A New Perspective on Domestic and Foreign Relations

A Dissertation in Name of the Department

By

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person or institution, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree in any university or other institution.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the history of Qatar in the period 1960 to 1971 and the short period after the independence until the coup of 1972 in order to demonstrate that Qatar is not new to mediation as asserted by many authors. Another aim was to find out the similarities in Qatar’s foreign relation in 1960 - 1971 and in the last decades as well as the characteristics of the Emirs in those periods. Highlighting the similarities and examining how the legacy of Sheikh Ahmed has influenced the recent achievement of Qatar it has also been a way to demonstrate the mediator role of Qatar in the past.

The results of this research confirmed that Qatar played a very active mediator role in the period 1960 – 10972 in international, regional and inter-tribal cases and its foreign relation was very similar to the one of the recent years. The legacy of Sheikh Ahmed does not regard only the foreign relation strategy and mediation tools, but also the characteristics of the Emir that played a strong role in the success of the country and explains how the achievements of today are also due to the retrieval of the foreign relation adopted by Shiekh Ahmed in the period 1960 -1972. Other than this main conclusion, the thesis brought light to the many mistakenly recounted events in literature.

The qualitative method was used to analyze the information collected from primary and secondary sources. For the purpose of the thesis a number of
secondary sources such as journals, articles and books both in Arabic and English were examined. Primary sources derives from letters and records as well as interviews carried out in Arabic and then translated in English to members of the Al Thani family from Al Ali and Al Hamad branches, others dignitaries in charge at that time and the head of the Algerian National Archive, Abdulmajid Chikhi.

The limitation of the thesis consists in the possible bias of the author, being the granddaughter of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali, the difficulty to find relevant and reliable literature about the period in focus and the difficulty of being granted interviews on the topic due to the reticence of people to talk about those years, the time constrain and the Holy month of Ramadan. The recommendation that result from the thesis is that there is still plenty to be done as many events are not clear and reported inconsistently in the literature, so more in-depth research and analysis is necessary.
In Dedication to

A great Ruler, father and grandfather

My parents for their endless support

Lorenza and my teachers for their appreciated efforts

Shaikha Al Badi and everyone who loved Sheikh Ahmed
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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Mediation has always been an important tool in political affairs. It can be done in different ways and for different reasons. For a small and young country such as Qatar engaging in mediation could be a way of survival and prestige. As a matter of fact Qatar, in the last decade has emerged globally as predominant country for its wealth, its role as mediator and its advancement in various fields; however, the foundation of Qatar’s success was rather set long time ago particularly in 1960s and especially in its preparation for British withdrawal from east of Suez.

The aim of this research is to investigate and analyze the history of Qatar from 1960 to 1971 and the short period after the independence of Qatar until the coup of 1972. In particular it will look at Qatar’s role as mediator; it will examine how events developed and the role of the Emir in the development on the way to independence, as well as his legacy. This will help to understand why Qatar nowadays seeks to fill in the vacuum of leadership in the region and it will also help to understand the choice of its present domestic and foreign relation as well as what it tries to accomplish in the future.
**Purpose statement/Hypothesis**

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that Qatar has never been passive under great powers such as great Britain or Saudi Arabia during the period 1960 – 1972 and that the foreign affairs of today is built and is a continuation to its foreign relations of the 1960’s and early 1970’s. This will be done by examining the political domestic and foreign history of the state of Qatar and its role in the international arena with a particular focus on its role as mediator in the regional inter-tribal affairs and state to state issues from 1960 until 1972. It will also demonstrate that mediation as tool of the state and Qatar’s foreign relation was already used in the 1960 – 1972 and that it shares a lot of similarities with the present days. The character and leadership style of the Ruler as well as his contribution to the country’s international and regional achievements will come into play when the government of Qatar is being investigated.

**Literature Review**

Qatar has mainly been part of studies that focuses on the Arabian Gulf or the Middle East. Existing literature that covers the history and role of Qatar in the period 1960 – 1972 is limited and sometimes inconsistent as authors report and comment facts and events in contradictory ways as proved by some examples here following.
Domestic Political Context

Records and articles as well as books report some contrasting information, fact, or reason for events development as for example what it regards the accession of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani. Crystal states that “…the Political Agent, and Resident of Abdullah’s promise that Khalifa would succeed Ali…Abdullah longevity (he died in 1957) and open support for Hamad fueled this faction claim”¹, while Joyce infers that Abdullah did not promise Khalifa to be the ruler “to achieve a peaceful succession, Sheikh Ali required the cooperation of all the branches of his family… after consultation, the Al Thani family decided to offer Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali the position of ruler and Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad the position of heir apparent to the new ruler”². Joyce also reports Sheikh Khalifa being hesitant to accept the position of heir apparent “Shaikh Khalifa bin Hamad hesitated and referred to an earlier agreement that he, not Ahmed bin Ali, would succeed Shaikh Ali”³. But if there was a previous agreement why did the Al Thani family agreed on Sheikh Ahmed to succeed Sheikh Ali? Also, Zahlan reports that “It has been said that…Ali committed himself in writing that Hamad’s son, who was still too young to be given any power, would succeed him”⁴, it is clear that there was no proves of this commitment by Sheikh Ali. These and other contradictions as well as assumptions deserve to try finding a clarification

³ ibid. 33
because they could have changed the future of Qatar. In fact at that time there was no Emir, as Qatar was not an independent state and a constitution was not issued, but there was only a Ruler “Hakim”. “Rulers or Sheikhs are usually chosen by the agreement and consent of senior members of their families. Generally succession to rulership has been handed down from father to son on the death of the former or on his abdication”⁵ Sheikh Ali was the first to use the title “heir” when he asked to the Al Thani majlis if they agreed on his second son Ahmad to replace him and if they accepted Sheikh Khalifa to be the heir. Also, Sheikh Hamad, the second son of Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim, was the deputy, not heir, to his father, and was expected to rule after him. This does not only show that there was no laws stating that an heir had to be named, but also there was no law stating that an heir would succeed the Ruler, so Sheikh Ali maybe gave the title of heir to Sheikh Khalifa as a sign of respect for his brother Sheikh Hamad. Anyway before the meeting where Sheikh Ali asked the consensus of the majlis, there was an earlier meeting between Sheikh Khalifa and his brothers to swear allegiance to their cousin Ahmed bin Ali⁶.

Khalifa’s father Sheikh Hamad, who was expected to rule after his father Sheikh Abdullah, died in 1948. Crystal states that Abdullah at that point had to choose between two candidates: his eldest son Ali and Khalifa the teenage son

of Hamad “A Tradition of primogeniture would have given it to the former, a tradition of regency to the latter”\(^7\). So if there was a tradition of primogeniture why Sheikh Hamad was the deputy and why was he expected to rule? Sheikh Ali as eldest son had to be deputy and be the Ruler by “traditional law of primogeniture” And if there was a tradition of regency why Sheikh Abdullah had a doubt to choose between Sheikh Ali or Sheikh Khalifa,? Sheikh Khalifa had to be the Ruler by ‘traditional law of regency’\(^8\). Crystal continued by asserting that Abdullah “settled on an uneasy compromise. Ali would be the new Ruler and Sheikh Khalifa heir apparent…Ali wrote a letter stating that Khalifa would succeed him”\(^9\). The letter that Sheikh Ali wrote or the verbal decision of Sheikh Abdullah to give Sheikh Khalifa the position of heir, are not proved to exist, but if Sheikh Ali did not offer the position of heir to Sheikh Khalifa the lineage would have continued with the son of Sheikh Ahmad having today as Emir a descendent of the Ali branch instead of Hamad branch. Anyway when Sheikh Ali abdicated in favour of his son Sheikh Ahmed his choice was dictated also by practical motivation.

The pragmatic reasons behind the choice of Sheikh Ahmed as Ruler were that he was already the deputy of the Ruler Sheikh Ali and he already proved to be the right person to succeed his father due to his farsightedness and generosity. In fact the openness to cooperation and bold leadership of Sheikh Ahmad was

\(^7\) Crystal, J. *Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, 119.
\(^8\) Ibid. 130
\(^9\) Ibid. 119
already clear since he was the deputy Ruler to his father Sheikh Ali. Sheikh Ahmed granted Dubai a loan of GBP190,000 in the late 1950s\(^\text{10}\); this financial aid from Sheikh Ahmad bin Ali helped on providing Dubai with piped water, asphalting its streets and constructing a bridge connecting Bar Deira with Bar Dubai\(^\text{11}\). Even though some says he used government money, there is to consider the role of the Sheikhs at that time in relation to the revenue of oil. In fact they were the owners of the oil revenue and this behavior continued for long after him; after all, “Khalifa himself personally signed all the cheques over $ 50,000”\(^\text{12}\). Sheikh Ahmad also paid for a survey that was needed to widen roads and for the further development of Dubai\(^\text{13}\). Later on the connection with Dubai became stronger when Sheikh Ahmad bin Ali married the daughter of the ruler of Dubai Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum and sister of the current ruler Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum.

**Development from 1960 to 1972**

As mentioned previously Qatar has been a part in studies that mainly focus on the Arabian Gulf or the Middle East, Qatar itself was rarely the focus of the study. Most of the previous literature examined the period before 1949, which means before Sheikh Ali bin Abdullah Al Thani and focuses on the affairs between the Sheikhs and Great Britain and the Sheikhs and the Ottomans.

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12 Crystal, Jill. *Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. 160
giving the idea that this area was dull and uninteresting. On the contrary this era and in particular the period 1960–1972 was very important to the State of Qatar for many reasons; one of this is that a modern state organization management and government did not exist before the 1960s\textsuperscript{14} since it was based on a traditional tribal state system revolving around the ruler and other important figures of his family. During the rule of Sheikh Ahmad from 1960 until 1972 new legislations such as Regulation of Foreigners’ Entry and Residence that has been repealed recently in 2009\textsuperscript{15} and decrees were issued. The state developed as well as the administrative system and the post of the British Political Resident in Qatar was abolished.

This period of great turmoil saw Qatar, a small state with a strategic location, playing a vital role regionally and internationally thanks to its ruler, Sheikh Ahmad bin Ali Al Thani, who was the one that drove a shift within the country. Literature about the Gulf States in that period focus on the main events like the British withdrawal, oil discovery and the economic importance in respect to the West, ignoring the less glamorous role of the new small state. During this period Qatar moved fast ahead. The advisory council was formed in 1964\textsuperscript{16} to assist the ruler in supervising the affairs of his administration\textsuperscript{17}, even though Zahlan says that “…Ahmad bin Ali had proved to be incapable of

\textsuperscript{15} Al Meezan. \textit{Qatar legal portal}. http://www.almeezan.qa
\textsuperscript{16} ibid
\textsuperscript{17} Albaharna, Husain. M. \textit{The legal Status of the Arabian Gulf States: a study of their treaty relations and their international problems}, 13
conforming to the new demands of its position; he had failed, for example to establish an advisory council…”

During the reign of Sheikh Ahmed, 24th October 1960 - 22nd February 1972 Qatar was the first of the Lower Sheikhdoms to adopt a provisional written constitution the 2nd April 1970 and gain its independence in 1971 even though El Mallakh reports that “the treaty of Protection between Great Britain and Qatar lasted until 1st September 1971, when Qatar was declared an independent state under Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani”20. This is only one of the wrong information about the independence of Qatar. A wrong assumption is also the one made by many: “[Sheikh ]Ahmad, now Emir of Qatar, did not return from Switzerland to attend the celebrations”21

Usually the independence of a country is signed in a neutral ground in fact, the ceremony of the signature was held in Switzerland in the presence of the most important dignitaries as shown in the documentary video22. In addition many do not take in consideration the threats to his life and previous, fortunately failed, attempt to his life as well as his health condition. But as Sheikh Ahmed wanted strongly independence, he was proud of the achievement and valued it, a prove of that is his presence in Iran as Emir of Qatar from 12th to 16th

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18 Zahlan, Rosmarie. Said. The creation of Qatar, 112.
20 ibid. 16.
22 Al-Thani, A. Qatar Independence Day. 03 September 2011. 20 August 2014 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McC5uA_94s>
October 1971 for celebration of the 2500\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Persian Empire\textsuperscript{23}.

The 11\textsuperscript{th} of September 1971 Qatar was admitted to the League of Arab States\textsuperscript{24}. From 1960 to 1972, under Sheikh Ahmad reign, Qatar witnessed economic growth as the result of the discovery of oil, the GDP rose from 848 million QR in 1966 with revenue of 855 to 1850 in 1971 with revenue of 1441 million QR\textsuperscript{25}. He introduced a modern administrative system and the Ministry of Finance was established. In 1961 Qatar also joined OPEC and has been since then an active member. In 1971 Qatar became a member of the Arab League and was admitted to the United Nations. It was also in this year that the first Council of Ministers of the country was formed. Sheikh Ahmad worked hardly to prepare the country prior to the withdrawal of Britain and to become an independent State after the failed merger with the Trucial States.

These are just some of the developments under Sheikh Ahmad’s rule. Under the reign of Sheikh Ahmad a lot was achieved in the process towards modernization: he was a man who had an open mind towards the future as will be explained in more details later, while afterword in 1977/8, in spite of the of the 25\% oil revenue increase from the previous year, many projects were canceled “such as university, hospital, and light enterprises” and many others

\textsuperscript{23} voyager19700. 2500 Year Celebration of The Persian Empire. 12 February 2013. 20 August 2014 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmC5uaB_94s>.
\textsuperscript{24} Mallakh, Ragaei. Qatar, development of an oil economy. 16
postponed such as second airport project. El Mallakh reports an interview to a technical advisor to the Emir released the 10 of April 1978 where he says: “We have an Emir who has always favored slow, deliberate growth…A couple of years ago, for instance, we were given a study saying we needed 25 to 30 new berths at Doha port. Now…we have eight berths here and a couple of those are standing empty.”

Regional Context
The years from 1960 to 1972 were important to the Gulf, especially to the small Gulf States as they had a long-term impact on the stability of the area. What unlocked the events to come is the revolution in Iraq in 1958 that overthrew the Hashemite dynasty; the civil war in Yemen that involved Saudi and Egyptian forces; the ongoing Iranian claims to Bahrain and the commencement of the Dhofar rebellion. This period brought changes putting to an end the treaties between the small Gulf States and Great Britain. The Gulf States were no more British protectorates as they became new independent states. It was a period when those small states had to survive, to maintain sovereignty and recognition from all the other countries in the world. Kuwait was the first country to terminate its treaty with the British and had to face the Iraqi claims. The long ongoing disputes between the small Gulf States and to some extent between them and major powers came to light again. Some of the major ones other than the ongoing Iraqi claim to Kuwait are the Iranian

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26 Mallakh, Qatar, development of an oil economy.
27 Ibid. 29
claims to Bahrain; Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates over Buraimi; Sharjah and Iran over the island of Abu Musa. Qatar had its share of disputes with Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi over Khor Al Odaid, and with Bahrain over Hawar Island, in addition to the dispute over the island of Halul with Abu Dhabi. Due to the rise of those events and the Arab nationalism movement that commenced in Egypt by Gamal Abul Nasser, the survival of the Gulf States was threatened, hence the seven Trucial states, Qatar and Bahrain aspired to create a federation.

Role in Mediation

Mediation has been portrayed lately as the most important tool in Qatar foreign relation. The role of Qatar as mediator is considered by many as a very recent one, according to Kamrava Qatar has become since the mid-2000 one of the dynamic mediators in regional and intra-national disputes especially in Middle East and Africa. Wright does not contradict Kamrava as he states that “the evolution of Qatar’s role in conflict resolution is a relatively recent development”.

Wright believes that Qatar’s mediator role increased mainly after the security situation was formalized with the United States. It is a truism that Qatar became famous worldwide for its mediator role in the last decades; in fact Qatar has been engaged in many conflicts as mediator.

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29 Joyce, M. Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty's government. 97-100
32 Ibid.
receiving appreciations and criticism at the same time. Some see its mediation as impartial, powerful and effective especially as Qatar is considered new to this role, while others see it as a way to gain prestige and recognition as well as a branding strategy. In spite of the fact that Qatar has undoubtedly gained momentum recently, and regardless the contrasting assessment of Qatari mediation efforts nowadays, it is also true that the mediator role is not new to Qatar, but it is dated back to some decades ago, contrary to what literature claims.

Qatar already started its “own way” under Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali even before the independence of Qatar was signed. From that very moment Qatar began its mediator role. The first international mediation was the one in the process of Algerian independence from France from the 7th to the 18th of March 1962. Qatar intervened to secure the negotiations between Algeria and France by providing a secure telephone line and a safe place in Switzerland in the palace of Sheikh Ahmed33. This mediation act was not publicized, on the contrary was kept quite secret, showing the great sense of justice, care and solidarity for the needless and the abused.

A second example of mediation is in regard to the two Omani terrorists who in 1961 sought refuge in Qatar and Sheikh Ahmad refused to hand those to the

Omani Government asserting that there were still not enough evidences and that he would have investigated further. This mediation shows the great sense of justice of Sheikh Ahmed\textsuperscript{34}.

A third example is when Sheikh Sa’id bin Shakhbut Al Nahyan\textsuperscript{35} left Abu Dhabi after having disputes with the father for family reasons and governing issues, was the recipient of hospitality in Doha by Sheikh Ahmad who mediate between them finding a peaceful resolution\textsuperscript{36}. Here Sheikh Ahmed shows how family relations were important for him.

A fourth example is the mediator role of Sheikh Ahmed between the Rulers of the UAE during the meeting of the formation of United Arab Emirates. Due to the tension already going on among the three emirates of Dubai, Ras AL Khaima and Abu Dhabi, the meeting risked to fail; in that case the wise intervention of Sheikh Ahmed helped to ease the tension and make the meeting happen\textsuperscript{37}.

These are just some examples of the early history of the mediator role of Qatar, which proves that it is not new to this practice. The characteristics of


\textsuperscript{35}Son of Sheikh Shakhbut bin Sultan Al Nahyan


\textsuperscript{37}Al Yousef, Dr. Youssef Khalifa. AlEmārāt AlJārāyba AlMutaḥidā ‘ala Muftaraq Turuq, Centre for Arab unity studies, n.d.
the Emir were important in order to take such steps at that time in an environment where the institutions were still very new to politics and where Saudi Arabia was the “lion” in the Gulf. A useful indicator on the effectiveness of Sheikh Ahmed as a mediator is reported by Al Badi, who in an interview released to the author of this paper, asserts that Sheikh Ahmed had a special place in the heart of the Shah of Iran and that the Shah would have accepted his mediation in all regional disputes. It is out of discussion that the mediation practice at that time and nowadays is very different and it shows two very different outcomes, but it is also true that there are many similarities. Today is much more aimed at prestige, assertion and political diplomacy also thanks to the new technology such as Al Jazeera, while in the 1960s the purpose of mediation was more dictated by solidarity than country prestige or political diplomacy.

While literature in Arabic focuses on the history of Qatar they lack the detailed information needed for this study. Most literature concentrates on the history before oil to uncover the mystery that surrounds Qatar, as it was a young state that has been barely known among the Arab world not to mention the rest of the globe. With the discovery of oil, modernity was introduced and education was developed. Those factors urged Qatari and Arab intellectuals to turn towards the past and inspect what was going on this area of desert before oil, especially that geography was a core subject to be taught in
schools. Al Dabagh\textsuperscript{38} tried to discover this small country’s past and present in his book\textsuperscript{39} published a short time after the accession of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al-Thani, whose period will be the focus of this study. Mustafa Al Dabagh, the author of the book was in charge of the Ministry of education; which was called \textit{Maaref Qatar}, from September 1959 to March 1961\textsuperscript{40}. The book gives a thorough analysis of the development of different fields in Qatar such as economy, government and education. It also discusses the history of Qatar from pre-historical era to the rise of the Al-Thani until the accession of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali. The weakness of this book is that it ends shortly after the accession of Sheikh Ahmed therefore it does not examine his reign. Another source that shares this weakness with the former is \textit{The Arab Emirate of Qatar Between Past and Present} by Mohammed Shareef Al Shebani. Al Shebani\textsuperscript{41}. It also presents a very detailed history about Qatar from the emergence of the Al-Thani to the dawn of Sheikh Ahmed’s Rule. They together give a specified narration of the coronation of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani.

There are four sources\textsuperscript{42} that were published before the coronation of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali and can be of a great use when discussing the history of Qatar, the rulers and the characteristics of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali. They all were published when Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali was the deputy ruler during the reign

\textsuperscript{38} Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. \textit{Qaṭār Mādiha wa Ḥāḍiruha} Beirut: Beirut publishing house, 1961.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} ibid. 7-8
\textsuperscript{41} Al-Shebani, Mohammed Shareef. \textit{Emārat Qaṭār Āl’arabya bāyn ĀlMādihi wa Ālḥādir} Beirut: Dar al-thaqafa, 1962
\textsuperscript{42} Al Madani, A. A. S. \textit{Ālnahda fi Qaṭār}. Cairo; Salama, H. \textit{Īla Āyn Taseer Ālqa tela?} Beirut: 1960; Al Shebani, M. S. \textit{Ā’alām myn AlKhaleej}. 1960.
of his father, Sheikh Ali bin Abdullah Al Thani, they all talk about Sheikh Ahmed’s qualities and his achievements as deputy ruler.

The five publications mentioned above as well as *Al Husn*\(^{43}\) will also be used in chapter 2 in relation to the background about the history of Qatar. As mentioned above there is a lack of useful material related to the period 1960-1972, which is the focus of this study. *Qatar and the Union of the Nine Emirates*\(^{44}\) is another study that deals with the failed attempt to establish a federation of nine Gulf Sheikhdoms from the seven Trucial states, Bahrain and Qatar. The writers discuss extensively the role of Qatar in the attempt to create the federation. Detailed records of the meetings and schemes presented by Qatar in these meetings are shown in the documents section that can be of a great use in this study. The development that Qatar had undergone in the 60’s as well as the decisions taken by the government are also discussed in the book. However, the material given lacked the detail needed for this study, but could still be used in some areas.

### Methods

This research uses a combination of primary and secondary sources that will be analyzed using a qualitative method. Information will be gathered from sources such as records, letters, journals and books both in Arabic and

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43. Al Husn, Abdulrahman *The rise of a country in the life of a man*. Doha: 1965
English. It will also benefit from articles published across different types of media, in addition to interviews that will be conducted by the researcher.

The research will try to cover a wide spectrum of opinions, from the information reported in the literature about the Gulf, to the exchange of correspondence between British official/s resident in the Gulf and the her majesty’s government and between British official/s and the ruler/s, to the interviews to members of the Al Thani family and others dignitaries in charge at that time and to head of the Algerian National Archive, Abdul Majid Chikhi who also promise to provide records as proves of the mediation effort of Qatar between France and Algeria for the independence of the latter.

Particular thanks will go to my father, Sheikh Khalid bin Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani, son of the Emir of Qatar in the period investigated in this paper, who despite being very reticent, allowed me to benefit from primary information. Of course, being aware that there could be involuntary biases in the recount of facts by the family members of the Emir Sheikh Ahmad, I included in my list of interviewees also dignitaries and figures who can reports facts from different angles due to their genealogical roots and different branch of the family. For this reason the population was chosen among the two branches of Al Ali and Al Hamad as well as people among their entourage.
A careful attention will be given to the sources trying to balance the arguments and counterarguments knowing that the major limitation of this research can be the bias of the author other than the difficulty of being granted interviews on the topic. To try to avoid this problem the thesis planned to rely on interview with family members in UAE, the people in the entourage of Sheikh Ahmed and their surviving relatives who should be more willing to release interviews than the ones in Qatar.

The role of Qatar as mediator in the period 1960 – 1972 is clear. Qatar mediated in various cases; the Algerian independence, the Omani terrorists and the disputes among the Emirates during the formation of UAE. In each situation different tools were used such as the use of aid and the character of the Ruler who instilled trust in the conflicting parties. Moreover Qatar development was very important in that period as it transformed from a tribal to a modern state organizing a government with Ministries and laws. The picture of Qatar and its relevance regionally as well as internationally started to emerge in that period even if it has been largely neglected by literature.
Chapter 2 – Historical context

The Al Thani

The presence of the Al Thani in Qatar can be dated back to the beginning of the 18th century when they left Ushaiger, one of the oldest towns in Najd in Saudi Arabia and moved to Qatar\(^1\). They were named Al-Thani after Thani bin Mohammed bin Thani bin Ali from Banu Tamim, one of the main tribes of Arabia. After the death of Thani, his son Mohammed was appointed as the leader of the Al-Thani by his own people. Sheikh Mohammed bin Thani was the first ruler from the Al-Thani family when Qatar first received formal recognition which was formalized by the signature of the treaty in 1868 between Qatar and the British. The treaty ended the *de facto* sovereignty of Al Khalifa family, the ruling family of Bahrain since 1783, over Qatar and the recognition of the Sheikh of Al-Thani over Qatar. This agreement placed Qatar into the sea treaties that dictate that the Al-Thani could peacefully live in Doha. The agreement was proposed by Colonel Pelly the British resident in the Gulf after several encounters between the Qataris and Al Khalifa, starting with the imprisonment of Sheikh Qassim, Sheikh Mohammed’s son and ending with Al Khalifa’s invasion of Qatar with the help of Abu Dhabi’s Sheikh Zayed bin Khalifa (1855-1909). Qatar began to emerge as a separate political entity with its own identity and set the basis for the important role

\(^1\) Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. *Qaṭār Māṭiḥa wa Ḥāḍīruha*. 176
that it would have had in the future. In 1871 Sheikh Mohammed extended his influence over Qatar by signing another agreement with the Ottomans after their occupation of Al Hasa, provided to protect Qatar from external threats, however Mohammed was opposed to his son Qassim when he accepted the Turkish flag in Qatar. Sheikh Mohammed abdicated in 1876 as a result of his old age in favour of his son Sheikh Qassim, sometimes spelled Jassim, who was appointed *Qayem Maqam* by the Ottomans in the same year.

**The first independent state**

The first independent Qatari state under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire was founded by Sheikh Qassim bin Mohammed Al Thani. Sheikh Qassim, who was only the leader of his own tribe *Al Maadheed*, when Qatar was under the sovereignty of Bahrain, engaged in calling all tribes for independence unifying Qatar under his role after several naval and land incidents with Bahrain. He spent most of his life in wars; he battled the British and the Ottomans and vanquished them, as well as Sheikhs and Emirs and other enemies who were against the independence of Qatar.

Although Qassim favoured the Ottomans over the British, unlike his father, it was not the Ottomans who allowed him to assert his authority but the Al Naim and their loyalties. The Ottomans however didn’t help Sheikh Qassim

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2. Title used for a governor of a provincial district in the Ottoman Empire
3. Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. *Qaṭār Mādiḥa wa Ḥādiruḥa*, 182-188
4. A tribe in the Arabian Peninsula
deal with factionalism within Qatar nor with Bahrain’s claims on Zubarah. Sheikh Qassim expanded the authority of Al-Thani throughout the Qatar peninsula. Bahrain’s claims over Zubarah started in 1872 by Isa bin Ali Al Khalifa and went a long way after that. After several clashes with the Ottomans Sheikh Qassim appointed his brother Sheikh Ahmed Qayem Maqam, but was still acting as ruler. Sheikh Ahmed was murdered by his servant in 1905 and Sheikh Qassim was the leader until his death in 1913.

Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim, the fifth son of Sheikh Qassim, succeeded him with the support of the British and the Ottomans. The Ottomans renounced their rights over Qatar due to the outbreak of World War One. Negotiations concerning to the Arabian Gulf started in London between the British and the Ottomans. They agreed that the Ottoman Empire should renounce their rights over the Qatar peninsula which will be ruled by the progeny of Sheikh Qassim with the assertion of the British that they will not allow the Sheikh of Bahrain to threaten Qatar’s status quo nor to try to reclaim Qatar.

A British protectorate

Sheikh Abdullah signed a new treaty with Great Britain in 1916 thus that Qatar became a part of the Trucial system. The treaty declared that in exchange for British maritime protection, the ruler should agree to not engage in any relationship with any other foreign government without British consent. Sheikh Abdullah was recognized as the independent ruler of Qatar, and was

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granted the title CIE (Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire)\textsuperscript{6}. In 1935 Sheikh Abdullah succeeded in obtaining another agreement to protect Qatar from any internal or external attacks that it might face not being the driving force. In 1937 Sheikh Abdullah added Al Zubarah to his property, due to this act the relations worsen between Qatar and Bahrain since Al Khalifa consider Al Zubarah to be part of their land. In this era the first oil well was dug after a concession given to Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which was implemented in 1935\textsuperscript{7}. The first oil well was discovered in Dukhan in 1940, but work was abandoned due to the outbreak of the Second World War. Even though there was not a law requiring the appointment of a deputy or heir, Sheikh Hamad, the second son of Sheikh Abdullah, acted as deputy as his first son Sheikh Ali was working in trade and was not interested to reign, but Hamad died 1948. At this point Sheikh Ali took the role of deputy and Sheikh Abdullah asked for recognition from the British In order to grant their recognition, the British forced Abdullah to put into effect the pending provisions from the 1916 treaty, the most significant point of which is appointing a British Political Resident in Qatar. Sheikh Ali bin Abdullah Al Thani succeeded his father after the latter’s abdication in 1949 due to age.

**The beginning of the revival**

Sheikh Ali was an intellectual person; his era had emphases over education and infrastructure. He raised mosques and built institutions. He brought

\textsuperscript{7} Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. *Qaṭār Mādīha wa Hadīrhā*. 46-47
lettered intellectuals from different regions to edify the youth and printed books at his own expenses. In his era the first regular school for boys was founded and the first school for girls in Qatar was established. Ali’s policy was Arabization of government departments, because a great deal of positions was filled with British employees after the arrival of the British political agent. Sheikh Ali wanted the youth to fill the positions instead of non-Arabs. During Sheikh Ali’s rule electricity and water were introduced, roads, airports, government departments and joint stock markets were constructed. He was the first Qatari ruler to travel abroad, visiting India, Europe, Egypt and the Levant. He is the first Ruler in the Gulf to end slavery in the states by achieving this in Qatar. During his reign he started the negotiation with Saudi Arabia regarding the demarcation of their boundary that was settled following the proposed Qatari plan of 1952. He abdicated in 1960 in favour of his son Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani and appointed Sheikh Khalifa as his deputy and heir. Sheikh Ali then dropped completely out of the picture and lived in retirement in Qatar and Lebanon.

**State formation & Oil revenues**

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Qatar’s economy was depending on pearling as it was out of the trade routes; for this reason the ruling family was relying on the merchant class until the unfortunate pearl

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8 Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḩulī Āl蔺ānī fi Sīrat Ālsheikh Āl蔺ī Āl蔺īthānī 2009. 105-144
9 Ibid. 206-218
crash at the beginning of the twentieth century. This basic undiversified economy allowed the social classes to have a minimal political role. In fact the ruling family, the British, the merchants and the working class were all very much interdependent. The discovery of oil in the 1930s changed the scenario and the political power started to shift visibly and largely to the end of the ruling family.

After the discovery of oil until the 1960s Qatar, like the other Gulf States, was a quite tranquil state enjoying the protection of Britain and the wealth that, step-by-step, was brought about by oil. Oil transformed also the political life in Qatar by freeing the ruler from his historical dependence on the merchants\(^\text{11}\) and leading him to extreme enthusiasm, generosity and volatility for which he was criticized. In fact the ruler Sheikh Ali in 1960 decided to abdicate because of his old age and the need to dedicate time to his treatment which occurred mostly abroad, in favour of his son Sheikh Ahmad with the agreement of the Al Thani family. The oil revenue strengthened the ruling family members who entered in the business sphere invading the merchant field that has remained in the hand of only two families: the Al Mana and the Al Darwish\(^\text{12}\). Another consequence of oil revenue was that the ruling family now could cancel the threat of political power in the hand of the merchants as the ruler traded “…formal power for wealth”\(^\text{13}\). In the hand of the ruler Sheikh

\(^{11}\) Crystal, J. *Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. 147-155

\(^{12}\) A wealthy merchant family in Qatar.

\(^{13}\) Crystal, J. *Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. 9
Ahmad bin Ali the wealth brought about by oil produced many changes, many laws were issued to support the economic expansion including trade registry, the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce and labour laws were also issued as well as the settlement of a labour court. The government was slowly taking form also through a number of departments such as Land and Registration department, Agricultural Department, Custom Authority, Immigration Service, Department of Labour and Social Affairs. In the 1960s the population grew exponentially due to the need of laborers in the oil field so that the government had to meet their needs and a series of projects started to take place. Roads, harbor, airport and many other modern infrastructures were built. In this period the government also started to think of diversification trying to prepare the difficult soil and planting trees and vegetables, a good move was also to take advantage from the vast amount of fish available and transforming the fishing activity of individuals in an industry establishing the Qatar National Fishing Company.

With the strengthening of its economy Qatar started to be more and more known and integrated into the world and less dependent on Britain, even though when the British in 1968 announced they would withdraw from the area Qatar, as the other Gulf States, was taken aback and a fast reorganization was needed. The British had in fact enforced treaties and granted protection to the Gulf States for long time and when they left the areas meant for the Gulf States to find themselves in a vacuum that needed to be filled. As consequence
the Emir of Qatar Sheikh Ahmed started diplomatic talks with its neighbors and proposed the Federation of Arab Emirates in February 1968 including Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjiah, Ajman, Umm al Qaiwain, Ras al Khaimah, Fujairah and of course Qatar. Finally the Federation meetings resulted unfruitful and rare until the April 2nd, 1970 when the provisional constitution of Qatar was enacted ending completely the possibility of a Federation. After few months, September 1st, 1971, Qatar declared independence.

During the 1960s offshore oil began to be produced with a great increase in export and revenue becoming the backbone of the national economy. The ruler Sheikh Ahmed announced many development plans: the cement company and a development plan for the five years 1970 – 1975 that included a bag factory, a plastic plant, the expansion of fertilizer facility, a refinery and a gas plant. The oil income was also used to respond to the growing demand of the members of the ruling family and citizens, in fact in 1986 there were 32,549 people employed for the state and 44% of these employees were Qatari. A form of state subsidy programme had already started at that time, but with the fall of oil prices in 1980s, Qatar began to feel the consequences of its state policies. What the state did not forecast was the dramatic halt to its development projects that the crisis brought with it. New measures were

14 Zahlan, Rosemarie Said. The creation of Qatar. 104.
15 Crystal, J. Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar. 106.
needed other than delaying development projects. The employment also witnessed a stark arrest and cut in departments’ expanses. The crisis was felt so much that the government in May 1983 announced also that the utilities would have been charged as well as health care. In November the same year it announced that 300 employees had to be fired and after the further austerity of 1986 the measures to contain expanses were further harden. The Emir Sheikh Khalifa was in a delicate position as citizens were deprived of their basic rights granted to them until then and also the members of the ruling families that were holding senior position in the government started to show the dissatisfaction for the cut of the bountiful allowances they were accustomed to.

While during the pre-oil era Qatar depended on pearling and the merchants, after the discovery of oil Qatar had slowly realized that it was not independent, it dependence just shifted from an internal one to an external one. Since the discovery of oil, in fact Qatar has relied on outside forces for two main reasons “The first is an economic dependency. Qatar relies on major foreign powers for the purchase of its oil and gas. The second is a security dependency”\textsuperscript{16}.

Qatar showed its aversion to stay under any power in its very early history; in fact it was the first independent Qatari State under the sovereignty of the

\textsuperscript{16} Crystal, J. Oil and politics in the Gulf: rulers and merchants in Kuwait and Qatar. 167.
Ottomans during the rule of Sheikh Qassim bin Mohammed. The Al Thani family was entrusted by the other tribes settled in Qatar to be the representative of all of them. The Al Thani fought for the Qatari land with Bahrain and then under the British they did not accept to be submissive. Strengthened by the Oil revenue in the 1960s, Qatar started to desire for its independence due to its gained experience to deal with domestic and regional political issues and thanks to its wealth. From that moment Qatar could take the reins of its destiny.
Chapter 3 – Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani

Idiosyncrasies and Contextual Forces
On June 25, 2013 Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of Qatar since 1995 stepped down in favour of his son Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. This act that some might consider rare is rather common in the history of Qatar as it happened twice before and it was as much a surprise as when Sheikh Ali abdicated in favour of Sheikh Ahmed. Abu Ismael, a Lebanese author and journalist, states that as soon as word of the abdication of Sheikh Ali spread Lebanese and foreign journalists ran to his office to check the news, but his task was hard as there was no one in Beirut who could confirm or refute the information\(^1\).

**Genealogy**

Upon the death of his father, Sheikh Mohammed bin Thani assumed leadership of the Al Thani tribe and became the first ruler from the Al Thani family to rule Qatar. Sheikh Qassim succeeded his father Sheikh Mohammed. Sheikh Qassim is the founder of the sovereign Al Thani state under the Ottoman Empire. Sheikh Qassim ruled till his death in 1913. Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim took over after the death of his father. He signed the 1916 treaty with the British. In his era oil was discovered in Qatar but production was put off due to the outbreak of the Second World War. Sheikh Abdullah appointed his first son Sheikh Ali as his heir after the death of his second son Sheikh Hamad who was playing the role of Deputy. Sheikh Hamad was the second son of Sheikh Abdullah and the fact that he played the role of Deputy was not

\(^1\) Abu Ismael, Nadeem. *Māred myn Alsharq.* 19-21
due to law, as there was no law at that time to establish a Heir or Deputy, but because the eldest son, Sheikh Ali, was not interested in political matters. Sheikh Abdullah requested recognition from H.M.G., which was granted under the condition that the state of Qatar would implement the three outstanding provisions from the 1916 treaty. Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim due to old age abdicated in 1948, stepping aside in favour of his son Sheikh Ali who ruled the state from 1948. Sheikh Ali became the fourth Al Thani Hakim. He was born in 1892 at the time of his grandfather Sheikh Qassim’s last battle with the Ottomans. Sheikh Ali was awarded the British K.B.E of The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. During his time in power, there was a significant improvement in the state’s revenue due to oil exports, which led to urban development, improvement in healthcare and education. Sheikh Ali reigned for eleven years until his abdication on the 24th of October 1960 when he resigned due to his old age, his need of an ongoing traveling abroad for treatment, to dedicate more time for worship and in order to give chance to the young to assume power. The Ruler Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani, whose period is the focus of this study, ascended to power at the age of 36 after his father Sheikh Ali stepped down. He was appointed the ruler of Qatar by common consent of the ruling family and approval of the whole country. Sheikh Ahmed, born in Doha in 1924, is the second son of Sheikh Ali bin Abdullah Al Thani. At the age of six he entered a Qura’an teaching school and

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2 Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḥalī Ālḍānī fī Ṣīrāt Ālṣīrāhīk ʿAlīʾĀlṭhānī, 55-56
3 Knight Commander
4 Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḥalī Ālḍānī fī Ṣīrāt Ālṣīrāhīk ʿAlīʾĀlṭhānī, 206-218
5 Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. Qaṭār Mādiḥa wa Ḥādiruha, 367-371.
was educated privately under Ahmed bin Yousef Al Jaber\textsuperscript{6} who taught him religious studies, literature and history, as regular schools were introduced in Qatar only later by Sheikh Ali\textsuperscript{7}. Sheikh Ahmed had been taking part in the state’s politics throughout his father’s reign as he was the Deputy Ruler and his representative to oil companies\textsuperscript{8}. He was the first Emir of the state of Qatar as Qatar gained its independence during his reign.

When Hamad bin Abdullah the Heir of Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim and second son predeceased his father, the succession passed to the eldest son Sheikh Ali. The family was divided into two factions Al Ali (sons of Ali bin Abdullah) and Al Hamad (sons of Hamad bin Abdullah). The family agreed the succession not to be hereditary, but alternately from both branches: Al Ali and Al Hamad, for example if the Ruler is from Al Ali, his Heir and successor would be from Al Hamad and vise versa, an agreement the family didn’t follow\textsuperscript{9}. When Sheikh Ali decided to abdicate due to his old age and his need of an ongoing traveling abroad for treatment among other reasons\textsuperscript{10}, he chose Sheikh Khalifa the fourth son of Sheikh Hamad to be the Heir as Deputy to his son Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali to keep the balance between the two branches and was step by step appointed to cover various positions. Al Hamad family was satisfied by the decision, but there has been a rivalry between the two

\textsuperscript{6} A scholar, a poet, head of the office of the Ruler of Qatar and a government official. He was born in 1903 and played a significant role in the education of Sheikh Ahmed
\textsuperscript{7} Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḥulū Āljānī ʿfi Ṣirāt Ālṣheikh ʿĀlī ʿAAltānī. 493
\textsuperscript{8} Herb, Michael. All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in Middle Eastern Monarchies. State University of New York Press, 1999.
\textsuperscript{10} Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḥulū Āljānī ʿfi Ṣirāt Ālṣheikh ʿĀlī ʿAAltānī
branches since then\textsuperscript{11}.

Sheikh Ahmed’s reign was characterized by economic growth due to the discoveries of new oil fields among which the worlds’ first offshore oil and gas field called Idd al Sharqi. Because of the economic advancement in the sixties Qatar started to develop. The State introduced a modern administrative system, and the Ministry of finance was established. Development in Qatar was carried out consistently and gradually therefore Qatar founded for itself the base for a modern State which made it ready for its independence in 1971 after the failed attempt of the Union of the Nine Arab Emirates. Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali ruled until 22\textsuperscript{nd} of February 1972 when Sheikh Khalifa made the “corrective move” as Sheikh Khalifa himself called it, meaning that the coup had the purpose to correct the wrong decision taken year before to appoint Sheikh Ahmed as ruler. Sheikh Ahmed lived the rest of his life in Geneva and Dubai. He died on the 25\textsuperscript{th} of November 1977 in London where he was being treated\textsuperscript{12}.

**Personality and Background**

Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali had ten brothers and four sisters. Sheikh Ahmed first married to his cousin Sheikha Hessa bint Hamad, a sister of Sheikh Khalifa. His second wife is Sheikha Al Anoud bint Faleh Al Thani and his third wife is Sheikha Mariam bint Rashid Al Maktoum, the daughter of the former Ruler of


Dubai and the sister of the current Ruler Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum. Royalties used to marry from different tribes to insure their allegiances. His first wife was his first cousin; the second was the daughter of an important figure from Al Ahmad branch of the Family. His third wife is Sheikha Mariam bint Rashid Al Maktoum. He also got married to two other Sheikhas from different branches of Al Thani but divorced. Sheikh Ahmed had seven sons and daughters.

According to common people Sheikh Ahmed was very humble and for this reason more popular among Qataris than Sheikh Khalifa\textsuperscript{13} and many other members of the ruling family. For example in the garangao night, which is the 14\textsuperscript{th} of Ramadan, children used to go to Al Rayyan Palace where Sheikh Ahmed and his wife were giving candies and cloths to children. He was driving his own car and stopping to watch children playing football. It has been said that for Eid he was performing the sacrifice of the sheep according to Islamic rules by himself in his palace.

Another points that shows his character is the letter sent by the British Embassy in Beirut to the foreign office in UK regarding the Sheikh Ahmed visit to Beirut that states that it was a pleasant change dealing with Sheikh Ahmed after his father who never seemed to pay attention to what one was

saying and allowing other visitors to come up and interrupt. Other testimonies reports that: “Sheikh Ahmed is well-liked, and in a crisis, as was clear during the June war, he acted with energy and determination”\textsuperscript{14}. Sheikh Ahmed dedicated also a lot of attention to the concerns of the citizens; in fact his majlis was full every day\textsuperscript{15}.

Also during the settlement of the Abu Dhabi Qatar dispute the Sheikh Ahmed was very relaxed and confident and it struck the political agent in Doha that he was determined to see the problem settled as soon as possible\textsuperscript{16}. Qatar and Abu Dhabi finally reached an agreement on their long dispute in Doha on 20\textsuperscript{th} March 1969. Sheikh Ahmed was optimistic even before the meeting started, but Khalifa was the opposite with doubts on reaching an agreement with Abu Dhabi as he does not expect an agreement at all. Sheikh Ahmed said to the British Resident in Bahrain Sir Stewart Crawford after the meeting that he and Zayed “had been determined to reach an agreement, despite, Khalifa’s Kamel’s, Pachachi’s\textsuperscript{17}, and others”\textsuperscript{18}. Both states agreed on dividing share of revenues of Al Bunduq field\textsuperscript{19}.


\textsuperscript{17} Adnan Pachachi, the Adviser to the government of Abu Dhabi


British Officials who dealt with him describe him as not prone to violent temper\(^{20}\), politically shrewd and deeply involved in Ruling Family matters\(^{21}\): “… our influence with the Ruler is not nearly as strong as our treaty relationship (on paper)\(^{22}\).

**External or Domestic Forces that Shaped his outlook**

Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani’s personality was formed by several factors, but perhaps heavily influenced by his father Sheikh Ali who was an intellectual and religious person and was interested in literature and poetry. In fact, Sheikh Ali collected all the poems of his grandfather Sheikh Qassim bin Mohammed and printed a book. Sheikh Ali brought academics mainly from Egypt and Syria to teach people various subjects in Qatar. Sheikh Ali also printed books mostly in Lebanon and Syria and hosted informative meetings in his majlises in Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. He owned the largest library, which was open to the public. Generosity was one of his key traits for example when electricity and water hit the country he declared\(^{23}\) that the government shall pay electricity and water on the behalf of all Qataris as *Zakat*\(^{24}\). That is why until today Qataris are still granted free water and electricity.

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\(^{23}\) Al Thani, Khalid. *Ālhhulī Āldānī fi Ṣirat Ālsheikh Āli AAlthānī*

\(^{24}\) *Zakat* is the compulsory giving of a set proportion of one's wealth to charity. It is regarded as a type of worship and of self-purification. *Zakat* is the third Pillar of Islam (bbc.com).
While Sheikh Ahmed was his father’s Deputy and representative to oil companies, sometimes he carried the burden of leadership as he was an organized, tactful person. His collaboration helped in the improvement of education, healthcare, industry and trade. The government started to provide free healthcare and education to its citizen with a salary of 200 rupees to every student. Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali was a devout Muslim like his father. He dealt with state’s issues in an intelligent flexible diplomatic approach trying to make room for complaints.

Sheikh Ahmed was generous, as his father Sheikh Ali who built schools in the Trucial States, Sheikh Ahmed was also concerned by the situation in other Gulf Sheikhdoms as a matter of fact Sheikh Ahmed granted Dubai in 1959 its second largest debt. He also followed his father steps in building schools in Dubai carrying rocks from Qatar for their construction, considering that students from Trucial states use to travel to Qatar, Kuwait or Bahrain to receive their education. Of the Trucial State’s citizens who were educated in Qatar after moving there with his family is Dr. Mana Sa’id Al Otaiba the former Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of the United Arab Emirates in 1971 and the Adviser of Sheikh Zayed from 1990 until the latter’s death.

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26 Al Shebani, M. S. *Â’alâm myn AlKhalecj.*
27 Al Madani, A. A. S. *Âlnahda fl Qatâr*
29 Al Shebani, M. S. *Â’alâm myn AlKhalecj.*
30 Ibid.
31 The former Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of the United Arab Emirates in 1971 and the Adviser of Sheikh Zayed from 1990 until the latter’s death.
Emirates in 1971 and the Advisor of Sheikh Zayed from 1990 until the latter’s
dead in 2004.

Sheikh Ahmed was in charge of internal affairs at the time of his father’s rule.
He would meet with the public at his majlis and deal with their issues. Qataris
would show up anytime at his majlis with their complaints to meet with him.
“I saw him once getting into his car but stopped by someone who had a
complaint. After stopping his car and listening to the person he ordered that
his needs should be granted. As a Deputy he dedicates two days per week
working together with other Sheikhs to look into the public’s demands 32.

How and why did Sheikh Ahmed become Emir?

When Sheikh Ali bin Abdullah decided voluntarily to abdicate in favour of his
second son Sheikh Ahmed a consultation occurred at the Hakim’s majlis in Al
Rayyan Palace. The private meeting was attended by the royal family, other
notable leaders of the state, religious dignities, the British Acting Political
Resident in the Gulf M. C. G. Man and the British political agent in Qatar J. C.
Moberly 33. From this meeting resulted the proclamation by the Representatives of the people in installing His Highness Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali
bin Abdullah bin Qasim Al Thani, as Ruler and his Excellency Shaikh Khalifa
bin Hamad AL Thani as Heir apparent and deputy Ruler. The proclamation
stated that

32 Al Shebani, M. S. Ā’alām myn AlKhaleej
33 Al-Dabagh, Mustafa Murad. Qatār Mādiha wa Īhādiruha; Al Shuqair, Abdulrahman. A., Qatār fy
Mūdakarāt Ibn Mana’.
“We, the understanding of this historical document, Shaikhs of Qatar, its religious dignities, leaders and notables, in our capacity as Representatives of the people in the State, hereby proclaim as follows:…Our consultation has resulted in our concluding that the long period during which His Highness Shaikh Ahmad bin Ali Al-Thani has acted for his great father and during his father absence have established beyond any doubts that he by distinguishing himself, for being just, wise and upright has proved capable of administering the affair of his people properly and improving their conditions and also of sincerely wishing to lead them in the path of progress and advancement”34.

Sheikh Ali declared that renouncing his rule was a decision he made voluntarily because of his old age, his need of an ongoing traveling abroad for treatment, to spend time with God and in order to give chance to the young to assume power35. Sheikh Ahmed ascended to power on October 24th 1960. Three days prior to the accession, the sons of Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah, the late brother of Sheikh Ali, Sheikh Khalifa, Sheikh Jassim, Sheikh Suhaime, Sheikh Nasser, Sheikh Abdul Rahman and Sheikh Khalid had sworn

35 Al Thani, Khalid. M. Ālḥulfū ‘Āldānī fī Ṣirāt Ālṣheikh ‘Ali ‘Ālthānī
allegiance to their cousin Sheikh Ahmed in Al Rayyan palace\textsuperscript{36}.

The Al Thani had their chance to participate in the meeting. After a speech by the former Ruler Sheikh Ali stating that he had ruled the country for ten years and that he had passed the throne to his son Sheikh Ahmed, some of the attendees started to address their demands. Some of them were Sheikh Saud bin Abdul Rahman Al Thani\textsuperscript{37} and Sheikh Mohammed bin Jabor bin Mohammed Al Thani\textsuperscript{38}. Sheikh Saud bin Abdul Rahman Al Thani\textsuperscript{39} spoke mentioning that they choose Sheikh Ahmed as ruler and they requested to address some issues such as: Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice, and the prevention of girls’ education. Sheikh Ali interrupted saying that it was inevitable. Then Sheikh Mohammed bin Jabor bin Mohammed Al Thani\textsuperscript{40} read a paper that was comprised of several demands of them is Majlis al Shura he told Ibn Mana later on that his demands were reasonable and that no one objected. After that Sheikh Ali went around with a document so the present individuals would sign their acceptance to Sheikh Ahmed as the Ruler and Sheikh Khalifa as his Deputy\textsuperscript{41}.

After that Sheikh Ali went around with a document so the present individuals would sign and give their recognition to Sheikh Ahmed as the Ruler and

\textsuperscript{36} Al Shuqair, Abdulrahman. A., \textit{Qatār fī Mīdākarāt Ibn Mana’}.
\textsuperscript{37} One of the pillars of the royal family. one of the sons of the Sheikh of Al Wakra Abdul Rahman bin Qassim Al Thani.
\textsuperscript{38} Grandson of Mohammed bin Thani
\textsuperscript{39} One of the pillars of the royal family. one of the sons of the Sheikh of Al Wakra Abdul Rahman bin Qassim Al Thani.
\textsuperscript{40} Grandson of Mohammed bin Thani
\textsuperscript{41} Al Thani, Khalid M. \textit{Ālhulī Aldānī fī Sīrat Ālsheikh ’Ali ’AAlthānī}
Sheikh Khalifa as his Deputy\textsuperscript{42}. The document was signed by 49 members of the Al Thani family\textsuperscript{43}. Sheikh Ahmed then asked Her majesty’s Government for written agreement and recognition to the position of Sheikh Khalifa as Heir Apparent\textsuperscript{44}. This request from Sheikh Ahmed was to support the request that Sheikh Khalifa did immediately after the ceremony of Sheikh Ahmed as Ruler, in order to let him feel confident and secure. In fact Sheikh Khalifa stressed many times his request to the Government of her Majesty as he did not trust the greed of his own family as it is possible to infer from the office minute offering conditional recognition “…he [Sheikh Khalifa] will need every encouragement… to stand firm in the face of the rapaciousness of his own and other branches of the ruling family”\textsuperscript{45}. H.M.G recognized the ruling family declaration but they could not commit themselves to support a certain candidate for the succession\textsuperscript{46}.

Sheikh Ahmad’s reign was considered a real turning point in the history of Qatar, with the State of Qatar granted independence from the United Kingdom in 1971 and, at around the same time, acquiring vast wealth due to the discovery of untapped oil fields in the region.

\textsuperscript{42} Al Thani, Khalid M. Ālḥulū Āldānī fī Sīrat Ālsheīkh Āl Ḥalīāl “Alī ‘Ālthānī


The reign of Sheikh Ahmed terminated the 22\textsuperscript{nd} February 1972, when he was ousted with a coup planned by Sheikh Khalifa who called it a “corrective move” disobeying to the unanimous decision of the Representative of the people of Qatar as stated in the proclamation cited above. On October 27\textsuperscript{th} 1964 the press in Beirut reported that a Lebanese businessman was arrested for illegally importing 25 bazookas. The arms were said to be for delivery to Sheikh Khalifa and his brother Sheikh Jassim to be use to over throw the Ruler\textsuperscript{47} who doubted the loyalty of the security forces since long time\textsuperscript{48}.

Al Hayat paper reported in 1964, on October 28th that the recipient for bazookas in Qatar was Emir Khalifa bin Hamad several other papers said that the arms will be used to overthrow the Ruler\textsuperscript{49} and also Al Nahda paper of Lebanon reported that the plot was against the present regime.

Regardless the way the Emir Sheikh Ahmed was deposed, he was and remains the first Emir of the State of Qatar and the one who pose the foundation for the future of a modern country with a vision that still nowadays is a pillar for development.


\textsuperscript{48} McKearney, P. "British Political Agency, Doha to British Political Residency, Bahrain." 22 January 1964.

Under the reign of Sheikh Ahmed Qatar witnessed many improvements. He believed that education was fundamental for the growth of a civilized country, so a lot of importance was given to the enhancement of schools, teachers were recruited from abroad, many books were printed and new equipment was made available for the students’ benefits. Health service also increased and all people were granted free health care among many other privileges. The end of his reign signed the platform for the modern Qatar to conquer the position that he planned for it and its people in the world.
Chapter 4 – Qatar’s Foreign Relations During the Reign of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani

From 1916 Qatar had been under treaty relations with Great Britain. The treaty covers Qatar’s defense, and conduct of foreign affairs. In 1958 a confidential reassurance of protection against internal aggression was given to Sheikh Ali, the Ruler, which was renewed in 1963.

As a British protectorate, Her Majesty’s Government believed that Qatar would rely on them on conducting its external affairs, which wasn’t the case as this paper aims to show. Between 1960 and 1972 Qatar initiated founding for itself a base to become an independent State adopting a foreign relation that used mediation as its main tool. Qatar did not only aimed at independence, but also at strengthening its role in the region first, and internationally too. The tools that Qatar used to pursue this foreign relation were the strong personality and ability of its Ruler, Sheikh Ahmed, the economic wealth that blessed the country since 1960 due to oil discovery that allowed Qatar to offer foreign aid and mediation between tribes, states regionally and internationally. Mediation was also used in the occasions when Qatar itself was involved in disputes. In fact Qatar had it share of disputes with its neighbors because of the demarcation of land in the Gulf by British
Officials. These disputes affected relations between the States and caused strains in some.

Stating that just recently Qatar adopted an adventurous and pioneer foreign relation is not correct. Maybe it is correct to say that Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, who has been Emir from 1995 to 2013, set an agenda out of the traditional policy of all Gulf States before him and after Sheikh Ahmed; in fact there are many similarities as Sheikh Hamad retrieved the same foreign relation of Sheikh Ahmed with a modern flavor. Sheik Ahmed wanted to acquire independence and be recognized as a sovereign state; Sheikh Hamad wanted to stand out and strengthen its sovereignty after years of accepting to be the little brother of Saudi Arabia; a proof of that is that Saudi Arabia supported strongly Sheikh Khalifa during and after the coup in 1995. Another similarity is the approach to Iran. Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Hamad both understood the importance of having friendly relation with one of the most powerful country in the region, while the other Gulf States, in particular Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, have never been keen on entertaining such kind of relation. Also the tools used by both are very similar to the ones used nowadays. One of the characteristics of Sheikh Ahmad that is shared by the recent Emirs is the farsightedness, which helped them to lead Qatar to fast

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improvements. A second tool in the foreign relation of Qatar has been mediation, even if it has not been a constant.

**Mediation**

Kamrava reports Saadia Touval who says that ‘Mediation is foreign policy: it is a “broader framework of strategic action within the international and domestic political systems”’\(^2\).

Roberts reports Kleiboer’s definition of mediation that defines it as “a form of conflict management in which a third party assists two or more contending partiesto find a solution without resorting to force”\(^3\). Regardless how mediation is defined it is clear that it is an important tool for a small country such as Qatar, nowadays it could be a way of survival and prestige, but in the 1960’s it had a different purpose especially in its preparation for British withdrawal from east of Suez.

Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani realized that having a foreign relation based on mediation was necessary for a state to survive especially as small and new as Qatar. He mediated between tribes as well as countries regionally and internationally. He took advantage of meeting with the U.A.E to bring together the Trucial States.

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\(^3\) Roberts, David. "Qatari Mediation." *University of Durham* (n.d.).
During the meetings of the formation of United Arab Emirates Sheikh Ahmed took the chance to mediate between the Rulers of the Emirates. He talked to Sheikh Zayed about the necessity of mending fences with Sheikh Rashid over their mutual land and sea boundary convincing Zayed to write a letter to Sheikh Rashid to ratify the agreement they had done when they settled their frontiers verbally. He also spent time urging Sheikh Zayed to improve his relations with Sheikh Saqr of Ras Al Khaimah. As most of the Trucial States’ Rulers had lost confidence in Zayed and it was his time to prove that he was sincere to participate in the U.A.E as an equal partner not as a dominant leader.

During the third conference of the U.A.E Sheikh Ahmed worked hard to give it success after Sheikh Rashid threatened to boycott the conference if it took place in Bahrain. The efforts provided for the success of the conference that Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani exerted when mediating between the Emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Ras Al Kahimah were very successful. In February 1969 a three party meeting took place between Sheikh Zayed, Sheikh Rashid, attended by Sheikh Ahmed at Al Samha, Abu Dhabi. The meeting resulted in the delimitation of land boundaries between Abu Dhabi and Dubai as well as ratifying the sea boundary agreement that was demarked in 1968. Another meeting promoted by Sheikh Ahmed also happened in Al Samha; it brought together Sheikh Zayed and Sheikh Saqr Al Qassimi for the containment of the

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4 Boyle, R. H. M. "Qatar/ Abu Dhabi sea-bed boundary."
aftermath of a crisis between Abu Dhabi and Rash Al Khaimah. The crises erupted after the temporary migration of Al Khawater tribe to Al Ain in Abu Dhabi due to a dispute that broke out between them and the Ruler of Ras Al Khaimah. Finally the crisis ended with their return to Ras Al Khaimah.

Another example of co-operation between Qatar and the Trucial States is when Sheikh Sa’id bin Shakhbut Al Nahyan left Abu Dhabi for family reasons and took refuge in Qatar for three months until his uncle Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan visited Doha to bring him back. The mediation between the two of Sheikh Ahmed resulted in a settlement of their divergences.

One of Sheikh Ahmed's quotes is "… my greatest wish is to see Qatar's people and the rest of Arab nations, assuming appropriate position in this world, and for the Arabs to be in accordance with their will to create a stronger unity and that the Arab flag to be waved over of Palestine and Algeria …". Sheikh Ahmed in fact was a man of words as he played a great role in the independence of Algeria officering his palace in Evian Switzerland from 7-18 March 1962 to the revolutionist to use as they were having difficulties to secure their meetings and documents because of the vicious intelligence war waged against them. Sheikh Ahmed assured the safety of the delegation and secured their mobility. Secure telephone lines were also provided for the Algerian revolutionists. To ensure their safety he offered his palace for their

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5 Al Yousef, Dr. Yousef Khalifa. AlEmārat Alārabya AlMutahāda ‘ala Muftaraq Turuq.
6 McKearney, P. "Qatar diary no. 12 of 1962 for the period December 1 - 31."
7 Al-Shebani, Mohammed Shareef. Emārat Qatār Āl Arabiya bayn ĀlMādžīhi wa Ālhādīr. 328
accommodation. At that time Qatar did not aim at receiving any benefit. The intervention was kept secret for almost 40 years when it was released by the Abdul Majid Chikhi the director General of National Archives Establishment (Algeria) thanking Qatar and explaining its role in gaining independence to the Qatari newspaper Al Arab. He said that it was so secret that even in Algerian school was taught that a third party mediate and helped Algeria during the revolution without mentioning who the third party was, assuring the Algerian revolutionists safety and success. While Qatar could use all the information against Algeria, it did not interfere, it just offer its help showing that the purpose of this mediation was purely for solidarity.

On the contrary Qatar had recently pursued a mediator role through conflicts in the Middle East and Africa as a way of its branding strategy. However Qatar never achieved the goal to put a fight to an end, a quote of a Qatari diplomat noted: “Qatar had carefully selected those conflicts in which it has played a mediating role, concluding beforehand that its chances of success are fairly positive”, shows that Qatar choose the conflicts where it would have a high possibility of success and it could be appreciated worldwide. To not jeopardise their work, mediators keep silence, which was not the case recently.

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8 Taleb, Shabboub Abu. “’Abdūlmajīd Shīkhī: Qaṭār Ra’at Mūfāwādāt Iṣṭīqlāl Aljazār.” Interview conducted by the researcher with Mr. Abdel Majid Shaikhi, the Director General of National Archives Establishment (Algeria).

Although Qatari mediation has been criticized recently, one could argue that it was successful in the past as the mediation during Algerian independence was just an example, but in many other cases Qatar proved a fair and successful mediator.

On April 8th 1961 an explosion of the Motor Vessel Dara struck the Arabian Gulf waters. British believed that Omani rebels were behind the attack. The rebels were driven out of Oman by British troops in 1959; since then the rebels initiate a series of terrorist attacks. Two of the men believed to be part of the attack lived in Qatar. One of them worked for the local Coca cola plant and the other worked for Q.P.C. The men were arrested in the await for the Ruler’s return. The British asked Sheikh Khalifa to hand the two men to Sheikh Rashid, but Sheikh Khalifa demanded a direct request from the Sheikh of Dubai. Sheikh Ahmed assured the secretary of State his full cooperation in preventing terrorist activities, but refused to hand the men to Dubai stating that the explosion didn’t happen in Dubai maritime area and that there was a lack of evidence. He then asked if the arms smuggler would testify against them and would await Sheikh Rashid’s visit for final decision.  

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Ahmed bin Ali negotiated with the Sultan of Oman Sa’id bin Taymour regarding the same terrorists. Sa’id bin Taymour sent a letter to Sheikh Ahmed about the attacks the terrorists were involved in. The reply of Sheikh Ahmed was that they will continue keeping the two persons in custody as a precaution and guarantee for the current investigations\(^\text{15}\). There was no evidence of their involvement in crimes neither in Muscat nor in Dubai, but Sheikh Ahmed took measures for arm trafficking from Saudi Arabia to Oman as preventive measure\(^\text{16}\).

Other than these examples of mediation there are also examples were foreign aids were used as solidarity.

**Foreign Aid**

Qatar uses aid nowadays as part of its mediation policy, it however gave aid in the past to its unfortunate neighbors and States where there were conflicts not necessarily playing the role of mediator. In the period ranging from 1960 to 1972 Qatar gave aids in form of cash and other necessities, for example to serve education, development and social welfare. Upon a request of Sheikh Rashid, Sheikh Ahmed sent his Legal Advisor Dr. Hassan Kamel to Dubai to give advice on his concession agreement with Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd\(^\text{17}\). Qatar helped Dubai to build its first paved roads, bridge

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\(^{15}\) Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Letter to the Sultan of Muscat."


and municipal water system; all this was a present of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani.\textsuperscript{18}

Qatar was also an active member in the Trucial State Development fund contributing with money to help the poorer Northern Trucial States in addition to materials aid for education, medical and to face other needs.\textsuperscript{19}

During the 1960s Qatar Government was deeply involved in spreading education in Trucial States, opening schools, providing them with teachers, equipments and giving away scholarships to students of the Omani Coast to study in Qatar.\textsuperscript{20} The delegation of Qatar’s government to the Trucial States in 1971 consisted of 64 teachers and administrators performing all over the States. Qatar had constructed 7 different schools and was supervising several schools in Ras Al Khaima providing them also with books, tools, as well as transportation to some of them.\textsuperscript{21} The government of Qatar was furthermore contributing in the Trucial State Development Fund.\textsuperscript{22} Sheikh Ahmed also supplied the Trucial States with arms “gifts of a rich man to his less fortunate cousins”, but not only its unfortunate cousins enjoyed help, Qatar also extended its aid to other Middle Eastern and North African countries.

\textsuperscript{21} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Ya‘īm Ālʾelm fī Qaṭār" ĀlMūṣāhar 07 May 1971.
The government of Qatar didn’t limit itself in giving aid with their neighbors, Qatar contributed heavily though wide efforts in serving the Arab causes and submit aid regularly to Palestine Liberalization Organization\(^{24}\). When the Foreign Minister of Egypt Fawzi\(^{25}\) visit Qatar he brought a letter from the Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in which he spoke about the situation in Yemen; the necessity for hospitals and schools and the terrible situation of poverty and disease. Fawzi suggested that Qatar should follow Kuwait and give a loan of GBP 1 - 2 million to Yemenis repayable over 10 years but Sheikh Ahmed knew that he would not have received back the money, so the Ruler and Sheikh Khalifa decided to offer GBP 100, 000 to the Yemeni Bank of Reconstruction and Development\(^{26}\) as gift.

On his first visit to Jordan august 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) and august 5\(^{\text{th}}\) 1961 Sheikh Ahmed contributed J.D. 3000\(^{27}\) to charities, and JD. 100,000\(^{28}\) allocated by the Council of Ministers for expenditure on the Armed Forces and the National Guard\(^{29}\). During the 1967 Middle East crisis Qatar contributed a GBP1 million to the U.A.R., $470, 000 to Syria, $397, 000 to Jordan as relief fund\(^{30}\).

\(^{24}\) Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Naqṭat Āltāḥawīl fī Ḥaṭṭāt ĀlEmāra Āl’arabīya Ālsā’eda"
\(^{25}\) Mahmoud Fawzi Foreign Minister of Egypt from 1952 – 1962 (http://www.mfa.gov.eg)
\(^{27}\) approx. 2,999.00 GBP according to exchange rates in 1961
\(^{28}\) approx. 99,969.00 GBP according to exchange rates in 1961
During the 1967 crises in the Middle East from Six Day War to War of Attrition, Sheikh Ahmed gave GBP 50,000 to The Palestinian Liberation Organization and offered assistance for the travel expenses for Palestinians who wished to proceed to Egypt to help their fellow citizens in addition to a permission that was given to the P.L.O to hold meetings under Government supervision provided they keep order. He also imposed the Palestinian Dirham to be dealt with in government departments in Qatar and the profit had to be used to support the Palestinian question. Sheikh Ahmed sent a letter of support to Nasser. Qatar Government made effort to help the Jordanian government after the cease-fire between Jordan and Israel. Qatar sent ten lorries laden with tents, clothing, tools, blankets and other necessities attended by Sayid Ali Ansari, the Director of Immigration.

Qatar’s foreign relation’s main feature recently is its role as a mediator and negotiator in a number of conflicts and Qatar aids are an important aspect of its mediation cases. Qatar has intervened in conflicts with humanitarian aids and financial aids. In Yemen Qatar reconstructed the Saada area and helped with 500 million dollars and in Sudan two billion dollars were offered for the reconstruction of Darfur in addition to one billion dollars invested in agriculture. In Lebanon Qatar also helped with very substantial amount of

31 Interview with Al Badi, Hussain.
money and the boards reporting the sentence “Thank you Qatar” along with Qatari flag were exhibited everywhere around the country. The same happened in 2012 in Gaza as well as in many other countries. But all these helps brought to Qatar many critics “Qatari humanitarian aid to Mali has sparked rumors, spearheaded by Algeria—reportedly unhappy with Qatar’s support of most Arab Spring revolutions—that Qatar is using humanitarian missions as an excuse to send weapons to armed groups in northern Mali…”\(^\text{34}\)

“In November 2011, Libya’s United Nations envoy, Mohammed Abdel Rahman Shalgam, told Reuters: ‘There are facts on the ground, they [Qatar] give money to some parties, the Islamist parties. They give money and weapons and they try to meddle in issues that do not concern them and we reject that’\(^\text{35}\).

The cases of mediation reported above are good examples that show not only that Qatar is not new as mediator, but clearly emphasize the different aim, approach and in some ways tools used in mediation in the past compared to the more recent mediation activity.

**Advancement of Qatar Nationally 1960-1972 (U.A.E.)**

After Britain announced its withdrawal from the Gulf in January 16\(^\text{th}\) 1968 and in consideration of the vacuum that it would have created in the region, the idea of a federation among the Emirates came out to light to face the


greediness that arose among western countries to take over the role of Britain in protecting the strategic interests of the west in the region. A number of projects appeared as agreements between the Arabian Gulf Emirates to create a federation under the patronage of a super power to fill the vacuum. There were some attempts from the Rulers of Emirates to bear the expenses of British military presence but were not successful. The idea of the creating the federation of the nine emirates emerged at that point.

“Contrary to expectation, 1968 was a year of tremendous advancement for Qatar, both politically and economically” as one of the most important political move was the Dubai agreement of February 1968 that brought all nine Gulf states together to form a loose union. The Government of Qatar exerted extensive efforts for the creation of the Union of the Nine Emirates, which first meeting took place in Dubai in 1968 when Qatar signed the “Dubai Agreement”, the agreement that consolidate the terms of the federation. Qatari's took the lead on this issue throughout the year of 1968. King Faisal agreed with Qatar that a federation between the Gulf Emirates was appropriate to ensure stability, security and peace in the region and expressed the readiness of his Government to increase economic, technical, and cultural co-

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38 ibid. 198-207
operation with the members of the federation. Qatar exerted a lot of efforts to set up a successful Union as it believed that it was the best solution for the problems in the region to insure its security and stability after the British announcement of withdrawal from the region by 1971 as it believed in friendship with Saudi Arabia and Iran in order to maintain stability in the Gulf, and saw that a federation of U.A.E was a way to build a bridge between the two major powers in the Gulf after 1971. Qatar saw itself as peace-maker between Iran and Bahrain on one hand and Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi on the other. A policy that suited Qatar very well as it did not have any claims upon itself. Qatar had more than any other State to give the Union a chance because of Sheikh Ahmed’s personality, which was different than other Qatar’s representatives who tend to rub others the wrong way. His stature and reputation with other Rulers is on the upgrade. The progress over frontier settlement was “very much the personal contribution of Sheikh Ahmed”.

Although Qatar exerted good efforts in resolving Bahrain’s dispute with Iran, it was also anxious to maintain its good relations with Iran because Qatar recognizes as potentially the strongest power in the Gulf along with Saudi Arabia. For this reason Qatar was determined to keep its relations sound with Saudi Arabia and Iran.

As the protagonist of the Union of the Arab Emirates, Qatar was hated

40 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qatār, Nuqṭat Āltawwâl fī Ḥaṣāṭ ĀlEmârâ Āl’arabîya Ālsâ’eda”
especially because of the leading role it adopted and because of the jealousies from its neighbors. “I believe the U.A.E can happen, and that Qatar can play a major role. It is friendly with Iran; friendly with Saudi Arabia” 43. Unfortunately the Union failed at the second half of 1970 because of jealousies particularly between Qatar and Bahrain44 having Qatar demanding Doha to be the capital of UAE as it was more advanced than the other cities. Later on there were talks of Union of: Qatar, Dubai and Abu Dhabi45.

**Relations between Qatar and Gulf States how they were and if they change**

When Sheikh Ahmed came to power Qatar had still not settled its disputes with Abu Dhabi, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia concerning their boundaries. Qatar didn’t always rely on H.M.G to conduct its external affairs unlike Abu Dhabi, for example Sheikh Shakhbut expressed surprise over permitting Qatar to enter into an agreement with KSA for example46.

By the beginning of 1960s Qatar had not yet settled its southern frontier with Saudi Arabia albeit a proposal was introduced in the Dammam conference from Sheikh Ali in 1952. Relations between Al Thani and Al Saud of Saudi Arabia were very strong. T. F. Brenchley in a Foreign Office minute reported

43 Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
that Sheikh Ahmed has “good, if younger brother relations” with the Saudis.\(^47\)

After he ascended to the throne Sheikh Ahmed tried to arrange discussions with the Saudis regarding Qatar’s southern frontier and the division of the seabed in the Gulf of Salwa. The Saudis confirmed that they recognize the line Sheikh Ali put forward in 1952\(^48\), however if Qatar had a claim beyond that line, King Faisal was willing to negotiate about it. Reaching a decision about the Gulf of Salwa had been very crucial to Sheikh Ahmed as he was convinced that sea-bed drilling there would produce results and wanted to invite offers from companies for a concession\(^49\). Sheikh Khalifa the Deputy Ruler and the Saudis agreed on a line without consulting H.M.G which made them give a note to Qatar stating that they do not accept any agreement which envisaged a Qatar/ Saudi boundary extending the east of the Riyadh line modified in 1955\(^50\) as they consider the east of the Qatar’s southern line is with Abu Dhabi\(^51\). Qatar and Saudi signed agreement on December 4\(^th\) 1965\(^52\).

But on the 1\(^st\) December 1965 H.M.G issued a statement expressing that they cannot accept the line\(^53\). King Faisal ratified the agreement in 1965 but the agreement was never ratified by Qatar despite H.M.G’s protests over the terms

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\(^{48}\) Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."


of the agreement as it interfered with the 1955 Riyadh line between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi.\footnote{Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1967."}

Qatar and Abu Dhabi had their share of disputes over the island of Halul (which is inside Qatar’s seabed), other several islands (three are in the assumed Qatar seabed), and land boundary. Sheikh Shakhbut claimed a large portion of Qatar land and waters between Qatar and Abu Dhabi. The unreasonable claims by Sheikh Shakhbut caused a troubled relationship between the two countries. By the end of 1960 Sheikh Ahmed asked for international arbitration on the ownership of Halul as he thought it was the best way to settle the dispute\footnote{Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."} and wanted to solve the Halul problem urgently for the exploration of oil as Shell company was going to build expensive installation for the exploration.\footnote{Arabian department. "Summary on Abu Dhabi/Qatar problem." Records of Qatar 1961 - 1965. 1962. Ed. A. L. P. Burdett. Chippenham, 02 January 1962.} The Island of Halul was granted to Qatar in 1962 after Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali had presented evidences such as photographs to H.M.G.’s political resident in the Gulf.\footnote{Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Letter from H.H the Ruler of Qatar to H.E the political resident, Bahrain." Records of Qatar 1961 - 1965. 1962. Ed. A. L. P. Burdett. Chippenham, 10 March 1962.} British officials believed that Sheikh Shakhbut would be very resentful towards Sheikh Ahmed for awarding Halul to Qatar. However their meeting on July 1965 was a
successful one and Shakhbut was invited to visit Qatar to solve the questions of the other islands\(^5\).

Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Zayed who represented Abu Dhabi on behalf of his brother Sheikh Shakhbut negotiated to settle their boundary, when Sheikh Ahmed presented a median line for the division of the Khor between both countries\(^5\), Sheikh Zayed did not accept the line as he considered the whole of Khor Al Odaid belonging to Abu Dhabi. Sheikh Ahmed was acting reasonable and wise as Qatar was short of money and needed the extra wealth that would be brought from oil operations in the area\(^6\). After Sheikh Zayed took over from his brother Sheikh Shakhbut, he commented that “we could now look forward confidently to a new era of friendly relations between Abu Dhabi and Qatar”\(^6\). For a complete settlement of sea and land boundaries Sheikh Ahmed decided to discuss the Khor al Odaid question with Sheikh Zayed in a friendly and personal approach\(^6\). For Sheikh Ahmed an international arbitration was the last option and should never need to be reached, so he confirmed that he was ready for a compromise line to settle the Qatar - Abu Dhabi frontier problem that conveniently divides Bu Hanin and Al Bunduq progressive


oilfields. Sheikh Zayed didn’t take it at all well and refused to accept the median line or share the fields. The two Rulers then benefited from meetings of U.A.E and had private talks during those meetings to discuss their frontier reaching a provisional agreement in October 1968. According to British Officials Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali the Ruler of Qatar had made progress in building up friendship with Sheikh Zayed. After settling the Qatar - Abu Dhabi question, the Saudi - Qatar boarder agreement was ratified in mid 1971.

The relation between Qatar and Bahrain were strained due to the Bahraini attitude towards Qatar and their claims over Zubarah and Hawar Island. The history of the dispute started in 1939 when the Political Resident awarded Bahrain the island of Hawar. In 1947 Her Majesty’s Government declared an award so that Bahrain Petroleum Company could explore the seabed between Qatar and Bahrain, by laying down a division of the southern part of the seabed between the two countries. Sheikh Abdullah bin Qassim, the Ruler of Qatar at that time, accepted the line with a reservation about the award of the

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island of Hawar to Bahrain, however the Ruler of Bahrain Sheikh Salman never accepted the award as final and claimed in 1961 the ownership of all the sea between Qatar and Bahrain. To try to ease those feelings and improve the relations between the two states, the ruler Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali made a striking gesture by ordering two days official mooring on the death of Sheikh Salman, and by sending his father Sheikh Ali, to pay the condolences of the Al Thani in person even though Sheikh Ali had been to Bahrain once as a ruler before and his visit went without repay from Bahrain. According to the British Political Agent in Qatar, this act improved the atmosphere between the two countries.

In spite of Sheikh Ahmed’s attempts to reduce the tension, the Ruler of Bahrain was acting otherwise. There were a number of incidents that happened in the early 1960s and proved to be detrimental to the bilateral relationship. The first was when the Ruler of Bahrain Sheikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa refused to send back to Sheikh Ahmed a consignment of ammunition that had been sent to Bahrain in transit. The second was the discrimination from Bahrain against Qatari shipping and export of foodstuff, which caused harm to the relations and provoked the Ruler to take measures.

70 Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
71 Ibid.
against it. The discrimination was “in strong contrast” to an earlier incident in the month when Bahraini travelling in a Gulf Aviation plane re-routed to Doha (to take Sheikh Rashid, the Ruler’s guest, back to Dubai) refused to disembark. On this event the Ruler Sheikh Ahmed was “all sweetness and said that he would never have considered such a rerouting had he known passengers were on board”.

The relations between Qatar and Bahrain were difficult due to the “irrational” feeling of Sheikh Isa towards Zubarah that was shared by his brothers Sheikh Mohammed and Sheikh Khalifa. The two states agreed to international arbitration in the mid 1960s.

Qatar decided on having recourse to international arbitration over the island of Hawar for many reasons, the most important were:

1. The government of Bahrain when discussing their claimed to amend the median line refused to discuss the demand of Qatar to assert Qatar’s sovereignty over Hawar. They rather excluded Qatar’s demand from the amicable discussion, which they proposed.

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75 Ibid. 345.
2. The dispute between Qatar and Bahrain consisted of two points: Bahrain’s claim to amend the median line and Qatar’s demand to confirm Qatar’s sovereignty over Hawar islands.

3. After agreeing that the dispute consists of two points, the Government of Qatar took many steps in its implementation, which cost the Government much effort and money. Among these steps there was the wide legal research, the drawing of a complete draft arbitration agreement, the agreement with Professor Charles Rousseau, Professor of Public International Law at the Faculty of Law and the University of Paris to act as Qatar’s arbitrator in their dispute with Bahrain.

Sheikh Ahmed’s genuine intention to settle the difference between Qatar and Bahrain was sensed by Sheikh Isa and Sheikh Khalifa who took a strong liking to Sheikh Ahmed upon their visit in 1967, which they believed it extended to all members of the Al Thani except Sheikh Khalifa. It is important to note that the last Bahrain Ruler who visited Qatar was Sheikh Isa’s grandfather 40 years prior this visit in 1967. During this visit Qatar intended to discuss not only the sea-bed boundary with Bahrain but also all problems concerning the Gulf as a whole such as public security, education, immigration, trade, etc., which was never discussed in any event. After the visit their relation became

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friendlier. Qatar attempted to solve the dispute particularly over Hawar peacefully by arbitration, but then again Bahrain withdrew its agreement to arbitration in 1971. Sheikh Ahmed’s character has always been flexible towards Hawar. It is Sheikh Khalifa who was brought up “in the anti-Bahrain tradition by his father, in the same way that the Al Khalifa were trained to look down at the Qataris by Sheikh Salman”.

Numerous attempts had been made to solve Bahrain - Qatar question before Bahrain’s withdrawal from arbitration and after, by the British and the Saudis, but none of them resulted in an improvement. Qatar and Bahrain continued to be irreconcilably divided until the GCC Doha summit in 1990 when both States reached an agreement on the dispute. In 1991 Qatar filed in the Registry of the Court an Application introducing proceedings against Bahrain in respect of disputes relating to "sovereignty over the Hawar islands, sovereign rights over the shoals of Dibal and Qit'at Jaradah and the delimitation of the maritime areas of the two States". In 2001 the International Court of Justice in Lahay found Qatar sovereign over Zubarah, Janan Islands and Fasht ad Dibal falls, Bahrain over Hawar and Jaradah Islands.

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80 Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968.”
Relations between Qatar and Iran

Qatar and Iran relations have been friendly since they settled their sea-bed frontier in 1966. They had since then been in more contact than usual as no outstanding problems existed between the two states. Qatar and Iran co-operated in different ways, for example; in 1966 the Iranian Ambassador to Kuwait visited Doha, the visit resulted in setting up a temporary office to issue passports to all Iranians who entered Qatar illegally.\(^{85}\)

Qatar had been in frequent contact with Iran the Ruler himself and his most trusted servants crossed the Gulf to Iran several times. Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Ahmed, the Ruler’s eldest son, received military training in Iran. The most important reasons for the regular contacts was Qatar’s ambitions for the success of the U.A.E. as Qatar believed it was important to keep in touch with the Iranians because of their claims of Bahrain and also because of the large number of Iranians working in Qatar who must be kept politically safe.\(^ {86}\) Sheikh Ahmed believed that if the U.A.E continued steadily and gathered strength, Iran would not have insisted on their claims to Bahrain even if they did not drop their claims altogether.\(^ {87}\) Sheikh Ahmed was also very appreciated by the Shah of Iran; that is proved by Gupte who reports that the


\(^{86}\) Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968."

Shah of Iran confirmed he “would not press the long standing claim on Bahrain”\(^{88}\) as long as Bahrain is part of the UAE. Qatar and Iran median line agreement was ratified in 1970\(^{89}\).

Qatar mediation policy resulted successful in all the cases investigated regardless the tools that were used. When Qatar used foreign aid such as in the cases of UAE, Algeria and Palestine they helped to improve and facilitate the conditions of the recipients. When the Sheikh Ahmed engaged in mediation, also his characteristics were important as he knew how to get the trust of the parties involved and how to keep even the most strained relations friendly, such as the cases of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia or Iran. The Shah of Iran in fact stated in various occasion that he would have accepted always Qatar as mediator. Also for this reason Qatar could witness strong improvement in all fields, securing safety and wealth to its people.

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\(^{88}\) Gupte, Pranay. *Dubai: the making of a megapolis*. 148

Chapter 5 – 1960 – 1972 Implication of Sheikh Ahmad on Modern Qatar

The State of Qatar was going through massive changes in the era 1960 – 1972, from the re-organization of the Government and finances to becoming a fully independent sovereign State by late 1971. The day when Qatari pledge their loyalties to His Highness Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Al Thani as the Ruler and His Excellency Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad as Deputy Ruler and Heir apparent signed the turning point in the renaissance of the State\(^1\) as it began moving forward toward advancement and development. The 1960s were the years where the foundation of modern Qatar was established and the vision of Sheikh Ahmed, the Ruler, was the one that shaped the future of Qatar. Qatar has been continuing to build on Sheikh Ahmed vision till nowadays. For example the way of dealing with Iran, with the revolution during the Arab spring and with the Palestinian question, just to mention some.

The first steps that led to the modern Qatar started by having a new national plan that differed greatly from the previous national plan as it included the implementation of political, economical and social changes. In the years from 1960s until 1972 Qatar achieved outstanding accomplishments in different

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\(^1\) Al Saiyed, Fouad. “Qaṭār, Nuṣṣat Āltuḥawwāl fī Ḥarāt ĀlEmāra Āl’arabiya Ālṣā’eda”
fields and a significant international position for its positive productive participations in regional and international affairs. Qatar’s accomplishments came one after the other in the fields of politics, trade, industry and social services.

The region was going through severe changes after World War II, especially in the period from late 1950s till the beginning of 1970s. Those events led to the spreading of different political movements through the Arabian Gulf and the initiation of their societies throughout the Arabian Gulf States.

The period from 1966 until 1972 saw an acceleration of modernism for Qatar and brought a significant shift from its formal protectorate relationship with Britain, which evolved for 150 years, to full independence.

When Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali assumed control over the state in October 1960, it was experiencing some underlying weaknesses as Qatar Government was being urged by British Officials to reform its finance and administration. The most important drawbacks the State was going through were for instance the ongoing rivalry between the Ruler and his Deputy Sheikh Khalifa, the extravagances of the Ruling family; the large amount of the state’s income

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2 Al Saïyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Āltāḥawālī fī Ḥallāt Āl’Emāra Āl’arabīya Āl’sā’eda”
taken by them; their large debt, the huge debt of Sheikh Ali, the former Ruler, and the gradual running down of the administrative framework\(^5\). The Ruling Family’s debts amounted to GBP 2½ million in general market and GBP 3 million to the Darwish\(^6\).

Beside the weaknesses previously mentioned a number of strikes took places in early 1960s. The most important of them are perhaps the Q.P.C’s strike in 1960; which is the longest in the history of the company and the Organization of National Unity’s strike of 1963\(^7\).

The demonstrations of 1963 were motivated by the 1963 revolution in Iraq even though they were not against the Ruler who already reduced his and his family allowances, but instead Sheikh Khalifa as mentioned by Morphet in his letter to Bahrain political residency\(^8\). At their initiation there were only a thousand strikers with a large proportion of Yemenis and Persian taking part but no Qataris were involved\(^9\). However later in the same year in April 1963 another demonstration of 5, 000 people belonging to the Organization of National Unity, supporting Arab Nationalism and Nasser celebrating agreement on Arab Federation took place. It continued for three days until halted when a member of the Ruling Family opened fire on the demonstrators wounding three. The Sheikh who shot on the demonstrators fled Qatar.

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\(^5\) Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
\(^7\) Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
afterwards. The incident caused rage among Qatari oil company employees who went on saying publicly that it is time for Sheikh Rule to end and for a republic to be created¹⁰.

The Government of Qatar started taking actions after the longest strike of Q.P.C., by issuing an order forbidding any demonstrations taking place without the permission of the Government¹¹. As a matter of fact the future demonstrations of the Organization of National Unity happened after receiving an official permission from the Qatar Government¹².

The shooting incident led to another strike involving Shell, Q.P.C workers, shop-keepers and taxi drivers protesting against the event¹³. Sheikh Ahmed met with the Al Thani, then issued a proclamation forbidding further strikes or meetings and promised that those who were involved in the shooting incident would be punished; in fact work continued normally the next day¹⁴. Finally the Sheikh who fled the country was handed to the police for imprisonment together with three other main figures¹⁵.

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¹¹ McKearney, P. "Doha to Bahrain."
The representatives of the Organization of National Unity requested reform within existing framework of the Government. The long list included that Qataris should be appointed to head Government departments, total Arabization of security forces and employment of Qataris therein, special treatment of Qataris in Government employment, equality before the law and finally that those involved in the shooting incident shall be brought in front of the law, … etc.\textsuperscript{16} Their demands were taken into consideration by Sheikh Ahmed\textsuperscript{17} who, after an attentive study, declared willingness to discuss but refused to negotiate under pressure\textsuperscript{18}.

The Ruler Sheikh Ahmed and Deputy Ruler Sheikh Khalifa already saw the need for reform even if they were opposed by members of the Ruling family\textsuperscript{19}, but Sheikh Ahmed was not yet in full control of the situation and still backed up by his own tribe\textsuperscript{20}. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait offered their help to the Ruler which threatened Great Britain’s interest “… if the Ruler reverts to his threat to look elsewhere for help, you could tell him that no one but Her Majesty’s Government would be interested in keeping Qatar independent or allowing him to use its oil revenues”\textsuperscript{21}. The Ruler nevertheless declared that a Reform was his responsibility and was not at all to seek British reassurance as it was

the right thing to do for the country (ruler’s meeting with PR)\textsuperscript{22}. As a matter of fact the Ruler met with the Al Thani to discuss the proclamation he presented, which they approved once they understood the great need for reform after the occurrence of several meetings\textsuperscript{23}.

### Domestic politics, affairs and finances of the Ruling Family

Domestically the era 1960 – 1972 was the time when Qatar government was re-organized on the basis of modern system following the recent boom in every aspect of life. A feature of that is the appointment of Dr. Hasan Kamel the former Egyptian ambassador to France to be the Advisor for the Ruler of Qatar\textsuperscript{24}. The structure of the government from 1965- 1971 has been well-organized with good administration within the department that led to a period that saw an acceleration of modernism for Qatar\textsuperscript{25}.

At the dawn of 1960s the Government of Qatar was experiencing some weaknesses, the Ruling family attains a large proportion of the State’s income whether in direct allowances from the State or goods and services obtained from government departments without payment\textsuperscript{26}. The Ruler Sheikh Ahmed gave away large allowances to people from different tribes supporting the Al

\textsuperscript{24} "ĀlJazīrā Āl’arabīya Warā’ Nahḍāt Qaṭār." ĀlMūṣābih Nahįn Āl’arab 1963
\textsuperscript{25} Henderson, E. F. "Qatar annual review for 1971."
\textsuperscript{26} Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
Thani, the number amounts to around eight thousand Qatari and their allowances vary from a few hundred to several thousand rupees\textsuperscript{27}. The Ruler’s quarterly payment to other members of the family, and to the bedu, is estimated at GBP2 millions\textsuperscript{28}. The allowance of a member of the Al Thani family was about GBP13,000 a year which is a huge amount compared to the allowance of the Ruler of Kuwait at that time that estimated about GBP12,000\textsuperscript{29}; in spite of that the Al Thani were asking an increase. The ruling family was pressing the Ruler for more money as soon as he came to power, causing him to delay his travel plans sometimes. The pressure was coming from different branches of the Al Thani\textsuperscript{30}. In his first year of reign they asked him for a full quarter of the income of oil to be divided among themselves\textsuperscript{31}. In a conversation between him and the political resident about the financial situation in Qatar, and as a response to the proposal of reducing the ruling family share to third; the Ruler mentioned that Qatar is a small and a patriarchal state, that he had a traditional duty to look after his family and their tribal supporters who had stood by them in the days of their poverty. He stated that a large proportion from his quarter share was spent in fulfilling the supporter’s obligation and that even though his family was pressing him for


more money, he was acting in the limits of the possible and that his position depended on them. Sheikh Ahmed decided on a 10% increase after he received a united heavy pressure from the ruling Family. Cochrane (the commandant of police) mentioned in a meeting to the political resident that he believed if the Ruler had not given away in increasing his family’s allowances they could and would make his position impossible and that the Ruler’s hint of assassination to the British Official in a previous meeting was not ill-founded.

By 1966 the Ruling family allowances were about Rs. 4.5 millions per month and in spite of that they were asking for an increase due to Shell’s increased revenue. But the Ruler stated that if an increase would happen it will be after the Ruling Family members pay their debt to the souq. After increased pressure the Ruler decided to offer some reasonable increase which the Al Thani rejected, so Sheikh Ahmed withdrew the offer and resisted to any further increase request. As a result the Al Ahmed faction of the Ruling Family made revolting scenes and boycotted Sheikh Ahmed’s majlis.

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To face financial difficulties the Government of Qatar was experiencing, Sheikh Ahmed started to tackle the financial issues starting with himself. To pay some of his father’s debt he obtained a loan of GBP1 million from the Ottoman Bank in 1961 therefore his 25% share of oil royalties went to the Ottoman Bank. Other efforts that the ruler has made to improve his personal finances were reducing his traveling and paying his own debts with the souq in the year of 1962. Finally by April 1962 the ruler settled all his debts of roughly GBP250,000 to local creditors. To reorganize his own finances the Ruler brought into Qatar in 1962 the firm of Deloitte, Plender and Griffiths, and recruited an efficient official to control palace administration. Sheikh Ahmed’s efforts to curb expenditure resulted in the closure of many small activities such as garages and workshops and the dismissal of 200 employees.

The contrast between Sheikh Ahmed and his father Sheikh Ali was striking as between July 1958 until his abdication in October 1960, The Ruler’s father Sheikh Ali had extracted in addition to his share of oil income, Rs.44 million from general government revenue while Sheikh Ahmed had taken only Rs.203, 000 from June 1960 to June 1961.

37 Political agency, Doha. "Confidential annex to Qatar economic report for 1961."
“… Sheikh Ahmed has abandoned his father’s bad practice of borrowing heavily from the government share of oil income and from Qatar Petroleum Company to supplement his quarter share of oil revenue…”42. By the end of financial year of June 1962 the government of Qatar was still within its income and had been able to add to its reserves which stood at GBP 21.6 million43. In addition Sheikh Ahmed paid the Government for material and equipment used by him personally, instead of commandeering them for his personal use44.

Despite those difficulties the Ruler introduced a reform, which was implemented gradually, by stopping supplying the Ruling Family with free services that they used to enjoy. Sheikh Ahmed stated in a meeting with the Political Agent that “he must maintain the solidarity of his family by carrying them forward with him on the path of reform”45. Sheikh Ahmed eliminated and reduced some of the Ruling Family’s privileges. For example the monthly allowances for new-born children to the Ruler and members of the Ruling Family were reduced from Rs. 4, 000 to Rs. 2, 00046. By1964 the Ruling family were not permitted to confiscate materials from Government Departments for their own use47. Electricity and water charges were also

45 Luce, W. H. "Record of conversation with the Ruler."
reduced by more than half\textsuperscript{48}.

According to the political agent in Qatar the money that the Government of Qatar spent to support its people’s extravagances does not impede government expenditure on development and social services\textsuperscript{49}. But it was feared by the British that Sheikh Ali, members of the Ruling family and the Darwish will prevent it from making much progress. Sheikh Ali spent GBP600,000 of the Ruler’s money, and the Darwish continuously urged him to take building projects\textsuperscript{50}.

The government began facing the challenge of reform immediately especially after several strikes that took place that resulted in shooting and imprisonment. The Ruler also took into consideration the demands of the Organization of National Unity and British Officials who were urging the Qatars to reform even before Sheikh Ahmed came to power. The Government of Qatar took over postal business and by 1963 the Department became effectively Qatari\textsuperscript{51}. After the shooting incident that happened during 1963 demonstrations a member of the Ruling Family was imprisoned and brought within the compass

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\textsuperscript{51} Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
of the law for the first time\textsuperscript{52}.

At the time of Sheikh Ahmed’s reign the first Qatari Government organizing domestic affairs was established\textsuperscript{53}. The development of legislation and organization in Qatar was consolidated by attention and exertion of the Government. On November 5\textsuperscript{th} 1961 Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali issued five decrees, one of them was a decree establishing a Ministry of finance and appointing Sheikh Khalifa as Minister of Finance\textsuperscript{54}. Sheikh Ahmed issued several laws that demonstrate the effort exerted including law no. 1 of 1962 and law no. 2 of 1962.

Law no. 1 of 1962 organizes in its first decree the higher administration of the Government and identifies and refines the authority of the Deputy Ruler\textsuperscript{55}. The law provides the establishment, as the central organ of Government, a general Department that consists of subsidiary Departments of Financial, Administrative and petroleum Affairs to be controlled by a Director General. Law no. 2 of 1962, concerns the organization of General Financial Policy in Qatar, it is devoted to financial administration and policy and sets out the basic financial principles to be observed by the Minister of Finance who has the controlling responsibility, subject to the Ruler’s approval of a general

\textsuperscript{53} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Madīnah Ḥadīthah fī Shamal "Qaṭār". ĀlMūṣāḥar. 04 June 1971
\textsuperscript{54} Walmsley, A. R. "From foreign office to Washington."
\textsuperscript{55} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Aḥta'awūl fī Ḥawāt AlEmlā'īya Āl’arabiyya Ālṣā’eda"
financial programme\textsuperscript{56}. The law sets out a series of theoretically limiting principles in accordance with which financial policy is to be framed. These include the definition and regulation by law of the collection and expenditure of public money\textsuperscript{57}. A provision was made that these principles could be consistent with the constitutional rules in force in modern states, with the necessary care that the circumstances and requirements of the country should have their due consideration\textsuperscript{58}.

Albeit their previously mentioned rivalry and their distinct characteristics, Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Khalifa collaborated for the benefit of the country and the reform, as Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Khalifa compensate each other due to the qualities of each one. They divided responsibilities between them, which resulted in the machinery of the government running smoothly\textsuperscript{59}.

The law of the organization of the Qatar municipality was issued in 1963 and is still in force. Decree No. 6 of 1963 regulates the election and appointment of the members of the Municipal Council still in force\textsuperscript{60}. The Municipal Council is constituted of eighteen members; fifteen are elected on the basis of one from each district into which Doha has been divided and the other three


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{59} Winchester, I. S. “(1014/ 62G) Despatch No. 9 Doha to Bahrain.”

\textsuperscript{60} Al Meezan. Qatar legal portal.
are appointed by the Ruler\textsuperscript{61}.

Sheikh Ahmed in 1963 set up Higher Advisory Council that consists of educated individuals to participate in debates of fundamental problems connected with general policy of the State in all matters, and to issue a body of laws necessary for the development of the Qatar society as well as the relations between the people who live under its protection\textsuperscript{62}. Laws and decrees were signed by the Ruler “acting on the advice of his Advisory Council”\textsuperscript{63}.

The constitution was announced on April 1970 and the cabinet was appointed for the first time on May of the same year\textsuperscript{64} when Sheikh Khalifa the Deputy Ruler became Prime Minister\textsuperscript{65}.

When broadening the government was proposed, Qatar set up a council of ten ministries without a Ministry of Defense and Foreign Affairs as it didn’t want to raise any doubt on its good intentions towards going ahead with the U.A.E. There was also an Advisory council of 20 members with just the task of writing proposals to be presented to the Council of Ministers without any executive authority\textsuperscript{66}. The Advisory council was constituted by 20 members.

\textsuperscript{64} "Review of events in Qatar in 1970."
chosen by the ruler among the 40 elected. The constitution states that Qatar is a member of the United Arab Emirates.

The first council of ministers constituted of ten members, one of whom was the Prime Minister. The Ministries were initially established were:

1. The Ministry of Finance and Petroleum
2. The Ministry of Education and Culture
3. The Ministry of Interior
4. The Ministry of Justice
5. The Ministry of Public Health
6. The Ministry of Public Works
7. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
8. The Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture
9. The Ministry of Communications and Transport
10. The Ministry of Electricity and Water

The Government of Qatar had done everything possible to ensure that the constitution does not conflict with the U.A.E. The constitution, in fact, set 10 Ministers without the Minister of Defence and Minister of Foreign Affairs as Qatar believed that the Federation should be in charge. The new cabinet was

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69 Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "The provisional constitution for Qatar." 584-616
working in a good way and Ministers were quite enthusiastic\textsuperscript{71}. It also started a constitutional development by forming a consultative council \textit{majlis Al Shura}\textsuperscript{72}.

A sign of the reform assumed by the Ruler was that foreign interference used before to supply the Government with expert to fill the deficiency\textsuperscript{73}, by 1963 was almost non-existent. In 1970 the Government of Qatar a provisional constitution that consisted of 77 decrees was issue and the Government then formed a Ministry that consisted of ten Ministers led by Sheikh Khalifa also being the Minister of finance and petroleum while Sheikh Abdul Aziz, son of Sheikh Ahmed, was the Minister for Heath\textsuperscript{74}. The first provisional system was revised in 1972 after the country’s independence.

The 1968 saw an important incident that is evidence to the wisdom of Sheikh Ahmed. When two factions of the Ruling family started a war-fare, as a consequence a young Sheikh of Al Ahmed was shot in head and died in hospital. The Ruler’s nephew was arrested as the primarily responsible. After a week of deliberation the Ruler decided that his nephew should suffer the death penalty. Sheikh Ahmed stood against pleas of his father, brothers and their families for his nephew’s life, if Sheikh Ahmed had chosen otherwise the

\textsuperscript{73} “\textit{ĀlJazrā Āl’arabya Warā’ Nahdāt Qatār}.” \textit{ĀlMūsahar Nāhān Āl’arab} 1963
\textsuperscript{74} "Review of events in Qatar in 1970."
Al Ahmed faction would have took justice in their own hands and both factions would engage in a battle that could have had a devastating end. “in this new era one family can no longer be above the law”\(^ {75}\) “this action of Sheikh Ahmed had brought him more respect and prestige”\(^ {76}\). A new Ahmed had emerged as head of a rapidly developing state.

By 1969 few government ministries and department had members of the Al Thani participating in their work\(^ {77}\).

**Foreign affairs**

Qatar set up a Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the failure of the Upper Council meeting in Doha “because of the obstinacy of Bahrain and its refusal to set up Union Administrative Departments among which are the Department of Transport, Education, Health”\(^ {78}\). Setting a Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not mean that Qatar changed its position towards the U.A.E, but it would help the Gulf Emirates to strengthen the proposed Union\(^ {79}\). The reason for setting up a Ministry of Foreign Affairs is that Qatar would be prepared whether the Union succeeded or failed as it would have needed diplomats acting as liaisons within the Union if it succeeded.

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\(^ {75}\) Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968." 199.
\(^ {76}\) Ibid. 199.
\(^ {77}\) Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
\(^ {79}\) Ibid. 410.
Economy, Business and Trade

Towards the end of Sheikh Ahmed’s rule Qatar was further advanced economically than the other Gulf States. In Qatar a fundamental survey of the possibilities was not needed as in less developed countries as the *prima facie* of several industrial projects were viable, already completed or undertaken. 1971 was a good year for Qatar commercially and a year that showed a great promise for the immediate future. Qatar’s oil revenue in 1970 was about GBP58 million and was expected in 1971 to be close to GBP80 million. As expected the state’s revenue in 1971 rose to GBP70 million and it was expected to rise again to 100 million by 1977.

Qatar is the richest per capita countries in the world nowadays, but being one of the richest nations is not new to this State. Between 1960 till 1971 Qatar was among the richest per capita in the world, by 1961 it was probably the highest per capita income in the world over GBP20 million for about 50,000 inhabitants. In 1970 its per capita was higher than the UK and in 1970 the population of Qatar of around 100, 000 enjoyed a GNP per capita of GBP800

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By the end of 1960s the economic field was the brightest field for Qatar even if it was advancing in many others. Qatar was able to contribute not only to its economy but also to the economy of the Trucial States especially if the federation had been created.

Qatar’s economy followed a steady progress in development. During the 1960’s Qatar was directing its finances and energy into infrastructure such as the improvement of the airport, roads, water supplies, and other service instead of building offices and accommodations like the previous years. The State built a corniche, with a cost of Rs. 6,000,000 in 1961, constructed a 2 million gallon water reservoir, started the development of a new power station at Ras Abu Abboud with a completion target date by 1962, also a GBP4m project of dredging a channel for Doha port was authorized. By 1968 sudden shortages and cuts in Doha became very rare due to the considerable extensions made in both water desalination and electricity output.

The first phase in building the corniche was completed in 1961. The money on constructing the causeway was spread over a fairly large number of Qataris as

85 Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
86 Ibid.
87 Approx. 450,710.00 GBP
89 Walmsley, A. R. "Qatar economic report for the quarter ending September 30, 1961."
91 Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968."
the work had been given not to a single big contractor but to the powerful taxi
drivers’ association which operated lorries owned by many different Qatari.
The scheme has thus been the means of spreading a little extra money in the
souq because business activities were slow due to the large debts owed by
members of ruling family to the merchants.\footnote{Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."}

The southern part of the Dukhan-Doha road to Salwa was completed at a cost
supplied from the new gas pipeline from Dukhan to Ras Abu Abboud, which
was also associated with a half million gallons per day desalination plant\footnote{Political agency, Doha. "Qatar economic report for the quarter ending June 30, 1962." Records of Qatar 1961 - 1965, 1962. Ed. A. L. P. Burdett. Chippenham, 10 July 1962.}. Half of the 30-megawatt power station was ready before the end of 1962; the
other half was completed in mid 1963, however, in order to meet the full
requirements of Doha a second 30-megawatt power station was planned\footnote{Mc Kearney, P. "Qatar economic report for 1962."}. The
power station supplies power for Umm Said and Doha\footnote{Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."}. The pipeline was
completed during Sheikh Ahmed’s first year of reign but it was brought into
operation on June 21st 1962, its gas was in use in September of the same
let, the airport new runway would then be able to receive VCIO aircraft.

The government of Qatar wanted to build also a free port and asked for Mr. Langley’s views but he did not think that many of the Gulf merchants would make use of such service. Not only new projects were under analysis for the development of Qatar, but also the relation between the government and the oil companies was a matter of great consideration for the ruler as oil was the unique source of wealth for the country.

The relations between Shell and Q.P.C on the one hand and the Government on the other were excellent. Although 1961 labour relations in oil companies were better than in previous years, November 1961 saw one of the longest strikes in the history of Q.P.C. The ruler had always been supporting the claims of the workers against the oil companies, but as it started to threaten the position of the ruling family he has for the first time given instruction to the police to maintain order backing them up with his own servants. This firm action taken by the ruler has done much to improve the morals of the police and of the oil companies. At the beginning of 1960 oil export reached the

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99 Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
100 Mr. Langley was the British employee of the American company Arthur D. Little. Who was carrying out the economic survey of Qatar asked for by the ruler
102 Henderson, E. F. "Qatar annual review for 1971."
103 Moberly, J. C. "Qatar annual review for 1961."
highest in previous years\(^{104}\) at 8,143,707 tons, but had elevated to 17,120,915 tons in 1971\(^{105}\) with the discovery of new oil fields such as Maydan Mahzam and Idd Al Sharqi. In just one year the government revenues had increased from Rs. 223 million in June 1960 to Rs. 281 million in June 1961\(^{106}\).

Qatar’s application for full membership was approved at the OPEC Caracas conference in 1961\(^{107}\). OPEC held its first conference in Doha on December 1969. The Government of Qatar staged an important international conference with a good arrangement despite the limited facilities Qatar had available\(^ {108}\).

On 1963 Her Majesty’s Government wanted to conduct a political agreement with Continental Oil Co. after their ratification with the Government of Qatar. The government of Qatar signed a concession agreement with Continental Oil Company that included all areas not assigned to Shell or Q.P.C\(^ {109}\). The Ruler and Dr. Kamel objected to the agreement\(^ {110}\). The position of Sheikh Ahmed after making it clear that he opposes the idea of a separate political agreement between the H.M.G and Oil companies\(^ {111}\) forced the British to question the purpose of a political agreement. They concluded that an agreement for

\(^{104}\) (1962, 185). The figure of 1960 was 7,977,915 tons.

\(^{105}\) Al Saiyed, Fouad. “Qatar, Nuqatay Al thawawil fi Ḥaṭat Al Emara Al ’arabiya Al ’aṣā’eda”

\(^{106}\) Winchester, L. S. “(1014/62G) Political agency, Doha to British residency, Bahrain.”

\(^{107}\) Moberly, J. C. "Confidential annex to Qatar diary no. 1 ."


protection was “anachronistic” as Qatar had modern administration with nearly 20 years experience of dealing with oil and that Qatars then did not need their protection vis a vis oil companies. However another valid objective for an agreement was to protect British’s interests for example: for their defense and to ensure the frontier they had already drawn. By 1964 Shell that was already producing 30,000 barrel a day from Idd Al Sharqi oil field discovered a second oil field at Maydan Mahzam. Shell’s revenue was put into reserve and development.

By 1964 Shell that was already producing 30,000 barrel a day from Idd Al Sharqi oil field discovered a second oil field at Maydan Mahzam. Shell’s revenue was put into reserve and development.

In spite of the great revenue from oil, the Government of Qatar understood the need to diversify its economy in preparation for the depletion of oil. “Qatar is ready for the future with new resources after the depletion of oil” it was revitalizing its businesses and creating new industries. Oil revenues from three oil companies, two of which produced 17 million long tons of crude oil per annum, encouraged Qatar building reserves and diversify.

Among other projects a 100,000 ton per annum cement factory that was completed in 1969. Other projects included an aluminum plant with a cost of GBP40, million, fertilizer plant for the production of Urea, development of agriculture and vocational training for artisans began in 1969. The hope of a

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112 Brown, F. D. W. "Bahrain to foreign office."
114 --- "Report of a meeting with His Highness the Ruler of Qatar - 2, 1966."
115 "AlJazira Al’arabia Warâº Nahdat Qatâr." AlMusaabar Nahn Al’arab 1963
116 Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
117 Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
diversified economy would make the future of Gulf States stable, prosperous and secure within a wealthy federation\textsuperscript{118}.  

Social and economic infrastructures were well developed, but the government was keen to broaden the base of the economy and was following a general policy of industrial diversification\textsuperscript{119}. The Government was putting in use current oil revenues to create productive projects that prepared the country to adopt other resources, for that reason the Government had brought international experts to conduct an economical study and produce a programme for total economic development in the future.

The Government of Qatar was encouraging foreign capitals to invest in the country. Sheikh Ahmed said in an interview that a group of expert was hired to conduct an economic plan and advice about a complete study for economic development and discover new reliant resources other than oil that could be used when oil depleted. By 1963 Qatar started gradually to depend on local trade and agents after being dependent totally on importing its purchases from abroad. Therefore the State established a “purchasing office” after the Ruler issued Law (11) of 1962 concerning the establishment of commercial register\textsuperscript{120}. Ordinance No. 11 of 1962 of commercial register organization states that a commercial register office shall be established to control all the companies and a book shall be kept under the title of “The Commercial

\textsuperscript{118} Boyle, R. H. M. "Ranald Boyle's valedictory despatch from Doha."
\textsuperscript{119} Wilmhurst, J. B. "Report arising from a visit to Qatar 9 - 12 February 1970."
\textsuperscript{120} "ĀlJazīra Āl’arabya Warā’ Nahḍat Qaṭār." ĀlMūsālḥar Nahn Āl’arab 1963
Register” wherein names of merchants, Qatari or foreigner, individuals or companies shall be enrolled and the licensing of all commercial premises issued. This law was enforced for the first time in Qatar. The Ruler called for the establishment of the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and issued the law (4) of 1963 concerning the establishment. The Participation of foreigners in commerce or industry in Qatar is regulated by Law (20) of 1963. The law required all businesses or partnerships after the date of its announcement to have at least 51% capital Qatari.

The goal of the Government was to diversify and be less dependent on Oil, so it turned to promoted private capitals to invest in industry and national projects as collaboration with the Government. Some of these projects are: Qatar fertilizer Company (QAFCO), flour mills, Qatar National Fishing Company. The government also started cement factory and a factory for drying fish and dehydration. To encourage Qatari investors, business men and companies and ensure success; Qatar Government participate in grand business projects by acquiring shares of a company when it is established, then after the project was consolidate it did an initial public offer.

Qatar had a small agricultural industry that developed over the period 1961-

121 "Al Jazira Al’arabia Wara’ Nahdat Qatjar." AlMusahar Nah Al’arab 1963
122 Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
124 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qatjar, Nuqat Atta’awullah fi Hanat AlEmara Al’arabiya Alsaa’eda"
125 "AlJazira Al’arabia Wara’ Nahdat Qatjar." AlMusahar Nah Al’arab 1963
126 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qatjar, Nuqat Atta’awullah fi Hanat AlEmara Al’arabiya Alsaa’eda"
1969; by 1969 there were 4,000 acres under cultivation. As a result Qatar became self-sufficient and even exported a small quantity of its own produced products. The agricultural expansion was between 10 - 15% per annum\textsuperscript{127}. The State encouraged local farmers to produce their own vegetation; provide them with free seeds and call experts for digging wells, trying to insure self-sufficiency\textsuperscript{128} as a matter of fact Agriculture and Trade exhibition became an annual event more and more impressively and important each year\textsuperscript{129}. As a matter of fact for the first time in 1964 the souq was filled with locally grown produces with tomatoes being exported to Kuwait\textsuperscript{130}.

In 1964 the Government of Qatar established Qatar National Bank or QNB with a capital of Rs. 14 millions, of which the Qatar Government will provide half\textsuperscript{131}. Establishing a national bank was against the recommendation of economic consultants\textsuperscript{132}.

The Qatar Government in 1964, appointed American consultants (Arthur D. Little) to produce an economic investigation to the Government. Qatar Government started considering change in currency from Gulf Rupee. The consultants believed that the death of Nehru\textsuperscript{133} or a renewed Chinese attack on


\textsuperscript{128} “ĀlJazīra Āl’arabya Warā’ Nahḍat Qaṭār.” \textit{ĀlMūṣahar Nahn Āl’arab} 1963


\textsuperscript{132} British political agency, Doha to Bahrain recedency., 26 May 1964.

\textsuperscript{133} Minister of External Affair of India
Indians could result in a serious flight from the rupee\textsuperscript{134}, which would result in a depreciation of the Gulf Rupee as it had no separate backing. As a result a new Gulf currency idea was proposed that could be used throughout the Trucial States.

The Gulf Rupee was used as currency in the Arabian Gulf between 1959 and 1966. It was equivalent to the Indian Rupee and was issued by the Government of India and the Reserve Bank of India. When India decided to devalue the Rupee, the government of Qatar considered it illegal and wanted to present a case against the Government of India in front of the world’s court\textsuperscript{135}. The Gulf States started adopting their own currencies. Qatar tried its best to set up a common Gulf currency and drafted a currency agreement (Arabian Gulf Currency)\textsuperscript{136}. Qatar agreed to guarantee the value of the rupee at its old rate not only in Qatar but also in Dubai and the Trucial Sates\textsuperscript{137}. However the hope for a common currency circulating in the Southern Gulf States diminished because of the frontiers issues, jealousies and the deteriorated relations between Qatar and Bahrain. As a result Qatar and Dubai co-operated and introduced the Qatar and Dubai Riyal which was adopted by Trucial States with the exception of Abu Dhabi. The Qatar and Dubai riyal


was equal to the Rupee before its devaluation. The value of the Qatar and Dubai Riyal was granted by the United Kingdom after meetings with Qatar to maintain the sterling value in terms of the United States dollar of the sterling assets of the Qatar and Dubai Currency Board\textsuperscript{138}. The currency was adopted in Qatar between 1966 and 1973.

Qatar Government started investing in the United Kingdom; the Qatar investment fund in London is managed by Baring Brothers\textsuperscript{139}. The government also wanted to invest pounds 2.5 million in New York. The amount including interest will remain in the United States and would not be touched by the Government or the Ruling Family (if oil runs out)\textsuperscript{140} by 1966. The Government of Qatar had invested GBP12 million in the United Kingdom, $7-8 million in the United States of America, GBP8 million as a liquid reserve in Doha, Qatar National Bank has half of it. The Qatar Government’s reserves stood at approximately GBP24m. at the end of 1965\textsuperscript{141}. The Government of Qatar invested 1 million Sterling in Chase Manhattan Bank in London and the same amount in Nippon Kangyo Bank in Japan\textsuperscript{142}. The 1970 saw an increase in foreign influence mainly in commercial

\textsuperscript{139} Mckearney, P. "British Political Agency, Doha to C. W. Long, Esq., Arabian Department, Foreign Office." 08 June 1964.
guise in competition with British, particularly Japanese and French.

**Laws and Jurisdiction**

Although legal and judicial systems of Qatar were at the beginning of 1960s much less developed than those of Bahrain, conditions appear to be suitable for quicker growth and it was quite possible that more progress could be made in Qatar in the near future than in Bahrain. The reasons for the different prospects in Qatar was the different attitude of the ruler and the appointment of Dr. Hassan Kamel. By the beginning of 1960s the administration of justice in the Ruler’s jurisdiction was very primitive at that time the Ruler’s courts was made of a Sharia court presided over by a Qadhi and a secular court controlled by the Deputy Ruler. Her Majesty’s Government exercised both criminal and civil jurisdiction over most non-Arab nationals in Qatar.

The legal system and jurisdiction were much less developed than those of Bahrain, however the Ruler worked on developing a corpus of law to meet the needs of a modern state. Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali of Qatar proposed that a partial transfer of jurisdiction could take place as in 1960 H.M.G indicated that it would consider transferring jurisdiction if legislative and judicial

144 Abdullah bin Zeid Al Mahmoud
146 Moberly, J. C. "Memorandum on legat and judicial systems in the persian Gulf States and their future development, extract regarding Qatar."
condition in Qatar improved in the same way as in Kuwait\(^{147}\). Sheikh Ahmed proposed that a new court should be set up in within his jurisdiction with sole competence if affairs regulated by the labour law\(^{148}\). H.M.G agreed in principle to the limited transfer of jurisdiction under the proposed Labour Law\(^{149}\). The transfer of jurisdiction came into effect on February 1964 after the labour court was set. Sheikh Ahmed introduced labour law together with the laws establishing the labour court and defining its rules of procedure that appeared in the Official Gazette in April 12 1962\(^{150}\).

An alliance of the chief Qadhi and the large employers was instigating a jihad against the Labour Law in order to postpone its coming into effect for a third time; their rallying cry is the sanctity of Islamic law\(^{151}\). The labour law’s effective date had been previously postponed from June 1 to September 1, and then had again been postponed *sine die* owing to strong opposition from the Qadhi, the large employers and other important figures and the Ruler’s father Sheikh Ali\(^{152}\). In 1962 a law was issued relating to the establishment of a Labour Court in Qatar. This kind of law specialized in Labour disputes is


\(^{149}\) Walmsley, A. R. "Proposed partial transfer of jurisdiction in Qatar."

\(^{150}\) McKearney, P. "Qatar labour law."


original and not common in most countries\textsuperscript{153}. Labour jurisdiction was transferred to Qatar Government and the control in other fields such as immigration and commercial registration.

In the first year of the reign of Sheikh Ahmed several laws have been issued including a law establishing the Qatar Official Gazette; a law relating to Qatar nationality; a law relating to the qualifications of doctors and dentists; a law relating to the sale of pharmaceutical drugs and a law relating to companies. Every law is published in the Official Gazette and come into force 30 days after the date of publication\textsuperscript{154}. Law (2) of 1961 concerning nationality and the regulations for acquiring it was annulled only in 2005\textsuperscript{155}. Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali ordained law No. 1 of 1961 of establishing an official Gazette for the Government that will publish all legislation issued after the effective date of the law for the purpose of making all people aware of the issue of any new legislation\textsuperscript{156}.

In that period for Qatar was important the way Saudi Arabia developed as it was directly exposed to Saudi Arabian influence that is shown in the Wahhabi Puritanism and the reluctance on setting up a modern legal system which was

\textsuperscript{153} Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
\textsuperscript{155} Al Meezan. \textit{Qatar legal portal}.
opposed by the Qadhi (Abdullah bin Zeid) and Sheikh Ali. Commercial ties between the two countries are close and the Al Thani family has always taken care to maintain a friendly relation with the Al Saud.

Qatar set up courts with reasonably good procedures codes and trained judges\textsuperscript{157}.

**Social services**

The first population census of Qatar was undertaken in the spring of 1970 resulting in a population of 115,000 - 120,000\textsuperscript{158}.

By 1963 half of the State’s revenue was used to finance a welfare state; education and medical services were entirely free\textsuperscript{159}. The government of Qatar set up a department incorporating the Labour Department, called the Labour and Social Affairs. It was specialized in dealing with labour problems according to the Labour law and in proposing programmes for social reforms. The programmes dealt with social insurance, child and mother welfare, family affairs, works or charity and benevolence, it fought unemployment, and the struggle against homelessness and vagrancy. In fact Law (9) of 1963 was issued about regulating social Insurance and was concerning the establishment of Labour and Social Affairs’ Department\textsuperscript{160}. Another law that was issued in 1963 was law (8) of 1963 which concerned the establishment of a Labour and

\textsuperscript{157} “Review of events in Qatar in 1970.”


\textsuperscript{160} Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
Social affairs Department and recommended a programme of social reform relating to social insurance, welfare of orphans, mother and family; and works of charity\textsuperscript{161}. The social insurance programme of monthly allowances benefited widows with children, widows without any kind of support, orphans, citizens who are totally incapable of work, citizens over 60, as well as every citizen who earned less than 300 riyal a month whom the government will pay the discrepancy\textsuperscript{162}.

The Government of Qatar, Qatar National Navigation and Transport Company and seven of the biggest merchants in Qatar teamed up on 1964 to form the Qatar Insurance Company with a capital of Rs. 1, 500, 000 a princely sum nowadays. The company insured accidents, fire, marine and aircraft risks but not life insurance\textsuperscript{163}. The company completed 50 years in 2014 and expanded to the whole GCC region, Middle East and Africa\textsuperscript{164}.

With the abundance of resources the Government of Qatar issued a law in 1964 in favour of low-income citizens to create housing units ranging from 4 – 6 bedrooms depending on the size of the family, 677 units from 1250 were constructed by 1971 with a budget of 21 million riyals. The Ministry of labour


\textsuperscript{162} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Āltaḥawūl fī Ḥaṭḥat ĀlEmāra Āl‘arabiya Ālşā’eda"\textsuperscript{162}


\textsuperscript{164} ‘Qatar insurance company <http://qic.com.qa/index.php?page=about-us>.\textsuperscript{164}
and social services’ aim was to create 150 units per year in the future. During the period ranging from 1960 – 1972, the government of Qatar started to develop remote villages in order to provide them with modern amenities such as electricity and water. That was part of a plan that aimed at creating modern beautiful cities alongside Doha that would offer modern amenities identical to large cities; from harmonious buildings and organized roads to regular schools, mosques and hospitals. Al Shamal and Al Khor cities were chosen to be among those modern cities. The cost of the units in Al Shmal was 2 million riyals, 800, 000 riyals for inner roads. Al Shamal City was developed by early 1970s. It consisted of new housing units in the northern part of the country provided with water, electricity, healthcare and education.

The British Political Agent stated in 1970 “In Doha there are new buildings and streets, and there has been some sensible development in the country villages”. The Egyptian journalist Fouad AL Saiyed spent 7 days in Qatar on 1967, he stated in an article about Qatar on the Egyptian Magazine Al Musawwer that there was an over flowing in the construction of traditional public housing in Rodhat Al Kheil which was located in southern part of Doha the town was chosen for different advantages; the availability of electricity, could easily be provided with water, for its linkage with the new sewage.

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165 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Madīna Ḥadīthah fī Shamal "Qaṭār". ĀlMūsāhar, 04 June 1971
166 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Madīna Ḥadīthah fī Shamal "Qaṭār".
project and its proximity to main vital services such as schools, mosques, construction sites, souqs and shops. The first batch of the housing consisted of blocks of 4 or 8 houses surrounded by broad streets on all its sides. The houses are about 148 to 166 meters with an additional garden. The beneficiary could pay for the housing unit in a period of 20 – 25 years as monthly installments that starts on the second month of receiving the if the beneficiary paid 70% of the installment on a regular basis the remaining amount could be canceled depending on the person’s living condition justified it. If the beneficiary dies, or suffered from any form of disability his inheritors are relieved from the payment. There were also other low-priced housing possibilities especially for the disabled, blinds or people over 60. “…wandering around these houses I was shocked by the high standard of living of Qatari’s living there. I asked a person who said that the government built us these housing unit with instructions from our current Emir and heir apparent, the government was also instructed to help us in furniture those houses with a loan of 2500 riyals for each beneficiary. After paying the installments and owning the house the living standard of those who benefitted from the traditional housing rose\textsuperscript{168}.

The Government of Qatar provided pure water to its entire citizen out of charge\textsuperscript{169}. All citizens without any discrimination benefited from free medical treatments, which expenses were born by the State. The State would send

\textsuperscript{168} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Iiqā' Jadīf m‘a ĀlJadīda li Ḥaʿāt ‘Qaṭār’.
\textsuperscript{169} Al Saiyed, Fouad. " Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Ālhaṭawīl fil Ḥaʿāt AlEmārā Al‘arabīya Alṣā‘eda"
them abroad if their treatments were not available in Qatar without any obligation, and with no trouble or expenses spared170.

In 1963, a journalist wrote that “Qatar is at the lead among middle eastern counties in general health care as it provides free medical services not only to its citizens but to foreign residents”171. “Few countries in Western Europe have social, medical and educational services to match those of Qatar”172.

Qatar television and radio were developed at the time of late 60s173. The advancement of Qatar was obvious with the power and activity of the information Department, which was established in 1969. The department was in charge of radio, television and different publications. By 1972 the department published “Al Dawha” monthly magazine, “Al Uruba” weekly magazine, “the News” an English language magazine that is published once every two weeks and the monthly “Qatar Chamber of Commerce” magazine174.

Qatar radio station started transmitting in late 1960s as the first radio station in Qatar with a budget of 5,421,491 riyal that started to broadcast in three stations a medium wave 10 Kw for the whole Qatar, a medium wave 50 Kw that reached to all the Gulf states and some middle eastern parts, and a short

170 Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
171 “ĀlJāzīra Āl’ārabiya Warā’ Nahḍat Qaṭār.” ĀlMūṣāḥār Nahn Āl’ārāb 1963
172 Boyle, R. H. M. "(1012) despatch no. 5 Doha to Bahrain.”
173 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Maḍīna Ḥaḍīthi fī Shāmāl Qaṭār”. ĀlMūṣāḥār, 04 June 1971
174 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Āṭaḥawūl fī Ḥaṭāt ĀlEmārā Āl’ārabiya Ālṣā’eda”
wave 100 Kw that covers large areas in the middle east, north Africa, India, Pakistan and some parts of Europe. Studies are also made to establish a conservatory to enrich the music culture and provide materials for the radio. With the station the first regular periodical was published in Qatar to inform about the programs, talk about local activities and investigate the development taking place in Qatar and its new projects. In April 1968 the broadcasting station opened and a Director of Information was appointed. Qatar became a member of the Arab State Broadcasting Union and Arab Union for Tourism by late 1960s.

By 1965 telephone and electricity services had reached the surrounding villages of Doha as well as new trends like public cinemas, television, Radio and newspapers appeared. By 1972 there were 3 well equipped hospitals in Qatar, a medical training institute in Doha with the collaboration of WHO.

Education and Culture

When modern schools where introduced in Qatar in 1956 there was only one school for boys with 17 students, but no girls’ school. However the early 1960s saw a rapid increase in educational facilities for boys and girls. At that time there was no compulsory education but the government was trying its

175 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Iṣqā’ Jafīd m’a Ālenjāzāt ĀlJaḏīḏa fi Ḥa’āt" Qaṭār “.
176 Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968.”
177 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nwqtaṭ Āṭaḥawūl fi Ḥa’āt ĀlEmāra Āl’arabīya Ālṣā’eda”
178 Boyle, R. H. M. "(1012) despatch no. 5 Doha to Bahrain.”
179 "Review of events in Qatar in 1970.”
180 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nwqtaṭ Āṭaḥawūl fi Ḥa’āt ĀlEmāra Āl’arabīya Ālṣā’eda”
best to encourage students to continue their education and parents to send their children once they are of school age; from providing financial grants, free meals, medical and social care. By early 1960s every Qatari enjoyed “one equal right to education through all its stages, and in all its forms, without any obligation”\textsuperscript{181}. The budget of the department of education had elevated from 1\% in 1955/56 to 11\% in 1962 approximately ¼ of the country’s budget\textsuperscript{182}. In 1962 there were 67 schools while in 1961 there was only one school. The number of students was increasing annually by about 30\%\textsuperscript{183}.

The Government of Qatar applied for a U.N.T.A.B in the run for its application for associate membership of UNESCO\textsuperscript{184}. Qatar became an associate member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on 1962\textsuperscript{185}, and has become a member of the UNESCO since 1962 paying as charge 30, 000 riyals from 1962 until 1971. Qatar was collaborating with Arab States to adopt Arabic as an official language in the UNESCO and in school curriculum of the occupied territories (Palestine)\textsuperscript{186}.

The fund of the Ministry of education in 1966/67 was 31, 319, 000 riyal which was 11.5\% of public expenditure. There was an increase of 4.5\% of

\textsuperscript{181} Al Thani, Ahmed bin Ali. "Explanatory announcement concerning the comprehensive programme of work for the progress of the country."
\textsuperscript{182} "\textit{AlJazìra Al’arabìya Warā’ Nahdät Qaṭār.}" \textit{ĀlMusahar Nahh Al’arab} 1963
\textsuperscript{185} Government of Qatar department of education. "Qata’s application to U.N.A.T.B.”
\textsuperscript{186} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Yaṭūm Āl’elm fī Qaṭār"
classes than 1965/66 year the number of students also increased by 7.7% female students number rose to 5,405 with a 39.4% and 6.3% increase in number of teachers\textsuperscript{187}. In 1967 the female teachers academy was founded the produced female graduates who are accepted to teach in primary schools\textsuperscript{188}.

By late 1960s there were 71 primary schools, 23 of which are for girls. A secondary school, religious, industry and teachers’ institutes with 13,700 students in all levels and others in “evening education” for the elderly or people who had passed the age to enter regular schools. The ministry of education provided scholarships for students who wanted study at universities abroad as of 1968 there were 16 students in U.A.R., 18 in the United Kingdom and The United States\textsuperscript{189}.

By 1971 there were 54 students in U.A.R. 40 in KSA, 7 in the republic of Iraq, 80 in Lebanon, 15 in Kuwait, 34 in U.S.A., 2 in Syrian Republic, 5 in Iran and 6 in Norway\textsuperscript{190}.

By late 1960s and early 1970s the government provided free education, books, stationary, and clothes with a monthly payment that varied with different level. Healthy meals were also provided free of charge to the students as the department of nutrition in the Ministry of education had the most contemporary food hall among Gulf States. The period saw an increase in the

\textsuperscript{187} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "\textit{Iliqā’} Jadīd m’a Ālēnjāzāt ĀlJa’dīda fī Ḥaā’āt “Qaṭār”}.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid
\textsuperscript{190} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Ya‘ūm Āl’eIml fī Qaṭār"
standard of education from the government printing its own books for schools after being dependent on books from other Arab States\textsuperscript{191}, to the recruitment of native English speakers\textsuperscript{192}. Teaching of English started developing well in Qatar\textsuperscript{193}. This time saw an increase of the number of female pupils, by 1970 the percentage of female to male students in Qatar was about 42\% which was a high compared to other countries\textsuperscript{194}. The development of education was supported by an increase in the budget of the Ministry of Education, which duplicated for more than 20 times from 1956 until 1970 with a total of 45 million riyal\textsuperscript{195}.

In that period Qatar sent its students to continue their undergraduate education abroad as there was still no university but its construction was expected to start by 1971 and to initiate by 1973\textsuperscript{196}.

In 1952 there was only one school in Qatar, 240 pupils, and 6 teachers while in less than 10 years of the reign of Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali, the number of schools grew to 87 including primary, preparatory and secondary schools for boys and girls with 18, 529 students during the school year of 1970/ 71\textsuperscript{197}.

With the spread of education the economic situation became very active as trade and financial businesses, such as banks, commercial and trading

\textsuperscript{191} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Išqā’ Jadīd m’a Ālenjīzāt ĀlJaḍīda fi Ḫaṭāt “Qaṭār”.
\textsuperscript{193} Boyle, R. H. M. "Review of events in Qatar, 1968."
\textsuperscript{194} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Yaūm Ā’el’elm fi Qaṭār"
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{197} Al Saiyed, Fouad. " Qaṭār, Nuṣṭat Āltaḥawūl fī Ǧaḥāt ĀlEmāra Āl’arabiya Ālṣā’eda“
cooperation were managed on sound technologies which was the reason that led the country to succeed and flourish. With the advancement of education Qatari youth began to fill most important government positions gradually taking the place of foreign government employees. This built a strong civil service for local nationals, and eliminate potential source of subversion as most strikes that happened earlier in the period were calling for Arabization of government position.

Qatar in 1940s was little more than a dessert, sparsely inhabited, with few villages built from mud-brick and mangrove poles, and a population that survived on pearl trading and fishing, “it seems incredible that less than a generation later a form of Government should exist, which is reasonably efficient and progressive, looks after its country’s welfare and anxious to take its place in international affairs. But still before 1960 in Doha the palace protocol was based on Bedouin hospitality; roads were narrow and rough, and few people ventured into the interior. By 1965 “Doha has became a sprawling city of concrete buildings, traffic lights, ring roads and soda stalls; air conditioning is the rule; the waterfront area has been re-claimed, and much of the filth removed; a large merchant class had grown up, and social life has become conventional and “big city”, the 1965 has seen a transformation in the

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198 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Yaūm Āi’elm fi Qaṭār"  
199 ibid.  
200 Boyle, R. H. M. "(1012) despatch no. 5 Doha to Bahrain."
face of the country. The 1960s saw a modernization and internationalization of Qatar that set the foundation of what Qatar is today for its citizens and in the world. On the 21st of March 1964 a decree permitting the establishment of a Qatar airline was promulgated, it became an associate member of World Health Organization, International Bureau of Education, UNESCO and Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and took over many important roles nationally, regionally and internationally until 1971 when it achieved its independence.

**The Independence of Qatar**

1971 is considered a historic year for Qatar as it is the year when Qatar became independent and a member of both Arab League and United Nations. It marked the termination of the special treaty relation between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Qatar as both countries signed a treaty of friendship. After the declaration of independence the title of the Ruler was changed to Emir and his Deputy to Deputy Emir. After Qatar declared its independence The Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf denounced via Aden Radio the independence of

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201 Boyle, R. H. M. "(1012) despatch no. 5 Doha to Bahrain."
203 Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Qaṭār, Nuqṭat Alṭaḥawūl fī Ḥaḥāṭ AlEmāra Al’arabiya Ālṣā’eda"
Qatar calling it false and that it completes the imperialist reactionary plan for the occupied Gulf and that the revolutionary answer to all would be to extend arms struggle to the whole area and set up a broad national front\textsuperscript{205}.

The legacy that Sheikh Ahmed left is of major importance achievements in recent decades. The organization of the government, the independence, the foreign relation, the use of mediation and foreign aid, the strong will to build a national identity and a sovereign state led to lay the foundation for the future of Qatar. In those years Sheikh Ahmed even managed to have a common currency in UAE and Qatar, one of the goals set long time ago by the GCC that still has not been achieved yet.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The aim of this research was to demonstrate that Qatar is not new to the role of mediator, but mediation was already in the 1960s a tool of its foreign relation and that the foreign relation of today is built and is a continuation to its foreign relations of the 1960s and early 1970s, including the tools to pursue it.

The argument was demonstrated by investigating the political domestic and foreign history of the state of Qatar and its role in the international arena in the period from 1960 to 1971. In particular by giving examples of the role of Qatar in finding resolution in inter-tribal affairs, regional and state to state issues as mediator and helping by giving aid. The characteristics of Sheikh Ahmed, the Ruler, has been proved to be essential in the foreign relation and mediation situations; in fact his legacy is very clear in the obvious similarities of the modern foreign relation of Qatar.

The thesis proved that Qatar is not new to the role of mediators giving examples of international, regional and inter-tribal mediation using different tools such as aid and also thanks to the characteristics of the Ruler Sheikh Ahmed.
Qatar mediation during the Algerian independence from France was very valuable as it provided a neutral place for signing the independence in the palace of the Ruler Sheikh Ahmed in Evian. The palace was also at disposal of the revolutionists as a secure place from where they could operate, Qatar also provided secure communication and transportation as well as other aid.

Regionally also Qatar played an important role regionally as mediator. For example in the case of the explosion of the Motor Vessel Dara struck the Arabian Gulf waters the 8th April 1961. The men who were believed to be part of the attack were living in Qatar and were arrested. They were requested by Dubai and by Oman, but while Sheikh Ahmed assured the secretary of State his full cooperation in preventing terrorist activities\(^1\). He refused to give the two men to Dubai and even to Oman claiming that there were no proves and replied that Qatar would have continued keeping the two persons in custody as a precaution and guarantee for the current investigations\(^2\).

Qatar was also mediator in all meetings for the formation of the UAE among the Rulers of the Emirates. He found solutions to the tensed relation between Sheikh Zayed and Sheikh Rashid about sea and land boundaries. Sheikh Ahmed urged Sheikh Zayed to improve his relations with Sheikh Saqr of Ras Al Khaimah.

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An example of inter-tribal mediation is when Qatar mediated between Sheikh Zayed and Sheikh Saqr Al Qassimi during the crisis between Abu Dhabi and Rash Al Khaimah. After the temporary migration of Al Khawater tribe to Al Ain in Abu Dhabi due to a dispute that broke out between them and the Ruler of Ras Al Khaimah. In this case Sheikh Ahmed was able to find a successful solution for both

Sheikh Ahmed proved also to be able to mediate in family affairs effectively. In fact when Sheikh Sa’id bin Shakhbut Al Nahyan left Abu Dhabi for family reasons he took refuge in Qatar until when thanks to the mediation of Sheikh Ahmed, his uncle Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan visited Doha to bring him back.³

In all mediation cases the characteristics of the Ruler, Sheikh Ahmed, were vital, but also foreign aid sometime played an important role. Sometimes aid was given out of solidarity in cases of wars and sometimes to help the less fortunate states. Qatar helped Dubai to build infrastructure, to improve education and social welfare. Qatar aid was dispensed in terms of cash and also of teachers, books, equipment and transportation. Aid were given not only to the neighboring countries for development, Qatar aid were also used to

serve the Arab cause, in fact it helped regularly the Palestine Liberalization Organization⁴, Yemen and Jordan.

These examples of mediation and aid practice show clearly that Qatar has never been passive under great powers such as Great Britain or Saudi Arabia during the period 1960 – 1972, on the contrary Qatar demonstrated its power through the strong decisions of the Ruler, Sheikh Ahmed. Sheikh Ahmed was wise enough to understand that a soft approach and friendly relation was the best way to survive and strengthen the sovereignty of a small country like Qatar. Sheikh Ahmed also worked strongly for a Federation after the withdrawal of the British as he understood that without the protection of a Great Britain it was not possible for Qatar and other small states of the Gulf to grant national and regional security, but never ceded or submitted to any power.

Other than what resulted from the interviews conducted by the author of this thesis that describe Sheikh Ahmed as wise and humble, it is clearly stated in the correspondence between British officials and sometime easy to infer from the recount of events, that he was also flexible, but very firm as when he refused to hand in the Omani terrorists to Dubai and Omani. Or when he told the British that they did not had to interfere in the meeting for the establishment of the Federation. Sheikh Ahmed was also a fair man as shown

⁴ Al Saiyed, Fouad. “Qaṭār, Nuuqat ʿAltaʿawwāl fī Ḥaṭāt ʿAlʾEmāra ʿAlʾarabiyya ʿAlṣāʾeda”
in the case of the member of the ruling family who shot on demonstrators. Sheikh Ahmed decided to death sentence in spite of entire the family plea. Humanity and consideration for the less fortunate was shown in many instances ad well as his humbleness. He was stopping to listen to people even out if his majlis, out of his official meeting time and was mingling with people and children. Sheikh Ahmed also proved consideration for the country; he was the first one to reduce his allowances and repay his and his father debts. These are just few examples that clearly delineate the profile of Sheikh Ahmed and allow the country to prosper.

Under the reign of Sheikh Ahmed many were the improvements and the modernization that Qatar witnessed. By late 1960s (1968) Qatar has invested vastly in projects such as deep-water port, extension of the desalination plant, roads, buildings and cement factory maintaining a satisfactory financial position. The new International Airport building, the Qatar National Fishing Factory for the processing of prawn, and the Doha Broadcasting Station, incorporating Marconi equipment were completed during 1968. If you wander around Doha in 1968 you would see the outbreak of modern buildings for housing and facilities. One could not help but notice that all the roads in Doha and its outskirts are paved with particular attention to cleanness and regular improvements. The newest road construction is the Doha – Salwa - KSA road that will be completed in 4 years. Roads and streets in Qatar are

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6 Ibid.
distinguished by being wide, clean, electric lit, and the traffic is regulated by traffic lights\textsuperscript{7}. Doha is considered an important commercial landmark for the Arabian Peninsula as trade activities are active with the spread of businesses and exhibitions of different goods and products from the east and west. There is also the huge mosque which is considered the largest in the Arabian Gulf. There is also the new naval port which will be added to the Doha commercial port and Um said. Doha International Airport is undergoing a huge project of extension to increase its activities\textsuperscript{8}.

Qatar under the reign of Sheikh Ahmed set the foundation of modern Qatar and the success of the period 1960 – 1971 was so striking that more recently Qatar retrieved the same strategies used in that period for what it regards, foreign relation, mediation and aid. The similarities of its foreign relation, the tools to pursue it such as mediation and aid are obvious; Sheikh Ahmed had a vision for Qatar that has been shared by the modern government of Qatar. His vision expressed in some of the following quotes have seen light recently and are still the pillars on which Qatar is building its wealth, reputation, strength and sovereignty.

“Rule is from the people and for the people and in benefit of the people (for the development of the people)\textsuperscript{9}”

\textsuperscript{7} Al Saiyed, Fouad. "Iqią’ Jadif m’a Ālenjāzāt Āljadida fi Ḥaįāṭ “Qaṭṭār”.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{9} Al-Shebani, Mohammed Shareef. Emārat Qaṭṭār Āl’arabya bayn Ālmādiį ī wa Ālḥādiį. 328-329
“Qatar will not fall behind civilization procession and we will make of it a grand model...”\textsuperscript{10}

“Education in Qatar is for all, medicine is for all, freedom is for all...”\textsuperscript{11}

“we will have universities, colleges, and factories ..”\textsuperscript{12}

By these quotes Sheikh Ahmed stated exactly his believe that education is at the base of civilization and success. Nowadays one of the main goals of Qatar is to improve education.

Another quote says “…we will build Qatar properly and perfectly until it reaches the appropriate position for itself and its people”\textsuperscript{13} In fact recently Qatar started to rely on a strong branding strategy. A final quote that shows the humanity of Sheikh Ahmed recites that “Qatar will always serve the Arab cause ..”\textsuperscript{14} In fact Qatar has been continuously the Arab people in all the conflicts in these recent years and during the Arab spring.

Finally, this thesis has achieved its aim and purpose, and it also clarified many events which have for long reported wrongly or incompletely and where proves were not found, it has raised questions. Those questions along with the limitations of the research listed at the beginning of this thesis, constitute a good and solid platform from where researchers

\textsuperscript{10} Al-Shebani, Mohammed Shareef. 
\textit{Emārat Qaṭār Āl’arabya bayn ĀlMādiḥī wa Ālḥādīr}. 328-329

\textsuperscript{11} ibid 328-329

\textsuperscript{12} ibid 328-329

\textsuperscript{13} ibid 328-329

\textsuperscript{14} ibid. 328-329
interested in this historical period, mostly neglected by literature, can continue
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