

THE IMPACT OF WAR ON THE MEANING OF ARCHITECTURE IN KUWAIT

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Abstract

The city-state of Kuwait's oil wealth and strategic location at the cross roads of political conflicts and global interests made it always influenced, directly and indirectly, by wars and armed conflicts in the region. While Kuwait benefited from the sharp increase of oil prices that followed the 1973 Middle East War to finance its modernization and construction plans, its architectural landmarks, governmental and private buildings were targets of destruction and vandalism during the Second Gulf War in 1991. The aim of this paper is to investigate the impact of the war on architecture in Kuwait as a literal and figurative target of the warfare. It attempts to understand the change of Kuwaitis attitudes towards architecture as an outcome of the war aggressions. The paper illustrates that while the war had a physical impact on buildings and structures; it also had a perceptual impact on their meaning as architecture and places. It polarized attitudes towards architecture and its significance; while traditional architecture gained importance and admiration, global styles of architecture became more trendy and fashionable. The paper illustrates the impact of war on the physical as well as the symbolic aspects of architecture. Another significant impact of the war in Kuwait is the interruption of urban development plans progress that Kuwait enjoyed during the Seventies.

Keywords

War; architecture; people; Kuwait; meaning.

Introduction

War and architecture have a long and often parasitical relationship; the building and unbuilding of urban centres, the making of enclaves, walls and segregated residential and city zones has been fundamental to urban form and human experience. The destruction of buildings and cities has therefore always been an integral part of winning and losing wars.

(Esther Charlesworth)

The aim of this paper is to investigate the impact of the war on architecture in Kuwait as a literal and figurative target of the warfare. The case of Kuwait is significant because it illustrates a unique condition of sudden attack, resulting in the occupation of Kuwait by its neighbor Iraq, followed by a quick formation of allied forces that liberated Kuwait within few months. This rapid swift of conditions affected people's attitudes towards architecture as a representative of social and cultural meanings. This paper is an attempt to

understand the change of people's attitudes towards architecture as an outcome of the war aggression and its impact of the formation of contemporary architecture in Kuwait.

War and Architecture

The relationship between war and architecture is a perplexing one. Defense and protection against enemy attacks were strong motivations to build and protect old cities and towns, meanwhile, war was always a major source of destruction of buildings and cities. During the 20th century, cities in Europe, Asia and Africa were affected by wars aggressions. While medieval cities were protected by defensive walls to protect them from external attacks, "more recently, the re-erection of yet another wall in Jerusalem, 25 feet high and part of a 21-mile barricade, is being built to separate Israelis and Palestinians." (Charlesworth, 2006:26)

Yet, what is destroyed is not only buildings and structures but architecture and places that carry meaning and significance for its inhabitants and people. As Bevan put it, "there has always been another war against architecture going on – the destruction of the cultural artefacts of an enemy people or nation as a means of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it altogether." (Bevan, 2006:8) He considers the 1990s torture, mass murders and concentration camps of Bosnia in the former Yugoslavia, and the razing of mosques, the burning of libraries and the sundering of bridges as equally shocking. This "cultural cleansing, with architecture as its medium, is a phenomenon that has been barely understood." (Bevan, 2006:8) For Vanderbilt, war is the extension of architecture by other means. He argues that, "apart from the obvious

architectural connotations of war — the need for defensive shelter, the status of architecture as a target — there is a breadth of associative meaning between the two enterprises: both are about the exercise of control over a territory; both involve strategic considerations of the most apt site-specific solutions; both involve the use of symbol, rhetoric, and cultural context." (Vanderbilt, 1983:1).

The impact of war on architecture transcends its physical presence and impacts its symbolic meaning as a representation of cultural identity. The destruction of the NY World Trade Center towers on the 9th of September 2001 illustrated the significance of architecture's symbolic meaning as a target for war aggressions. They were viewed by the attackers as a symbol of imperialism domination that needs to be destroyed. Architecture was always a target of war aggressions since the destruction of the Library of Alexandria on the hands of the Romans, because of its materialization of civilizational and cultural achievements that are envied and hated by the opposite regime. Paradoxically, wars pave the way for new construction. The destruction of European cities during the Second World War was followed by massive construction efforts to rebuild the devastated cities. Chalesworth investigated the ways in which design professionals since 1945 have contributed to social stability after conflicts as illustrated through historical and contemporary reconstruction case studies from France, Germany and the UK after 1945, to the role of designers in the 'post-9/11' era. She asserts that the two central themes for any analysis of postwar reconstruction are: the aesthetics of rebuilding and the role of those who are doing the reconstruction.

(Charlesworth, 2006).

Castells (2004) asserts that the construction of identities is fundamental to the dynamic of societies and that cultural identity is the process by which social actors build their own meaning according to cultural attributes. The psychological impact of war on people changes the meanings they associate with architecture and buildings. Al Sayyad (2001) argues that many nations are restoring to heritage preservation, the invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition. Indeed, the events of the last decade have created a dramatically altered global order that requires a new understanding of the role of tradition and heritage in the making of social space and the shaping of city form. "Returning to the roots" is a common reaction of people to overcome the psychological impact of wars. This was evident in search of the lost identity in Kuwaiti architecture after its invasion by Iraq as will be illustrated by this paper.

The Experience of War in Kuwait

It is a caprice of history that the lands now occupied by Iraq and Kuwait, ravaged by conflict throughout history and now again rent by war, gave birth to the world's first civilization.

(Harry G. Summers, Jr.)

The impact of war on Kuwait has started with the discovery of oil during the 1930s by the British and its concealment until the end of the Second World War in order to divert the attention of Nazi Germany away from the area. Kuwait contains approximately 100 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, or roughly 8% of the world's total oil reserves. Its harsh climate

limits agricultural development, consequently, with the exception of fish; it depends almost entirely on food imports. Political conditions in the region were always a major concern because of their impact on oil prices and its supply to the world market.



Figure 1: Map of Kuwait and its neighboring countries (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

Kuwait was influenced by political conflicts in the region that persisted since the early 1980s when the Islamic revolution in Iran succeeded in assuming power. It continued during the 8-year First Gulf War between Iran and Iraq during 1980s that threatened the security of the whole Gulf region (Figure 1). Kuwait supported the Iraqi side financially during the war, yet, a conflict over the adequacy of Kuwait's financial support to Iraq during the war resulted in its invasion by Iraq on the 2nd of August, 1990. According to Vale, "Kuwait struggled to remain officially neutral in the Iran-Iraq war during the

1980s. Though it gave an estimated \$1 billion a year in financial assistance to its Iraqi neighbors, such aid did not ease perennial border disputes and other tensions with Iraq, as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait soon made clear." (Vale, 1992:211).

The Iraqi invasion and annexing of Kuwait in 1990 had a dramatic impact on the whole region and initiated a collision between the US and other countries to liberate Kuwait. The Second Gulf War, called "Desert Storm", was a significant event after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and an opportunity to prove the US superiority as the sole super power in the world after the end of the Cold War. Following the 9/11 events, the US became determined to eliminate the political regime of Saddam Hussain in Iraq as a prime source of aggression and instability in the world. The Third Gulf War and the troubling situation in Iraq after the elimination of Saddam's regime in 2003 - and lately the Iran nuclear conflict - are overshadowing the urban and economic development in Kuwait as a prime entry point for the US and allied military forces to Iraq.

The Impact of the War on Development Plans

The story of Kuwait is a rich and long story written within a very short span of time. It is the story of humble, organic desert Arab village that exploded into a haughty, over-extended desert Arab metropolis according to a geometric paper-plan, finding itself today (1964) a full fledged State embroiled in scientific planning and world affairs.

(Saba George Shiber)

Kuwait was influenced by rapid economic

developments during the second half of the 20th century as a result of revenues generated from the production and sale of oil. This economic prosperity permitted the development of its modernization through its First Master Plan in 1952 that was developed by the British firm Minoprio, Spencely and Macfarlane. The planners main objectives were to illustrate and describe the improvements which they considered necessary for the development of Kuwait in accordance with the highest standards of "modern town planning." The matters which the consultants regarded as being of primary importance in the re-planning of the town were: (a) the provision of a modern road system appropriate to the traffic conditions in Kuwait, (b) the location of suitable zones for public buildings, industry, commerce, schools, and other purposes, (c) the choice of zones for new houses and other buildings needed in residential areas, both inside and outside the town wall, (d) the selection of sites for parks, sports ground, school playing fields and other open spaces, (e) the creation of a beautiful and dignified town centre, (f) the planting of trees and shrubs along the principal roads and at other important points in the town, and (g) the provision of improved main roads linking Kuwait with the adjoining towns and villages. (Minoprio et al., 1951).

The Plan called for the demolition of the old houses inside the old wall to give way for new roads and public buildings. Modern residential neighbourhoods were to be built outside the old wall. Kuwait utilized its oil wealth to construct a modern city to replace its old traditional settlement. As noted by Kultermann, "only a few historic monuments have been preserved in Kuwait as modernization continues

to rake its toll on the old urban environment and historic buildings. A few mosques have been saved from demolition, and many have been replaced with new structures, reflecting the rapid changes in the recent history of the state." (Kultermann, 1999).

The 1973 Middle East War caused sharp increase of oil prices and income for Kuwait that initiated a second phase development and modernization. While Kuwait was not directly affected by the war, it benefited from the increase of oil prices that followed the oil embargo to finance its construction plans. Kuwait was described during the 1980s as the "Jewel of the Gulf." It was the main point of entry of modernization to other Gulf countries; such as Dubai, Bahrain, Qatar and Abu Dhabi. For example, the first school and the first hospital constructed in Dubai were financed by the Kuwaiti government. Professional workers from Egypt and other Arab countries used to go through Kuwait before going to other Gulf countries. It was the leader and idol for these emerging societies and participated in shaping their modernization and development.

The stock market crash during the 1980s and the decline of oil prices slowed down the process of development. The 8-year First Gulf War between Iran-Iraq during 1980s threatened the security of the whole Gulf region and diverted the attention towards security and financial burdens of supporting the Arab neighbor Iraq during the war. As Vale put it, "even before it was invaded in August 1990 by Iraq, Kuwait was known to the world for three things: its oil, wealth, and its precarious position in the war-torn Persian/Arabian Gulf. Kuwait's great wealth has not come about without consequences. A

half-century of oil-sponsored riches led a tribally oriented sheikhdom to confront issues of global scope." (Vale, 1992: 211).

On the 2nd of August, 1990, the Iraqi regime of Saddam Husain decided to invade Kuwait and annex it to Iraq. Saddam's primary justifications included a charge that the territory of Kuwait was in fact an Iraqi province, and that annexation was retaliation for "economic warfare" Kuwait had allegedly waged through slant drilling into oil supplies that were in disputed territories along the borders between the two countries. The monarchy was deposed after annexation, and a new Kuwaiti governor was installed by Saddam Hussein. This event initiated the collaboration of forces from different countries as "allied" forces to liberate Kuwait in 1991. Authorized by the UN Security Council, a US-led coalition of 34 nations fought the Second Gulf War, known as Desert Storm, to reinstate the government of Kuwait. After 6 weeks of fierce fighting in early 1991, Iraq was forced to withdraw its troops from Kuwait on February 26, 1991.

During their retreat, the Iraqi Armed Forces practiced a scorched earth policy by setting fire to Kuwaiti oil wells. The fires took over nine months to fully extinguish, and the cost of repair of oil infrastructure exceeded \$5,000,000,000. Beside the damage inflicted on oil fields, the damage was also inflicted on a large variety of building types such as: mosques, government buildings, palaces, public buildings and markets as well as architecture landmarks. Private property, houses, hotels, office buildings, university buildings and schools were also subject to vandalism and destruction. The well-known Kuwait Water Towers by Malene

Bjoern, the National Assembly Building by Jorn Utzon, the Seif Palace by Reima Pietilae, and the International Airport by Kenzo Tange were among the buildings damaged and vandalized

during the invasion (Figure 2). Historical and traditional buildings were targeted and destroyed (Figure 3).



Figure 2: Examples of impact of war on landmarks of Kuwait, Left: Seif Palace/Right: Kuwait Airways HQ. (Source: Y. Mahgoub).



Figure 3: Damaged traditional buildings. Left: Old market – Right: Old mosque minaret. (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

As early as September 1990, the government of Kuwait in exile began discussions with US government regarding post-war plans for reconstruction. A task force was established even before the liberation of Kuwait to develop plans for the reconstruction of Kuwait. (Al-Bahar, 1991) By the end of 1990, the Kuwaitis had begun formulating an infrastructure emergency and restoration action plan. This plan envisioned a three-phase reconstruction process as follows: 1) The Emergency Relief Phase, 2) The Recovery Phase, and 3) The Reconstruction Phase. The Emergency Relief Phase was expected to take about three months and was coordinated by the Kuwait Emergency and Recovery Program (KERP) offices in Washington and in Kuwait. In the immediate post-war, KERP was largely responsible for the assessments of damages made in Kuwait during this period. Due to a large number of delays, this has continued past the originally planned three month period. During The Recovery Phase, sector-by-sector damage reports were used to begin bringing Kuwaiti services back to full operation. Damage assessment reports were also used to initiate planning for longer term reconstruction based on a number of factors, including projected demographics of post-war Kuwait, desirability and degree of government involvement in various sectors, and the financial position of the government as the reconstruction phase begins. Finally, The Reconstruction Phase lasted more than five years when renovation of Kuwait's infrastructure took place in accordance with national objectives laid out in preceding phases

The Impact of the War on the Individual

Several researches were conducted to study the impact of the war on the Kuwaiti personality.

The first study was conducted by Garbarino immediately after the liberation of Kuwait on samples of Kuwaiti children and youth. Garbarino discovered that 62% of the children were exposed to traumatic experiences ranging from observing violent events to loss of parents. (Garbarino, 1991). Al-Sarraf studied the impact of the war on the behavior of secondary school students. He argued that the shock and brutality of the invasion experience caused emotional shock for individuals and groups. He focused on the emotional impact of the invasion on high school students according to their age, educational system, and existence during the invasion, inside or outside Kuwait. The results of his study indicated that the invasion experience caused negative impact on the emotions of high school students. The most significant are: the feeling that the Gulf region became full of dangers, mistrust of Arabs, pessimism regarding the future of Kuwait, fear of the unknown and increased anxiety and anger when thinking about the northern neighbor. (Al-Sarraf, 1994).

Al-Khawaja and Ramadan studied the change of values of university students before and after the invasion. They used the Rokeach Human Value test on a sample of university students to rank 18 values according to their importance. They compared their results with a similar study conducted in 1988 and discovered that 3 values were affected by the invasion experience; state security, world peace and religious salvation. They attributed the change of values to the impact of the invasion experience that changed many of the opinions, behaviors and beliefs of the Kuwaiti citizens. (Al-Khawaja, 1994).

Al-Damkhi, an eyewitness of the aggressions of

the Iraqi regime wrote, "the Kuwaiti citizen was not the only target of the Baghdad government. His homeland was the other. In order to erase Kuwait from the map, the Baathist regime determined on a plan to destroy and erase all the features and landmarks that characterized the State of Kuwait. It was a campaign against Kuwait that escalated as soon as it became clear that Kuwaitis remained loyal to their leaders." (Al-Damkhi, 1992) He observed the destruction of prominent landmarks and the vandalism of many important buildings such as the Kuwait Airways Corporation downtown

office, car showrooms, and the Complex of Ministries building. Monuments or memorials dedicated to events in Kuwait's heritage were singled out for demolition. One of the first measures taken by the Iraqi regime was the change of names of places, areas, and buildings.

The experience of the war in Kuwait is documented in a special museum called Bait Al Kuwait Lila' maal Alwataniyaa (Kuwait House for National Works : Not to Forget Museum of Saddam Hussain Regime Crimes) (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Bait Al Kuwait Lila' amaal Alwataniyaa, Kuwait House for National Works: Not To Forget Museum Saddam Hussain Regime Crimes. (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

The museum occupies an old converted house and contains documents and photos about all the crimes inflicted on people, properties and culture. It displays models of the invasion and destruction of the city using audio and visual effects. The museum is visited by school children and tourists to show them the crimes of the Iraqi regime during the invasion.

The invasion experience by the neighboring Arab country Iraq and its liberation by international forces, led by the US, had a dramatic impact on the Kuwaiti culture. As described by Khattab, "particularly in the case of Kuwait, reasserting the local identity has lately become a matter of great importance especially after Iraq's claims in Kuwait and the Second Gulf War." (Khattab,

2001:56) This was reflected on the architecture being produced in Kuwait by local and Kuwaiti architects in their attempts to recognize and acknowledge the heritage of traditional Kuwaiti architecture during the 1990s.

The invasion experience polarized the opinions of the Kuwaitis regarding its causes and results. While one group attributed this trauma to the illusions of Arabism, another group attributed it to the secular trends away from true Islamic practices. The first side became more interested and supportive of Westernization, Americanization and Globalization and the second side became more interested in reviving Islamic traditions and customs. This was reflected on the architecture produced during that era especially private villas and public buildings that utilize Islamic architecture features such as; arches, motifs, and patterns. Others elected to utilize Western styles in the design of their houses. As described by the Egyptian philosopher Zaki Nagib Mahmoud, the citizens became either drained of the principles of Arab cultural principles, imitating divergent elements from different cultures, or over packs themselves with society's cultural elements to block themselves away from the influences of contemporary civilization. Both cases present alienated individuals unable to integrate and interact with the society. (Mahmoud, 1978).

Architecture in Kuwait after the War

Huda Al-Bahar stated that the Gulf conflict has had a shattering impact on Kuwait's economy, its environment, service infrastructure, industries and intellectual, cultural and academic institutions. The cost of reconstructing and repairing the damage to Kuwait during the

occupation has been estimated at between US\$25-30 billion. "No new design projects are expected to be commissioned during this period as emphasis will be directed primarily towards the reparation of the damage inflicted on existing buildings. Although architects could participate in some capacity in the rebuilding efforts, Kuwait's post-war construction market will mainly require the professional services of structural surveyors, civil engineers, construction managers, and interior as opposed to architectural designers." (Al Bahar, 1991).

The impact of wars on architecture and the urban environment is evident in the case of Kuwait. After the liberation of Kuwait by the allied forces led by the US on 26th on February, 1991, the plans for recovery and reconstruction were executed. The plans included oil wells fire-fighting, clearance of mines, and explosive dumps as well as repair of public buildings and infrastructure. This effort created a halt in the field of new architectural design and planning. The post-invasion reconstruction requirements resulted in a downgraded architectural service and lack of appreciation of the importance of the architectural design discipline. It resulted in environment lacking high quality architecture and expertise. It also crippled the implementation of the Second Master Plan and delayed the development of a new master plan for more than a decade.

The continuation of the Iraqi regime hostilities during the nineties did not permit the existence of a level of security required for rapid development. The elimination of Saddam's regime in 2003 initiated a more secured optimistic atmosphere for development and construction. In 2002 Kuwait Municipality

commissioned the Kuwaiti consultant KEG (Kuwait Engineering Group) in association with CBP (Colin Buchanan and Partners) to review and update all data and information to accommodate new plans and projects and develop a new Master Plan until the year 2030. Several mega-projects are currently being envisioned or planned for in Kuwait, yet they are not materialized because of long bureaucratic procedures required to implement projects. Individuals and critics are expressing their views in conferences and media regarding the unsatisfactory condition of Kuwait's status in the region. A recent MEED conference discussed "what needs to be done to unlock the country's vast potential and streamlining the project approvals process." (MEED, 2008).

Kuwait is living amidst two sharp extremes; one extreme is what is happening in Iraq and the complete destruction of its human and material culture, and the other extreme of fast track development of neighboring Gulf countries; Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Dubai. During the Seventies and Eighties, Kuwait was the leading country of the Arab Gulf states in, education, health, economics and construction development. During the Nineties, Kuwait was recovering from the impact of the invasion and liberation trauma. Kuwaitis feel the loss of Kuwait's leadership role in the region due to the rise of other regional economic and financial centers.

The shattering impact of the invasion experience by Iraq created a sharp dualism in the Kuwaiti cultural identity. The "Arabization" slogans promoted by Nasser of Egypt during the sixties became very much questionable after being invaded by the neighboring "Arab brothers"

from Iraq. On the other hand, appreciation of the determination and persistence of the Western countries led by the US, England and the allied forces to liberate Kuwait created a trust in western culture and values. This condition led to an extreme polarization in the production of architecture in Kuwait. On one hand it reflected the need to construct new modern buildings that tie Kuwait with the global world and on the other hand buildings that reflect Kuwait's history and belonging to a particular place.

Another important result was the Kuwaiti's interest to search for the roots of their political and cultural origins. This was evident in many researches and publications investigating the writings on Kuwait in the oldest possible travelers and orientalist writings and the search for identity in the "few" remaining vernacular and traditional buildings. The First Master Plan of Kuwait called for the destruction of all the "old" buildings to clear the way for the construction of modern road system and public buildings. The Kuwaitis discovered - belatedly - that the demolition of traditional buildings was a great loss to their cultural continuity. They started several efforts to preserve the remaining old mosques, Diwanis (guest houses) and old houses. Large vacant lots in the downtown area are reminders of the destruction of old houses, streets and gathering areas (Figure 5).

Architects started to search for the lost identity in Kuwait architecture that was constructed during the seventies. There was an interest in developing an authentic Kuwaiti architecture that stems from architecture found in Kuwait before the discovery of oil. According to Al-Duaij, "new architectural style emerged which

is considered a continuation of the postmodern architecture that is widely used in these days emphasizing principles of regionalism, the

traditional architecture and local identity." (Al-Duaig, 2004).



Figure 5: Renovated traditional buildings. Left: Al-Sadu House – Right: Diwan Al-Bahar (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

The Kuwaiti Architect Saleh Al Mutawa is an example of architects who design buildings using elements of Kuwaiti traditional architecture in a very direct way. As described by Goodwin, "when Saleh began to build he was utterly alone, like a child who contrives to fly his kite against the wind. After twelve years, and with forty buildings to his credit, the winds have veered." (Goodwin,

1997). Today, the work of Saleh Al Mutawa cannot be passed unnoticed in the urban landscape of Kuwait (Figure 6). He attempts to localize his architecture practice by reinterpreting some local architectural elements in a contemporary language of three-dimensional forms. (Al-Mutawa, 1994).



Figure 6: Examples of the work of Saleh Al Mutawa – Salmiya Palace Hotel. (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

Architects, such as Muhammad Al Khedr and Farid Abdal use traditional Kuwait architecture as a source of inspiration for their designs. They focus on the climatic and social factors that shaped, and continue to shape, architecture in Kuwait. On the other hand, there are architects who believe that true Kuwaiti architecture should be a reflection of contemporary

architecture styles, materials and construction systems (Figure 7). Although Saba George Shiber, warned against the loss of identity that a too-rapid modern transformation would precipitate (Kultermann, 1999), many Kuwaiti architects are alluding to the absence of identity in architecture and the need to develop a Kuwaiti identity in the built environment. A

documentary produced by Kuwait Television titled "Kuwaiti Architecture: A Lost Identity" depicts the development of architecture

in Kuwait and points to the importance of developing a Kuwaiti identity in architecture.



Figure 7: Examples of projects reflecting opposing architectural identities. Left: Mies Al-Ghanem Restaurant – Right: Hard Rock Café (Source: Y. Mahgoub).

Conclusion

Money does not make architecture; human effort does.

(Stephen Gardiner)

This paper discussed the impact of war on architecture in Kuwait. It illustrated the impact of war on the physical as well as the symbolic aspects of architecture. During the war, architecture in Kuwait was targeted for destruction as a representative of an opposed ideology and culture. The attack on architecture was an attack on cultural and ways of living. After the war, the reconstruction of architecture was an ultimate goal to reinstate territoriality and legitimacy. A search for "a lost identity" that vanished as a result of rapid urbanization and development has started. Expressions of identity in architecture by different groups of architects reflect different modes of thinking of groups in the society. Because of its location

at the cross-roads of conflicts in the Middle East – and the World – Kuwait will continue to be affected by regional and global conflicts. While the elimination of Saddam's regime from Iraq created a sense of security, the deteriorating security situation in Iraq is overshadowing this sense of security in Kuwait. Furthermore, the increasing tensions between the US and Iran over Iran's nuclear activities is posing another serious threat to all countries in the Gulf, especially Kuwait. In case of any confrontation between the US and Iran the whole region, and especially Kuwait, will be threatened. New plans, such as the construction of the Silk City north of Kuwait, near the Iraqi borders, and the utilization of the rich northern oil fields will continue to be threatened by the unstable conditions in Iraq. The impact of war on architecture in Kuwait is not over, yet.

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