An Enduring Partnership for Peace and Stability
The U.S.-U.A.E. Defense and Security Relationship
“Regardless of the strategic choices we will have to make, one decision that’s off the table is the United States’ enduring commitment to the Middle East, and to the U.A.E. specifically.”

—Dr. Ashton Carter, U.S. Secretary of Defense
The United States has enjoyed good relations with the United Arab Emirates since the country’s independence in 1971. The U.A.E.’s strategic location and its enlightened views on a range of issues have made the two countries natural partners. This multi-faceted bilateral relationship is anchored by deep and growing defense and security ties.
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND U.A.E.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND U.A.E. blossomed during the First Gulf War in 1990. An early ally during the war, the U.A.E. supported air refueling of U.S. warplanes and allowed American planes and ships to operate out of its territory. The Emirates also carried out air strikes and participated in the force that liberated Kuwait City.

Following the cessation of combat, the U.A.E. continued to host the U.S. 763rd Expeditionary Air Refueling Squadron in its mission to enforce the no-fly zone over southern Iraq. In 1994, the Emirates and the U.S. signed a Defense Cooperation Agreement, which provided for U.S. military use of U.A.E. facilities including Al-Dhafra Air Force Base in Abu Dhabi and Jebel Ali port in Dubai. The U.A.E. joined NATO’s Istanbul Cooperation Initiative in 2004.

The U.A.E. is the only Arab country to participate in six coalition actions with the U.S. since the First Gulf War, also including Somalia, Bosnia-Kosovo, Afghanistan, Libya, and the campaign against the Islamic State (Daesh) in Syria and Iraq.

In recent years, shared concerns over Iran’s nuclear ambitions and the rise of extremism in the region have led to a deepening of the relationship between the two countries. Today the defense relationship includes joint military operations, exercises, and training; regular consultations; billions in arms sales through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program; and collaboration on regional challenges.

Hosting U.S. Military

The U.S. benefits greatly from the ability to station personnel and preposition equipment in a strategic location like the U.A.E. The U.S. military presence in the U.A.E. deters would-be aggressors and enhances U.S. rapid response capabilities in the event of hostilities.

The U.A.E. currently hosts more than 2,000 American military personnel, comprised mostly of the Air Force’s 380th Expeditionary Wing personnel, stationed at Al-Dhafra Air Base. The airmen at Al-Dhafra operate refueling tankers, surveillance aircraft, F-22 Raptor combat aircraft, and Global Hawk long-range drones. In the recent campaign against the Islamic State, more American strike aircraft have taken off from Al-Dhafra than from any other base in the region.

The U.A.E. is also home to two key deep harbor ports in the Arabian Gulf accessible to U.S. aircraft carriers. More American naval vessels visit Jebel Ali port than any other port outside the U.S. and a number of U.S. military personnel are reportedly stationed at Fujairah port as well. U.S. Navy ship visits have also started occurring at the newly opened port Khalifa in Abu Dhabi, in addition to Jebel Ali.

Joint Training and Exercises

American and Emirati troops regularly train together in the U.S. and the U.A.E., and conduct joint exercises in order to advance readiness, ensure interoperability, promote information sharing, and build trust. Over 600-800 U.A.E. military personnel travel to the U.S. each year for military training and partnership, largely through the FMS program. The U.A.E. annually participates in approximately a dozen U.S. sponsored military exercises. Joint exercises demonstrate a credible capability to potential adversaries and allies alike. The U.S. has also worked with the U.A.E. to create a National Defense War College.

Integrated Air and Missile Defense (IAMD) Center: The U.A.E. hosts the Integrated Air and Missile

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2 http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/dhafra.htm
3 Ibid
6 Katzman, Kenneth, The United Arab Emirates (UAE): Issues for U.S. Policy
Defense (IAMD) Center, a training facility to enhance cooperation among the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and with the U.S. on missile defense, a key U.A.E. and U.S. priority and threat focus for the region.

- **Joint Air Warfare Center (AWC):** The U.A.E. established the AWC in 2000 to improve air doctrine, techniques, and interoperability among a wider range of allies including the U.S. The AWC training airspace is three times as large as that at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada, and has fewer weather-related cancellations.7

- **Advanced Tactical Leadership Course (ATLC):** The AWC’s flagship Advanced Tactical Leadership Course (ATLC) was modeled after NATO’s Tactical Leadership Programme, and emphasizes interoperability and leadership.

- **Red Flag/Green Flag:** Since 2009, U.A.E. pilots have participated in the annual Red Flag exercise at Nellis Air Force Base, considered the best and most realistic air warfare training exercise in the world. Only the best and most capable air forces are invited to participate. The U.A.E has recently begun participating in Green Flag in conjunction with Red Flag.

- **Leading Edge:** The U.S. and U.A.E. host the Leading Edge exercise to promote cooperation between countries.

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The sun sets behind an F-22 Raptor deployed from the 1st Fighter Wing at Langley AFB, VA to the United Arab Emirates Air Warfare Center, where aircrews were participating Iron Falcon exercises at the Air Warfare Center.

and across agencies. Recent drills have focused on fighting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

- **Eager Lion:** The U.S. and U.A.E. participate in annual Eager Lion military exercises in Jordan, emphasizing special operations.

- **Eagle Resolve:** The annual Eagle Resolve exercises promote cooperation between the U.S. and the GCC.

- **International Mine Countermeasures Exercise (IMCMEX):** The U.A.E. participates in IMCMEX, a Arabian Gulf exercise hosted by the U.S., focusing on mine countermeasures and other maritime security operations.

“If you just step back, one thing that has clearly changed over the last decade-plus is the rise of the United Arab Emirates. Think of where Dubai or Abu Dhabi were 20 years ago. They are in a much different place today. Their capabilities are all getting better, and we are helping them do that....”

—Derek Chollet, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
Modernization Efforts

The U.A.E. armed forces are becoming an increasingly capable partner for the U.S. Military spending by the Emirates doubled during the last ten years, with the country making substantial investments in training and equipment modernization. Four years ago, the U.A.E. formed an elite Presidential Guard special operations force, which receives training from the U.S. Marine Corps through the FMS program. The U.A.E. is also seeking to increase the number of Emirati citizens serving in the military, instituting mandatory conscription in 2014 for males ages 18-30. Emirati women may also serve in the military.

Recent consolidation developments in the Emirati defense industry promise efficiency gains for the U.A.E.’s partners. In December, three major Emirati firms (Emirates Advanced Investment Group, Mubadala Development, and Tawazun Holding) merged their 11 respective defense subsidiaries into the new Emirates Defense Industries Company (EDIC). The move will help to centralize and rationalize U.A.E. defense logistics and maintenance services. It may also streamline joint venture partnerships required by the country’s offset policy. Other private companies like International Golden Group will continue to play an important role in driving partnerships with foreign defense firms.

Weapons Programs

The U.A.E. is one of the leading importers of military equipment in the world, and one of the largest customers for the FMS program. The FMS program enhances interoperability and builds indigenous capacity to manage regional threats. Major programs include:

- **F-16s:** The U.A.E. Air Force purchased 80 F-16 Block 60 “Desert Falcon” aircraft, manufactured by Lockheed Martin in Texas. U.A.E. pilots and crew trained regularly with their counterparts from the 162nd Arizona National Guard Fighter Wing. The highly sophisticated jets are fully interoperable with U.S. systems and equipped with advanced missile systems including: Advanced Medium Range Air to Air Missile (AMRAAM), Joint Direct Action Munitions (JDAM), High Speed Anti-Radiation Missiles (HARM), Sidewinder, and Maverick.

- **AH-64D Apache Longbow attack helicopter.** Photo/Boeing

In 2013, the U.A.E. signaled its interest in purchasing up to 30 additional F-16s and to procure additional missiles for the fleet, including Standoff Land Attack Missiles-Expanded Response (SLAM-ER), GBU-39/B “bunker buster” bombs, AGM-154C Joint Standoff Weapons (JSOW), and GBU-39 Small Diameter Bombs (SDB).

- **HIMARS and ATACMs:** The U.A.E. operates Lockheed Martin’s M142 High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS), a light multiple rocket launcher

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“I think it goes without saying that they [the U.A.E.] are really one of our most important, closest partners today in the region. And they have been there in every important significant international security operation going back more than 20 years...So that part of the relationship is superb.”

—The Hon. Barbara Leaf, U.S. Ambassador to the U.A.E.
mounted on a medium tactical vehicle truck frame. The U.S. government has recently approved the additional sale of 12 HIMARS launchers. The U.A.E. also procured a number of Army Tactical Missile Systems (ATACMs) to mount on the HIMARS, and recently the U.S. government also approved 100 additional missiles. In 2013, Emirati troops and American soldiers from 1st Battalion, 14th Field Artillery held a joint live fire HIMARS exercise in the southern U.A.E.9

■ **Attack Helicopters:** The U.A.E. operates a fleet of 30 Boeing AH-64D Apache Longbow attack helicopters, equipped with Hellfire missiles (Lockheed Martin). The country also operates a number of UH-60 Blackhaws (Sikorsky).

■ **Transport Aircraft:** The U.A.E. has a fleet of six advanced Boeing C-17 Globemaster III airlifters, with two more scheduled for delivery soon. The U.A.E. has six Lockheed-Martin C-130 aircraft. The U.A.E. also operates Boeing’s CH-47F Chinook helicopters. These transport aircraft are essential for not only the U.A.E.’s military capabilities, but also its extensive humanitarian relief efforts.

■ **THAAD:** The U.A.E. was the first international customer for the Terminal High Altitude Air Defense System (THAAD) missile defense system, designed by Lockheed Martin. Delivery is expected by the end of 2015, making the U.A.E. the first country to deploy THAAD outside the U.S.

■ **Patriot PAC-3:** The U.A.E. procured advanced Patriot PAC-3 lower-tier missile defense batteries (Raytheon).

■ **MRAPs:** The U.A.E. operates American-made Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles supplied by Oshkosh Corporation. In September 2014, the U.A.E. agreed to refurbish and purchase an additional 4,500 MRAPs from U.S. Army stock as Excess Defense Articles (EDA).

■ **HAWK:** The U.A.E. purchased and operates HAWK surface-to-air missile batteries supplied by Raytheon.

■ **Javelin:** The U.A.E. operates Javelin anti-tank guided missiles (Raytheon and Lockheed Martin).

■ **U.A.V.s:** The U.A.E. also operates Scan Eagle and Integrator, both made by Boeing.

### Counter-Terrorism

The most recent State Department Country Report on Terrorism credits the U.A.E. with continuing to build its counter-terrorism capacity and strengthening its international counter-terrorism cooperation. The U.S. and the U.A.E. regularly share counter-terrorism intelligence across various agencies, and the U.A.E. has arrested Al Qaeda operatives and foiled terrorist plots directed at the U.S.

The U.S. and U.A.E. cooperate on combating terror financing. A new American-Emirati Joint Task Force on Terrorist Financing facilitates information sharing. The U.A.E. has frozen terrorist financial accounts and strengthened controls against money laundering. The country was praised for instituting mandatory registration of hawalas, Islamic money transfer systems.

Port security is another key area of bilateral cooperation. The U.A.E. was the first country in the region to join the

“**They’re not just willing to fight — they’re great warriors ... there’s a mutual respect, an admiration, for what they’ve done — and what they can do.”**

—Gen. James Mattis, former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command

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Container Security Initiative, which permits American and Emirati customs officials to co-locate inside U.A.E. ports to inspect U.S.-bound containers. The country also participates in the Megaports Initiative, to improve detection of nuclear materials in cargo containers.

In aviation, a joint preclearance program allows U.S. Customs agents to inspect U.S.-bound commercial passengers at Abu Dhabi International Airport (AUH), prior to departure. The preclearance facility is the first of its kind in the Middle East. Under a 2010 agreement, the U.S. assists in training Emirati immigration and customs officials. The U.A.E. also takes part in the Proliferation Security Initiative, which seeks to improve coordination of efforts to stop shipments of weapons of mass destruction, delivery systems, and related materials.

In 2012, the U.A.E. launched Hedayah, an international center of excellence dedicated to facilitating dialogue, advancing research, and providing training for individuals and groups involved in countering violent extremism. Hedayah, which means “guidance” in Arabic, reflects the need to preempt and prevent individuals from starting down a path of radicalization. The center arose from a consensus among members of the Global Counter-terrorism Forum, which is chaired by the United States and Turkey.
Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)

U.S. policy supports the development of a closely allied GCC, similar to NATO, with joint capabilities, interoperability, and an integrated missile defense. The U.A.E. has made a number of contributions to this end. As mentioned, the U.A.E.’s Integrated Air and Missile Defense Center serves as a training facility for missile defense cooperation among GCC members and with the U.S. The U.A.E. also has expressed interest in acquiring Lockheed Martin’s DIAMONDShield, an air defense command and control system that could form the basis of a GCC-wide missile defense system.10 Air forces from all GCC countries, as well as the U.S., train at the U.A.E.’s AWC. The Emirates recently agreed to host a GCC-wide Gulf Academy for Strategic and Security Studies to provide a unified military education. The U.S. participates in military exercises and trainings with the GCC as a group, and American and U.A.E. officials meet regularly at GCC policy gatherings including the U.S.-GCC Strategic Cooperation Forum and annual U.S.-GCC Defense Ministerial.

Confronting Regional Challenges

U.S.-U.A.E. weapons programs and joint trainings are not merely for show. The bilateral security partnership has contributed demonstrably to security in the Arabian Gulf region and the Middle East broadly.

- **Iran:** The U.S. and the U.A.E. have worked together toward the common goal of preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons or otherwise threatening stability in the Arabian Gulf region. Despite historical commercial and financial ties between the U.A.E. and Iran, the Emirates fully implemented multilateral sanctions on Iran, causing trade between the two countries to drop from $23 billion in 2010 to less than $4 billion today.11 In February 2012, the Noor Islamic Bank in Dubai, which Iran had used to process much of its hard currency receipts for oil sales, ceased transactions with Iranian banks.12 The U.A.E. and U.S. cooperate on regional missile defense efforts intended to prevent Iranian aggression in the region.

- **Islamic State (Daesh):** The U.A.E. was an early supporter of U.S.-led efforts to combat the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. To date, the Emirati Air Force has conducted more air strikes against Islamic State targets in Syria than any other country aside from the U.S.13 Taking part in the strikes was the U.A.E.’s first female combat pilot, Captain Mariam al-Mansouri, whose presence demonstrated a powerful contrast with the repression of the Islamic State. Moreover, the

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11 Katzman, Kenneth, The United Arab Emirates (UAE): Issues for U.S. Policy

12 Katzman, Kenneth, The United Arab Emirates (UAE): Issues for U.S. Policy


U.S. Air Force/Maj. Jefferson Heiland
“The participation in Afghanistan was important for the Armed Forces and it was helpful in developing, raising and fostering the efficiency of U.A.E. soldiers and building international relations.”

—Staff Col. Mussallam Alrashedi, U.A.E. Special Operations Commander
The U.S.-U.A.E. Defense and Security Relationship

U.A.E. hosts substantial numbers of international forces participating in the strikes, including from the U.S., France, and Australia. Reportedly, more jets involved in air strikes against the Islamic State launched from Al-Dhafra than from any other base in the region.14

- Libya: The U.A.E. participated in NATO and allied efforts to oust Libyan strongman Muammar Qadhafi in 2011. The Emirates sent a squadron of six F-16s and six Mirage fighter jets, under NATO command, to participate in the no-fly zone and conduct air strikes. The Emirates hosted meetings with Libyan opposition figures and supported the Transitional National Council to pave the way for a peaceful political transition. To support the post-Qadhafi Libyan government, the U.A.E. provided $13 million in assistance, transferred Mirage fighter jets, and donated 5,000 tons of aid to Libyan refugees.

- Afghanistan: The U.A.E. has participated with the U.S. and other coalition forces in efforts to stabilize Afghanistan. The U.A.E. made its military facilities available to U.S. and other allied forces involved in ousting the Taliban. U.A.E. troops were the only Arab combat forces to take part in the mission in Afghanistan, with Special Forces operators on the ground for 11 years conducting raids and training Afghan commandos.15 From 2012-2014, as other allies were reducing their commitment in Afghanistan, the U.A.E. deployed six F-16s, in addition to other fixed-wing and rotor aircraft to Kandahar, Afghanistan. U.A.E. pilots were the only non-NATO forces trusted to fly close air support missions to protect coalition troops,16 and the U.A.E. hosted American and other coalition forces involved in Operation Enduring Freedom. The Emirates also gave significant financial support to Afghanistan’s reconstruction.

- Iraq: The U.A.E. has sought to play a constructive role in post-Hussein Iraq. Although wary of Operation Iraqi Freedom, the U.A.E. allowed American military use of its facilities, hosted training for Iraqi policemen, and provided approximately $215 million in humanitarian relief. In 2008, after sectarian strains had caused many countries to shatter their embassies in Iraq, U.A.E. Foreign Minister Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed became the first high-ranking official from a Gulf country to visit Iraq since the 2003 invasion. Soon thereafter, the U.A.E. restored full diplomatic relations with Iraq, the first Arab country to do so. In 2008, the U.A.E. forgave $7 billion in bilateral Saddam Hussein-era debt, and in 2012, it forgave an additional $5.8 billion. Following the departure of former Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, U.A.E. leaders have engaged more broadly with current Prime Minister Haider al-Abbadi, and signaled that the two countries may enhance ties. The U.A.E. has praised Iraqi Kurds and opened a consulate in Iraq’s stable Kurdish region, while also supporting coalition actions against the Islamic State in Iraq and hosting coalition troops involved in combating the group.

Future Collaboration

Potential areas of future bilateral security cooperation include:

- Advanced Technology Demonstrations: With common military requirements and considerable financial resources, the U.A.E. is an ideal potential partner for Joint Capability Technology Demonstrations (JCTD) and other advanced research and development collaboration with the U.S. Previously called Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration (ACTD), JCTD is a pre-acquisition activity allowing the user to assess innovative capabilities and determine their military utility before deciding to acquire additional units. It spans the gap between Science & Technology and Acquisition.

- Aircraft: Reports indicate potential U.A.E. interest in acquiring additional Lockheed Martin aircraft in the near term and they would like to be a partner in the future in the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF). Also under consideration are Textron AirLand’s Scorpion jet and Boeing’s V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft. The U.A.E. is also considering options for next-generation AEW technology, such as Northrup-Grumman’s E-2-D Advanced Hawkeye, into the current IAMD system.

- Drones: The U.A.E. is investing in unmanned drones for both military and civilian purposes. It is the first non-NATO customer for General Atomics’ unarmed Predator XP drone, which it is acquiring commercially.

14 Chandrasekaran, Rajiv, 11/9/14
15 Ibid
16 Ibid
Cyber Security: The U.A.E. is considered a leader on cyber security. It was the first country in the Arabian Gulf region to create a National Electronic Security Authority and recently increased its cyber security budget (exact levels are classified).17 International cyber security cooperation should be a growing area of focus.

Space: The U.A.E. also is investing in space. In July 2014, the U.A.E. announced that it would create a space agency and send a probe to Mars by 2021. Lockheed Martin, which has been involved in every Mars mission conducted by NASA, is optimistic about being part of the UAE effort.18 As a global leader in communications satellite technology, the U.A.E. could be an important partner for the U.S., although U.S. bidders recently lost a competition to supply two reconnaissance satellites to the U.A.E., and EADS is the major vendor for the U.A.E.’s two communications satellites.

“The U.A.E. has gone all-in...It’s the strongest relationship that the United States has in the Arab world today.” —Gen. Anthony Zinni, former Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command

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THAAD system intercept test.
SMDC photo