CHAPTER - V

GENESIS OF IRAQ-KUWAIT CONFLICT
CHAPTER - V

GENESIS OF IRAQ-KUWAIT CONFLICT

Kuwait as sovereign geographically situated at the upper corner of the Arab/ Persian Gulf having an area of 6,880 square miles (17,818 square kilometers). It is bounded on the West and North by Iraq, on the East by the Gulf and on the South by Saudi Arabia. The population at the census of 1995 was 1,590,013 (2). The capital city of Kuwait, a true desert metropolis of 80,000 persons (1970) is located on the Southern shore of Kuwait Bay and derives its name from the diminutive of Kut meaning "fort". It is the most important city though the suburb of Hawall is now larger in population with 1,07,00 persons in 1970, of which most of the population of the country are concentrated in the cities. Overall Kuwait is one of the worlds most highly urbanized states.

Kuwait received independence from British in 1961. Shaikh Mubark al-Sabah (1896-1915), who had seized power by murdering his elder half brother in 1896, joined Britain’s Qasi-protectorate regime in the Persian Gulf three years later by surrendering the Shaikhdom’s external sovereignty. The unratified Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1913 had introduced an element of ambiguity into the Anglo-Kuwaiti relationship. It recognized Kuwait as an autonomous Ottoman provincial district while simultaneously confirming the validity of the instrument that defined Kuwait’s status as a British protected Shaikhdom.
However, it was under the administration of the governor of the Basra Wilayt. Shaikh Mubarak Al-Sabah asserted the Kingdom’s independence of Constantinople and turned to Britain in 1914 as British political agency was established and Kuwait’s foreign relations were conducted through the agency. After the First World War, Kuwait’s disputed boundaries with Saudia Arabia were settled and neutral zones were created. Kuwait was not included in the territories of the Ottoman empire, which were taken into the state of Iraq. Oil was discovered in Kuwait before the Second World War. After the war Kuwait became one of the world’s leading petroleum producer. Iraq invasion of Kuwait on 2nd August 1990, was not a surprise. Iraq had already claimed the entire territory of Kuwait as integral part of Basra province before Kuwait independence.

KUWAIT AS SOVEREIGN NATION:

Kuwait had emerged primarily due to its geographic location because it has a zone of slightly higher, firmer ground, it has a fairly good and sheltered natural harbour away from the nearby sandbank, coral reefs and marshy lands. Kuwait became a focus of attention at the middle of eighteenth century, during the rivalry of imperial power in Middle East. The first map identified Kuwait was drawn by a Danish explorer, Karsten Nebuhr, who spelt it "Kuet"; meaning "fortress". Earlier the territory was under the seizure of the Bani Khalid tribe, whose influence extended from Kuwait to al-Hasa.

159
The social genesis of Kuwait refer to a number of families of the Bani Utubi of Anaiza tribe and in particular groups of "Al-Ataubi", settled in the area called al-Quarian constituting present day Kuwait which was part of the Al-Hasa province and under the dominance of Bani Khalid tribe. When Bedouin families from the Najd area, due to the drought in the interior of Arabian peninsula abandoned nomadism and migrated to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Members of the formerly ‘Anaiza Tribe’ in 1756, selected as their Shaikh a member of the Sabah dynasty. This was the beginning of the A Sabah dynasty, ruler of the modern state of Kuwait and to administrate their affairs and look after their security and represent them. As spokesman in their interaction with the Ottoman empire.

Therefore, Shaikh Sabah Bin Jabir, became the defacto, head of their state Kuwait’s location on the shores of the Persian Gulf with a long outlet to the sea, bestowed upon it commercial and strategic importance. This had become a focus of attention among foreign powers in different periods of time. So, Kuwait had faced a number of incursions by the foreign powers, especially from the Arab Peninsula, the Wahhabis from Najid under the leadership of Faysal Al-Duwish who attempted to capture Kuwait in 1919. Thus, Kuwait had become a centre of desert carvans. It had nearly 10,000 inhabitants, whose main occupation was fishing, pearling and the Mudarabah or speculative trade which led to the growth of a powerful merchant fleet of more than 800 ships. The
rulers had built a fort around the city for protection, as well as, for collection of toll or customs taxes. This little fortresses came to be known as Kuwait. The merchants for the protection of their trade by land and sea, paid protection fees to the Al-Sabah rulers since the Al-Sabah family had its tribal militants. They were successful in providing adequate security to the merchants which led to flourishing trade and prosperity not only in Kuwait city proper but in the hinterland as well.

The British arrived in Kuwait in 1775 when the East India Company made it the South Eastern part of its desert mail route to Aleppo. The British connexion became closer in 1792, when annoyed by Turkish encroachments, the East India Company transferred its agency from Basra to Kuwait, in 1821 the British stationed a political officer in Kuwait. Kuwait, thereafter, gradually became an administrative unit of Mesopotamia.

With their ascendancy in the area from 1690 onwards and consolidation of their hold on key areas the British came to Kuwait in 1775 and due to the Persian occupation of Basra between 1776 and 1779 and also because Basra was hit by the plague they made Kuwait the southern most terminus of their overland mail to Aleppo from Basra. The Persian move to occupy Basra can be identified as a turning point for the emergence of Kuwait. As a major part because much of the trade was now handled by Kuwait in place of Basra in view of British dominance in the region's trade. Kuwait became all the more important for the British, the question of dominance over the routes to India was a basic
motivation of their policy in the Gulf which was responsible for the conversion of Kuwait from a remote, peripheral and obscure port of the Ottoman empire into a much sought after principality under the pretext of putting an end to piracy and slave trade in the Indian Ocean and Gulf and also on the pretext of trying to stop the arms trade moved into the Gulf area first by expelling the Dutch from their bases in the Gulf in 1765 and then establishing first foothold in Muscat in 1798, thereby centrally the trade throughout the strait of Hormouz with the fall to Tipu Sultan in 1799 the French threat to the British also came to an end in India and the surrounding areas.

The local resistance by Arab rulers merchants was branded as acts of piracy and after dominating Oman the British between 1810 and 1820 subjected the present UAE areas forced the ruler of Ras al-Khimah to sign a general treaty of peace for suppression of piracy in 1820, in 1839 the British took over Aden thereby strengthening still further their position in the region. The great Britain succeeded in signing two agreements with Muscat and Bahrain in 1847 and 1860, a protectorate agreement with Bahrain in 1871, protectorate treaty with Muscat in 1891, protctorate treaty with Kuwait in 1899. The effect of all these treaties was not limited to the preservation of peace between the Shaikhs, Emirs, Sultans, but led to the consolidation of their authority and the recognition of the legitimacy of their control as ruling families over their people and territory. More significant the treaties provided full protection for them and their families from their peoples and their competitors among other ruler(7).
The British succeeded in winning the friendship of Shaikh Abdullah Bin Sabah and to maintain their autonomy Al Sabah adopted a friendly relations with Ottoman empire in 1871. The Turkish Governor of Baghdad, Midhat Pasha, conferred the title of Qaim Magan (Deputy Governor or prefect) as Shaikh of Kuwait. However, within a year Midhat Pasha fell from power. Kuwait then threw off the Turkish Yoke of any rate, started disregarding Turkish authority. The British Government had entered into a secret agreement with the Shaikh of Kuwait in 1899 and considered it a protectorate while simultaneously acknowledging Kuwait within Turkish sphere of influence.

Turmoil within Kuwait especially the palace coup in 1890's was noticed with concern by the British because of implications for their interests on the death of Sabah II in 1886. His son Sheikh Abdullah Bin Sabah al Jaber succeeded him but after his death in 1982, he was succeeded by Mohammed Bin Sabah as the Sheikh of Kuwait. Mohammed Sabah soon became the butt of ridicule for his incompetence and negligence of state affairs under these circumstances his brother in law Yusuf Bin Abdullah al Ibrahim (Tarrah) began to virtually conduct the state affairs and concentrated all the authority in his hands. Al-Ibrahim was a close and ardent supporter of Turkey and the British feared about their interests and implications on their route to India.

Mohammad Bin Sabah could devote very little time to Government, and his effective handing over the administration of the emirate to an expatriate from Iraq caused serious concern to
the British for a long time Mubarak one of the eight sons of Sabah-II (who was the fourth ruler of Kuwait) and an ambitious half brother of Mohammed Bin Sabah and leader of the patriotic party in Kuwait found Al Ibrahim’s tilt towards Turkey and Mohammad Bin Sabah’s incompetence as repugnant and in May 1896, assassinated the Kuwait ruler and declared himself as the seventh Shaikh of Kuwait. Kuwait found a leader who could withstand both the pressures of the Turks and those of the rivalry of the Saudi and Al Rashid families in Arabia. But Turkey believed that the British particularly the Government of India, Calcutta had instigated Mubarak to kill Mohammed Bin Sabah and seize power due to his refusal to join a Pan-Arab coalition against Turkey.

The Arab partners in the alliance were to be the Amir of Hail Mohammed Bin Rashid, Qatar’s Jasim Bin Thani and the Amir of Bahrain, Mubarak soon after seizing power sought to legitimize his rule he approached Turkey through the Basra Governor Hamidi Pasha, who suggested to Mubarak to place Kuwait under Ottoman domain. So he can get recognition but Hamid Pasha soon replaced by Mohsin Pasha, this paved the way to Mubarak to consolidate his power and acquire the title of Qaim Magam. Mubarak’s feeling of insecurity continued from the foreign power. He realized that his Emirate’s fortunes lay with British the dominant power in the Gulf at that time. Whom in turn can ensure that their interference in the internal affairs of Kuwait avoided.

British on the other hand fearing international complication especially German and Russian opposition desisted from
proclaiming a protectorate over Kuwait, but promised to help in case of encroachment by Turkey. Britain appointed Hamid Pasha as a Governor of Basra who was a strong advocate of a forward policy towards Kuwait. Turkey soon gathered troops near Basra to occupy Kuwait, but British warned Turkey that it will not permit any conduct of hostilities against Mubarak. Soon Russian and Germans came up with the proposal of railway line from Berlin to Baghdad up to Basra. For them an outlet at Kuwait was essential as they preferred to deal direct with Sultan rather than Sheikh of Kuwait.

The British concluded that Turkey’s decision to grant Germany a concession to build a line from Istanbul to Basra was seen as direct threat to Persian oil supply. Assured of British support the Shaikh Mubarak now called Mubarak the Great soon laid claim to Safwan and Ummqasr soon after the Ottoman troops moved from Safwan to Ummqasr, and not towards Kuwait Ummqasr located in an in outlet and Khor Abdullah to the North west of Kuwait Bay. Thus, it could become alternate terminal for the Berlin-Baghdad line instead of Kuwait. The British realised that the Ottoman occupation of Ummqasr were not related to local politics. But to undermine British stand on the Baghdad line vis-a-vis German. British notice the intensions of Turkey to extend outposts still further towards Kuwait. Accordingly, they warned Turkey that any such movement would be treated as a violation of their bilateral agreement in the region.
Shaikh Mubarak and Britain signed a treaty stating that in return for British protection Kuwait would not cede, mortgage or otherwise give any ports of Kuwait to any other power, without consent of British. In November, 1903, Lord Curzon, the Viceory of India, paid a visit to Kuwait during a tour of the Gulf. As a follow up action a British residency was established in Kuwait and Col. S.G. Knox arrived in August 1904 to take up his post inspite of official protests from Turkey in 1907. Sheikh Mubarak agreed to lease in perpetuity to British Government a plot of land about two miles west of the town of Kuwait - in return of the lease Britain assured Sheikh Mubarak that it would recognize the independence of Kuwait under its rulers the Sabahs under British protection in 1923 an Anglo-Turkish agreement defined the boundaries of Kuwait.

However, World War I brokeout. Without ratifying this treaty British established a protectorate over Kuwait in 1914. The State of Kuwait contained a port and a desert hinterland without well demarcated boundries. Jabir, the eldest son of Mubarak succeeded his father as Shaikh of Kuwait. The landmark in the history of Kuwait was the treaty of Uqair 1922. A meeting was fixed between the interested parties on November, 1922. Kuwait was the venue in this treaty the border between Najid and Kuwait was agreed upon, Sir Percy Cox, the British political agent was the co-ordinator. This agreement deprived Kuwait of almost 2-3 of its territory and gave it to Najid, inspite of protest in November, 1923.

166
The conference which was supervised by British to determine the boundaries between Najid, Hijaz, Iraq and Transjordan, Kuwait relations with the neighbouring states fluctuated among differences, friendship and hostility. Ibn Suad wanted to unify the peninsula under his control and he had a coveted eye on Kuwait. Iraq too since 1921, opposed the separation of Kuwait, in fact Iraqi rulers could not accept Kuwait to be a separate state out of their sphere of influence. King Ghazi demanded the return of Kuwait to Iraq. But he was killed in a mysterious accident in 1939, giving rise to suspicions that Britain was actually behind his death. Circumstantial evidence was that in response to his call there were uprisings by the people of Kuwait supporting the unification with Iraq and this was considered to be a threat to British interests in Kuwait.

By the time the Second World War broke out, British with new development started to strengthen their presence. On 19th July 1961, British signed agreement with Kuwait and terminated the 1899 treaty and granted it independence. Six days after Kuwait independence was proclaimed, Iraq claimed Kuwait and threatened invasion on 25th June, 1961, Kuwait appealed to British for aid, and Iraqi plans were foiled. Following the successive Iraqi governments had staked their claims on Kuwaiti territory. "British had finally established Kuwait as a legal entity and recognized by Iraq, but more was a gap. The Iraqi-Kuwait boundaries had not been demarcated."
IRAQ’S FINANCIAL CRISIS:

Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait was not an isolated event. The potential threat internally from Kurds and Shia at domestic level, the war with Islamic republic, foreign debt, semi-collapse of Iraq economy forced Iraq to find out an urgent solution. "For every state there exists an inter-relationship between the availability of military power and the setting of foreign policy goals."\(^{(12)}\)

To appreciate the depth of economic and financial crisis and its full impact on Iraq regime, after eight years war with Iran, internally Saddam faced a potential threat both from Kurds and Shi’a. The Iraqi people were very much disillusioned with the assumed victory of Iraq over Iran. They perceived that the long and costly war with Iran did not yield any substantial gain for Iraq. Thus, the domestic situation was an intense like a volcano ready to erupt. Thus, Saddam desperately needed to divert the attention of the disgruntled Iraqi and wanted to prove that Iraq, under his leadership could regain its lost glory\(^{(13)}\). Inspite of having rich oil resources Iraq emerged as a debtor nation after the war with Iran. Hence, Iraq needed strong financial support for the massive rehabilitation and reconstruction of its economy on an ambitious scale so that Baghdad could become a regional power.

Facing financial crunch the Iraqi regime naturally looked towards oil revenue as the principal source of financial income. Iraq’s oil export accounted 70 per cent of its total export. Oil
has remained Iraq’s only source for foreign exchange earning. During the year 1986, oil prices touched the lowest point in international market. "To complicate the problems, the price of oil was going down well below the OPEC price of U.S. barrel. Saddam to find out quick and easy ‘solution’ of his domestic problem, revived the territorial dispute with Kuwait, the most vulnerable neighbour of Iraq[14].

The principal reason for oil price decline was over production of oil by Kuwait and the U.A.E. who created gulf in the international oil market. Following Iraq launched a campaign to cut oil and put pressure to strengthen high prices on oil. The international price regime was not very promising to Iraq. Rather it was hostile in providing sufficient oil revenue to Iraq to execute its huge programme of reconstruction. While the oil rich Gulf Shaikhdom supported Saddam financially for their own interests and survival. Still, they were not willing to strengthen Saddam beyond that point. More or less they stopped their financial aid after the ceasefire. For the repayment of his debt, as well as, for economic reconstruction Saddam Hussein badly needed substantial external assistance[15].

Iraq’s net debt to the foreign countries had reached to the tune of $70 billion[16]. The economy was terribly wrecked and the estimated the cost of reconstruction was put around $230 billion. It was estimated that Iraq would require nearly two decades to repair the total damage. As things stood a year after the termination of hostilities, Iraq’s oil revenues of $13 billion were not sufficient to cover on going expenditures. The civilian
imports approximated $12 billion of which $3 billion was for food stuffs. The military imports exceeded 35 billion and transfers by foreign workers crossed $1 billion. The regime needed an extra $10 billion per annum to balance its current deficit by 1990. Having failed to find the magic formula to solve Iraq’s economic plight, Iraq pressurised the gulf states, particularly, Saudia Arabia and Kuwait to forgive their loans to Iraq. To meet its demand Iraq significantly intensified its pressure after war was over. During a summit meeting of the Arab Cooperation Council in Amman in February 1990, Saddam asked King Hussein of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt to inform the Gulf states that Iraq not only adamant a complete moratorium on its war time loans but urgently needed an immediate infusion of additional funds. The message was immediately passed on to Saudia Arabia by the Jordanian Monarch.

In Geneva meeting held on 2nd May, 1990, Iraq along with others successfully pressurised OPEC to cut down the ceiling of production. Kuwait, Saudia Arabia and UAE. had one million barrel per a day. Iraq took a tough stand against the quota cut and their stand was aimed to legitimaize it. Kuwait, UAE and other members violated and exceeded their quota, Kuwait on the other hand stood in favour of abolishing the quota system. The OPEC also took strong view on violation by its member because that created the glut leading to depressing the price below $18 / b. Iraq was angered by what it believed to be Kuwait co-operation with United States to over produce oil in order to drive its price down.
Thus, undermining the already precarious Iraqi economy; Kuwait reportedly held assets and investments in the West worth between $120 and $200 billion. It received interests from these assets and investments which far exceeded its oil revenues. In essence, cooperation with the United States to keep the price of oil between $18 and $22 a barrel cost Kuwait faced little financial hardship. It further assured political and military support of United States. When, Kuwait demanded that Iraq pay its debt with interests, Iraq claimed that Kuwait owned it $2.5 billion for the oil it had stolen by means of slant drilling into Iraq’s Rumalia oil-field across the border. Therefore, Iraq tried to justify, refusal of paying the debt of the war with Iran, and transform the matter, into claim over, Rumalia oil-field, therefore, the solution of the Iraq, came in the form of Seizure of Kuwait, which offered a solution at several levels. A distraction from domestic resentment at economic mismanagement the possibility of acquiring Kuwaiti assets and investment, and the Seizure of the oil well themselves. The Kuwait unfairly taken oil from Rumalia fields which straddles the two states frontiers.

Uncertainty in the Persian Gulf erupted differences inside OPEC. Saudia wished to maintain the dependence of the consuming states and therefore, urged price moderation and unlike Iraq who urgently needed for immediate revenues by limiting production in pursuit of higher prices. But this was basically an argument within a relatively narrow margin, to pressurise Arab oil producer. To cut down its total oil production, Iraq intensified
its activities to clinch the issue in July 25th, 1990. In an urgent meeting a message from President was delivered by the Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Sadoon Hammadi to the Arab Gulf States whereby he expressed hope that a solution satisfying the interest of all ought to be worked out. Iraq not only pressurized its neighbour namely, Kuwait and UAE through OPEC, in fact, Baghdad raised the crisis at highest political level.

In a letter to the Secretary General of Arabs League, she accused the rich Arab Gulf states for deliberately weakening Iraq. In June 1990, the President Saddam Hussein made a speech in Baghdad on the first anniversary of the death of Michel Aflaq, the ideologue and founder of the ruling Ba'ath party. He emphasized that the Arab Summit in Baghdad a month earlier had unanimously agreed that "there was a minimum of general Arab common interests particularly with regard to the Palestinian question, the oil wealth, Arab development and the requirements of common Arab security interests within the new international context, which all Arab states without exception agreed to respect". Iraq repeated the old formula once again suspecting Arab Gulf countries by deliberately weakening Iraq who fought Iran to protect Arab against Zionism imperialism for the cause of unity of Arab nation and PAN Arabism. Therefore, Saddam visualized that Iraq-Iran war was a war in which Iraq had taken single handedly the burden of defending the Arab nations.

The oil price had became the critical issue for Iraqi regime. Iraq wanted to play the role of balancer as regional
Baghdad wanted to consolidate its position in the changing global power configuration where it was increasingly losing support as a dominant power. Iraq wanted finance to have a strong army to check Iran. From Saudia Arabia and the other Shaikhdoms including Kuwait. Politically confident but financially bankrupt, the Iraqi leadership was convinced that regional balance of power had shifted in its favour. By 1990, Iran was defeated and exhausted, Syria bagged down in Lebanon, Egypt seemingly paralized by a conflict with international monetary fund over domestic economic reform and by perennial problem of staying one step ahead of social unrest in an economy grinding poverty, and Israel pre-occupied with the absorption of Russian immigrants and an increasingly tense confrontation with the United States over the Palestinian question. 

Therefore, Iraq with its perception of victory in the war against Iran and its military strength needed economic support to realise its potential of a regional power.

The domestic development in the Soviet Union was not infavour of Iraq. The US and other Gulf countries seemed to the dully aware of this fact. US after supporting Iraq during its war with Iran, started raising the question of human rights violation in Iraq as if it did not exist earlier. American could see that their interest in the Gulf region would not be served by Iraq on the contrary the latter might even put them on a defensive position later, in a region of high strategic shifts.
U.S. POLICY IN THE GULF:

The Gulf has been focal point of global significance for nearly a century. The revolution in Iran, and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have had sent shock waves throughout the world. In the dramatic developments in both the countries a powerful leaders were over thrown from power. In Iran when Shah authority was challenged he finally abdicated, the Islamic forces captured power. This raised Iranian nationalism to the height. The sea change in Iranian politics brought dramatic changes in the US policy. Following the seizure of American hostages in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979, brought home the reality of the Soviet threat to Iran and to the Gulf.

The United States and other Western industrial powers who were heavily dependent on the energy resources of the Gulf, apprehended cut off Gulf oil. Seemingly, the cut off oil might have brought disaster to the West and might have fragmented the Western alliance system. The US foreign policy had suffered a set back in two major strategic reversal, it lost the surrogate Shah, and its influence position in Iran.

The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet send alarm to America complicating its security system in the Gulf area. The vital strategic interest of America has remained oil supply from the region. Soviet Union search for access to the warm water port was an old age aim, which was combined with growing naval and political presence in the Indian ocean alarming Washington. The dramatic change of events in Middle East pressurized the US
in particular and Western European countries in general to bring alternations in their policy to meet the requirements of changes in the Gulf region. Since the social, religious and political changes by the Iranian revolution set the whole region on fire disturbing the West.

The aftermath of such events in Iran affected and greatly reduced the power leverage and influence of the US and Western European nations. As result their diplomatic, commercial and military relations were tossed aside along with the fallen regime. So, during Gulf war the US was trying to establize the region by isoalting the region from the Soviet influence. Since the USSR was trying to have a foot hold through their ally Syria, the death of Ayatoallah Kohmeini for example was opportunity to Soviet to gain additional leverage and influence in the region. The events of the Iran had send a signal to American, that the moderate Arab could be destablized by Islamic forces. The US felt that social and political upheavals in Iran and its defeat by Iraq might drastically alter power balance in the region and might generate instability in other conservative monarchies. It was felt that Soveit Union might involve and play as principal arbiter in the region. Some of the Arab conservative regimes felt that the US might not protect them and hence turned to the Soviet to play the protector role in the region.

It was with this Superpower riverly in the late 1970s, Carter administration began the complex process of military as well foreign engagement to safeguard the Gulf and Indian Ocean.
The President Jimmy Carter, while addressing State of Union in 1980 declared which was known as "Carter Doctrine". "After much planning and political and bureaucratic maneuverings his efforts bare fruits for US overall regional interests. An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region was regarded as suicidal for vital interests of the United States of American. The US administration was prepared to repell by any means necessary, including military force. The foreseeable Soviet expansion in the region.

There was clear indication of Soviet intrusion which was obvious. About the Afghanistan occupation a reference has been made by Kremlin about the mechanism how to counter new Soviet threat in the Gulf and Indian Ocean region. On Soviet threat, the US President reportedly said that US was prepared to work with other countries in the region to share a co-operative security framework that respect differing values and political belief, yet which enhance the independence security and prosperity of all. The Carter Doctrine similar to the Truman Doctrine in the post World War Second, was intended to respond to the Soviet threat. It was designed to protect US interests by military means which had become reality during the Gulf crisis. America started to play the role of absolute leadership of multi national forces in the region.

The Carter Doctrine was fully backed by military mobilization and maneuvering on various scales, and in a multitude of ways, to meet the security needs of the region. The
US idea of regional security was prepared in framework looked like an alliance system in which United States lended additional credibility. The conservative monarchy in the region became dependent for their security upon United States. Therefore, "Saudia Arabia and its small neighbours in the Gulf cooperation council heaviles depended on the United States security umbrella against Iraq and Iran the two major Gulf powers (24)."

The United States enhanced its military capabilities in and around Gulf region. Washington further heightened military co-operation with the several states in the region and had joint military exercises. The US army enjoyed access to support facilities at Ras Banas (Egypt), Barbra (Somalia), Mombasa (Kenya) and Misra Island (Oman), Dhran (Saudia Arabia) for its grand military design against the USSR.

The United States President Jimmy Carter in 1980, had asserted that the Gulf was a vital interest of the United States and its allies, and that all action necessary, including force, would be used to protect their interests against the Soviet threats. The doctrine was accompanied by the establishment of a permanent military force designed to deploy rapidly in the region in response to threat posed by the Soviet Union, "especially threat to the Persian Gulf Oil (25). Early waring capabilities were enhanced through joint air borne warning and control system programme. Saudia Arabia later acquired a number of sophisticated airoplane, which was to be operated from King Abdul Aziz Air Base at Khobar near Dhahran in the Eastern Saudia Arabia, which had
witnessed a recent attack in which 19 American and around 400 wounded. Inspite of resentment to the American presence in the region from the radical groups there was consensus for the continuation of the US military presence in future in the region. America felt that Soviet might create hurdles for supply line from their home bases of Afghanistan, because of their heavy presence in the region.

The US military strategist felt that they would be forced with great distance to cover, to overcome of supply lines, and other logistical difficulties. Washington took utmost effort to expand their capabilities through regional cooperation and presence in the high seas as it was realized that any Soviet adventurism in the Gulf or Indian Ocean would be costly to America. Hence, the US enlarge of its naval forces into operation in the Gulf and northern Indian Ocean, in 1987. The large number of US naval vessels were moved from different bases in the mediterranean sea and Japan towards Gulf to escort the Kuwaiti and other Gulf states tankers during the Iran-Iraq war.

America with help of its traditional ally the UK, to overcome the problem of supply and to check the Soviet intermedling in the region required to have a base near to the black gold mines in the Middle East.

The Indian Ocean also occupied an important position in the US grand strategy. The very design of US of establishing military bases in the area, had evoked strong protest from the Indian Ocean states and non-aligned countries. However, this did not
prevent the US from establishing further bases and related establishment in different strategic corners of the Indian Ocean to safeguard its geo-political interests.

The US and UK built up Diego Garcia as a regular nuclear bases for long range missile-carrying aircraft which were essentially used to closely watch Soviet submarines. The French had stationed naval bases at Djibouti and the reunion island^{27}.

France after October war in 1973, saw the golden opportunity to undo the quarter-century old American monopoly in Saudia Arabi. With this intention, France increased its arms sales to the Saudia, and to the other Arabs States. The French national oil company entered into long-term supply contracts with the Saudi authorities for the imports of Saudi crude oil.

Remarkably, in 1979, when a small band of fanatical dissidents seized Kaba Mosque in Mecca, the most holy place for Muslims. The Saudis turned not to United States, but to the French for expert counter insurgency advice in rooting out the rebels. These developments did not go unnoticed across the Atlantic. Indeed, these events had deep and direct implications on American political and military involvement in the politics of the region. The disaster in Iran had deepened the American commitment to Saudia Arabia’s security against external aggression. The President Ronald Reagan had extended the promise to support the continued rule of the house of Saudia. In the course of development for a decade US policy in the Persian Gulf had evolved from indirectly managing the region through the oil
companies, to directly enlisting the two most important states as local gendarmes.

The US had taken direct responsibility to protect the largest oil producer, Saudia Arabia from both internal and external challenge. By the time America became the dominant power in the Middle East. With the end of cold war and collapse of the Soviet Union, the balance of power decisively shifted in favour of United States. In the emerging unipolar system the United States position in the Gulf region immensely enlarged as a result of largely internal political dynamics. With the dramatic changes in the region compounded with the Gulf crisis the moderate Arab regimes faced the problem of extremism and Iranian backed social and political upheavals such as Kurds, conflict of rival nationalism, Iranian nationalism and Arab nationalism, which historically were dominant by religious and racial overtones. The threat perception to the US interest, were foreseen be from the new aspirant for superpower position such as France. The Gulf region with huge reserve of oil, have remained an area of concern in international politics for decade. The approval of the oil for food formula recently by US and its allies to Iraq after Kuwait invasion, have invited suspicious that the US would repeat the old scenario of supporting Iraq to stand as a buffer state to protect other small Gulf countries from the Iran threat perception, which still prevail.
When the Iraq-Iran conflict erupted into open warfare in September, 1980, following a months of desultory Iranian shelling across the border, Iraqi diplomats faced harassment, plus an attempt to assassinate Iraqi President. The officials in Washington were very much worried about the impact on oil supply and targeting basic infrastructure and oil refinery. The Iraq-Iran war Iran extended the range of the war by attacking the Kuwaiti oil tankers, thus threatening the international oil market, through Hormuz straits. In 1988, the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein had emerged from bloody eight years war with Iran. Iraq was ruined and crippled by debt. Iraq frustrated by crippling economy and wanted to extract from Arab neighbours some money to rehabilitate herself. Saddam Hussein sought to rationalize his miscalculations and to repair the enormous damage that the war had inflicted upon the country. He justified the war as a struggle to defend the conservative Arab regimes of the Gulf against the threat of revolutionary Islam.

In the war the casualties had been staggering, where nearly half million were killed (100,000 Iraqis and about 300,000 Iranians); about one million were wounded, many were suffering amputation of legs blown off by minefields. The war had left 50,000 Iraqi and 8,000 Iranian prisoner of war. The enormous of damage was done to the Iraqi economy. Thus, Iraqi thought that annexation of Kuwait, by Iraqi military was to be conisder a magic stick to overcome the economic hardship in a short way.
During Iraq-Iran war, Iraq was financed by oil rich Gulf countries, to strengthen Saddam, and thus help Iraq to emerge as a regional power. Iraq-Iran war contributed indirectly to strengthen Iraq military though weakening Iraq economically. One of the important out-come of Iran-Iraq war was that Iraqi military amassed enormous powers and adopted expansionist policy.

The Iraq-Iran war was the first conflict in the Persian/Arab World of modern time which immediately posed embarrassing situation among many Gulf countries. The seriousness of the threat was created by Iran-Iraq war originated in the vast differences in military power between the belligerents and the states that comprised the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The very continuation of the war clearly was not in the interest of the GCC states. Even during period of relative stalemate, the potential for escalation dangerous threat was always present. The GCC states could manage the crisis of the war with considerable skill. All the affected parties estimated rightly the extent of their military vulnerability, therefore, carefully avoided a major confrontation with Iran. They also realized that Iraq too was the only significant obstacle to the increased Iranian interference in their affairs, and they have rised Tehran’s wrath by providing crucial financial and logistical support to Baghdad. At the same time, the Gulf states gradually improved their own military capabilities and accelerate the level of collective cooperation under the aegies of the GCC. Iraq-Iran war relived the political pressure on the conservative forces. Their
immediate goal was security co-ordination, inspite of all the
cloths with which it was dressed. The Iraq-Iran war gave birth to
Arab nationalism. The urge for unification or regional
cooperative among the countries of the region became the focal
point. The sole purpose behind regional coordination was not
merely confined to the exchange of information about 'criminal'
or 'terrorists' only. Rather it was intended to provide guarantee
to prevent the rise of organized opposition movements and to
achieve a degree of similarity or integration in internal
policies of authoritarian states.\(^{30}\).

The threat perception of the GCC was coming from Iran,
specially during Shah era, who tried to play the role of the Gulf
policeman. Later in 1979, the success of Islamic revolution, its
doctrine of exporting revolution and Iran moves to close strait
of Hormuz annoyed many countries.

Previously, Iraq had close economic ties with the West.
Baghdad was very much concerned over the danger of Soviet
interference and its expansionist policy. This was manifest in
the announcement of President Hussein's Pan-Arab charter in
January 1980, which came on the heels of the Soviet invasion of
Afghanistan followed by the migration of the Soviet jews to
Israel. In October 1979, Saudia Arabia called for a meeting to
discuss the security of the area. But both Iraq and Yemen
rejected the idea, suspecting other gulf countries, trying to
bring US in the picture. Since Kuwait already had asked for
tankers protection during Iraq-Iran war and Saudia Arabia granted
facilities to American troops, with absent of Egypt due to Camp David treaty with Israel.

Iraq was busy in its war with Iran, and Syrian had indulged in the Lebanon crisis. Saudia Arabia who shared boundaries with all Gulf Co-operative Council countries, with relatively bigger size of population, and vast lands. Was the only country which could influence the other small countries in the area. Accordingly, in May 1981, the GCC was formed Iraq was excluded from the council, who later protested against the decision. Baghdad blamed that it was a deliberate step to restrict Iraq's role in the area, as Iraq had the only military power.

Gulf Arab leaders were not convinced that the continuation of the war would be in their best interests, their relatively limited military capabilities of these governments and their major stake had been regional stability. Thus the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to meet this requirement attempted series of efforts to establish a regional grouping in the gulf. To some extent to GCC succeeded where previous initiatives had failed due to the peculiar political situation.

The Iraq-Iran war had warranted unified regional response, and at the same time distracted the two serious champions and potential leaders of Gulf organization thus, leaving Saudia Arabia free to quietly put together the GCC.

The GCC leaders were fully aware of Iran's ambitious who wished to became dominant power in the Gulf, and to have a greatest say in regional affairs through a regional security structure.
Iraqi claim to Kuwait have never been a new phenomena. Soon after independence Abd al-Karim Qasim who was then the Head of Iraqi Government, renewed the claim over Kuwait in July 1990, during the celebration of the Ba’ath revolution anniversary. Saddam said, “Iraq will not remain silent if the other Arab States remained unconcerned about Iraq who defend the Arab nations. These rights of Iraq is islands of Warba, Bubiyan and economic assistance as compensation to Iraq.”

For Iraq the Shatt al-Arab is only one of the its geographic vulnerabilities in the area. Another feature of the map is that between FAO and UMM Qasr, Iraq has less than 50 miles of coastline on the Gulf, most of the unusable for shipping. The main port, Basra is nearly twice that distance away from the Gulf. Up to the Shatt Al-Arab even in the best of the times it has a three month Cargo bottle neck, UMM Qasr the Iraqi naval base, lies on the border with Kuwait and can only be reached by sea through a narrow passage between the Iraqi shore and Kuwait islands. The approach to FAO and the entrance to the Shatt have been commanded by Iranian Artillery and naval posts on and around Abadan islands, which from Iraqi point of view hostile hands are always potential around the country’s throat.

Therefore, the Iraqi claim to Kuwait based on historical argument, if it considered to be valid, then whole region should have been claimed by Turkey since it was the head quarter of the Ottoman empire. The area becomes strategic problem faced by Iraq in the recent period.
During Iraq-Iran both the countries suffered economically as infrastructures were badly destroyed. Iraqi's harbour was destroyed totally. Although Iraq's oil export through Syria and Turkey continued, still its oil export could not reach the outside world, without crossing foreign territory. Therefore, Iraq did not enjoy territorial security. The nation's frontier position was virtually land locked, Iraq continued to have an acute sense of their vulnerabilities.

The Iraqi strategists were fully aware about the fact that Iraq was deprived of navigational outlets. With no sea front in the Gulf the country was stifled of its navigational capacity. After heavy destruction of oil facilities during Iraq was left with no option other than pipeline through Syria, Arabia and Turkey. Therefore, the frequent claim of Iraq over Kuwait could be justified from this fact. Kuwait apprehended that might again be pressurized by its stronger neighbour either for total subservience or for territorial concessions. There had been protracted negotiations prior to the Iraq-Iran war over Iraqi's demand for the Kuwaiti islands of Warba and Bubiyan. Baghdad wanted to revolve quickly the question of Kuwait in Iraq's favour. Kuwait obviously hoped that by providing financial and other support to Iraq, it could buy the later's good will. But the good will was difficult commodity in the Gulf politics, as in international politics any where and Kuwait was no more exception.
THE ISRAEL DIMENTION:

The Arab Israeli conflict has also remained an ever important factor in the Middle East politics. Though it might not be considered as direct cause for Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Nevertheless it had its indirect relation over the Iraqi invasions on Kuwait. Arab countries who fought four bitter wars against Israel and could not came out victorious even once, therefore, throughout the Arab world the Arab-Israeli conflict have had psychological implications in the Middle Eastern politics.

The sense of military inferiority had led some Arab country to believe firmly that for Palestinian question peace was no easy solution. "Israel's policy in the past decade has largely given rise to the impression that the Jewish state, relying on its military ways and means with US backing was no longer really interested in settling the conflict with opponent, who for a long was feared of Israel as a powerful. In 1979, despite the Palestinian intifada (uprising) against Israel, Egypt unilaterally signed the Camp David Peace Accord. This led to the 'Crack in the Arab unity, in the aftermath of Egypt's rapprochement with Israel following the camp David accord in 1979\(^{39}\).

Iraq had considered the Palestinian cause one of its important policy in the Arab world. As a champion of Pan-Arabism, the issue had always been an important for Iraq. Like other Arab countries Iraq - considered Israel as an entity rather than a nation. The situation became worse when Israel attacked Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981.
On June 7, 1981, eight Israeli F-16 Jet fighters and six F-15 fighter interceptors zoomed out the setting sun and obliterated Iraq's most prized possession, the French built nuclear reactor, Osirak. So, the link of the Kuwait crisis and attacking by missile on Israel, by Iraq has it's roots in retaliation for the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear plant. Since, then Iraq continued to adopt a policy hostile to Israel. The crisis intensified afterwards when Iraq threaten Israel and sought to link the Gulf crisis with Israeli occupation of territories conquered from Jordan and Syria in the 1967. In addition "Baghdad was banking and rallying on Islamic, and Arabic opinion by linking a solution in the Gulf Israeli not abide by long-standing UN resolution on the Palestine territories it has been holding in defiance of UN resolution since 1967."

In fact Iraq had been propagating even before the invasion of Kuwait, the tow themes the Palestinian issue on the one hand and Zionism conspiracy on the other hand. It seemed that Iraq was preparing the ground for the battle against Kuwait at the same time confronting the international reaction in response to its steps of Kuwait annexation. In order to strengthen Iraq's hostile position, vis-a-vis Israel, Saddam Hussein invoked historical and legendry figure, who generated bitter memories among Israelis. Here Saddam was found associating himself with the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezar and Mural painting depicting the two were erected in Baghdad. For him the six century B.C. ruler symbolized the ancient greatness and culture of Iraq. For the Jews however, Nebuchadnezer was the ruler had destroyed them and initiated their enslavement and diaspora.
At the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq there came increasing pressure on Iraq leadership. Saddam became victim of a Western inspired design to isolate and contain him. Although, he resolved to the traditionally well known policy, depicting that attack was best form of defence for the country. Saddam also threatened Israel. Saddam reiterated Iraq’s role as a military champion in the region which he proudly boosted that the Arab nation owed the Iraqi armed forces, both in past against Iran and in the future against Israel.

The Iraqi government organized and hosted a summit of the Arab League in Baghdad and this a move was supported by Egypt. The emergency summit of the Arab League opened officially in the Iraqi capital Baghdad, on 28 May to 30 May. The sub-titled of the summit happen to be Pan-Arab security, which was ostensibly called at the behest of P.L.O. to discuss the question of immigration of Soviet jews into Israel. Saddam used this opportunity to defend his assertion of Iraq’s leadership of the Arab world informing the West and USA in particular. It was manifest that Saddam had his own agenda, clearly indicating his differences with the West. Syria boycotted the summit, and described the meeting as strategy by Saddam Hussein to reasoning himself as in his war with Iran. Syria claimed.

Mr. Tariq Aziz, the foreign minister of Iraq while addressing the Summit described the threat looming large to the Arab world. He however, pointed that there would be some
political, financial and perhaps, military liability which ought to be agreed upon by the Arab leaders. He, further claimed although we have achievement or possess the kind of weapon that enable us to defend ourselves against any attack. Still this preparation would be not sufficient to confront Israel and the Western imperialists. Seemingly, Iraq intended to use the summit to legitimize his military build-up and posed as the natural protector of the Arab nation. Washington after the summit tried to persuade Saddam to refrain from making frequent attack on US. But Saddam was determined to go ahead in his plan, denouncing the United States as the main hostile force to the Arab throughout the history who continued to arm and finance Israel, the enemy of Arabs. Saddam on the other hand claimed that Israel without support from United States would never dare to attack any Arab country. So, the US imperialism was the real force behind the Israel’s superiority in the region. So, Saddam Hussein called upon all Arabs to liberate Jerusalem and renewed his threat to attack Israel with missiles and chemicals weapon.

The Egyptian President while addressing the Summit gave a rational account of the Arab world problems. But King Hussein of Jordan adopted the role of spokesman for his host. He pointed the vicious and outrageous campaign against Iraq. He criticized those who opposed Saddam’s right to strategic parity with Israel, and appealed to the Gulf states to provide the financial needed to combat sinister plot against his own kingdom. Understandingly, the king Hussein was under impression, that by providing Iraq military and financial support, Baghdad would be in a position
to counter any Israeli aggression against Jordan, rather than to invade any other Arab country.

The Palestinian delegates expressed doubt about the ability of American diplomacy to resolve the Arab Israeli conflict. They hoped of that Iraq should achieve strategic parity with Israel, naturally they were to support Iraq to build itself economically and military, so that to creat the necessary material base for a balanced settlement of the Palestinian question.

Syria even advocated acquiring of nuclear weapons to achieve strategic balance arguing that the strategic balance between super powers finally lead to detente. The most important development was the fundamental shift of Iraq’s move towards a peace settlement with Iran. Saddam in his opening speech avoided his customary attack on Iran. Therefore, an important prerequisite for any opposition to the anti-Iraq front was neutralization of its main former enemy Iran. Saddam Hussein made further concession to Iran after 2nd August 1990, Iran’s reaction to the invasion was, therefore, limited to verbal protest.

In January, Iraq declared that it had launched a satellite into space and its new Tammuz missile, was said to have a range of 1,200 miles, but these developments were still in their infancy. According to the Military Industries Minister Brig. General Hussein Kamil a 25 meter, 48 tonne three stage rocket (named) al-Abid), had been launched into space from al-Anbar space research base near Baghdad. He also announced that Iraq had successfully completed the most complicated and important stage
in the development and production of two different surface missile system, each of which has range of 2,000 km^{47}.

Although, Iraq's technological achievement was not denied, still Baghdad had a long way to go before it could match the Israeli capability. Iraq was aware of the question of human rights abuse in Iraq, which has been raised by US. Iraq feared that Israel, with US backing, was preparing to carry out a pre-emptive strike against its missiles plant. Just as it had destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in 1981, in the light of this perceived threat, probably Saddam saw the apparent reluctance of the Gulf states to bend to his will as part of an-encompassing conspiracy against Iraq. Saddam extended the theory to include Kuwait and UAE in their manipulation of oil market in order to keep down prices and starve Iraq of resources.

During July, 1990, the Iraqi media openly started attacking both Kuwait and UAE. While talking to a US visiting delegate to Iraq the Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz point out that Kuwait and US had entered into a strange conspiracy to destory Baghdad. He pointed out the US administration had approved a defence department recommendation to stage emergency manoeuvre in the Gulf, the UAE which had sought the show of support, was nevertheless so fearful of provoking Iraq, that it publicly denied participating in them^{48}.

Another development which might be contributed to Saddam plan to invade Kuwait seemed to the normalization of Kuwait-Iran relations. After Iran-Iraq war, one week before on the 2nd
August, 1991, Kuwait and Iran agreed to restore the diplomatic relations, Ali Akbar Welayati, visited Kuwait on his way home from Geneva, and criticized his Iraqi counter part openly. Probably, this might have led Iraq to believe that Kuwait intended to seek Iran's protection. On 16th July, Iraq wrote an open letter to the Arab league, accusing Kuwait of oil stealing from a dispute territory, which according to Iraqi belong to them. Baghdad also accused Kuwait of mobilizing its military in their border, without notice or consultation and transferred border customs post.

Kuwait pointed out that these were in Kuwait territory and army had moved for administrative and practical reasons to expedite the flow of traffic. Kuwait Foreign Minister delivered a letter to the Arab League responding to the Iraqi charges and calling for Arab league arbitration on the border dispute. However, Kuwait offered to pay $ 1 billion as a compensation, but refused to write off the war time loans.

At the same time the American scrutinizing their satellite picture, revealed that Iraq had moved its troops to the Kuwaiti border. Meanwhile Iraq claimed that Kuwait was preparing the ground for foreign intervention in the Gulf. This followed by intensive diplomatic movement between Egypt and Saudia Arabia and the Arab League officials. 'Saddam personally assured President Mubarak and King Fahd, that Iraq would not use force against Kuwait'. American monitored the situation carefully, the state department restated the standing policy that remain determined to
defend principle of freedom of navigation and to ensure the free flow of oil through the strait of Hormuz, the old formula, which used during the Gulf war. The United States sent its navy to protect Kuwaiti tankers from Iranian attack. The oil remained the principle item in the American foreign policy agenda. The Arab oil exporters have invested their money in different parts of the world, most of their investments have been done by the USA and UK. These investors had provided the much needed financial support to economics of US and UK not surprising then that for these countries.

In the Gulf region the real issue had never been the lowering of oil price. Any increase in oil prices was meant increase in oil revenues, which was subsequently to find its way into the banks of New York, and London. In fact, these two countries have been the beneficiaries of oil price hike. It therefore, came not as great surprise that the two states had established the imperial settlement, and have been its main benefactors and guaranters who waged the war in the Gulf.(51)

Unhesitantly the US stood tough in the Gulf crisis since it was importing about 50% of its oil for domestic consumption from the Gulf. America was fully aware of the consequences of the 1973, when Arab nations used the oil as a weapon. The American oil companies had multi-billion dollars interests at stake in Kuwait. To US Middle East has a remained as a vital region as it was a major supplier of oil to America, Japan and Western Europe. Hence, the control over Middle East region implied a control over
oil prices, and such other important issues like market access, and major economic partners and rivals\textsuperscript{(52)}. 

Therefore, the US presence in the region was motivated by economics political and strategic considerations. The presence and control of Middle East was considered as source of energy. Hence, America control and hegemony on multi national forces was justified. President Bush while addressing national vital security issues emphasized that security challenge facing the United States did not come just from the east. It came also from the threat posed by emergence of regional powers which were rapidly modifying the strategic equation\textsuperscript{(53)}. 

To discuss the complex issues involved the American Ambassador to Iraq met Saddam Hussein. In the meeting the US Ambassador was assured by Saddam that he would not strike out at Kuwait. However, Saddam made it clear to the ambassador Glaspe that he was determined to ensure that Kuwait did not cheat on its oil quota. Glaspi emphatically conceded that "my own estimate over 25 years serving in the area is that your aims should receive strong support from your Arab brothers. This was an issue for the Arabs to solve among themselves, she continued and the United States had no opinion about inter-Arab disputes such as your border dispute with Kuwait. Glaspi dared at long last to ask Saddam, in the spirit of friendship not of confrontation, what is his intensions were regarding Kuwait, he reassured her his preference for a peaceful solution to the dispute\textsuperscript{(54)}. She was summoned to another important meeting with Hussein Kamil,
Minister of Industry and Military Industries, wanted to see her before she left.

Hussein Kamil pointed that he knew that she had been told much about the skill furnaces that Iraq was trying to purchase it. He assured her, they really were for peaceful purposes, and asked for her help in ensuring that the sale would continue. However, in Washington, the Bush administration was heared of deliberating with a group of nuclear experts. The furnaces they argued, were much more sophisticated than any thing needed for Iraq’s stated purposes, the only likely use, they agreed, was military. The sale was denied.

In a very clear signal Saddam, send it by stressing “since Kuwait’s economic war is depriving Iraqi children the milk they drink, Iraq could not be expected to sit idle for much longer, and Iraq would never accept death”.

Whatever ambassador Glaspi’s motive, it become apparent that Saddam took her remarks seriously. Saddam gave signal to her Iraq had planned to attack Kuwait without fear of retribution. At this juncture Suadia Arabia called for a meeting to resolve the bilateral issues between Kuwait and Iraq. Izzat Ibrahim, the Deputy President of the revolutionary command council, led the Iraq delegation and Sa’ad Al-Sabh the Prince lead the Kuwaiti delegation. At the same time Iraq gave signal that it was prepared to use threat of force to pursue its commercial interests. The prince Sa’ad stated there could be no question of territorial concessions, nor any admission to the oil stolen by
Kuwaiti which it had to pay. But nothing concrete transpired of the meeting, and Iraqi delegate walked out and went back to Baghdad.

Apparently Iraq had consumed all means to come out of its economic dilemma. The whole world was shocked on the 2nd August, 1990, when the Iraqi tanks rolled across the border into Kuwait. The Kuwaiti Amir and all his minister managed to escape. The republican guards quietly marched straight to the Dasman palace. As soon as they got to Kuwait, in few hours the Iraqi’s forces reached the city. The duty officer at defence, Shaikh Nawaf, hurried to the command post, and he gave full account of the situation. By the time the Iraqi’s reached the Dasman palace, the Amir and his family headed to Saudia border, the only senior figure left who stayed behind with the palace guards was Shaikh Fahad the emir’s brother. There were a few guards at the top of the palace. Later, from Saudia Arabia the government of Kuwait reorganized and started mobilizing the international public opinion against the annexation of their country. On naked Iraqi aggression and annexation of Kuwait the people all over the world were shocked. As the international community had not heard the news of invasion and annexation of an independent and sovereign nation after World War II.
2. Penrose Edith and Francis, E. op. cit., p. 274.
5. Ibid.,
6. Ibid.,
8. Ibid.,
15. Ibid.,


23. Ibid.,


32. Dietal, Gulshan, op. cit., p. VIII.

33. Strategic Survey, 1992-93, Published by Brassey's For (IISS), London, p. 121.


42. Kumaraasamy, op. cit., p. 911.


44. Ibid.,


46. Ibid., 61.

48. Miller, Judith, op. cit., p. 158.

49. Abdul Ghfour, op. cit., p. 27.


52. Ibid.


57. Watson, Bruce, et al., op. cit., p. 18.