

Chapter 7: Why did the events in the Gulf matter 1970 – 2000?

Major causes of tension in the Persian Gulf:

1) Religion

- ✓ Sunni VS Shia/Shiite
- ✓ Rise of these two was over a dispute as to who was to succeed Mohammed between his son in law and Ali, his cousin

2) National Identity

- ✓ Hate for foreign empires
- ✓ Iran and Iraq disputing over the fact that Iraq is Arabian while Iran wasn't.
- ✓ Iraq was formerly known as Mesopotamia and Iran was known as Persia.
- ✓ Fighting over the Shatt Al- Arab waterway and the Khuzestan province
- ✓ Care more about religion, land, identity. Another course of conflict.

3) Israel - Jewish state

- ✓ created in 1948 by British and American people and opposed all Arabs
- ✓ The "alien amongst us"
- ✓ Carved out of Arab inhabited land

4) Oil

- ✓ 2/3 of world's oil reserves are found here
- ✓ Depend mostly on oil
- ✓ Exports to east and west
- ✓ Oil control is a major issue

5) Individuals

- ✓ Saddam Hussein of Iraq **VS** Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran

Why was Saddam Hussein able to come to power in Iraq?

What were the three reasons for Saddam Hussein's rise to power?

1)• Influence of Khairallah Tulfah:

- – If it wasn't for him Saddam would have spent his life as an Iraqi peasant
- –Khairallah instilled a sense of Arab nationalism which opposed western interference in Iraqi affairs
- – He also made sure that Saddam had good primary education
- – Saddam aimed to enter the Baghdad military academy but he failed the entrance exam
- – Inspired by his uncle's political views he joined the Baath party in 1957

Early political activity:

- – After joining the Baath party in 1957 he became involved in a variety of anti– government activities such as organizing thugs to beat up political opponents
- – In Oct 1958 Saddam showed his loyalty to Khairallah by assassinating a local government official in Tikrit
- – He soon demonstrated he was ruthless which is why he was chosen to participate in an attempted assassination of the Iraqi ruler
- – Attempt in Oct 1959 failed and President Qassen died in Feb 1963
- – Baath party took over, Building up a power base 1:
- – New Prime minister (Ahmed Hassan Al–Bakr) was from Tikrit and a kinsmen
- – Saddam joined his faction and proved that he was indispensable
- – Baathists were soon put out of power as president lost patience with fighting breaking out in party
- – These events played to Saddam's hands as other parts of the party were discredited
- – Saddam started to rise within the party and won the formers trust and confidence

Building up a power base 2:

- – In Feb 1964 he was awarded for his loyalty by becoming a member of the regional command (decision making body of the party)
- – As a prominent Baath party politician he was soon put in charge of the military organisation
- – He plotted a coup against president Arif but the plans were uncovered and he spent 2 years in jail before escaping in 1966, July revolution 1968:
- – Saddam's new coup to overthrow Arif ended up bloodless
- – Arif was flown back to London and Bakr became president
- – Saddam was made deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) which was now the main decision making body of the party
- – After President Bakr, Saddam was the most important person in government circles

Presidency:

- – Saddam stuck as Bakr's right hand man
- – As Bakr began to grow older and acquire an increasing amount of health problems Saddam became President at the age of 42 in 1979,.
- What was the nature of Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq?,– He ruled as a dictator after coming to power
- – Modelled his regime on Joseph Stalin who ruled Soviet Russia

Nature of Saddam's Rule:

1) Purges and Terror:

- – Saddam wanted to purge the Baath party of people who questioned his transition to power
- – July 1979 Mashhadi (RCC's Secretary general) was forced to deliver a fabricated confession saying that he committed crimes against the state. He was later killed. He was one example of the consequences that came with questioning Saddam's appointment.
- – 66 alleged co-conspirators were lead out of the hall
- – A special court was set up and 55 were found guilty and 33 of these were put in prison and 22 were put to death
- – Purges continued beyond this even and hundreds of people in Baath military were purged(many killed),Waging war on his own people:
- – Saddam wanted to unify the country
- – The Kurds (20% population) wanted independence and the Shiites (60% population) were hostile to his regime
- – Thousands were killed using mustard gas or cyanide
- – Many were displaced, killed, put in concentration camps or fled to other countries
- – Marsh arabs were killed and population went form 250,000 to around 30,000. He wanted to build a new waterway in the marsh.

2)Personality Cult:

- – Saddam projected himself as an all-powerful, father style leader to the nation
- – Made permanent exhibition about himself, life story in newspapers and magazines, made an autobiographical film about his early life, portraits were put up in street corners and by 1980s there were 200 songs about him
- – He would visit people's homes in disguise and ask what they thought of him
- – Also made replicas to attend functions and official engagements (given months of training),

Modernisation 1:

- – When Saddam nationalized the oil industry revenues increased from \$476 million in 1972 to \$26 billion in 1980
- – This improved national finances and was used to fund wage rises, tax cuts and subsidies for basic foodstuffs
- –Modernisation was the way he built up support among Iraqi people

3) Modernisation 2:

- – Electrification was extended through the country and poor families sometimes received gifts like televisions and fridges
- – Railroads were built as well as oil pipelines as a countrywide network
- – New radio and television network was established which allowed propaganda to reach an even wider audience

- – Major building programmes for school, houses and hospitals and enrolment for school and Uni increased significantly
- – Hospital treatment was made free and campaign launched to end adult illiteracy, Military expansion 1:
 - – Oil revenues allowed him to make Iraq a major military power
 - – Got arms imported from Soviet Russia, France and other European states
 - – Able to buy helicopters, tanks, bombers, air missiles and artillery etc
 - – Arms increased from 10 to 12 divisions
 - – In July 1979 first chemical warfare plan was built

4) Military expansion 2:

– By 1980 chemical plant producing large amounts of mustard gas, blister agent, Tabun and VX that attacks the nervous system

– Purchased nuclear reactor from France in 1976 but got destroyed by Israelis in bombing June 1981

– Further attempts to develop nuclear weapons were ended by Allied bombing raids in Gulf war 1990, Totalitarianism:

- – Saddam and Baath party controlled all aspects of life (social, economic, political and military)
- – Special courts run by President's office delivered verdicts that Saddam would like
- – All production was geared towards the needs of the state
- – Membership of Baath party was needed to go to Uni
- – Controlled media so that it was unlikely to hear any critical views on Saddam's regime
- – Young children were introduced to Baath ideology and moulded over time

Why was there a revolution in Iran 1979?

- 1979 the Shah of Iran left his country in search of medical attention, never to return
- – The Shah, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, had offended almost every sector of society
- – The last year of his rule was full of marches, demonstrations, violent clashes between protesters and authorities, shootings, deaths and widespread strikes
- – Although fate of the Iranian monarchy was decided between 1977–79 the things that lead to the final events had been building up over last 25 years

The 5 key events that lead up to the Iranian revolution in 1978:

1. Protest in city of Qom against newspaper article against Khomeini
2. Protest in Tabriz put down by tanks
3. Cinema Rex burned down by Savak and many militant Islamist

4. Black Friday event when demonstrators gather in Jaleh Square in Tehran to protest and are shot at by army and 84 people die
5. 2 million people protest in Tehran because they believe "The Shah must go"

Opposition to foreign influence:

- – Shah's reign begun in 1941 (didn't have full control at this stage)
- – Prime minister Mohammed Mussadeq nationalized Iran's oil industry and this angered the British
- – With the help of CIA and MI6 the Shah overthrew Mussadeq in a military coup in August 1953
- – The coup had no supporters after 1953 the rule of the Shah would be associated with the British and Americans
- – Influence of USA became more apparent when the Shah started importing food from this USA and introducing American style shopping malls
- – This angered farmers and bazaar merchants, Dissatisfaction with Shah's modernisation programme:
 - – The modernisation programme introduced was called the "White Revolution" In 1963
 - – It aimed to reform land, health, education and expand industry
 - – Land reform failed because redistributed land wasn't sufficient for peasants to support families
 - – Health reform failed because Iran still had very high infant mortality
 - – Education reform also did not work because there were still high illiteracy rates in adults
 - – Also income distribution was more unequal and there was a big difference between the rich and poor partly because of money spent on making their military 5th biggest in the world

Resentment at autocratic and repressive government(Iranians ' hate for lack of political freedom)

- – The Shah filled government positions with people who agreed with him
- – He made Iran a one party state in 1975
- – Changed calendar from Muslim to Imperial and lost favour with religious leaders
- – Created Savak (Iranian secret police) in 1957 to act as the eyes and ears of the Shah and impose censorship
- – Methods of Savak include torture, forced confessions and execution
- – People were more vocal against the Shah in 1977 because of international pressure he relaxed his police controls

Leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini:

- – People dissatisfied with the Shah were nationalists, socialists, school leavers, bazaar merchants, farmers unemployed migrants and Islamic groups e.g. The Mullahs

- – Ayatollah united these groups against the Shah
- – Ayatollah was sent to Iraq in 1964 because he spoke out against the Shah but still sent his political messages across the border to Iran
- – He aimed to establish an Islamic government to overthrow the Shah
- – Shah left the country in January and two weeks later Ayatollah arrives in Iran from exile in France

establishment of an Islamic state:

this was to revive the purity of the Islamic Religion

- ★ Education was purged of non Islamic influence
- ★ Women were to wear the Abaya and Hijabs in public
- ★ Alcohol, western pop music and western films were banned- as they led to sexual immortality
- ★ Mass trials were conducted for Shah's supporters. Some were executed.
- ★ laws were based on the Qur'an
- ★ ALL ties with Western countries were denounced(cough cough...Iraq)

storming of the USA embassy:

Events:

- ★ Burnt US flags
- ★ took over tv
- ★ Had anti America posters around the embassy
- ★ Hostages were safe and fed

reasons for the storming:

1. USA seen as the "Great Satan" - was the Shah 's ally
2. To show strength against the Americans
3. USA to stop meddling in Iraqi affairs
4. USA was an infidel state
5. Raise Iranian revolution profile- got international publicity
6. Wanted the Shah to be extradited(convicted of crime) from the USA where he was being treated and to stand trial in Iran.

What were the causes and consequences of the Iran– Iraq war 1980–8

- ★ September 1980 was the start of an 8 year war when Iraq invaded Iran with land and air forces
- ★ – Reason for this conflict were a mixture of old disputes and more immediate considerations

What were the territorial disputes about?

- ★ The two areas disputed most were the Shatt al- Arab waterway and Khuzestan

The Shatt Al- Arab waterway

The waterway was important because it was used for oil exports and it was Iraq's only outlet to the sea– A treaty was made in 1937 that gave a boundary in the river and favoured Iraq

- ★ – The boundary was made on the low watermark on the East side of the river
- ★ – The Shah or Iran rejected the treaty in 1969 and refused to pay further shipping tolls to Iraq

Khuzestan province

This was a south– western Iranian province and was oil rich and full on non– Persians

- ★ – Saddam encourage Arabs living there to revolt against the Shah and the Shah encouraged the Kurds to revolt against Saddam
- ★ The Algiers agreement,– The agreement was made in 1975
- ★ – It stated that Iran should end support for the Kurds in North Iraq, Iraq should drop claim to Khuzestan and Iraq agreed to follow the deep waterline in the Shatt Al- Arab waterway

Saddam's aims in invading Iran:

1. To Annex Khuzestan province in Iran
2. To expand oil reserves
3. To have full control over the Shatt Al- Arab waterway
4. To make Iraq the leader of the Arab world
5. Feared Khomeini 's influence on Iraq - Khomeini had called upon all Iraqis to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Majority of the Iraqis were Shiite/ Shia Moslems while Saddam was Sunni Muslim.
6. Saddam had evidence that Iran was involved in the assassination of a Baathist
7. Feared the Iranians were plotting to overthrow Saddam
8. Iran was weak and the timing was ideal. It was weak due to:
 - a. Chaotic economy
 - b. Iranian armed forces had demoralized
 - c. Iran was facing a western boycott- capture of US embassy

What was the Arab League?

Was established in 1945 to promote the political, economic and cultural interests of the Arab countries

- – Founder members were Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Syria

- Why did Saddam choose 1980 to invade Iran,– The overthrow of the Shah led to an ending of an alliance between USA and Iran
- – This meant that Iranian army was deprived of American supplied parts for Iran's armoured vehicles
- – Iran was also weak due to a purge of senior military leaders

Ayatollah's opposition to Saddam Hussein:

- Iran was a Shiite Muslim state and Iraq was mainly controlled by Sunni Muslims
- – Ayatollah encouraged anti– Baath protests because he was bitter over expulsion from Iraq in 1977
- – Anti– Baath riots did take place and Saddam blamed Ayatollah
- Western involvement,– US feared destabilization in the region for oil supplies and didn't want Islamic revolutions to spread
- – The War of the Tankers refers to 1984 when Iran and Iraq target each others' oil tankers and merchant ships in an attempt to damage each others' trade
- – US gets involved and supports Iraq

Consequences of the war:

- In 1988 Iran agreed to cease fire
- – The causes were territorial disputes, desire for domination in Gulf, opportunity of Islamic revolution in Iran and Ayatollah's opposition to Saddam
- – Consequences were no leadership change, no boarder change, no diplomatic change, huge death toll of 1 million Iran and 250– 500 thousand Iraq, huge economic damage and Iraq went from very rich to almost bankrupt

Why did the first gulf war take place?(Events)

- In 1990 Saddam ordered the invasion of Kuwait
- Within 24 hours Iraq's 100,000 strong army had crushed Kuwait's 16,000 man army
- The ruler of Kuwait escaped with most of his family to Saudi Arabia
- Iraq was condemned in Arab League and United Nations imposed military sanctions
- Saudi Arabia appealed to US military fearing that it would be the next victim of Iraqi aggression
- Saddam's unprovoked aggression had united almost all international community against him

Historical claim to Kuwait:

(Aka why Saddam believed Kuwait was part of Iraq)

End of WW1 Kuwait was officially part of Turkish empire's province of Basra

– British accepted responsibility for Kuwait's defence and foreign affairs in 1899 and 1922 and helped establish boundaries with Iran and Iraq and Saudi Arabia

– Association between Kuwait and Basra led number of Iraqi rulers to insist that Kuwait was part of Iraq

Saddam Hussein's domestic position:

He attempted to represent the Iran– Iraq war as an Iraqi victory but realized that Iraqi people would soon see through the propaganda

– in reality their country had endured a costly and bloody conflict that had essentially ended where it started

– Iraq also displayed many characteristics of a defeated power like inflation etc

since July 1988 there had been 4 attempts on Saddam's life and needed to secure his role

– Kuwait seemed to be the answer because he could pose as a liberator of a territory

Financial and economic factors of the war:

- ❖ – In Iran– Iraq war Saddam was given loans that amounted to \$40 billion from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait
- ❖ – He asked both countries to write off loans and asked for another loan of \$30 million
- ❖ – Both countries refused
- ❖ – Saddam also asked both countries to bring their oil production in line with the quotas fixed by OPEC and both countries refused
- ❖ – Saddam also accused Kuwait of stealing \$2.4 billion of oil from Iraq
- ❖ – He accused both states of waging economic war against his country and threatened dire consequences

Establish regional leadership:

- ❖ – If invasion of Kuwait was successful Iraq would gain 120 miles of Gulf coastline with natural harbour
- ❖ – Iraq would be in good position to dominate Saudi Arabia
- ❖ – Would gain massive amounts of oil wealth
- ❖ – He hoped to become most powerful Arab leader in the Middle East

Expected American reaction:

- ❖ – Prior to 1990 Saddam's main objective was to keep US neutral if it made any move against Kuwait
- ❖ – US ambassador Gaspie gave Saddam impression that the matter was not on of key concern to US
- ❖ – US mistook Saddam's real threats for empty ones
- ❖ – Saddam drew conclusion that the invasion would be not opposed

foreign involvement:

- ❖ France and Britain offered arms to Iraq
- ❖ Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan supplied money to Iraq
- ❖ Syria, being the only country, supported Iran as the two were both Islamic states in the Gulf
- ❖ Jordan provided a route for Iraqi imports and exports
- ❖ USA supplied satellite tech to Iraq

Operation Desert Shield (7 August 1990– 17 January 1991)

After initial occupation of Kuwait there was no further fighting for 5 months

- ❖ – During this period there was a build up of American, French and British troops in Saudi Arabia
- ❖ – United Nations demanded Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and then imposed economic sanctions
- ❖ – UN finally set a deadline for Iraqi withdrawal before economic action takes place
- ❖ Operation Desert Storm (17 January– 28 February 1991), 17– 23 February
- ❖ – Planes and helicopters attacked Iraqi military targets in Kuwait and Iraq
- ❖ – Iraq retaliated by launching SCUD missiles on Israel (trying to provoke an Israeli attack on Iraq)
- ❖ 24– 28 February
- ❖ – Forces invaded Iraq and Kuwait forcing Saddam to order an Iraq withdrawal from Kuwait
- ❖ – 10,000 Iraqi troops were killed and US destroyed 186 Iraqi tanks and 127 armoured vehicles
- ❖ – On 28 February President Bush announced a ceasefire and declared Kuwait had been freed from Iraq

What were the consequences of the First Gulf War?

Iraq

- ❖ Saddam suffered massive military defeat and forces had been ejected from Kuwait 100 hours after beginning ground war
- ❖ – Much of his country's economic infrastructure had been destroyed
- ❖ – Iraqi people sustained losses of up to 100,000 and combat fatalities up to 20,000
- ❖ – They now had to suffer food shortages, medical shortages and clean water shortages

- ❖ – Sanctions meant that Iraq could not sell oil abroad

Iran

- ❖