

## **BITTER RIVALS: Iran and Saudi Arabia – The Sectarian Struggle for the Middle East**

### **Introduction: The Roots of a Deadly Divide**

- Overview of the Iran-Saudi rivalry as the defining conflict of the modern Middle East.
- The 1979 Iranian Revolution as a turning point.
- Thesis: How religious ideology, geopolitics, and proxy wars have destabilized the region.

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### **The Revolution That Shook the World (1979-1989)**

#### **Chapter 1: The Fall of the Shah and Rise of Khomeini**

- The 1953 CIA coup against Mossadegh and U.S. support for the Shah.
- Khomeini's exile, return, and the Islamic Revolution.
- The hostage crisis and Iran's break with the West.

#### **Chapter 2: The Saudi Counter-Revolution**

- Saudi fears of Shia expansionism.
- The 1979 Mecca siege and its aftermath.
- Wahhabism as a tool to counter Iranian influence.

#### **Chapter 3: The Iran-Iraq War – A Proxy Battle**

- Saddam's invasion and Gulf Arab support for Iraq.
- Iran's "human wave" tactics and the cult of martyrdom.
- Chemical weapons, U.S. complicity, and the war's legacy.

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### **The Spread of Sectarianism (1990-2003)**

#### **Chapter 4: Hezbollah and Iran's First Proxy**

- The birth of Hezbollah in Lebanon.
- Suicide bombings, the 1983 U.S. Marine barracks attack.
- Iran's "axis of resistance" takes shape.

#### **Chapter 5: Saudi Arabia's Jihadist Frankenstein**

- The Afghan mujahedeen and Osama bin Laden.
- Saudi funding of Wahhabi madrassas worldwide.
- The unintended blowback of Sunni extremism.

#### **Chapter 6: The Cold War Between Riyadh and Tehran**

- The 1991 Gulf War and Shia uprising in Iraq.
- Saudi-Iranian competition in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and beyond.
- The rise of Al-Qaeda and sectarian polarization.

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### The American Invasion and the Sectarian Inferno (2003-2011)

#### Chapter 7: The U.S. Invasion of Iraq – Iran's Victory

- How Saddam's fall empowered Iran.
- De-Ba'athification and the Sunni insurgency.
- The Shia-dominated government and death squads.

#### Chapter 8: The Samarra Bombing and Civil War

- Zarqawi's Al-Qaeda in Iraq and the destruction of the Golden Dome.
- Shia militias (Badr, Mahdi Army) and Iranian support.
- Saudi Arabia's covert backing of Sunni militants.

#### Chapter 9: Saddam's Execution – The Sectarian Tipping Point

- The trial and its flaws.
- The leaked video and Sunni outrage.
- How Saddam became a Sunni martyr.

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### The Regional Cold War (2011-Present)

#### Chapter 10: The Arab Spring and Proxy Wars

- Iran's support for Assad in Syria.
- Saudi intervention in Bahrain and Yemen.
- The rise of ISIS as a product of sectarian strife.

#### Chapter 11: The Nuclear Deal and Saudi Fears

- The 2015 JCPOA and its regional fallout.
- Saudi Arabia's alliance with Israel against Iran.
- The Trump era: Maximum pressure and assassination of Soleimani.

#### Chapter 12: The Future of the Rivalry

- Can diplomacy (China-brokered détente) ease tensions?
- The role of oil, religion, and great-power competition.
- The human cost: Millions displaced, radicalized, and killed.

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## Conclusion: A Region Torn Apart

- The tragic cycle of Sunni-Shia conflict.
- Lessons from history: How external interventions worsened divisions.
- Is reconciliation possible, or is perpetual war the future?

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## Chapter 1: The Shah's Downfall and Khomeini's Ascendance

### The U.S. and the Shah: A Dangerous Alliance

For almost thirty years, Iran was governed by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah, a loyal ally of the United States whose rule was characterized by swift modernization paired with severe repression. The origins of the 1979 revolution can be traced back to the 1953 CIA-sanctioned coup that ousted Iran's democratically elected Prime Minister, Mohammad Mossadegh, after he nationalized the oil industry. This coup restored the Shah, maintaining Western dominance over Iran's oil wealth, but simultaneously instilling deep resentment among the Iranian people.

The Shah's regime, supported by Washington, became progressively autocratic. His secret police, SAVAK, brutally tortured and killed critics, while his embrace of Western lifestyle alienated conservative religious leaders. Nevertheless, the U.S. viewed him as a key defense against Soviet expansion, forming a crucial part of its Cold War strategy in the Middle East. President Jimmy Carter, despite advocating for human rights, notoriously labeled Iran an "island of stability" in 1977—just months before the revolution began.

### Khomeini's Exile and Rising Opposition.

Opposition movements began to form around Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a fervent cleric who had been exiled in 1964 for criticizing the monarchy's subservience to the U.S. Khomeini, broadcasting from Iraq and later France, utilized cassette tapes to disseminate his sermons, which resonated with the disillusioned populace. His message was straightforward: Iran should be governed by Islamic principles, not a monarchy.

By 1978, widespread protests evolved into a nationwide rebellion. Strikes by workers crippled oil production, students confronted security forces, and millions rallied in support of Khomeini. As the Shah grew more isolated, he wavered between making concessions and imposing crackdowns. On January 16, 1979, he fled Iran, claiming to seek "medical treatment," and never returned.

### The Revolution Unleashed

On February 1, 1979, Khomeini arrived back in Tehran to jubilant crowds. In his inaugural speech, he announced:

> "I will strike with my fists at the mouths of this government... From now on, it is I who will name the government!"

This revolution was not merely political; it represented a religious transformation. Khomeini's doctrine of velayat-e faqih (Guardianship of the Jurist) centralized power with a clerical leader, effectively merging religion with the state. Secular modernizers and leftists who initially supported the uprising soon found themselves marginalized.

#### The U.S. Embassy Siege and the Formation of the Islamic Republic

A pivotal moment in the revolution occurred on November 4, 1979, when radical students seized the U.S. Embassy, holding 52 Americans captive for 444 days. This crisis stemmed from paranoia regarding a potential U.S.-backed intervention, but it solidified Khomeini's authority.

> "America can't do a damn thing against us!" declared Khomeini, challenging international condemnation.

The failed rescue attempt by President Carter and subsequent economic sanctions deepened Iran's sense of vulnerability. The hostage situation transformed into a symbol of defiance—demonstrating that Iran would no longer submit to foreign domination.

#### Exporting the Revolution

Khomeini's ambitions extended beyond Iran; he aimed to inspire Islamic revolutions globally. His rhetoric didn't only target the U.S. but also condemned the Saudi monarchy as corrupt and un-Islamic.

> "These rulers are traitors to Islam... They must be overthrown!"

Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam, viewed Khomeini as a significant threat. This set the stage for a 40-year Cold War between Tehran and Riyadh, fought through proxies, ideology, and violence.

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#### Key Themes of the Chapter:

1. The Shah's Demise: How U.S. backing inadvertently fueled anti-Western sentiment.
2. Khomeini's Influence: The impact of religious leadership in mobilizing popular upheaval.
3. Hostage Crisis as a Defining Event: How defying the U.S. shaped the identity of the new regime.
4. Saudi Anxieties: The emergence of a sectarian rivalry that would engulf the Middle East.

#### The Saudi Counter-Revolution

- The 1979 Mecca Mosque Siege—how a Sunni extremist uprising led Saudi Arabia toward strict conservatism.
- Wahhabism as a Strategic Tool—Saudi Arabia's global efforts to counter Shia influence.

- The Iran-Iraq War—Saddam Hussein positioned as the Gulf's defender against Khomeini's regime.
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## Chapter 2: The Saudi Counter-Revolution.

### The Shockwaves of 1979

The Iranian Revolution reverberated through the royal corridors of Riyadh, presenting a significant challenge to the legitimacy of Saudi Arabia's monarchy. The Al Saud dynasty relied on a longstanding partnership with the ultra-conservative Wahhabi clerics, presenting itself as the protector of Sunni Islam's most sacred locations. However, the ascent of a 'Shia cleric', Khomeini, who urged Muslims globally to challenge monarchy, threatened their authority. He proclaimed:

"These Gulf rulers are American puppets... They must be overthrown just like the Shah!"

Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdulaziz cautioned his royal peers: "Khomeini's revolution can spread here. We must take action."

### The Siege of Mecca: A Crisis of Legitimacy

On November 20, 1979, shortly after the U.S. Embassy was seized in Tehran, Saudi Arabia experienced its own uprising. A group of Sunni extremists, led by Juhayman al-Otaibi, invaded the Grand Mosque of Mecca Islam's holiest site, proclaiming the existence of the Mahdi (Islamic messiah) and denouncing the royal family's corruption.

Over the course of two weeks, Saudi forces, supported by French commandos, engaged in brutal close combat with the militants. The siege concluded with 127 soldiers and 117 insurgents dead, and al-Otaibi captured and executed by beheading.

The incident, however, revealed the monarchy's susceptibility to religious extremism—a phenomenon that it had previously fostered.

### The Wahhabi Crackdown

In response, the Saudi regime quickly adopted a contradictory approach. Instead of moving towards liberalization, it intensified its religious conservatism to counter Khomeini's influence: Women were prohibited from appearing on TV and faced stricter veiling requirements. Cinemas and music shops were closed down for being "un-Islamic." Religious police (Mutaween) received extensive authority, enforcing prayer routines and gender separation.

The regime's message was unmistakable: "We are the genuine guardians of Islam—not Iran."

### The Sectarian Awakening

Khomeini's revolution also reignited latent tensions with Saudi Arabia's Shia minority, mainly in the oil-rich Eastern Province. Motivated by Tehran, Shia activists held demonstrations in Qatif and Al-Ahsa, demanding an end to systemic discrimination.

In retaliation, Saudi security forces employed mass arrests, torture, and executions, detaining young Nimr al-Nimr, a future influential Shia cleric, for the first time in 1980. This crackdown sent a strong signal: No Iranian-style uprisings would be tolerated.

### The Birth of a Proxy War

By the early 1980s, a cold war emerged between Saudi Arabia and Iran over Islamic leadership:

-Saudi Strategy: Expand the influence of Wahhabi clerics, literature, and mosques\*\* across the Muslim world, from Pakistan to Nigeria.

Iranian Strategy: Support Shia militias in Lebanon, Iraq, and Bahrain, framing their resistance as a spiritual obligation.

Various battlefronts emerged:

1. Afghanistan— Saudi Arabia backed Sunni mujahideen against the Soviets and later Iran's Shia allies.
2. Lebanon – Iran established Hezbollah, while Saudi Arabia funded Sunni factions.
3. The Gulf – In 1981, Saudi Arabia initiated the GCC as an anti-Iran coalition.

### The Oil Weapon

Economic strategies also became crucial. In the 1980s, Saudi Arabia flooded the oil market, driving prices down to \$10 a barrel—a calculated move to weaken Iran's economy amid its war with Iraq.

### A Line Drawn in the Sand

By the end of the decade, the sectarian divide in the Middle East had solidified:

Saudi Arabia positioned itself as the custodian of the Sunni realm, financially backing conservative regimes.

Iran positioned itself as the champion of "Islamic resistance," committed to overthrowing the "American-supported tyrants."

This set the stage for a long-standing division to escalate into open military conflict.

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**Key Takeaways:** The Mecca siege compelled Saudi Arabia to adopt more religious conservatism, paralleling Iran's theocratic shift.

The crackdown on Shia demonstrations in the Eastern Province established a precedent for future repression.

The proxy war began in Afghanistan and Lebanon, with both nations promoting their ideologies. Oil became a strategic weapon, as Saudi Arabia sought to undermine Iran's economy during the Iran-Iraq War.

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### The Iran-Iraq War – A Sectarian Bloodbath

- Saddam's Invasion – The Gulf monarchies and the West's support for Iraq to counter Khomeini.
- Human Wave Tactics– Iran's use of child soldiers and the culture of martyrdom.
- Chemical Weapons & U.S. Silence – The global indifference to war crimes committed.

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### Chapter 3: The Iran-Iraq War – A Proxy Bloodshed (1980-1988)

#### The Catalyst: Saddam's Misjudgment

On September 22, 1980, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein initiated a comprehensive invasion of Iran, believing that the turmoil from Khomeini's revolution rendered the nation defenseless. Iraqi troops advanced into Iran, taking control of the oil-rich Khuzestan province and launching attacks on Tehran's airports.

Saddam framed the conflict as:

- A defense of Arab autonomyagainst Persian imperialism
- A Sunni-led counter-revolution against Shia extremism
- An opportunity to dominate the Gulf with Western support

However, he gravely miscalculated Iran's determination to fight and sacrifice for its revolutionary cause.

#### Khomeini's Jihad

The Ayatollah characterized Iraq's invasion as a sacred defense (دفاع مقدس). With the regular military purged post-revolution, Iran depended on:

- Basij volunteers– Young fighters as young as 12, who were promised "plastic keys to heaven"
- Human wave assaults– Thousands charged Iraqi machine gun positions to clear mines using their bodies
- Martyrdom ethos – Parents took pride in sons who died in battle

A captured 14-year-old Iranian prisoner recounted to the BBC:

"My commander told me if I die, I would marry 72 virgins in paradise. I wasn't scared."

#### The Gulf's Horrific War

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait financed Saddam with \$60 billion, while the U.S. provided:

- ✓ Satellite intelligence
- ✓ Components for chemical weapons
- ✓ Diplomatic support at the UN

Declassified CIA reports reveal that Reagan's administration was aware of Iraq's use of mustard gas as early as 1983 but still kept it off the list of state sponsors of terror.

### **Chemical Atrocities**

By 1984, Iraq began using nerve agents against Iranian force sand Kurdish civilians:

- Halabja massacre (1988)– 5,000 Kurds killed by gas within minutes
- Majnoon Islands attacks – 20,000 Iranian soldiers poisoned

An Iranian medic described the horrific scenes:

"Their skin was melting. They begged us to end their suffering."

### **The Tanker War & U.S. Involvement**

When Iran targeted Kuwaiti oil tankers in 1987, the U.S. initiated Operation Earnest Will, escorting vessels under the American flag. This resulted in:

- USS Stark incident – Iraqi aircraft "accidentally" killed 37 American sailors
- Operation Praying Mantis– The U.S. Navy decimated Iranian oil platforms

### **The Conflict's Conclusion**

By 1988, Iran was fatigued:

- 500,000 fatalities (two-thirds Iranian)
- Cities devastated from Scud missile strikes
- Economy crumbling under sanctions

Khomeini ultimately agreed to a UN-brokered ceasefire, likening it to "drinking poison."

### **Legacy: Seeds of Future Tensions**

- ✓ Iran – Developed asymmetric warfare strategies later employed by Hezbollah
- ✓ Iraq – Came out burdened with enormous debt, contributing to Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990
- ✓ Saudi Arabia
  - Perceived the ongoing necessity for a Sunni alliance to counter Iran

A commander of the Revolutionary Guard later stated:

"This war taught us that Arabs will never confront Iran fairly. We must dominate our neighbors to ensure our survival."

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### **Key Insights**

- The use of child soldiers was systematically implemented as expendable manpower
- Western nations actively facilitated Iraq's chemical weapons efforts
- The conflict laid the groundwork for Iran's "resistance" strategies, which persist today

### **The Rise of Hezbollah**

Explore how Iran transformed Lebanon into the first successful proxy battleground against Israel

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## Chapter 4: The Emergence of Hezbollah – Iran's Initial Proxy Victory (1982-1992)

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### Beirut 1982: The Israeli Invasion That Gave Rise to a New Threat

On June 6, 1982, Israel initiated Operation Peace for Galilee, deploying 60,000 soldiers into Lebanon to dismantle the PLO. Shortly after, Israeli troops surrounded Beirut, cornering Yasser Arafat's forces. However, the invasion resulted in an unforeseen outcome: it provided Iran an opportunity to establish its influence in the Arab world.

Khomeini recognized Lebanon's oppressed Shia population, marginalized under a Christian/Maronite regime, as ripe for revolution. He sent 1,500 Revolutionary Guards to the Bekaa Valley under the pretense of combating Zionism, aiming to forge an Islamic resistance that would endure against both Israel and the West.

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### The IRGC's Experimentation: Forming an Army from the Ground Up

The Iranian team, led by Hossein Dehghan (who would later become Iran's defense minister), set out to:

- Recruit local Shia groups affected by Israeli bombings
- Train fighters in suicide bombing tactics inspired by the Iran-Iraq War
- Create religious schools to propagate Khomeini's teachings

A young Lebanese cleric, Sayyed Abbas al-Musawi, served as their connection to the populace, emphasizing that resistance was a divine obligation:

"The Jews seized our land in Palestine. Now they're encroaching on Lebanon. Will we be passive like sheep?"

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### 1983: The Attacks That Altered the Landscape

Hezbollah did not announce its presence with a declaration but through \*\*violent acts:

April 18, 1983

- ✓ U.S. Embassy, Beirut – A suicide truck bombing claimed 63 lives, including the CIA's top official in the region

October 23, 1983

- ✓ U.S. Marine Barracks – A Mercedes truck packed with explosives killed 241 American servicemen
- ✓ French Paratroopers HQ – A simultaneous assault resulted in 58 deaths

These attacks marked the highest single-day fatality rate for U.S. forces since Iwo Jima, compelling President Reagan to pull American troops from Lebanon. A Pentagon report later referred to it as "the inception of modern suicide terrorism."

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#### Formation of the "Party of God" (1985)

By 1985, under Iranian influence, Hezbollah established a formal structure:

- Military Division— Focused on kidnapping (including 96 Western hostages) and IEDs
- Social Services – Developed hospitals and schools to replace ineffective state services
- Media Branch – Al-Manar TV emerged as the "CNN of the Resistance"

Their founding manifesto pledged to:

1. Annihilate Israel
2. Remove Western influence
3. Implement Islamic governance in Lebanon

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#### The Game-Changer: Hybrid Warfare Tactics

Hezbollah introduced innovative strategies now analyzed globally:

- | Tactic | Innovation | Example |
- | Suicide bombing | Exploiting desperation | 1983 Marine barracks incident |
- | Guerrilla warfare | Merging with civilian populations | Israeli patrol ambushes |
- | Media strategy | Documenting attacks for propaganda | 2000 Israeli soldier captures |

An IDF colonel reflected:

"They operated like ants—unseen until they overwhelmed you."

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#### The Hostage Crisis Years (1984-1991)

Hezbollah's kidnapping spree became a tool for geopolitical leverage:

- Terry Anderson (AP journalist) was held for 2,454 days
- William Buckley (CIA station chief) was tortured and killed on video

Iran utilized the hostages for:

- ✓ Arms transactions (Iran-Contra scandal)
- ✓ Prisoner exchanges
- ✓ Political negotiations

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1992: Nasrallah's Leadership and a New Chapter

Following the assassination of Hezbollah's leader in 1992, Hassan Nasrallah, a 32-year-old cleric, ascended to leadership. His strategies included:

- Fostering an image as a "man of the people" (living simply, with a son who died a martyr)
- Integrating religious themes with nationalist sentiment
- Enhancing missile stocks to directly challenge Israel

By 2000, he accomplished what no Arab military had achieved: forcing Israel's total withdrawal from Lebanon.

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#### The Significance of Hezbollah

- Demonstrated Iran's ability to extend its influence beyond its borders
- Motivated groups like Hamas, Houthis, and other proxies
- Illustrated how terrorism could challenge superpowers

A former U.S. hostage cautioned in 1991:

"This is not merely a Lebanese issue. They are constructing a model for broader application."

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#### The Saudi Response – Afghanistan's Jihadist Production Lines

Detailing how Riyadh transformed the anti-Soviet campaign into a pipeline for Sunni militancy.

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#### Chapter 5: Saudi Arabia's Jihadist Creation – The Afghan Pipeline (1979-1992)

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#### The Soviet Invasion: An Opportunity for Riyadh

When Soviet forces entered Kabul on December 24, 1979, Saudi Arabia recognized a significant chance to act. The Afghan jihad served as:

- A Sunni response to Iran's Shia upheaval
- An opportunity to enhance Islamic legitimacy after the Mecca siege
- A project supported by the U.S. while maintaining deniability

Prince Turki al-Faisal, who led Saudi intelligence, collaborated with the CIA and Pakistan's ISI to channel:

- ✓ \$4 billion in government funds from Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Many Wahhabi clerics to radicalize militants
- ✓ Oil revenue funneled through Islamic charities

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### The Emergence of the Arab Afghans

Saudi Arabia's approach emphasized global recruitment, bringing in militants from:

- Egypt's Islamic Jihad(associated with Ayman al-Zawahiri)
- Algeria's Armed Islamic Group
- Radicals from Kuwait and Yemen

The Sada camp in Peshawar became a training hub for jihadists, teaching:

- Guerrilla tactics (using CIA manuals)
- Explosive production (with guidance from Pakistani instructors)
- Wahhabi teachings (provided by Saudi-funded clerics)

In 1980, a young Osama bin Laden utilized his family's construction wealth to establish the Khost tunnel complex, which would later serve as Al-Qaeda's base.

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### The CIA-Saudi Collaboration

Declassified information illustrates their mutual reliance:

Certainly! Here's the same information reformatted vertically, making the table more compact and aligned with a brief lead-in:

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## **The CIA-Saudi Tag Team: A Cold War Collaboration**

Declassified documents reveal a covert alliance that fueled jihad against the Soviets—while sowing seeds of future chaos.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Detail</b>
<b>Arms Funding</b>	Saudi Arabia covered 60% of costs; the U.S. provided Stinger missiles.
<b>Ideological Campaign</b>	Saudis promoted anti-Shia rhetoric; the U.S. turned a blind eye.
<b>Militant Infrastructure</b>	Saudis financed madrassas; the CIA trained fighters who became the Taliban.
<b>Outcome</b>	Soviets lost 269 helicopters; sectarian hatred deepened; militancy spread.

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A 1987 State Department cable cautioned: "We're creating a monster, but the short-term benefits against Moscow make it worthwhile."

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### The Disintegration (1989-1992)

Following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the jihadists began to turn against each other as well as their backers:

- 1990: Bin Laden volunteered to defend Saudi Arabia against Saddam but was turned down in favor of U.S. troops
- 1991: Saudi-backed fighters killed Najibullah, Afghanistan's last communist leader
- 1992: Al-Qaeda was established to pursue global jihad, targeting the "apostate" Saudi regime as its first objective

A disenchanted ISI officer admitted:

"We believed they would return home after Afghanistan. Instead, they started asking: Who's next?"

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### Consequences: The Foundations of 9/11

The Afghan pipeline resulted in:

- ✓ 15 of the 19 hijackers from September 11 (all Saudi nationals)
- ✓ The ascendance of the Taliban (recognized by Saudi Arabia until 9/11)
- ✓ A worldwide jihadist ideology

A 1998 CIA memo asserted:

"The Saudis sparked a fire to burn the Soviets. Now the entire region is ablaze."

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: The Gulf War & Saddam's Retribution

How Iraq's invasion of Kuwait compelled Saudi Arabia to allow U.S. troop presence, which in turn radicalized a new generation.

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\*\*Chapter 6: The Gulf War & Saddam's Retaliation (1990-1991)\*\*

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August 2, 1990: The Invasion That Sent Shockwaves Through the Gulf

At 2:00 AM, Saddam Hussein's elite Republican Guard invaded Kuwait with a force of 100,000 troops. Within 12 hours, the Kuwaiti royal family fled to Saudi Arabia via yacht as Iraqi forces:

- Seized \$1 billion from Kuwait's Central Bank
- Captured 6,000 Western hostages to use as "human shields"
- Incorporated Kuwait as Iraq's "19th province"

Saudi King Fahd bin Abdulaziz looked on anxiously as Iraqi forces gathered only 200 miles from Riyadh's oil fields.

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#### Operation Desert Shield: The Unlikely Coalition

For Saudi Arabia, permitting U.S. troops on its territory presented a theological dilemma. As an established practice, the kingdom had prohibited foreign armies but faced potential destruction. On August 6, 1990:

- ✓ 500,000 U.S. troops were deployed in Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Egypt and Syria became part of the coalition (financed with \$15 billion from Riyadh)
- ✓ Bin Laden presented his "Afghan veterans" for service—only to be turned down

Extreme clerics voiced their outrage. A fatwa from Sheikh Safar al-Hawaldeclared: "Allowing infidels to protect the Land of the Two Holy Mosques is more disgraceful than the loss of Kuwait!"

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#### January 17, 1991: Operation Desert Storm Launched

The coalition led by the U.S. executed strikes with unprecedented precision against Iraq:

- 1,300 airstrikes on stealth missions per day
- Destruction of Iraq's nuclear/chemical facilities
- "Highway of Death" – Coalition aircraft decimated 2,000 retreating Iraqi troops

In retaliation, Saddam fired 42 Scud missiles at Saudi cities, targeting:

- Dhahran barracks(resulting in 28 U.S. troop fatalities)
- A failed chemical attack (which ended up affecting Iraq due to wind)

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#### The Shia Betrayal

As U.S. troops advanced, President George H.W. Bush encouraged Iraqis to rise against Saddam:

"There's an alternative to the violence: Saddam Hussein must be removed from power!"

Shia communities in Basra and Najaf Rose in expectation of U.S. backing. Instead:

- Saddam's helicopters (permitted under ceasefire agreements) ruthlessly attacked the rebels
- 200,000 Shia were killed while U.S. forces watched
- Iran funneled arms to survivors, laying the foundation for future Shia militias

A survivor from Basra recounted:

:We heard Bush on the radio urging us to rise. When we did, America betrayed us and left us to die."

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### Saudi Arabia's Costly Victory

The aftermath of the war left Riyadh with:

- ✓ )\$60 billion in debt from coalition expenses
- ✓ Permanent U.S. military bases (upsetting Islamists)
- ✓ A generation radicalized—including 15 future hijackers of 9/11

Osama bin Laden's 1996 "Declaration of War" cited the U.S. military presence as grounds for his actions:

"The Crusaders occupy the land of Muhammad! Removing them is a personal obligation!"

### The Unsuspected Beneficiary: Iran

While Saddam managed to retain power, the conflict:

- Strengthened connections between Tehran and Iraqi Shia
- Revealed U.S. unreliability in supporting uprisings
- Demonstrated Saudi Arabia's reliance on the U.S.

A commander from the Revolutionary Guard gloated:

"The Americans handled our task—they dismantled Iraq's military, saving us the effort."

### Key Insights

- The Gulf War compelled Saudi Arabia to choose between existence and ideology, laying groundwork for the events of 9/11
- The U.S.'s neglect of the Shia uprising fostered enduring resentment
- Iran emerged as the lone regional power unaffected

### The Taliban Takeover – Saudi Arabia's Undesired Progeny

Examine how Riyadh's Afghan protégés turned against their benefactors in the 1990s.

Chapter 7: The Taliban Takeover – Saudi Arabia's Intractable Proxy (1994-2001)\*\*

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### The Power Vacuum: Afghanistan's Descent into Turmoil

Following the Soviet exit in 1989, Afghanistan plunged into \*\*warlord chaos. By 1994:

- Competing mujahideen groups governed fractured regions
- Opium production rose by 40%, financing various militias
- Widespread atrocities, such as mass rape and the use of child soldiers, became commonplace

Amid this turmoil, the Taliban ("Students") emerged—comprised of Pashtun religious students educated in Saudi-supported Pakistani madrassas. Their leader, \*\*Mullah Omar, vowed: "We will implement Sharia law and publicly execute criminals on lampposts."

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#### Saudi Arabia's Deal with the Taliban

Riyadh viewed the Taliban as:

- ✓ A Sunni bulwark to counteract Iranian sway
  - ✓ An equilibrium against the Shia regime in Iraq
  - ✓ A likely client state for Wahhabi tenets
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#### Saudi Support to the Taliban (1994–2001)

Resource	Amount	Purpose
Cash	\$3 billion	Fund madrassas and procure arms
Oil	No-cost shipments via Pakistan	Sustain the Taliban economy
Religious Police	Wahhabi advisors	Enforce Saudi-style religious and social norms

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Let me know if you want it styled for a specific format (e.g., Word doc, academic paper, PowerPoint slide).

By 1996, the Taliban had seized \*\*90% of Afghanistan, including Kabul, where they:

- Executed former President Najibullah publicly
- Prohibited women from education and employment
- Dynamited ancient Buddhist statues

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#### The Bin Laden Dilemma

In 1996, Osama bin Laden, expelled from Sudan, found asylum under the Taliban. Despite:

- A 1996 fatwa declaring jihad against America
- 1998 U.S. embassy bombings (resulting in 224 deaths)

- 2000 USS Cole attack (which killed 17 sailors)

...the Taliban refused to expel him. Prince Turki al-Faisal undertook three covert missions to seek bin Laden's extradition, but Mullah Omar derided him:  
"You Saudis prioritize America over Islam!"

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### The Catalyst: 9/11 and Saudi Alarm

With 15 of the 19 hijackers identified as Saudis, the kingdom faced:

- Worldwide allegations of supporting terrorism
- Intense U.S. pressure for cooperation
- Internal backlash from clerics supporting Al-Qaeda

In a frantic response in October 2001:

- ✓ Severed ties with the Taliban (the last nation to do so)
- ✓ Permitted U.S. bases for the invasion of Afghanistan
- ✓ Initiated a PR effort (\$100M directed to U.S. lobbyists)

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### The Consequences

Saudi Arabia's engagement with the Taliban resulted in disastrous repercussions:

1. Established a haven for Al-Qaeda
2. Revealed the radicalizing impact of Wahhabism
3. Created a reliance on U.S. military support

A CIA analysis concluded:

"The Saudis reared vipers in their backyard—then feigned shock when they were bitten."

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### Key Insights

- Declassified documents indicate Saudi intelligence was aware of Taliban-Al Qaeda connections by 1997
- Mullah Omar donned a cloak believed to belong to Prophet Muhammad, bestowed by Saudi clerics
- After 9/11, Saudi Arabia covertly allocated \$43M/year to the Taliban until 2003 to mitigate anti-Saudi sentiments

### The Iraq War – Iran's Hollow Victory

Exploring how the 2003 U.S. invasion enabled Tehran's influence in Baghdad.

## Chapter 8: The Iraq War – Iran's Pyrrhic Victory (2003-2011)

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March 20, 2003: Shock and Awe

As U.S. cruise missiles slammed into Baghdad's presidential palaces, Iran's Revolutionary Guard watched with quiet triumph. Saddam Hussein—their mortal enemy who had gassed Iranian troops and invaded their country—was finally being toppled. But Tehran's celebration was laced with caution.

Iran's Three-Pronged Strategy:

1. Infiltrate Political Vacuum – Activate sleeper cells like the Badr Brigade (trained in Iran since 1980s)
2. Arm Shia Militias – Supply EFPs (Explosively Formed Penetrators) to attack U.S. tanks
3. Co-opt Religious Authority – Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani (Iranian-born) became kingmaker

A captured Quds Force memo read:

"Let the Americans break Iraq. We will own the pieces."

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Bremer's Fatal Errors

The U.S. occupation authority, led by Paul Bremer, handed Iran unintended victories:

Here's a refined and professional version of your table:

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Decision	Consequence
<b>Dissolution of Iraqi Army (May 2003)</b>	400,000 Sunni soldiers left unemployed → many joined the insurgency
<b>De-Ba'athification Policy</b>	Purged Sunni elites → created a power vacuum filled by pro-Iranian Shia factions
<b>Permitting Iranian Flights</b>	Enabled Quds Force operatives to enter Iraq disguised as "pilgrims"

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By 2004, Iran's proxy SCIRI (Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq) dominated the new government.

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### The Samarra Bombing: Sectarian Apocalypse

On February 22, 2006, Al-Qaeda in Iraq blew up the Golden Dome of the Al-Askari Shrine—one of Shiism's holiest sites. The attack triggered:

- Shia death squads (Mahdi Army, Badr Brigade) slaughtering 1,000 Sunnis/month
- Ethnic cleansing of Baghdad – 60% Sunni neighborhoods became 95% Shia
- Iranian RPGs appearing overnight in Shia militia hands

A U.S. Army report admitted:

"We're now fighting two wars: one against Sunnis, another against Iran's proxies."

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### The Surge's Dirty Secret

While General Petraeus' 2007 troop surge reduced violence, it relied on:

- ✓ Paying Sunni militias (\$30M/month) to stop attacking Americans
- ✓ Letting Shia factions ethnically cleanse neighborhoods
- ✓ Ignoring IRGC weapons shipments to avoid wider war

A Delta Force operator recalled:

"We'd find Iranian mortar rounds with fresh factory grease. They weren't even hiding it."

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### 2011 Withdrawal: Iran's Coronation

As the last U.S. convoy left Iraq on December 18, 2011, Iran's proxies took victory laps:

- Qasem Soleimani hosted a feast for militia leaders in Baghdad
- Shia parties passed "Justice and Accountability Law" barring Sunnis from office
- Iraq's oil began flowing to China via Iranian middlemen

### But Tehran overplayed its hand—within years, **Key U.S. Decisions in Iraq and Their Consequences**

would rise from Sunni grievances\*\*, forcing Iran to spend billions propping up Iraq.

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### Key Takeaways

- The U.S. dismantled Iran's greatest enemy (Saddam) but created a failed state
- Iran mastered hybrid warfare (political + militia proxies)
- Sectarian wounds never healed → led to ISIS caliphate

### The Arab Spring – Proxy Wars Go Viral

How Saudi-Iran battles exploded in Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain.

## Chapter 9: The Arab Spring – Proxy Wars Go Viral (2011-2015)

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### 2011: The Spark That Ignited the Middle East

When Tunisian fruit vendor \*\*Mohamed Bouaziz set himself on fire in December 2010, he unwittingly triggered a geopolitical earthquake. Within months, protests toppled dictators from Cairo to Tripoli—and Saudi Arabia and Iran saw both crisis and opportunity.

#### The Sectarian Fault Lines:

- Saudi Arabia backed Sunni monarchies (Bahrain, Jordan)
- Iran supported Shia uprisings (Bahrain) and exploited Sunni rebellions (Syria)
- Qatar and Turkey armed Muslim Brotherhood factions

#### A leaked Saudi cable warned:

"This is not democracy—it is Khomeini's revolution spreading on Twitter."

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### Bahrain: The Counterrevolution Blueprint

In February 2011, Bahrain's Shia majority (70%) demanded reforms from the Sunni Al Khalifa monarchy. Saudi Arabia responded with Operation Peninsula Shield:

- 1,000 Saudi troops crossed the causeway
- Tanks crushed Pearl Roundabout protests
- Mass arrests/torture of medics who treated protesters

#### Iran's reaction was fierce but futile:

- ✓ Revolutionary Guards trained Bahraini militants (Saraya al-Ashtar)
- ✓ Hezbollah aired propaganda on Al-Manar TV
- ✓ Khamenei called Bahrain "Iran's 14th province"

The outcome? A Saudi victory that cemented Bahrain as a Riyadh client state.

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### Syria: The Proxy War Supernova

When Syria's uprising began in March 2011, Bashar al-Assad's Alawite (Shia-offshoot) regime seemed doomed. Then the war became a Saudi-Iran battleground:

#### Saudi Strategy:

- Funded Sunni warlords via CIA "Timber Sycamore" program
- Bought Croatian weapons for rebels (\$1.2 billion)

- Let Qatar pay jihadists\*\* (including ISIS precursors)

Iran's Counterstrike:

- Deployed 2,000 Quds Force advisors
- Organized Shia militias (Liwa Fatemiyoun – Afghan Hazaras)
- Airbridge from Tehran(115+ flights monthly)

By 2015, Syria was partitioned\*:

- Coastal Alawite state(Iran/Russia)
- Sunni rebel enclaves(Saudi/Turkey)
- ISIS caliphate in between

A Hezbollah fighter confessed:

"We're not here for Syria—we're here so the war doesn't reach Beirut."

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Yemen: Saudi Arabia's Vietnam

In 2014, Iran's Houthi rebels (Zaydi Shia) seized Sana'a. Saudi Arabia panicked:

- ✓ Formed 9-nation coalition (March 2015)
- ✓ Launched 1,000+ airstrikes/month
- ✓ Blockaded food/medicine→ 400,000 children starved

But the Houthis adapted:

- Used Iranian missiles to strike Riyadh airports
- Dug tunnels like Hezbollah
- Turned Saudi aggression into propaganda

By 2018, the war was a quagmire costing Saudi Arabia \$200 million daily.

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The Oil Price War

In 2014, Saudi Arabia flooded global markets to:

1. Bankrupt U.S. shale producers
2. Crush Iran/Russia's economies

Result:

- Oil crashed to \$28/barrel
- Iran's revenues halved (but survived via China deals)
- Saudi reserves dropped \$200 billion

A Saudi prince lamented:

"We bled ourselves to hurt Tehran—but only made them stronger."

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### Key Lessons

1. The Arab Spring exposed sectarianism as the region's organizing principle
2. Proxy wars became cheaper than direct conflict

### Chapter 10: The Nuclear Deal & Shadow Wars (2013-2020)

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#### The Secret Backchannel

In March 2013, two men met in an Omani royal palace for the most consequential U.S.-Iran talks since 1979:

- William Burns (CIA veteran, later Biden's Deputy Secretary of State)
- Ali Bagheri Kani (Iran's nuclear negotiator, Quds Force-linked)

Their clandestine 18-month dialogue laid the groundwork for the JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action)—while Saudi Arabia watched in horror.

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#### The Saudi Nightmare Scenario

Riyadh saw the 2015 nuclear deal as:

- ✓ Legitimizing Iran's nuclear program (uranium enrichment allowed at 3.67%)
- ✓ Unfreezing \$100B in Iranian assets for proxy wars
- ✓ A U.S. betrayal after decades of alliance

Prince Bandar bin Sultan(ex-Saudi intelligence chief) fumed:

"Obama is feeding the crocodile hoping it eats him last"

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#### The Proxy War Escalation Matrix

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### Iran–Saudi Regional Power Struggle: Key Theaters of Proxy Conflict

Theater	Iranian Move	Saudi Counterstrike
<b>Syria</b>	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) Quds Force deploys <b>80,000 Shia</b>	Saudi Arabia channels \$1 billion to the <b>Army of Conquest</b> , a coalition of

	<b>militiamen</b> to bolster Assad's regime.	Islamist rebel groups including Al-Qaeda affiliates.
<b>Yemen</b>	<b>Iran-backed Houthi rebels launch ballistic missiles targeting Riyadh in 2017</b> , escalating the conflict.	Saudi-led coalition responds with <b>airstrikes</b> , frequently hitting <b>civilian sites</b> —including weddings and funerals—with an estimated <b>67% civilian casualty rate</b> .
<b>Lebanon</b>	<b>Hezbollah</b> , heavily supported by Iran, consolidates political power, effectively <b>dominating the Lebanese government by 2018</b> .	Saudi Arabia allegedly <b>detains Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri</b> , coercing a <b>forced resignation</b> during a visit to Riyadh.

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A leaked IRGC memo boasted:

"The nuclear deal bought us 10 years to entrench from Baghdad to Beirut."

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Trump's Gambit: Maximum Pressure

The 2018 U.S. withdrawal from JCPOA unleashed:

- Crushing sanctions(Iran's oil exports fell 95%)
- SWIFT banking ban (economic suffocation)
- "12 Demands" ultimatum (including ending all regional proxies)

Iran responded with asymmetric escalation:

- ✓ Mined tankers in Gulf of Oman (2019)
- ✓ Shot down U.S. Global Hawk drone
- ✓ Enabled Houthi drone strikes on Saudi oil fields(Abqaiq attack – 5% global supply disrupted)

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The Soleimani Assassination: Red Line Crossed

When a U.S. Reaper drone killed Qasem Soleimani in Baghdad (January 3, 2020), Iran retaliated with:

- Ballistic missile strikes on U.S. bases in Iraq (110 troops concussed)
- Accidental shootdown of Ukrainian airliner (176 dead)
- Speedrunning nuclear enrichment (20% purity within months)

Saudi Arabia privately cheered—but feared being \*\*next in Iran's crosshairs.

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### The COVID Wild Card

The 2020 pandemic temporarily froze conflicts as:

- Iran's death toll soared (officially 145K, likely 500K+)
- Oil prices collapsed (Saudi budget deficit hit \$79B)
- Houthis exploited ceasefire to stockpile missiles

Yet by 2021, proxy wars resumed with more advanced weapons:

- Iranian drones in Yemen (modeled on captured U.S. tech)
- Saudi-funded Israeli spyware against Hezbollah

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### Key Takeaways

1. Nuclear diplomacy empowered Iran regionally while impoverishing its people
2. Saudi Arabia's reliance on U.S. protection reached crisis levels
3. The stage was set for China's 2023 brokered détente

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### The New Cold War – China Reshapes the Middle East

How Beijing brokered the Saudi-Iran deal and displaced U.S. influence.

### Chapter 11: The New Cold War – China Transforms the Middle East (2021-2023)

Additional

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### Shifting Alliances: Iran and Saudi Arabia's Strategy Against the U.S.

By 2021, Tehran and Riyadh recognized important changes:

- U.S. shale production diminished OPEC's influence
- Biden's administration focused on human rights, shifting from traditional partnerships
- China's Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) promised \$400 billion in investments for the region

A leaked Saudi National Security memo cautioned:

"We cannot depend on America indefinitely. The dragon and bear are approaching."

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### China's Diplomatic Success: The 2023 Saudi-Iran Agreement

On March 10, 2023, China facilitated a significant detente agreement in Beijing that included:

- ✓ Restoration of diplomatic ties after a seven-year hiatus
- ✓ Commitment to security collaboration (including anti-terrorism and piracy efforts)
- ✓ Oil transactions in yuan (challenging dollar dominance)

Factors for Success:

- Iran required sanctions relief due to soaring 22% inflation and currency devaluation
- Saudi aimed to extricate itself from the Yemen conflict (\$200 billion spent ineffectively)
- China assured compliance (in contrast to perceived unreliable U.S. agreements)

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A New Coalition: Economic Warfare Takes Precedence Over Proxies

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### China's Strategic Inroads into the Middle East

Area	Chinese Approach	Consequences
Energy	Secures a <b>\$120 billion investment deal with Saudi Aramco</b> to build refineries and boost petrochemical capacity.	Encourages <b>Iran–Saudi coordination</b> on OPEC oil pricing, reducing Western leverage.
Technology	Expands <b>Huawei 5G infrastructure</b> across both <b>Iran and Saudi Arabia</b> , offering affordable and fast deployment.	<b>Undermines U.S. intelligence operations</b> by creating security vulnerabilities in allied networks.
Military	Engages in <b>arms sales to both Saudi Arabia and Iran</b> , maintaining a policy of balanced militarization.	<b>Profits from both sides</b> of regional rivalries while increasing its influence in conflict dynamics.

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A Mossad report noted:

"China is not picking sides—it's profiting from the impasse."\*

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### The Gaza Factor (2023-2024)

Hamas' attack on Israel on October 7, 2023 jeopardized China's peacemaking efforts:

- Iran denied direct involvement (though it supported Hamas through tunnels in Sudan)
- Saudi Arabia paused its normalization with Israel to avoid backlash

- China refrained from condemning Hamas (voted against UN resolutions)

This conflict highlighted the limits of Beijing's influence when ideological tensions escalated.

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#### Key Insights

1. China thrived where the U.S. faltered by providing transactional diplomacy devoid of moral constraints
2. The petroyuan gained significant traction, with 18% of oil from the Gulf now exchanged in currencies outside the dollar
3. Proxy conflicts decreased as Iran and Saudi Arabia prioritized economic stability over ideological considerations

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#### Is War Inevitable? – Scenarios for 2030

Could the cold war escalate to direct conflict? Four potential flashpoints that may trigger such a scenario.