CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUSION
CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUSION

After collapse of the Ottoman Empire Britain took the mission of protecting Middle East countries as a colonial power. With decline of British power after World War II and subsequently its withdrawal during 1950s from Gulf region vacuum was created. Following the scene in the Gulf region became much more complicated and complex. The colonial legacy of the past still persisted which became barrier before newly independent countries to realize their freedom after British withdrawal from the region vacuum was created and this paved the way for America to make its way to the region and replace Britain. With their knowledge of the strategic location of the region having such vast reserve of oil. America quickly moved to fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Washington realized the significance of the region not only in terms of a huge reserve of oil, but also as an important passage for east-west trade and commerce the very life of fast growing industrial economy.

America was chiefly attracted, taken into consideration of its vast oil requirements in the Gulf region. As the post-World War II global environment was full of cold war tension, because the Soviet Union also emerged as potential competitor. America quickly mobilized its armed buildup to assert its supremacy in the Gulf area. To consolidate its powerful position, Washington
built alliance with regional important countries. At the same time U.S. built its own military bases to counter Soviet threat, such as Saudia Arabia and Bharain. To consolidate its power America not only built alliances with friendly countries but also gave economic, military assistance to them under bilateral assistance programme. In this way Washington succeeded in acquiring most strategic position in the Gulf region. The chief objective of U.S. policy had been to secure free flow of oil from the Gulf region.

In return Washington guaranteed to the Gulf states investment in U.S.A. Thus, during the entire period of cold war the U.S. could manage to protect its economic as well as security interests in the region. During the cold war period the U.S. adopted dual containment policy in the Gulf. In the Gulf region both Iraq and Iran were probable threat to the U.S. interests. In case of Iran, which had transformed itself to Islamic republic and was preaching export of revolution to the other Muslim countries was posing threat to entire Gulf stability and security.

So far as Iraq was concerned it became a republic with socialist orientation having leaning to the Soviet Union presented another sort of menace. To contain Iran the U.S. and allied with Saudia Arabia and other Gulf States. At the same time to fight Iran, the Washington pumped huge amount of finance, military assistance into Iraq during Iraq-Iran war. For U.S. the Iranian Islamic revolution with its doctrine of exporting the
revolution to its next neighbours in the Gulf had a serious problem. On the other side Iraq's propagation of socialism was another serious problem. The ideology propounded by both Iran and Iraq had posed direct threat to the entire Gulf States security. To deal with Iran first the U.S. administration strenuously managed to convince European allies to allow transfer of sophisticated arms to Iraq. The arms supply to Iraq no doubt exceeded beyond the requirement of Iraq's self defence. Iraq heavily armed with U.S. weaponry, took the chance to settle its century old disputes with Iran and subsequently attack and destroy Iran's economic infrastructures and make Iran totally paralyzed. But inspite of prolong war Saddam failed to succeed in his target to cripple Iran.

Frustrated during Iraq-Iran war Saddam Hussein turned his eyes towards Kuwait with vast reserve of oil, strategic location with a very vast shore's in Arabian sea and Indian ocean which Iraq on the other hand badly needed. Baghdad before overtaking Kuwait in a military adventure, tried to convince the international community that Kuwait was traditionally a part of Iraq. So, Iraq did nothing except corrected historical wrong done by previous rulers. As a consequence with no resistance from Kuwait, the Iraqi army over run and easily annexed it in Iraq.

After Iraqi annexation of Kuwait the outburst come first from America as its economic interests was badly affected. Before resorting military measures against Iraq the global opinion was built to condemn Iraqi aggression and Baghdad was asked to quit
Kuwait. Prior to initiate full scale war as precautionary measures a few months were given to Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. In the meantime the U.S. took hectic diplomatic maneuvrings to collect global public opinion against Iraq. Iraq as an old ally and close to the Soviet Union found itself on cross road. With sudden Soviet collopse the world became unipolar. Iraq at the beginning of the crisis committed blunder in under estimating the U.N. resolution. Had Saddam taken timely decision to withdraw his troops he might have reduced the amount of punishment and suffering of the Iraqi people.

The United Nations no doubt issued several resolutions condemning Iraqi invasion and required an immediate withdrawal of all its forces from Kuwait. Although it was the sole responsibility of U.N., but right from the beginning of the crisis U.S. dominated in the Security Council debates which, so, coincided that it succeeded in winning the whole world in its side completely cornering and ultimately isolated Iraq in war.

Both U.S. and Saudia Arabia aligned and became the champion of the Kuwaiti cause. With their hectic efforts ultiamtely resulted the formation of the multinational forces. The U.S. President while addressing the American people affirmed that Washington was committed to restore peace in the Gulf region. Hence, he declared that American liability would be restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government.
In addition, he affirmed the security and stability of Saudia Arabia and peace in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, he promised the safety and protection of Americans abroad. Remarkably with the provision of safety and protection of Americans abroad all other declaration by the U.S. President were endorsed in the Security Council resolutions. Since, the UN has no army of its own, so the U.S. took the whole liability to defeat Iraq by collecting massive public opinion and mobilizing most advance air fighting power.

Before start of fullfledged war against Iraq the US led coalition took atmost precaution not to allow Iraqi army to advance its troops towards south and capture Saudia Arabia. It was apprehended that in case Iraqi army succeeded they might control all Saudia wealth.

Hence, to stop Iraq's design the US led coalition mobilized massive international public opinion in their favour. By the time U.N. issued a resolution authorizing the use of 'force'. The U.S. formed a coalition of more than twenty eight countries to fight and cripple Iraqi military morale to fight a modern war. The operation of Kuwait liberation started with massive ground support of the multinational forces. It was an outright war backed by most sophisticated and advanced weapon system against Iraq.
In war American manifested from it is military bases most refined air strikes against Iraq. To smoothly expedit land and air operations America freely used Turkey, Saudia Arabia and NATO bases in the mediterranean sea. The US maneuvered and mastermined geo-strategically to corner. Iraq from all directions Geographically, Iraq’s land being extremely flat and during summer the sky over Gulf normally remain clear without fog or heavy clouds. Within span of around four or five days Iraq suffered heavy bombardings, Iraq’s major cities, energy stations and factories became targets. With uninterrupted heavy bombings Iraq was forced to immediately retreat surrender and finally capitulate.

Between 24 and 28 February 1991, in quick military operations the US led coalition got impressive results. As a consequence Kuwait was liberated Iraq suffered a heavy casualties with around 82,000 Iraqi soldiers were captured. In ruthless and indiscriminate bombings. Iraq’s economic and basic infrastructures were destroyed and reduced to ashes. Immediately, America declared that the war was over and celebrated the victory. It should be pointed here that American forces were leading as the unified chief commander of the multinational forces. Surprisingly, the declaration of ceasefire should have been justified had it come from U.N. because it was on behalf of world body the whole coalition forces were fighting.
After the cease fire immediately Washington maneuvered Security Council to impose economic blockade upon Iraq till it comply and fulfill all the conditions imposed by the U.N. Not only the US brought tremendous pressure in the Security Council to compel Iraq to place under UN inspection all suspected places of chemical and biological weapon cites.

By the end of 1997, economic sanction which was imposed upon Iraq by U.N. completed six years. The continuation of economic sanction increased the suffering of Iraqi people and as a result their lives worsen day by day. The Iraqi government under compulsion had accepted the U.N. conditions including the U.N. inspection to eliminate and destroy arms in all Iraqi military sites. The condition was imposed to ensure that Iraq is no more in the possession of any chemical, biological, nuclear weapons or missile with range more than 150 k.m. During the year 1997 under pressure from China and Russia a formula was worked out and America agreed upon "oil for food" for Iraq.

The U.S. accepted this formula in which Iraq became entitled to export a limited amount of petrol oil under the supervision of Security Council, and in return Iraq would be provided with essential food stuffs and medicines to meet the requirements of the suffering people. The money procured by the oil export was devided as a compensation to all parties suffered due to the invasion. But this formula soon suffered a set back. However, Iraqi suspected American mischiefs behind its failure.
Later, Iraq expelled the members of United Nations inspection committee belonging to both countries. U.S.A. and Britain, who had demanded access to other than military installations such as the Presidential palaces of the Iraqi President, Baghdad suspected and blamed that the chief of U.N. arms inspector were a CIA agents. Iraq called for and demanded a more balanced composition of the uninspection team. Iraq blamed that the UN inspection team was dominated by the U.S. and British experts namely insist and were demanding access to inspect Iraqi presidential palaces. Baghdad charged this as a plain conspiracy to mislead international public opinion, by picturing Iraqis non-co-operation as well suspecting Iraq to be hiding destructive weapons in the presendential palaces. Iraq’s refusal was based on the assumption that it was not a part of U.N. resolutions to check such places. The Iraqi government argued that the main aim of U.S. and British being the flagrant violation of Iraq’s Sovereignty.

However, it seems that U.S. and Britain by insisting on the inspection of presidential palaces wanted to undermine Iraqi strong hold regime and humiliate its governing elites particularly Saddam Hussein.

Therefore, the out break of recent hostility produced more tougher stand by U.S. and Britain. The U.S. primary strategy has been to attack Iraq and cripple its power or seek a solution in the form of over throwing of the present regime headed by Saddam Hussein.
After war over the Kurds were instigated by the US to revolt against Baghdad for an immediate independence. But the American calculation proved wrong as Iraqi army crushed the rebellions and saved the country from disintegration. The United States and its allies condemned Iraq’s for suppression of Kurds. They described Baghdad’s action as ethnic cleansing and violation of human rights.

The U.S. and British governments acted and created the ‘safe haven’ in the northern Iraq. They declared the area north of the 36th parallel in Iraq a no-fly zone. Surprisingly, both powers did not pay attention to the international public opinion. Neither they had an authorization of U.N. and their action was dubbed as violation of Iraq’s sovereignty. This was a naked violation of sovereignty in which U.S.A. had a list of experience in the form of intervention in several countries in the world such as Haiti etc.

The U.S. Precedent had been the creation of de’facto protectorate after the decline of past colonialism. Inside Iraq, American, British and French aeroplanes were station in Turkish bases to perform the task of patrolling and protecting Kurds in northern Iraq. This American step was met with stiff resentment throughout Arab world. The US move was described similar to colonial era strong protest was lodged against Turkish Government. Some of the Arab states went to the extent of suspecting Turkish government as a conspirator along with the western countries. They reminded Turkish of their past atrocities.
during their Ottoman colonial power. Turkish justified their stance of providing their military bases to the allies as an obligation since Turkish is the member of NATO.

The Arab states who rejected the military solution to the Iraq invasion of Kuwait perceived Turkish government’s stance as part of western new plan. In the post cold war era for the Security arrangement to the whole middle east region worked by the US and its allies and designed to divide Arab states. This has posed threat to their unity and sovereignty.

The U.S. and western allies were fully aware of Turkish army’s incursion into Iraq territory chasing the Kurdish minority, who have been struggling for the similar demand of freedom and independence from Turkey. America and its allies have turned blind eyes to the Turkish air strikes against Kurds inside Iraqi territory.

The Washington administration was blamed for its double standard policy in the Middle East in supporting some radical regimes, who even did not share any value or policy orientation. Rather it served ultimately well defined U.S. interests in the region. In September, 1996, the U.S. 44 cruise missiles unilaterally launched attack against Iraqi troops inside their country citing Iraqi army crossing 36th parallel or the ‘save haven zone’. As a reason the Kurdish waring factions had deep division which reached an apex, with neither side heeding United States calls for reconciliation.
The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), alienated itself to the western countries whereas the patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), remained loyal to Iraq. There was deep rooted mistrust and division between the two factions. The spreading of Kurdish problem posed threat to the Iraqi unity and integrity. Both Iran and Turkish were traditional enemy of Iraq. As they were preoccupied with their own problems. Shared Iraq similarly the same problem which provided Iraq easy option to retaliate or bargain with them on its own means.

The motive of US not to lift the economic sanction imposed on Iraq was intended to create unrest within the Iraqi society whereby people could rise and revolt against Saddam’s regime. The U.S. strategy has been to cripple the Iraqi morale, so that it should not pose any threat in the region. Nevertheless, Iran remained an Islamic state and source of trouble to the American security arrangement in the Gulf. Since, Iraq is ruled by Ba’athist elites with massive support at the grass root level as well as in the Middle East region. The U.S. led multinational forces avoided to occupy Iraq. U.S. lead coalition was cautious about the consequences of such steps. Which may lead to splitting of the coalition forces especially the Arab state members.

The Kurds are the largest ethnic group in the world. For a long they are debarred from having their own independent state. As Kurdish people are spread in four states, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, their complex Geo-political conditions complicated in fulfilment of their aspirations.
The aftermath of Iraq’s defeat in the Gulf war, Kurds in the northern Iraq along with the Iraqi Shia counterparts in the south, lost no time to rise up against the Iraqi government. Inspite of its defeat in the war the Iraqi army firmly dealt with their revolt by using force, thus crushed rebellion.

After defeat, the US led coalition imposed certain conditions on Iraq. The compliance of these conditions are being supervised by a special international commission. Since, then Iraq’s oil export has been severely restricted. When situation in Iraq became alarming under tremendous pressures put by several humanitarian organizations Iraq was permitted under the formula ‘FOOD FOR OIL’ to sell a limited amount of oil, subject to the end of all kinds of repression of Iraqi civilians and respect of human rights by the Iraqi authorities.

After undergoing terrifying and humiliating defeat in the Gulf war, the fact remains that Iraq continues to exist as a sovereign nation. After the horrifying destruction of Iraq’s war making capability the allied forces, more particularly U.S.A. claimed that, war achieved all its pinpointed objectives. At the outset, it was perceived that America had intention to replace Saddam Hussein to make it easier to intervene in Iraqi internal affairs. But the chain of development of events that took place ran-contrary to US design. The landmark decision was taken on the development, production, stock piling and use of chemical weapons and their destruction was concluded in January 1993 signed by 160 countries. The convention on prohibition of
chemical weapons was ratified by 64 countries soon after U.S. and Britian demanded that Iraq should open all their military sites to the inspection of all kinds of destructive chemical, nuclear and biological weapons.

Iraq blamed that the U.N. inspection team members, mostly from America are C.I.A. agents, who often flout their mission domain and violate Iraq sovereignty. As consequence the Iraqi government expelled the UN inspection team which caused enormous resentment in the U.S.

This infuriated American administration who reacted with missiles attack on Iraq. Saudia Arabia requested U.S. to refrain from use of force. Almost majority of Arab countries criticized America for violation of territorial integrity of a sovereign country, of course the deadly Gulf war had increased the tragedy of Iraqi people compelling them to face enormous hardship due to the economic sanctions.

In past the Arab-Israeli dispute over Palestinian question had already resulted in several costly wars to the parties. There has been among Arab world wide spread antagonistic feelings towards America for its bias stance with Israeli side. After liberation of Kuwait most of the Arab countries were suspicious of U.S. led multinational move in the Gulf region. Every Arab state became a psychological victim of Israeli threat of its existance. No doubt their calculation was based on their past experiences. In its war with Arab countries Israel was always
backed by the US. America in past supplied exceeded. Israel lethal arms which their legitimate needs of their defence. The threat perception of Israel was often exaggerated by Arab countries.

Seemingly, the Israeli threat perception was necessitated to justify certain policies pursued by the Arab nations. U.S. under heavy pressure from its allies in the Gulf region. Convinced that in the post Gulf crisis security arrangement in Middle East. The Palestinian issue represent one of main causes of unrest in the region. Therefore, initiated OSLO peace process in which a peace accord ultimately reached between Israel and Palestinian. Israel for the first time recognized the Palestinian rights to exist as state. However, the resolve of Palestinian issue will contribute to the region stability and security.

The defeat of Iraq in war fostered a new flames to the polluted security environment in the Middle East. The vulnerability was characterized by fluid situation, new groupings, political differences, and widening economic disparity among themselves. The rich countries which sustained economic growth rate have been unprecedent in the world history. They realized that their security and stability could not be achieved with existing of absolute poverty next to their door.

Therefore, they felt that their historic differences and rivalries in the broad interest of the region must be kept aside. It was felt that continuing U.S. presence in the region has been
a prime contributor to regional instability. The over all security situation in the region persisted as usual as it was during the Gulf crisis. The rich gulf states refused economic assistance to their neighbours in the region. The continuation of this policy it was argued might prove to be dangerous. Since all political decisions have some economic implications and economic consideration by virtue increasingly influence political and security decisions.

However, in Middle Eastern context economic cooperation and inter dependence among states provide no guarantee against conflict. Iraq-Kuwait conflict was a relevance case. The existing uncertainties and areas of emerging potential threat created new destabilizing effects on current security environment. At present the security scenario in the Middle East is hardly better than it was before the 1991. Since a great deal of differences and uncertainties still prevail and persist. While the prospectus for conflicts seem small in short term, the potential for conflicts remains and might grow in the future. Many of the regions enemities persisting prior to the pre-Iraq invasion has not yet resolved and ended. The end of cold war has reduced tensions, especially among Gulf Cooperative Council states and other poor Arab States. The strategic cooperation is totally missing. Since the suspicion of the Soviet Union is no more existing. The current security environment in the region remind and poses several security questions and most prominent are still troubling the region.
Some of important problems are as follows:

1. The territorial disputes between several countries both over land holder and contested islands especially in the Arabian gulf;

2. The growing separatist tendency among ethnic and religious groups and issue of self-determination;

3. The growing disputes between United States and several Arab countries, on religious and ideological grounds;

4. The uncertainty and threat of missiles, chemical, and biological weapons which are spreading in middle east.

5. Widening economic gap between rich and poor countries.

6. Threat to disrupt transit of oil through international waters passages;

7. The increasing differences between regional and supra-regional actors.

Unless the Arab states and their leaders realize the security, stability and relative economic growth in balanced way of all the nations of the region, minimizing their mutual differences the permanent peace will not be possible.

Before the Gulf crisis there had been wide range of cooperation among Arab countries in the form of financial assistance programme to the less fortune countries. Such as Yemen, Sudan and Egypt. With Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, wide differences among the Arab world have widened. The Gulf countries under the leadership of Saudia Arabia, who have been traditionally connected to U.S. for their security and economic interests plus Egypt and Syria favoured approved a military
action and provide U.S. free hand in their territory to use force. Accordingly Gulf countries financed and participate in the multinational forces.

In sharp contrast other countries such as Libya, Iran, Sudan and Yemen have always favoured a peaceful solution to the crisis.

They have preferred US withdrawal of its troops from the Gulf area. They have desired to replace the vacuum with unified Arab forces under the leadership of Arab League. Washington has disliked it and charged them 'unco-operative' 'States' and threaten to punish them after Kuwait liberation, by the endorsing them in the list of the countries who support or sponsor terrorism. U.S. has branded Libya, and Sudan as terrorist states.

U.S.A. succeeded in implementing upon them economic embargo. America has charged Iran for sponsoring terrorism. The U.S. stances has increased the misseriy of the poor countries. Of course, all Gulf rich countries have stopped their financial assistance. Not only in terms of finance but even the labour force from Sudan and Yemen has been deported or reduced, depriving their countries from their financial remittance of hard currency, therefore, affecting their economies badly. As a result these affected countries have started supporting of all Anti-government elements in the Gulf area creating permanent threat to their security. Permanent U.S. military presence in the Gulf region, therefore, without considering the economic disparity among Arab states, or without working out a formula to help those poor countries, any security arrangement project would remain an unfinished scheme.