIEWED THE DECISION BUT DID NOT CHANGE IT.

FEDERATION DISCUSSIONS

SLIDE OF ZAYID & RASCHID

- SHEIKHS ZAYID & RASCHID CALL TOGETHER ALL TRUCIAL STATES RULERS , PLUS THOSE OF QATAR AND BAHRAIN TO A MEETING TO DISCUSS FEDERATION OF ALL CONCERNED.
- DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED, OFTEN WITH ACRIMONIOUSLY, UNTIL EVENTUALLY BAHRAIN AND QATAR DROPPED OUT.
- MEANWHILE TS RULERS STILL ALARMED AT THEIR FUTURE SURVIVAL CHANCES, BEGAN PROCESS OF FORMING THEIR OWN PRIVATE ARMIES.

MILITARY EXPANSION

SLIDE

- 1966 ABU DHABI DEFENCE FORCE FORMED (INFANTRY BATTALION, ARMOURED SQUADRON & ARTILLERY BATTERY). NAVAL FORCE ESTABLISHED
- 1968 ADDF AIR WING ESTABLISHED & AMIRI NATIONAL GUARD FORMED
- 1969 RAS AL KHAIMAH MOBILE FORCE FORMED (3 INF COMPANIES, ARMOURED TROOP AND MORTAR PLATOON)
- 1971 DUBAI DEFENCE FORCE FORMED (3 INF COMPANIES, SUPPORT COMPANY AND ARMOURED SQUADRON)
- 1971 TOS RETITLED UNION DEFENCE FORCE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY
- 1972 SHARJAH NATIONAL GUARD FORMED, PLANNED IN 1971 (3 LIGHT INF COMPANIES)
- 1975 UMM AL QAWAIN NATIONAL GUARD FORMED (SEVERAL INF COMPANIES, SUPPORT COMPANY AND ARMOURED SQUADRON)

POLITICAL AGENTS' INVOLVEMENT

SLIDE PA INVOLVEMENT

THE EMBARRASSED POLITICAL AGENTS SPENT THE NEXT 3 YEARS HELPING THE RULERS TO DEVELOP AND WRITE THEIR OWN CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS AND

MINISTRIES, AS WELL AS ADVISING ON MATTERS SUCH AS A NEW INDEPENDENT CURRENCY AND CUSTOMS ORGANISATION.

FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

MILITARY OPERATIONS CONTINUE

SLIDE MIL OPS CONTINUE

- 1967 RIOTS OCCURED IN DUBAI BECAUSE OF THE FALSE BELIEF THAT BRITISH AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN SUPPORT OF ISRAELIS IN 1967 WAR. TWO TOS ARAB OFFICERS RESIGNED.
- 1968 SCOUTS MOVED TO NEW CAMP AND BRITISH TROOPS OCCUPIED THEIR OLD ONE AFTER WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH FROM ADEN.
- 1968 SCOUTS' NCO RETENTION PROBLEM OWING TO LOWER PAY THAN IN NEWLY FORMED UNITS, SOLVED BY RULERS CONTRIBUTING TO SHEIKHLY BOUNTY FUND IN ORDER TO PAY THE DIFFERENCE.
- OCT 1968 DUBAI POLICE (BRIGGS) & SCOUTS FOILED ATTEMPT ON LIFE OF SHEIKH SAQR OF RAK ORGANISED BY SHEIKH SAIF BIN ALI OF THE KHAWATI TRIBE. SCOUTS SURROUNDED HIS DESERT ENCAMPMENT AND HE WAS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED.
- JAN 1969 MAJ GEN SIR JOHN WILLOUGHBY ARRIVED TO ADVISE RULERS ON COMPOSITION OF THEIR ARMED FORCES. REPORT RECOMMENDED EXPANSION OF SCOUTS BUT RULERS IGNORED IT.
- 1969 SCOUTS ISSUED WITH NEW SELF-LOADING RIFLES.
- 1969 RULER OF RAS AL KHAIMAH HAD TROUBLE WITH SHIHU TRIBESMEN OVER GERMAN CONTRACTORS DIGGING FOR AGGREGATES IN WHAT THEY BELIEVED WAS THEIR TERRITORY. GERMANS SHOT AT, SCOUTS AND PA ALSO SHOT AT, BUT EVENTUALLY NEGOTIATED A COMPENSATION AGREEMENT WITH THE SHIHU.
- 1970 REPORTS RECEIVED OF A COMMUNIST-MAOIST GROUP OPERATING FROM VILLAGE OF GUMDHA IN THE OMANI MUSANDAM PENINSULAR. PERCEIVED AS A THREAT TO OMAN AND TRUCIAL STATES. 2 SQUADRON OPERATION MOUNTED BY SCOUTS BY AIR AND SEA TO SEARCH THE VILLAGE. UNCERTAINTY EXISTED ON THE REACTION OF THE SHIHU. GANG ESCAPED, LARGE QUANTITY OF AMMUNITION AND DOCUMENTS DISCOVERED – THE SCOUTS' LAST HURRAH.
- 1970 IRANIANS CAPTURED AND OCCUPIED GREATER AND LOWER TUMB ISLANDS FROM RAS AL KHAIMAH AND TOOK OVER THE ISLAND OF ABU MUSA WITH SHARJAH'S AGREEMENT.

CONSTITUTION SIGNED AT END OF DECEMBER 1971

- 6 RULERS ATTENDED CELEBRATION TO SIGN THE CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENT TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERATION OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES. THE RULER OF RAS AL KHAIMAH DECLINED TO SIGN THE DOCUMENT UNTIL PERSUADED TO A YEAR LATER. SHEIKH ZAYID BECAME PRESIDENT AND SHEIKH MOHAMMED BIN RASCHID BECAME MINISTER OF DEFENCE.
- BRITAIN WITHDREW FROM ALL OF HER TREATY AGREEMENTS WITH THE TRUCIAL STATES AND SIGNED A FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE UAE.
- THE TOS REBADGED AS THE UNION DEFENCE FORCE AND A FRIENDSHIP TREATY SIGNED BETWEEN THE UAE AND THE POLITICAL RESIDENT OF THE DAY ON BEHALF OF BRITAIN.
- THE POLITICAL AGENT OF DUBAI BECAME THE FIRST BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UAE, AND DEAN/DOYEN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS WHICH WAS FAST DEVELOPING.

SAQR OF SHARJAH RETURNS INTENT ON REVENGE

SLIDE

- ABOUT 9 MONTHS AFTER INDEPENDENCE, SAQR ARRIVED SECRETLY IN SHARJAH WITH SUPPORTERS AND SMUGGLED WEAPONS AND ATTACKED HIS FORMER PALACE.
- EX-SCOUT COMMANDER OF RECENTLY REBADGED UNION DEFENCE FORCE, INVESTIGATED FIRING AND WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED, RESCUED BY HIS ARAB OFFICER.
- SHEIKH MOHAMMED BIN RASCHID (RACE HORSE MAGNATE) TELEPHONED SAQR TO DISCUSS HIS SURRENDER AS FURTHER UDF SOLDIERS HAD ARRIVED TO CORDON OFF THE PALACE.
- BY THEN, THE EXISTING RULER, SAQR'S COUSIN, HAD BEEN SHOT AND MURDERED.
- SAQR REALISED ESCAPE IMPOSSIBLE AND HE SURRENDERED. HE SPENT A SHORT TIME IN PRISON IN ABU DHABI BEFORE BEING ALLOWED TO GO BACK TO EXILE IN EGYPT. (*WHAT PRICE JUSTICE FOR THE RICH AND POWERFUL?*)

CLOSING SLIDE – SHEPHERD'S PICTURE OF FORT JAHILI