

Historical Profile of Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan

Riyad Al-Khlaifat
AL-Balqa' Applied University
Jordan, AL-Huson, P. O. Box, 50, AL-Huson 21510
dr_alibashayreh@yahoo.com

Qassem AL-Ghuinmat
AL-Balqa' Applied University
Jordan, AL-Huson, P. O. Box, 50, AL-Huson 21510

Ali AL-Shbool
AL-Balqa' Applied University
Jordan, AL-Huson, P. O. Box, 50, AL-Huson 21510

Ali Ibrahim AL-Bashaireh
AL-Balqa' Applied University
Jordan, AL-Huson, P. O. Box, 50, AL-Huson 21510

A dominant feature of the modern history of Arab politics has been the struggle for the leadership of Arab people. This has been invariably undertaken in the name of Arab unity. The unity of the Arabs has been the most compelling idea of Arab nationalist thought. The Arabs have been expressing their allegiance to their unity ever since they recognized themselves as different from their coreligionists i.e. the Turks. The desire for unity was accentuated by the dismemberment of the Arab possessions of the Ottoman Empire into many and Separate political entities after the first World War. Thus, the Arabs have felt inclined to blame the European powers for their division.

The British-French Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1917 divided the Arab nations into protectorates, colonies, and mandates. Some countries were placed under the French and the British mandates such as Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. Whole others were treated as provinces of the European countries. France and Britain planted the seeds for the division and the disintegration of the region and pre-empted the emergence of an Arab Nationalist Movement. Nevertheless, a Pan-Arab nationalist movement did emerge and attempted to delegitimize the Post-World War First boundaries. Although the idea of unity has been accepted by all Arabs yet after more than seven decades of attributing their division to imperialist designs and western diplomatic machination, a fresh look at the Arab unity is required by none other than Arabs themselves. The struggle which the Arabs have waged for their unity has produced nothing, with the exception of the short lived Syrian-Egyptian union. Furthermore, the movement for unity has always been constrained by the power struggle among the Arab states for the leadership. From the beginning the Arabs were divided into three camps – on the side the Hashimites who led the Arab movement for independence and founded kingship in Iraq and Jordan: the Saudis who tried to establish their domain on religious lines, and finally the Egyptians, who at first expressed lack of interest in Arab political affairs but found themselves embroiled in Arab politics later on.

After the second world war, there were seven independent Arab states: Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan (Present day Jordan). Egypt and Syria. In 1945, these countries organized themselves into league of Arab States to harness the community of Arab countries into one framework. The function of the League was not only to coordinate their activities and politics, but also to enhance their diplomatic and political leverage in order to expedite the process of decolonization of the rest of the Arab world: Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Sudan, South Yemen and the Gulf countries were still British protectorates. This decolonization process led to a situation in which two contradictory factors acquired legitimacies: ⁽¹⁾ The legitimacy of Arab nationalism, based on a unified culture, a prevailing unified language, broadly speaking a unified religion, a sense of spiritual identity as Arabs and a feeling of common destiny and solidarity made all the Arab states feel they were accountable to each other: ⁽²⁾ The different time frames of independence for each state created a vested interest in the sovereignty of individual states. The legitimacy of the sovereignty of states formed the other factor. Individual sovereignty confronted the Arab unity.

The goal of the Arab League was to reconcile these two legitimacies and coordinate their functions and to ensure that the legitimacy of the state sovereignty and the legitimacy of Arab national unity complement each other rather than conflict with each other. However, Arab unity remained evasive. Baghdad Pact (1955). Suez Crisis (1954). Revolution in Iraq (1958), Turmoil in Lebanon and Jordan Palestinian plight, constant rift with Israel competition in oil market and militarization, conflicts within OPEC, Iranian revolution and fear of Shia upsurge in Arab states, the Iraq-Iran war and finally the Gulf War of 1990-91 – have contributed to keeping ‘unity’ a distant dream.

There is one school of thought which feels that Saddam Hussain’s desire for leadership of Arab world was the main cause of the recent Gulf crisis whereas the other school of thought maintains,

that it was prompted by Israel and Saudi Arabia which felt threatened by Iraq's military power. Before analyzing this point further, a look at the geo-political and historical features of the what is known as 'Arab Land' is essential. In this chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the geo-political and historical perspective of the Arab Land specially of the three Arab countries i.e. Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan that are relevant to this study. It would help in finding out the factors responsible for the present Gulf crisis both from the contemporary point of view of the vested interest as well as from the historical sketch of the developments in the region which have had an impact on the present Gulf crisis.

The Geo-political Perspective

The Arab land is a very wide territory of 13 million square kilometers. The large part of this land lies in Africa which forms 72 percent and the remaining 28 percent lies in Asia. This great size forms a single geographical entity of the land and is surrounded by natural boundaries: the Atlantic to the west, the Mediterranean and the Taurus mountain range to the North, the Zagros Mountains, the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian sea to the East and the Sahara desert to the South.

The Arabs people have remained divided into two categories: The Ahlu L-Hadarah which means people who live in cities and towns and Ahlu L-Badiyah, people who stay in desert. Both categories were connected to each other in spite of being different in economic activities and different in their administrative organizations. The appearance of Islam in the Central Arab Lands imposed a unity on them and made the Arabic language as the standard language. It also produced a new civilization and developed the unity of Arabs which is called the 'Umma' . The Arabs with Islam in less than a century a large empire which extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of China. Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, the Arabs contributed to human progress more than any other people. The capital of Muslim empire was governed from Medina in Hijaz till they moved their capital to Kufah in Iraq. The shifting of capital took place in the 656.

Later during 661-750, the Ummayyad Caliphate ruled from Damascus. The period of Ummayyad was the beginning of division within Islam. With the defeat of Ummayyads by Abasayeds in 750, they moved their capital to Baghdad. In 1099, the Frankish crusaders captured Jerusalem and controlled the trade coming from Egypt. In 1187 at the Great Battle of Hittan led by Saladdin succeeded in breaking the empire. The came the Mameluk Sultan, who ruled over Jordan and Syria.

The Ottoman Turks came to rule the Arab world from 1516 and stayed until the end of the First world war. During the rule of the Ottoman rule over the Arabs, the rulers imposed heavy taxation of the people but the people were not given and rights. By 1914, the educated and progressive Arabs grouped together and formed the nationalist front and approached sheriff Hussein of Hejaz to lead their revolt. It made the United Kingdom promise to give full independence to the Arabs after the war. In June 1916 Sherif Hussein announced the revolt against the Turks. Later, after victory, he came to know that the secret Sykes-picot Agreement concluded between the French and the British and the Balfour Declaration (1917) had granted 'National Home for the Jewish people' in Palestine. With the division of Arab Asia under the French and the British mandates the dreams of Arabs to create a free nation were shattered. Feisal who had established a government in Damascus was driven by the French army to Baghdad. Later he announced himself as the King of Iraq. Palestine was kept under the British mandate and Abdullah the other son of King of Hejaz declared himself king of Trans-Jordan.

The sykes-Picot agreement had provisions which literally resubjugated the Arabs to Britain and France. According to this agreement:

- 1- Russia was to obtain the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis as well as the territory in the northern part of Kurdistan;
- 2- France was to obtain the coastal strip of Syria, the wilayat of Adana;
- 3- Great Britain was to obtain southern Mesopotamia with Baghdad as well as the ports of Haifa and Acre in Palestine.
- 4- The Zone between the French and the British territories was to form a confederation of Arab states or one independent Arab state. This zone was to be further divided into the French and the British spheres of influence .⁽⁴⁾

An attempt has also been made here to present the historical setting of the three countries namely Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan so that one can find out the reasons for Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Kuwait's intransigence to Iraqi demands, pressures and also reasons for Jordan's stance during the Iraq-Kuwait conflict.

Iraq is bounded on the north by Turkey, on the east by Iran, on the south by Kuwait and the Persian Gulf, on the south west by Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and on the north-west by Syria. The actual frontier lines present two unusual features: In the first place, there exists between Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia a 'neutral zone' which was advised to facilitate the migrations of pastoral nomads who cover great distances each year in search of pasture for their animals and who move regularly between several countries. Hence the closing of a frontier could be a matter of life and death to them. Secondly, the frontier with Iran in its extreme southern portion below Basra follows the course of the shatt al-Arab channel, which flows into the Persian Gulf.⁽⁵⁾ The total area of Iraq is 438,317 sq.kms. and according to 1987 census the population was 1,63,35m199. The religion of the country is Islam. About 95 percent population are Muslims and more than 55 percent of whom are Shiites, 20 percent are Sunni Muslims and roughly 18 to 20 percent are Kurds.⁽⁶⁾ The Arabs of northern Iraq, the Bedouins, the Kurds, the Turokman and some of the inhabitants of Baghdad and Basra are mainly of the Sunni sect, while the remaining Arabs south of the Diyali belong to the Shiite sect. In addition to that, there is a small percentage of Turcomans, Yazidis, Persian and Christians.

The old name of Iraq was Mesopotamia which means a land between the rivers. The country has the presence of two river valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.⁽⁷⁾ The length of Tigris is 1850 km. which rises in Turkey and is joined by numerous tributaries both in Turkey and Iraq. The Euphrates also rises in Turkey and flows through Syria and Iraq. It joins the Tigris in its lower course at Qurna to form the stream known as the Shatt al-Arab. The establishment of the kingdom of Iraq was in 1921 under King Faisal I who was the third son of King Hussein of the Hejaz. The British actively supported the King Faisal I to safeguard the interests of British in Iraq. The relations between Iraq under the King and British were regulated by a Treaty of 1922. The AngloIraqi Treaty of 1930 provided for a twenty-five years alliance between Britain and Iraq and confirmed British support to Iraq's admission to the League of Nations. Britain also promised that Iraq's full independence and the termination of the British mandate would be effective on the date of Iraq's entry into the League of Nations on October 23, 1932. Notwithstanding independent status and even admission to the League of Nations in 1932 Iraq could not free itself from difficulties.⁽⁸⁾ However, King Faisal maintained his grip and inspired public spirit with his progressive-modern form of government.

After the death of King Faisal in 1933, his son Ghazi succeeded him. But he could not give an effective leadership. He was faced with the problems between the Sunni and Shiite Muslims on the Euphrates; the persistent problem of relations with Kurds in the north east, the massacre of Assyrians in 1933 to suppress the Assyrian 'peril'; and the political intrigues which led to the first coup d'etat of 1936. At the same time a group called Ikha al-watani emerged in 1930. It was anto-

British, and opposed to the Anglo-Iraqi treaties. This group had played an important role in Iraqi politics after king Faisal's death. One of the most important development during this period was the rapid development of the oil industry. Concessions were granted in 1925, 1932 and 1938 to the Anglo-Iraqi Petroleum Company in Mosul and Basra. Oil had been discovered in Kirkuk area in 1927 and by the end of 1934 the Iraq Petroleum Company was exporting crude oil. However, the exploitation of the Mosul and Basra oil did not begin on a commercial scale until the end of the second world war. In 1937 Iraq Joined Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in the Sa'dabad Pact, which proclaimed complete neutrality in the World war II. It also arranged for mutual consultation in all disputes that might affect the common interests of the four states. Relations with Britain deteriorated during this period. The anti-Zionist feelings increased in Arab lands. Iraq too resented the British policy in Palestine. German influence increased very much at this point of time in Iraq. Especially among those political and military circles which were associated with the army group later on to be known as the Golden Square. ⁽⁹⁾ with the death of king Ghazi in 1939 the situation in Iraq became worse and more complicated. Ghazi was succeeded by his son King Faisal II. Under the new regime Iraq severed its diplomatic connections with Germany at the beginning of the Second World War. In 1941 the army commanders carried out a new coup d' etat under the leadership of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani. The new regime announced its non-belligerent intentions and opposed the passage of British troops through Iraq. It was taken as pro-German stance of the al-Gaylani government. After the war Iraq again resumed the pro-British attitude, co-operated in the formation of the League of Arab states. However, it also participated in the Arab-Israel war in 1948. In face of rising popularity of Egypt and its Arab Neutralism and antiwesternism Iraq resorted to a firm alignment with the west through the Turco-Iraq Treaty of Friendship. Mutual cooperation and defence in 1954 which later became a Five-Power (Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Britain) agreement known as the Baghdad Pact.

During the Suez crisis of 1956 troops of Iraq and Syria had been stationed in Jordan as a precaution against an Israeli advance to the east. In 1958 king Faisal of Iraq and King Hussein of Jordan joined together in an abortive Arab Federatikon. ⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1958, the Iraqi Army the leadership of Brigadier Abdel Karim Kassem had overthrown King Faisal II in coup d' etat. The King Faisal II also lost his life in the process, Iraq became a Republic, However, a struggle for power had developed between the two main architects of the July coup d' etat – Brig. Kassem and Col. Abdas Salam Muhammad Aref, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior. By expressing support for the Syrian Daath party and showing preference for Iraq-Syria Unity. Aref tried to win sympathy in his favour. The Kassem's regime was pro-Arab, pro-Soviet and pan-Arabist but Kassem was not inclined to be dictated by General Abdel Nasser who, at that time was the sole leader of the Arab world. Thus the new regime was face with a two fold crisis: one within the junta and the other with Egypt. In 1958, Aref was dismissed from the office and was tried on a charge of plotting against the interests of Iraq. ⁽¹¹⁾ Kassem also announced the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact in 1949. Fighting broke out at Kirkuk in 1959 between the Kurds and the Turcomans. Kassem disbanded the peoples' resistance force which was supporting the Kurds. In 1961 Kassem made a claim on Kuwait on the ground that Kuwait has been a party of the Ottoman Province of Basra in the past. Iraq was opposed to its creation as a sovereign state by the British. However. Iraq's anti-west and anti-British stance was also one reason which prompted the British to create Kuwait as a foothold for themselves in the Gulf region. It was seen as a harbinger in the sea of turmoil caused by Arab nationalism, neutralism and nonalignment. Iraqi troop movement in the region of Basra inducted Kuwait to seek British military assistance. British provided naval and military support and saved the Kingdom of Kuwait. ⁽¹²⁾

A military coup in Iraq overthrew the regime of kassem in 1963. Aref was elevated to the office of President and a cabinet was formed under Brig. Ahmad al-Bakr. In November 1963 President Aref

assumed full powers in Iraq. In 1964 President Aref announced that all political parties would be merged in a new organization to be known as the Arab Socialist Union of Iraq. However, in 1966 he was killed in a helicopter crash and his brother Abd ar-Rahman Aref succeeded him as President. When Arab-Israeli war broke out in June 1967, Iraq had severed diplomatic relations with the USA and Britain as these two countries had supported Israel in the war. Iraq also banned the export of oil to both these countries. Relations with the west however improved slightly during the winter of 1967, when oil embargoes was gradually removed and in December.⁽¹³⁾

Throughout the first half of the 1968 the regime conspicuously lacked popular support. Hence the sudden bloodless coup d' etat of 17 July did not surprise many people. General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, a former Prime Minister became President. During the second half of the 1968, the internal political situation deteriorated in Iraq. Open hostilities with the Kurds broke out in October 1968 for the first time since the June 1966 cease fire and remained on an extensive scale throughout the winter. Fighting continued unabated through the 1969 as well. The Kurds demanded autonomy within the state and asked the U.N. for mediation. In 1970 a peace settlement was concluded with the Kurds. This fifteen article Peace Plan announced by the Revolutionary command Council (RCC) and the Kurdish leaders was accepted by the Kurdish community and it brought an end to the hostilities. At the Kurdish front their strength was boosted in February 1971 by the decision of the Kurdish Revolutionary Party to merge with the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK), led by Masoud Barzani. Evidence of unrest. However, continued both in Kurdistan and within their political set up. The Iraqi Government was getting weary of it but owing to some internal threats to its own survival it was not able to react to it. In July 1971 an attempted coup by the army and the air force officers was put down by the government.

The Kurds were beginning to show discontent with the delays in implementing the 1970 Agreement. Their demand for participation in the RCC was rejected by the government and in September 1971 the disgruntled section of Kurds even made an attempt on Barzani's life. The Baath Party's deteriorating relations with the Kurds brought a threat from the Democratic Party of Kurdistan to renew the civil war. One of the main Kurdish grievances was that the consensus agreed upon in 1970 to some points had still not been implemented. The two sides met to discuss their differences. The Kurdish side highlighted the unfulfilled provisions of the 1970's agreement and the Baath reiterated the various developmental projects carried out in Kurdish areas expressed inclination to implement the 1970 Agreement in the due course. However, in 1972, a splintered group appeared in Kurdish ranks and a new party came into existence in opposition to Barzani's party.

Iraq's Foreign Relations during 1968-76

Though initially the more radical section of Arab world had reservations about Iraqi policy but slowly the regime came to be accepted in the community of Arab nationalist. There has always been some kind of criticism of Iraq's had adopted an uncompromising attitude to the Palestinian problem. All peace proposals – the U.S, Egyptian and Jordanian were rejected by Baghdad. In theory it gave total support to the Palestinian Liberation organization (PLO) but avoided intervention on behalf of the Palestinian guerillas. In 1970 the PLO threatened Jordan. The Iraqi forces were stationed there but they did not endorse the PLO action and also did not take part in the fighting. In January 1971 most of the Iraq's 20,000 troops were withdrawn from both Jordan and Syria.

In July 1971, there were signs that Iraq wished to reduce its isolation, offering to cooperate again with the Arab states if they abandoned attempts to negotiate with Israel. But the renewal of hostilities between the Jordanian government and the guerillas caused a break in relations with

Jordan. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Meanwhile, relations with Iran continued to be poor. Iraq accused the Teheran government of assisting the Kurdish rebellion and in April 1969 the Shatt al Arab waterways again caused a minor confrontation. At the same time the two countries were also divided on policy towards the Gulf states. Iraq broke off diplomatic relations with Iran when Iran seized the Tumb Islands in the Persian Gulf in November 1971. Relations with the western world and the U.S.A. in particular remained poor and several American nationals were arrested or expelled from Iraq in 1968 after having been accused of spying for the U.S.A. The friendship with the Soviet Union remained a major factor in Iraq's foreign policy, particularly since the USSR was supplying the major portion of Iraq's military equipment. The ⁽¹⁵⁾ year Friendship Treaty with the USSR signed in March 1972 was ratified in July. The Iraq's relations with the eastern block continued to be good. However, the government was conscious of the dangers of too close relationship with the Soviet bloc. President's fourth Anniversary speech in July maintained that Iraq would not initiate close relations with the western countries. Diplomatic relations with the U.S.A remained severed although the U.S.A had secretly established an interests group in Baghdad. In July 1973 an abortive coup led by the security Chief Nazim Kazzar took place in which the Minister of Defence Gen. Hammad Saheb was killed. The out break of war in October 1973 between the Arabs and Israel once again geared up Iraq and it sent considerable land forces to the Syrian front. Iraq did not send forces to Egypt as president Sadat had not consulted Iraq before commencing the hostilities. The Iraqi forces were withdrawn from Syria as soon as the cease fire came into effect. Iraq boycotted the Arab Summit meeting in Algiers in November.

Iraq's relations with Iran had never been happy, shah of Iran despite membership in the Baghdad Pact never bothered to cultivate close relations with Iraq. After the break down of the Pact in 1959, the conflict between Iraq and Iran increased as both vied for influence in the Gulf in the wake of British declaration to vacate the Gulf in the early 1960s. Iraq was also weary of Iran's intervention in Kurdish areas through various disgruntled forces and wanted to resolve this problem through some treaty. The Shatt of Arab Agreement of 1975 was the result of efforts made by both Iraq and Iran to have peace between them. At the OPEC meeting at Algiers in March 1975, it was announced that Saddam Hussein, the takriti Vice president of the PCC and the Shah of Iran had signed an agreement which completely eliminated the conflict between the two countries in June 1975. This came as a pleasant surprise to all.

Iraq, however, opposed the Camp David Agreements made between Egypt and Israel in September 1978, and continuing its attitude of boycott. It also stayed away from the Damascus Arab summit which followed the Camp David Agreement. In October President Assad of Syria visited Baghdad and held talks to work in league with each other on Palestinian and other security matters. Consequently Iraq and Syria signed a charter outlining plans for political and economic union between the two countries. On July 1979 Saddam Hussein replaced Bakr as President of Iraq and chairman of the RCC. In February 1980 President Saddam Hussein announced his national charter which reaffirmed the principles of non-alignment, rejected the existence of foreign armies, military forces, troops and bases in the Arab Homeland and made a plea for Arab solidarity. The Iran-Iraq War 1980-88.

The 1975 peace agreement with Iran had virtually ended the Kurdish problem and established normal relations between Iraq and Iran. However, Iraq always desired to secure control over the entire waterway and also decided to recapture the Abu Musa and Tumb Islands from Iran which it had occupied in 1970. conflict became evident after the Iranian revolution over Arab demands for autonomy in Iran's province of Khizestan. The Iran accused Iraq for supporting and encouraging the people in Kuzzestan. In addition Iraq's suni leadership was suspicious of Shiite Iran and feared that the Islamic revolution in Iran might spread to its own shi ites, who are in the majority in Iraq. Border fighting between the two countries occurred frequently in 1980 and open warfare began on

September 22 when Iraqi forces advanced into Iran along a 300 mile front. Iraq alleged that Iran had ignored the Iraqi diplomatic efforts demanding the withdrawal of Iranian forces from Zain ul-Qos on the border. Iraq maintained that this territory should have been returned by Iran under the 1975 Agreement. Iraq abrogated that Shatt al-Arab agreement on 16 September 1980. This opened the way for a full scale war between the two which continued for eight years (1980-1988). The Iran-Iraq war brought death and suffering to hundreds of thousands of people on both the sides and devastated the economics of both the countries. It also increased international tensions by precipitating new alliances and rearrangement of forces in the already turbulent Middle East as Libya, Syria and the PLO adopted a pro-Iranian attitude. During the time of war, Saddam Hussein faced number of threats to his position from within Iraq. The Iraqi front of Revolutionary Islamic and National forces, consisting of Kurds, exiled Shiites and dissatisfied Baath Party members had been formed in 1981 with the backing of Syria. In northern Iraq Kurdish rebels became active and there existed a possibility of Iraqi's majority Shiite community turning against the sunni leadership. In November 1982 new opposition from the Iraqi opposition groups under the leadership of an exiled Shiite leader Hofatoleslam Muhammad Baqir Hakim in Teheran. However, in October 1983 there were rumours of an attempted coup in Baghdad led by the dismissed head of intelligence Barzan at-Takriti and a number of senior army officers who were later reported to have been executed prior to attempting to overthrow the government. The Iraq Iran war devastated the economy and oil industry of the two countries but both were obstinate and did not wish to negotiate peace. Iraq demanded that peace talks should be direct between the two countries under the UN supervision. Iraq was not prepared to talk to Iraq until it declares ceasefire. However, on 6 August 1988 Iraq withdrew its insistence on the necessity for direct talks to take place before a cease fire and on the following day Iran agreed to direct talks following the end of hostilities. Accordingly, a cease fire finally came into force on 20 August monitored by a specially created UN observer force of 350 officers, the UN Iran-Iraq military observer Group (UNIIMOG).

The Iraqi military successes in Iran-Iraq war strengthened the position of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Hussein's regime is widely regarded as one of the most autocratic in the Arab world. In November 1988 Saddam Hussein announced a programme of political reforms including the introduction of multi-party political system and in January 1989 he declared that committee was to be established to draft a new constitution. These developments were regarded as an attempt to retain the loyalty of Iraq's Shiite community, which sought the liberalization of Iraqi society as a reward for its support in the war against Iran.

However, from late 1989, there was an increased concern in western countries about the scale of military expansion programme apparently underway in Iraq, about the involvement of western companies in the programme, and about covert attempts by Iraq to obtain advanced military technology from the west. International attention was drawn at Iraq in September 1989 following an explosion at an Iraqi defence industry complex which was thought to be a major installation in a missile development programme. However, in April 1990, the US President George Bush urged Iraq to abandon production of chemical weapons. At the end of July the US congress voted to impose sanctions on Iraq which formally prohibited sales of weapons and military technology to Iraq. As its relations with the west deteriorated, Iraq's standing in the Arab world improved. The outrage that was proved by Iraq's execution of Farzad Bazoft, together with more general criticisms in western media of its human rights record, elicited expressions of support for Iraq from the Arab League and from individual Arab states. However, Iraq's pressures to increase its oil production quota and allegations on Kuwait for drawing excessive oil from the Rumeila oil fields and selling it in the open market and thus harming the oil interests of Iraq alarmed them. The Arab League and Saudi Arabia tried to bring Iraq and Kuwait together to sort out the problem through negotiation but did not yield results. However, Direct negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait commenced in Saudi Arabia at the end of July 1990, with the aim of resolving disputes over territory, oil pricing

and Iraq's debt to Kuwait. On 1 August the talks collapsed. Iraq threatened to attack Kuwait and on 2 August Iraq invaded it. The Iraqi attack on Kuwait collided with the termination of the cold war in which Soviet Union changed its attitude towards Iraq and supported the US-UN action against Iraq. The turn of events placed Iraq into a state it is still plagued with. The reasons for invading Kuwait will be discussed in the second chapter.

Kuwait is an independent sovereign Arab state and is a member of the United Nations, the Arab League and the organization of Petroleum Exporting countries. The total area of the state is 17,818 sq.km. including the partitioned zone. The state of Kuwait is bounded in the east by waters of the Arabian Gulf, in the south west by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and in the north east by Iraq. As per census reports. The population of Kuwait has increased from 206,473 in 1957 to 1,357,952 by 1980 and to 1,697,301 by 1985. It was estimated that in 1991 following the war the population had declined to only 1.2 million, mainly as a result of the departure of a large proportion of the former non-Kuwaiti residents, who had previously formed a majority of its inhabitants. Kuwait has three commercial sea-ports; Shuwaikh; Shuiba and Doha. Shuwaikh is the largest and important one opened in 1960.

Although Kuwait is situated on the fringe of the Mesopotamian basin it has always belonged to the nomadic desert of Arabia rather than to the settled populations of the plains watered by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Thus the successive rule of foreign empires including the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad (750-1258), the Mongols (1258-1546) and the Ottoman Turks (1546-1918) had little direct influence on the area around Kuwait.⁽¹⁵⁾

The old name of Kuwait was 'Grane' meaning high hill and 'kut' meaning fort or castle. In that time Kuwait or Kut was a small town inhabited by a number of families of the Anaiza tribe migrated from the interior to the Arabian shore of Gulf.⁽¹⁶⁾ During 1770, the state of Kuwait was repeatedly threatened by raids from the tribesmen from Central Arabia and the need for protection led to closer contacts with the East India Company which had a depot in the town. Kuwait assumed great strategic significance at the end of the 19th century when Germany succeeded in securing an Agreement with the Ottoman government to extend the planned Baghdad Railway as far as the Bay of Kuwait. Britain viewed this plan as a threat to its sea route to India and tried to bring Kuwait under British protection⁽¹⁷⁾.

Ottoman rule over the mainland was accepted in return for recognition of British trading interests along the route from the Mediterranean to India through the Gulf. In 1896 Shaikh Mubarak became ruler of Kuwait. In 1899 Mubarak signed the treaty with the British in realization of the fact that the preservation of Kuwait and its continued independence can be assured only with the British protection. The agreement of Protection included a provision that Kuwait would not admit foreign agents except with the permission of the British government.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, the reign of Shaikh Mubarak from 1896 to 1915 was notable for the development of Kuwait a Shaikhdom of undefined status to an autonomous state. In 1904 a British political agent was appointed and in 1907 the British recognized the existing boundaries of Kuwait and accorded its ruler the status of an ally. However, Turkey objected to this new relationship and in 1909 negotiations on the Kuwait question were opened. They culminated in the Anglo-Turkish convention of 29 July 1913. The convention defined the borders of Kuwait which was to be autonomous under Ottoman suzerainty with its Shaikh as Quimmaq. At the same time Turkey acknowledged Britain's special position in the Gulf and promised not to interfere in the affairs of the Kuwait. After Mubarak's death in 1915 his son Jabir came to rule and followed his father's policy. In 1917 Shaikh Mubarak's second son, Shaikh Salim succeeded to Shaikhdom. He supported Turkey in the world war. However, in 1921 Shaikh Salim was succeeded by his nephew Shaikh Ahmad at Jabir, Kuwait prospered under his rule and under him the foundation of Kuwait's greatest petroleum industry was laid. He granted a joint concession in 1934 to the Gulf Oil Corporation of the USA and the Anglo-Persian Oil company

of Great Britain which formed the Kuwait Oil company Limited. Deep drilling started in 1936 but it was however stopped during the second world war period. After the war the petroleum industry in Kuwait was revived on an extensive scale and in a few years Kuwait town had developed from an old fashioned port to a thriving modern city, supported by the revenues of the petroleum industry. When Shaikh Ahmad died in 1950, Shaikh Abdullah al-Salim succeeded to rule the country from 1950-1955. His Policy was to use the petroleum revenues substantially for the welfare of the people and in 1951 he inaugurated a programme of public works and educational and medical developments which transformed Kuwait into an organized and well equipped modern state.

However, Kuwait has gradually built up the most comprehensive system of services in the world at least to native Kuwaitis. Education is completely free in Kuwait and the country's health service is considered to be of a very high standard. A heavily subsidized housing program has provided accommodation for many residents who satisfy the country's generous criteria of poverty. In 1961 the United Kingdom and Kuwait terminated the 1899 agreement which had given the UK responsibility for the conduct of Kuwait's foreign policy. Kuwait became a fully independent state in June 1961.

After the Independence Shaikh Abdullah signed a new agreement with the United Kingdom. The ruling Shaikh took the new title of Amir and Kuwait was admitted as a member of the Arab League. Soon after the independence, its existence was threatened by an Iraqi Claim to sovereignty over its territory. British troops landed in Kuwait in response to a request from the Amir for assistance. The Arab League met in July and agreed that an Arab League Force should be provided to replace the British troops as a guarantor of Kuwait's independence. This force composed of contingents from Saudi Arabia Republic and Sudan. The Arab League Forces landed in Kuwait in September 1961. The UAR contingent was withdrawn in December 1961 and those of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Sudan before the end of February 1963.⁽¹⁹⁾ In December 1961, for the first time in Kuwait's history, an election was held to choose 20 members of the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly drafted a new constitution under which a National Assembly of 50 members was elected in January 1963. In October 1963 the new Iraqi government announced its decision to recognize Kuwait's complete independence. As a reciprocal gesture Kuwait made a substantial grant to Iraq and relations between the two improved for a time. Kuwait played a neutral role in the conflicts of 1966 and 1967 within the Arab community and tried to act as mediator in inter-Arab disputes such as the Yemen and the South Arabian Problem. Shaikh Sabah visited Lebanon, Iraq and Kuwait supported Syria in the dispute with the Iraqi Petroleum company. Kuwait declared its support for the Arab-countries in the 1967 war with Israel and joined in the oil embargo on the USA and the UK. However, the cease fire had been announced before any Kuwaitis entered the battle field. The government donated KD 25 million to the Arab war efforts. At the Kharoum conference in September 1967 Kuwait joined Saudi Arabia and Libya in offering financial aid to the UAR and Jordan to help their economies to recover from the war. Of all the Gulf states Kuwait has been the most vulnerable to regional disruption. In March 1973 Iraqi troops and tanks occupied a Kuwaiti out post at Samtah, on the 100 mile border with Iraq. Iraq later withdrew its troops, but a source of potential dispute remained over Iraq's territorial claim on Warbah and Babiyan Islands⁽²⁰⁾. Following the crisis in 1973. Kuwait allocated larger sums for the expansion of its armed forces and established own navy. During the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 Kuwaiti forces stationed along the Suez Canal and were involved in actual fighting. The Kuwait government contributed considerable financial aid totaling KD 100 million to other Arab states while the war was still in progress.

Kuwait called for a meeting of the OPEC to draw up a common Arab policy for the use of oil as a weapon to put pressure on western countries, particularly the USA, to force an Israeli withdrawal

from occupied Arab territory. Kuwait played a leading role in all these moves and made considerable reductions in national oil output.

At the Baghdad Arab Summit in November 1978 Kuwait pressed for unanimity among the Arab Nations in condemning the Egypt-Israeli peace agreement and supported the use of sanctions against Egypt. The Kuwaiti Ambassador was recalled from Cairo and all aid, except for specific development projects was withdrawn. Anxious to preserve Arab unity, Kuwait mediated in the conflict between the Yemen Arab Republic and the people's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1979, eventually bringing about a cease fire and was instrumental in resolving the crisis in the UAE.

In the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980 Kuwait supported Iraq. It allowed access to its strategic ports to enable Iraqi petroleum exports to continue⁽²¹⁾. In 1981 Kuwait became, along with Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain, a founder member of the Gulf cooperation council (GCC). In September 1981 Kuwait oil installations at UMM al-Aish, were bombed by Iran. As a consequence, Kuwait's Ambassador to Iran was temporarily withdrawn. However in February 1982 Kuwait announced its willingness to mediate in the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq. Attempts at mediation were, however, unsuccessful.

In May 1984 Kuwaiti and several Saudi Arabian tankers were bombed in series of attacks by unidentified aircraft shipping in the Gulf. Although both Iran and Iraq were known to have been firing at ships, Iran was blamed for the attacks on Kuwaiti tankers. The bombings were seen as a warning to Kuwait to reduce its aid to Iraq and to put pressure on Iraq to desist from attacking tankers carrying Iranian oil. The GCC had withdrawn offers to mediate in the Iran-Iraq war and condemned Iran. At the GCC Summit Iran. At the GCC Summit conference November 1984 the member states agreed to form a joint military force capable of Rapid deployment and aimed at combating any escalation of the Iran-Iraq war.

Kuwait's attempts to act as a mediator in the Iran-Iraq war in 1984 were hampered by Iran's increasing suspicion about the outcome of outstanding border disputes between Iraq and Kuwait. Iran believed that Kuwait was about to transfer three strategically important islands, Bubiyan, Warba and Failaka to Iraq. Between October 1986 to April 1987 Iranian forces attacked merchant ships sailing to or from Kuwait⁽²²⁾, and seized cargoes as a punishment for loading petroleum 'to be used by Iraq'. In an attempt to deter Iranian attacks in the Gulf, Kuwait re-registered most of its fleet of oil tankers under the flags of the USA, The USSR and the UK.

In November 1987 Kuwait resumed full diplomatic relations with Egypt. The GCC held a Summit meeting in December 1987, wherein the six member states urged the UN Security Council to enforce its resolution 598, which ordered a cease fire to be observed in the Iran-Iraq war and also approved a pact to increase security cooperation between the member states. In January 1988, the US Secretary of Defence visited Kuwait to discuss defence matters with the Amir. In March 1988 the Iranian and Kuwaiti armed forces clashed for the first time during the eight year Iran-Iraq war. The cease fire in the Iran-Iraq war in August 1988 brought stability to the region and a revival of economic growth in Kuwait. Relations between Kuwait and Iran improved. In March 1989 Iraq agreed to supply Kuwait with 350 million gallons of drinking water per day and to develop trade links between the two countries.

In July 1990 President Saddam Hussein of Iraq Publicly criticized unspecified states for exceeding the petroleum production quotas that had been established by CPEC in May in order to increase prices. He accused Kuwait of having 'stolen' US\$ 2400 million worth of Iraqi oil reserves from a well in disputed territory. On 31 July 1990 representatives of Kuwait and Iraq offered to meet in Jeddah. In the meeting Kuwait was reportedly prepared to contribute one half of the

amount demanded but did not agree to concede territory. Consequently the negotiations collapsed and prompted Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

JORDAN

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan came officially into existence under its present name in 1947. It derived its name from the Hashemite clan. Previously the country was known as Trans-Jordan. Jordan is surrounded by four neighbors. It is bounded on the north by Syria, on the north east by Iraq, on the east and south by Saudi Arabia and on the west by Israel. Jordan has the longest border with Israel. This gave the country an important place among the Arab countries ⁽²³⁾. The total area of Jordan is 97.740 sq.km. some of its territory had been occupied by Israel since 1967.

Jordan is divided into eight provinces each headed by a Governor and sub-divided into different administrative regions, containing towns and countryside. The provinces are an extension of the central government and are supervised by the Ministry of Interior ⁽²⁴⁾.

Port of Aquaba is the only sea port Jordan has. It provided an outlet to the area and has more than 20 modern and specialized berths and one container terminal. The port has 299.000 sqm of storage area and is used for Jordan's international trade and regional transit trade mainly with Iraq.

Jordan also has the Dead Sea. Its waters are both famous for their curative powers and value to the treatment of skin and to the general health. The Dead Sea is the lowest point on earth, is also the world's saltiest natural lake and it is also the deepest hyper-saline lake in the world with a maximum depth of 4000 meters ⁽²⁰⁾.

Jordan is predominantly a desert country. However, since the Jordan river basin was attractive for settlement, the region has been populated from the remote ancient times.

The Hashemite family became a close British ally. In June 1916 sherif Hussein announced his revolt against the Turks as the leader of several Arab tribes and with British assistance, Hussein drove the Turks out. During this period, the region was a part of Syria. At the end of the revolt Arabs came to know about the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France which divided the north Arabian lands of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan into 'mutual spheres of influence' and the second in the Balfour Declaration which granted National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. These two betrayals of the promises made to the Arabs at the beginning of the century caused the fragmentation of Arab people into many different states. In 1920 as a result of the Sykes-Picot agreement Jordan became part of the British mandate. However, the Amir Abdullah Bin Al Hussein succeeded to establish the Emirate of Trans-Jordan in 1921 and his younger brother Emir Feisal became king of Syria until the French military occupied the country and deposed him. Later on he became the King of Iraq ⁽²⁶⁾. In 1928 a treaty was signed between Great Britain and the Emir Abdullah granting a still larger measure of independence. However, the Britishers reserved their right of advice in the matters of financial policy and foreign relations ⁽²⁷⁾.

The Trans-Jordan was granted full independence as a state in 1946 and was renamed as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and emir Abdullah was proclaimed King of Jordan.

Jordan was one of the seven original Arab signatories to the pact of the League of Arab states in 1945. It was mandatory on Jordan's part to participate in the war of 1948 Arab-Israeli war. The Arab Legion, i.e. Jordan's Army and the Hashemite Iraqi army were able to safeguard and protect the Arab city of Jerusalem. As a result of 1948 war many Palestinian refugees fled to Jordan. The war also created the Palestinians and Jordanians unity between the west and east Banks of the

Jordan river in order to protect Palestinian political rights. On July 20, 1951 King Abdullah of Jordan was assassinated in the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The stability of the Jordanian state revealed in the calm in which the King's eldest son Talal succeeded to the throne and the peaceful elections held shortly afterwards. In 1952 a new constitution was promulgated. Even more significant was the dignity with which king Talal ceded the crown to his son Hussein who ascended the throne on May 1953. 28 .

From 1953 to present times, the King Hussein is the longest ruling head of an Arab state and whose almost four decades as the head of Jordan have been marked by a policy of considerable vacillation both as regards the Arab Israeli conflict and his relations with the Palestinian resistance movement which has a large presence on Jordanian territory. Together with Jordan's proximity to Israel, the country has become a key piece on the political chessboard of the Middle East. Hussein had ruled Jordan with absolute power. The 1952 constitution granted him great authority like the right to dissolve the Parliament and to appoint all civilian and military officials while himself holding the post of commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces ⁽²⁹⁾ .

During his long reign Jordan has passed through many political crises. After the assassination, of his grand father king Abdullah, the progressive forces and particularly the Palestinians living on Jordanian territory were subjected to severe campaign of repression. In 1954 the opposition formed a national front led by Suleiman Nabausli, head of the National Socialist Party. The Suez canal conflict of 1956 almost brought Jordan into a major military confrontation with Israel. Four months later a coup d' etat engineered by military officers was personally thwarted by King Hussein but only at the eleventh hour . ⁽³⁰⁾ These disruptions to the country's stability were followed by a succession of internal upheavals which culminated in the most serious set backs to the King's early reign.

Arab-Israeli War 1967

In 1960 the Prime Minister of Jordan was assassinated by anti-Hashemite Jordanian exiles residing in United Arab Republic. Jordan cut off its diplomatic relations with the UAR after the assassination of Prime Minister. The break up of the UAR in 1961 was welcomed by Jordan. King Hussein was the first Arab ruler to accord recognition to the reconstituted Syrian government. In the meantime the Council of Arab League despite Jordan's opposition approved the formation of unified Palestinian entity. Jordan Government was of the opinion that this was threat to Jordan's sovereignty over the Bank. The first congress of Palestinian Arab Groups was held in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem in May-June 1964, wherein the participants unanimously agreed to form the Palestine Liberation organization (PLO) as the only legitimate spokesman for all matters concerning the Palestinian people. During the latter part of 1966 Jordan's foreign relations were increasingly worsened by the widening breach with Syria making charges that Jordan is creating problems in their country. Both Syria and Jordan made allegations at each other of plots to subvert each other's Governments. While the UAR and USSR supported Syria, Jordan looked for backing of the Saudi Arabia and the USA. This situation made it increasingly difficult for Jordan's relations with Israel to be regularized. As the prospect of war with Israel drew nearer, King Hussein composed his difference with Egypt and personally flew to Cairo to sign defence agreements. However, when Israel launched a surprise attack against Egypt in June 1967, the attack triggered a full scale war involving various Arab states, all of which were rebound by the Charter of the Arab League and the Arab joint military defence against an external hostile forces. Jordanian troops together with those of the UAR, Iraq and Saudi Arabia went into action immediately on the out break of hostilities. The end of six day war (1967) resulted in the Israeli military occupation of the entire territory of the West Bank of the Jordan. More than 250.000 Palestinians became refugees and

fled to Jordan and in the process Jordan government faced with intractable social and economic problems. Israel over attempted to invade the East Bank of Jordan as well, but was defeated at the battle of Karamah by the Jordanian army under the leadership of king Hussein .⁽³¹⁾

In 1970 there was a military conflict inside Jordan when the Jordanian Government defeated Palestinian guerrilla organizations. With the liquidation of the guerrillas in July 1971 King Hussein had been seeking to strength his political position. In August he announced the creation of a tribal council – a body of Sherikhs or other notables, appointed by him and chaired by the crown prince Hassan which was to deal with the affairs of tribal areas. A month later the formation of the Jordanian National Union was announced. This was to be Jordan's only legal political organization.

During the Arab-Israeli War in October 1973 Jordan sent troops to the Golan Heights in support of Syria but unlike the 1967 war it did not open a third front against Israel. However, in October 1974 at the Arab Summit conference at Rabat representatives of twenty Arab Heads of state unanimously recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative and its right to establish a national authority over any liberated Palestinians and the liberated Palestinian territory⁽³²⁾ One of the most notable results of the Rabat Summit conference and of Hussein's virtual abandonment of his claim to the East Bank was an improvement in relations with the Arab world in general and with Syria in particular. In December 1976, formation of political union between the two countries was announced. This close relationship, however, was jeopardized by President Sadat's visit to Israel in November 1977 and subsequently Jordan proposed a rapprochement with Iraq. King Hussein tried to act as a conciliator between Egypt on the one had and the 'projectionist' states such as Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Syria and peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen on the other⁽³³⁾.

Jordan however rejected Israel's peace proposals which were put forward by Prime Minister of Israel in December 1977 and maintained its policy of demanding an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank including East Jerusalem. These factors helped to determine Jordan's attitude to the Camp David Agreements in September 1973 and the subsequent peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in March 1979. Jordan refused to be drawn in to the Camp David talks by the USA and joined the other Arab states at the Baghdad Arab Summit in drawing up a list of sanctions against Egypt.

However, Jordan supported Iraq during Iran-Iraq war. In 1984 Jordan sent special Yarmuk force to give military help to Iraq when the efforts for negotiated settlement between Iran and Iraq failed. During this period Jordan witnessed rapid social and economic development and the Iran-Iraq war also created a large new source of revenue for Jordan's port at Aqaba to transit goods to Iraq. In December 1984 Jordan decided to re-establish diplomatic relations with Egypt. Earlier Jordan cut off diplomatic relations with Egypt in protest against the Egypt-Israeli Peace Treaty agreement in 1979.⁽³⁴⁾ In February 1985 the joint Jordanian and Palestinians agreement on the framework for a peaceful settlement of the Middle Easy problem affirmed that peace talks should take the form of an international conference including the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the states that are parties to the conflict, including the PLO representing the Palestinian people in the Jordan-Palestinian delegation. The Jordanian Government claimed that the agreement was based on a number of UN resolutions and not solely on UN Security council Resolution 242. In March 1985 President Mubarak called for talks between Egypt, the USA and a joint Jordanian and Palestinian delegation. Israel rejected the plan as well as the call for an international conference.

During the 1987 King Hussein made efforts to reconcile with Syria and Iraq with the wider aim of security Arab unity. He was instrumental in arranging the first full summit meeting of the Arab League excluding Egypt in Amman to discuss the Iran-Iraq war.

During the Gulf crisis of 1990-91, Jordan suffered from several of economic and social difficulties. Of all the Arab states affected, Jordan was probably the one nation which was most likely to suffer from the effects of the conflict and the imposition of economic sanctions. The loss of remittances from thousands of Jordanian workers returned from Iraq and Kuwait, the increased cost of importing petroleum products, the threatened loss of as much as one quarter of the country's exports and its transit trade with Iraq and Kuwait; the sudden decline in activity at the port of Aqaba as a result of naval blockade; the enormous cost of humanitarian aid to refugees fleeing the conflict zone through its territory; all these were potentially disastrous for Jordan which was embroiled in events beyond its control, Yet it maintained usual relations with Iraq. The strategy adopted by Jordan during the Iraq-Kuwait conflict will be discussed at length separately in Chapter III. Here it is suffice to say that the geo-political setting of the state, its dynastical regional ties with Iraq and its central position bestowed upon it by nature, circumstances and demographical compulsions have made Jordan to remain active and responsive to the politics and event of the region despite its tremendous economic, military and internal limitations.

Thus despite differences. Arabs consider themselves to be a nation having many states. During the Ottoman empire, the concept of the nation revolved Islam. In the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire the Arab nation patrimony was divided to accommodate the varied geographical interest of the major powers mainly Britain and France which led to their identification as separate political identities although the feeling of 'Umma' remained in tact. The Balfour Declaration by Britain established the homeland for the Jewish people in 1917. The British-French Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1917 divided the Arab nation into protectorates, colonies, mandates etc. Some countries were under French (Syria and Lebanon) and British mandates (Palestine), while others were treated as provinces of a European country as Algeria was by France. France and Britain planted the seeds for the division and disintegration of the region and preempted the emergence of an Arab nationalist movement. Nevertheless. a Pen Nationalist Movement did emerge and attempted to delegitimize the Post World War I political scenario in west Asia.

After the Second World War, there were seven independent sovereign Arab states: Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Egypt and Syria. In 1945 these countries organized themselves with the encouragement of the British who were at that time the prevailing influence into a League of Arab states. The British prior to permitting the newly independent states to assert their freedom desired to hold them collectively through the league of Arab states. While for the Arabs it was an reassertion and manifestation of their unity. The function of the League was not only to coordinate their activities and policies but to enhance their diplomatic and political leverage in order to expedite the process of decolonization of the rest of the Arab world: Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Libya, Sudan, South Yemen and the Gulf countries were still British protectorates.

However, Arab nationalists were favorably inclined to recognize the right of self determination, provided that it did not breakup the unity of the Arab countries. The Arab League Charter recognizes the legitimate rights of the sovereign states. Many of the local borders were artificially imposed in order to accommodate a plethora of colonial claims or to accommodate the perpetuation of certain forms of colonial control. In spite of these various states emerging as independent entities, the Arab League encouraged the mutual recognition of the Arab states of each other's sovereign rights. In this sense, the invasion of Iraq on Kuwait may be considered as a violation of the Charter of the Arab League.

The Arab states are a rich nations inhabited by poor people. They are rich because they have large reserves of oil. But they are also a nation of poor people as the petrodollars have fattened the wallets of the Sheikhs and Kings but have not been invested in the interest of the people and local economy has not been raised to productive and employment generating levels. In the nationalist concept, Arab wealth should be addressing and ameliorating Arab poverty. There is a notion that

Arab brothers should help Arab brothers. Vertical relations developed among most of the Arab Gulf countries on the one hand and the western world and the US on the other, frequently at the expense of the horizontal relations among the states. That weakened the Arab world and enabled the west to fashion a level of strategic dependency in many Arab states. This further reinforced the divisions among the Arab states. The Iraq-Kuwait conflict manifested the interplay of all these cross currents which forms the subject of the next chapter.

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