PREFACE

The United Nations in the course of its 50 years history, passing through different crises, has taken a form very different from the one mapped out for it at its inception. Today, in terms of its framework, character and performance, the United Nations is an altogether different organization. The fundamental change that has occurred is that, today, the UN is no longer subservient to, or aligned with any particular power or group of powers. Some may talk of 'tyranny of majority' or 'hegemony of super powers' but the reality is that today the UN belongs to no one but to all. It has been of crucial relevance to the Third World countries and serves as an institution for mobilising and maximising the strength of the Third World. In turn the UN has been considerably helped by the Third World states in its process of survival as an independent universal organization. Now; with the end of cold war the UN has acquired a new role as a promoter and consolidator of democratic values in the Third World. The UN role in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict and its effort to rehabilitate Iraq on the path of democracy bears ample testimony to the growing effectiveness of the world organization in managing regional conflicts.

Currently the Gulf region is passing through a critical phase of crises and tensions as never before. Besides the age-old Arab-Israel conflict the Iraq-Kuwait conflict and the subsequent war against Iraq added a new dimension to the crisis situation. The arms race in the region has generated a new danger in the region. The rise of the Gulf States into economically prosperous and politically independent units led to the generation of a host of issues involving territorial claims and counter-claims. The ideas of pan-Arabism, republicanism, and revolution, the Palestine question, Israeli ambitions in South Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq territorial disputes over the Shat-al-Arab and its spill over effect on the UN for the Kurdish autonomy in northern Iraq resulting into a full scale war, the Iraqi claims on Kuwait and the subsequent events that ensued in Iraq are the few major issues that confront the Gulf today.

The Claims of each Arab Country to full sovereignty and independence, while continuing to dream of uniting the Arab World into a Arab Nation are the two contradictory trends that have endangered fierce rivalry among the Arab states, foreign
ideologies adopted by some Arab countries have also complicated inter-Arab relations, colouring the ideological map with a mosaic of regimes ranging between extreme varieties of reactionary and progressive systems. These conflicts and rivalries continue to be a consistent danger to their peaceful co-existence and pave a way for the outside powers to meet their evil designs in the region.

Interestingly enough, the UN resorted to a new role pattern in the aftermath of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis that manifested in the form of inspections, oil for food program and now to monitor events in the post-war scenario. Resolution 687 was adopted unanimously by the Security Council as a part of the ceasefire after the gulf war. It had five main elements of which first three related to disarmament and they called for:-

1. Declarations by Iraq of its Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and long-range missiles.
2. Verifications of the declaration by UNSCOM, which was a UN special commission established by the same resolution and the IAEA.
3. Supervision by the organisations of the destruction or the elimination of prescribed items and programs.

The present thesis probes the causal factors behind the growing confrontation in the region. It seeks to understand the extent of success and the bottlenecks of the UN in resolving these crises. The main focus of the thesis *inter alia* pertains:

a. To analyze the new thrust in the nature and direction in the UN peace keeping efforts;

b. To understand the foreign policy interests and preferences of the Gulf states and their likely impact on the course of the regional disputes;

c. To examine the areas of dispute in the Iraq-Kuwait relations;

d. To understand the course of action adopted by the UN to resolve the conflict; and

e. To assess the new political dynamics that ensued following the Iraq-Kuwait conflict
The study is divided into seven-chapter and a conclusion. It is descriptive and analytical in nature. The study is based on data combined in books, articles and government policies. The empirical data about Iraq were gathered from various sources that included documentary analysis of reports, studies, and other documents. The documents were either gathered directly from the institutions or from official Web sites of the related bodies. The information about Iraq was mainly taken from official Web sites of related agencies. Data contained in the foreign policy documents of the Gulf countries is also taken into account.

Chapter I of the thesis entitled “A Historical Profiles of the Gulf Region” deals with the massive and substantive changes as geo-strategically significant to the major powers. The partition of oil riches in the Gulf among the world’s top oil companies was mainly completed by the beginning of the Second World War; no sultanate on the saline and sun-scorched coast of the Gulf escaped their voracious gaze. Britain’s overwhelming political predominance did not prevent other overseas businessmen from scoring highly tangible success in the competition. Thus, in late 1930s the US monopolies had taken full possession of the oil deposits in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, half of the oil output in Kuwait, and about a quarter of the output in countries where Iraq Petroleum was active. Similarly British firms, in addition to extracting oil in Iraq, Iran and Kuwait, exercised control over the deposits in Qatar, Muscat, Trucial Oman and some other principalities. In pursuing its policy of economic expansion in the region the United States applied more flexible methods than its rivals. Posing as friends of the Arab peoples, the Americans always inserted in concessionary agreement and contracts a clause on non-interference in internal affairs. Thus with the old unfair system of relations between the oil-producing states and the imperialist monopolies being destroyed, the United States also faced the need to work out new political, military and ideological measures that would ensure its interests. The nationalization of the property of foreign oil companies in some countries along with policy changes as regards concessions rendered the exploitation of the region’s oil riches through old colonial methods impossible. All these factors made US policy in the Gulf more active and shaped its long-term strategy, to maintain US control over the region.
Chapter II entitled “Foreign Policy and Regional Conflicts” brought out the changing nature of striking asymmetries of size and power among its component states. Historically, the strongest countries on the Gulf lay in the north – Iran and Iraq – As the Gulf’s importance grew in the mid to late 1960s and the British were reaching a decision to withdraw, American policymakers were concerned about the resulting “power vacuum”, consequently the American government opted for a “twin-pillars” policy that envisaged US encouragement and support of Iran and Saudi Arabia in order that they might assume the mantle of policemen of the Gulf. The twin-pillar policy naively assumed that Iran and Saudi Arabia would cooperate on the basis of common interests rather than coming into conflict as a result of divergent interests. The policy overlooked the disparity between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Washington underestimated and misread Iraq. The nature of and limits on the power of the “pillars” were never understood. In the years following the British withdrawal from east of Suez, the smaller Gulf countries – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and UAE – appeared to many as the artifacts of a previous era, short-lived anachronisms in a turbulent area. The five smaller Gulf countries are often lumped together by outsiders for matters of convenience, leaving the impression that they are all similar. In fact, of course, their differences are as great as those of other countries in the Middle East. Apart from the obvious geographical propinquity, and the fact that they are all Muslim states, the smaller Gulf countries have in common only the shared external threat from the larger Gulf states to the North and East, a tradition of social conservatism, and a history of isolation from the processes of world politics. These small countries vary greatly, but, take together, share a number of common interests, principal among which is high vulnerability and therefore, a shared and profound concern about the stability and security of the Gulf they all share. They all depend upon petroleum commerce, even if in different ways and to different degrees. They all look to Saudi Arabia to take the leadership role in the Gulf, despite past conflicts with the kingdom in some cases because of its size, resources, and links to the West.

The politics of the region is primarily the product of internal relationships. Nevertheless there are distinct ideological differences among the gulf political systems. There are other factors of differences of size, population, and political-military power.
The smaller states of the gulf – Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the seven UAE Shaykhdom, Oman and Yemen have little political or military power and could scarcely resist political ultimatums from any of the three big Gulf States. Oman is more favorable in its attitude toward US policies in part because of its geographical isolation from the other Gulf states and in part because of its negligible Palestinian and Shiite population. The US interests in the Gulf region although boil into a single major factor – oil, there are in fact a wide variety of US interests in the Gulf, some deriving from its location, others from its resources, and yet other from the prominence of the Gulf in international politics. The US has attempted to secure its economic interests in the Gulf by fostering the already strong financial and commercial interdependence between the US and the area. While oil remained the factor in US economic interest so is generation of revenue by arms sales which had an enormous impact upon American society and economy since world war II. Currently, the US objectives are to prevent any single power from gaining control over the bulk of Gulf oil reserves and to prevent the use of revenue from oil sales by a hostile power to undermine the regional order.

Chapter III of the thesis entitled "United Nations and Regional Conflicts" first considers the basic premise that the UN mandate was to save succeeding generations from the encourage of war. The Members are required to settle their international dispute by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice, are not endangered. These are further required to refrain from in their international relations from threat to use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The chapter also discusses the dispute settlement under the auspices of the United Nations through the initiative of the Security Council, through the initiative of any Member State, through the initiative of a non-Member State, by virtue of the mandatory provisions of the Charter, through the mutual request of the parties to disputes; and settlement through other agencies. Ever since its creation the United Nations has been concerned with Palestinian issue and the conflict in West Asia remain a moot question both in the United Nations and the nations of the world. The chapter also discusses how it remained a source of international tension and a threat to world peace and security. In context of bigger
powers of the region, from 1929 to 1958 relations between Iran and Iraq were stable, as both regimes were monarchies, despite their old conflict which they inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Ideological rivalry has always been and explosive issues between the two countries were substantially discussed in the chapter. Each side is driven by a set of goals: Iran by Shiite revivalism and Iraq by secular Islam, striving towards Arab destiny.

Chapter IV entitled “Iraq-Kuwait War” postulates the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as culmination of series of attempts proclaiming the entire territory of Kuwait as part of Basra province. This Iraqi claim over Kuwaiti territory was largely due to the land locked position Iraq finds itself except for a tiny access to the Gulf. The emergence of a full fledged Baathist party government in July 1968 in Iraq opened a new chapter in Iraq-Kuwait relation. Kuwait was first to accord state recognition to the new Baathist regime in Iraq.

Next, the chapter V titled “United Nations and Kuwait-Iraq war discusses a number of barriers and how the United Nations demonstrated its for-reaching ability to act as powerful instrument for international peace and security through its sustained and decisive response to Iraq’s advance in Kuwait. The chapter substantially examines the diplomatic efforts, 45-day period between the adoption of Security Council resolution (SCR) 678 (1990) and the deadline for Iraqi compliance saw a number of initiatives aimed at averting an outbreak of war. The role of the United nations in the Gulf situation has led some commentators to hope that it would augur well in future for an effective tool by the United Nations for enforcement of peace on the lines envisaged by the Charter.

Chapter VI entitled “Post Iraq-Kuwait War Dynamics” examines the war on Iraq, realistically viewed, was designed to protect US hegemony over oil (with the broad strategic aims that this implies), to educate the world about post-Soviet political realities, to test new anti-personnel and other weapons, and to justify the absurdly high levels of investment in US military power. A further aim was to bolster the reputation of a US president beset by the ‘wimp factor’ and the prospect of a presidential election in 1992. The chapter also discusses the war dynamics that how the most significant factors of the
Gulf War was the speed with which the US-led coalition was able to achieve its military machine including the air supremacy. Also the six weeks of allied air raids was discussed which had destroyed the bulk of the electrical power stations that supplied hospitals, water pumping facilities, sewage treatment plants and water purification facilities; in addition, these various facilities had often been totally or partially destroyed by the bombing. A consequence was that many parts of Iraq had to face a public health crisis of vast proportions. There was a real risk of widespread deaths through disease and perhaps starvation. In November 1991 there were reports of food riots in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities, with particularly serious disorder in the Baghdad (Shia) suburbs of Thawra and Khadhimaya. The West, for the most part, continued to pay little attention to the privations brought to the Iraqi people by the seemingly permanent sanctions.

The last chapter of the thesis entitled “United Nations and Iraq: Post War Scenario” brings out in comprehensive manner all developments which have affected the status and definition of the boundary up to August 1993. By this time, the land boundary had been demarcated in its entirety by the UN, while delimitation had been announced between the two states for the Khor Abdullah, although the UN would insist, contentiously, that its delimitation for this stretch of water was a demarcation. The subjects covered in this chapter are: the border in the UN settlement of the Kuwait Crisis, UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) and incidents in the border zone, the 'northward migration' of Kuwait's international borders with Iraq, the land boundary demarcation ruling and reactions to it, the UN and the UN Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission (UNIKBDC) verdict on the land boundary, resurrection of the Iraqi claim to the entirety of Kuwait on the second anniversary of the invasion of the emirate, the demarcation of the Kuwait-Iraq land border, the resignation of the UNIKBDC chairman and delays in announcing a water boundary for the Khor Abdullah, border incidents and the expansion of UNIKOM's terms of reference, border defences, 'returned' oil wells and compensation for displaced Iraqis, a median line for the Khor Abdullah, and the UNIKBDC's final report. The Security Council's credibility, always
under a degree of attack, was seriously undermined by its inability to unite on a strategy for Iraq in early 2003, and prospects for its continued relevance to the hardest security challenges at the end of 2007 seem uncertain.

A study of this nature, though apparently look easier, but when one actually ventures to undertake it, lands one into lot of confusion. It was the able guidance of my supervisor, Prof. Asmar Baig, that has provided a proper direction to present the thesis. Therefore, first and foremost I am extremely grateful to my supervisor for his constant support and encouragement. Indeed, I shall never forget his benevolence and humility through out the course of work.

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