

HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE STATE  
OF KUWAIT (1961-1990)

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## Dedication and Acknowledgements

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ  
وَالْحَمْدُ وَالشُّكْرُ لِلَّهِ

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## **Abstract**

This research aims to explore the historic relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the State of Kuwait from 1961-1990. The key importance of establishing relationships with both blocs of the world post-cold war period is crucial of the sovereignty of the Kuwait which is key to its new foreign policy...The State of Kuwait was the first country in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to establish relations with the People's Republic of China and both had an informal relation since Kuwait became independent in 1961.

The main questions of this research are: Did the foreign policies of both countries contribute to the development of this relationship? Did other countries play a role in this relationship such Iraq and Taiwan? Did oil play a major role in this relationship, and what other factors played a role and how? And finally, what was the role of China regarding the invasion of Kuwait?

Keywords: The State of Kuwait, People's Republic of China, History, Foreign Relations, Economy, Development



## **Abstract in Spanish**

El objetivo de esta investigación es hacer un análisis histórico de las relaciones entre la República Popular de China (RPC) y el Estado de Kuwait desde 1961 hasta 1990. El establecimiento de relaciones con los dos bloques durante el período posterior a la Guerra Fría resultó de crucial importancia tanto para asegurar la soberanía de Kuwait como en la definición de su nueva política exterior. Kuwait fue el primer país del Golfo en establecer relaciones con la República Popular de China ya que ambos establecieron una relación informal desde la independencia de Kuwait en 1961.

Esta tesis pretende dar respuesta a las siguientes preguntas: ¿Qué papel jugó en esta relación la lucha por la soberanía de Kuwait? ¿Contribuyeron las políticas exteriores de ambos países al desarrollo de esta relación? ¿Qué papel jugaron otros países como Irak y Taiwán en el desarrollo de esta relación? ¿Tuvo el petróleo un peso importante, y qué otros factores jugaron un papel relevante y cómo? Y finalmente, ¿cuál fue el papel de China con respecto a la invasión de Kuwait?

Palabras clave: Estado de Kuwait, República Popular de China, Historia, Relaciones Exteriores, Economía, Desarrollo.





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# 1.INTRODUCTION AND THESIS FRAMEWORK

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research aims to explore the relationship between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 1961 to 1990. The 30 years period for this research provides a historic overview of bilateral relations, both countries domestic and foreign policies focusing mainly on the Kuwaiti perspectives. The timeline of this research and its focal periods are relevant to Kuwaiti contemporary history, 1961 is the country's independence and also the commencement of the Kuwaiti-Iraqi crisis, Iraq-Iran war and the invasion of Kuwait covering political economic and social relations in general. The framework focuses on the perspectives of diplomatic and world history in which the history of both countries can help understand the present and the future of this relationship.

It is important to mention that, PRC is Kuwait's number one trading partner, and one of its principal oil importers today. Kuwait was the first country in the Gulf region to recognise China in 1971. Kuwait is the only developing country that still provides China with loans and is responsible for three percent of China's petroleum consumption. China is also a major partner in the Kuwait's Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank and Silk Road projects, now known as one road one belt. Kuwait and China signed on a strategic partnership in July 2018 during His Highness the Amir of Kuwait's visit to China.

This bilateral cooperation is gaining more prominence in politics, economy and academics especially after the Silk City also known as Hareer City projects that links both countries development visions<sup>1</sup>. China is considered Kuwait's preferred business partner and contributes considerable infrastructure expertise and materials through its enterprises such as Huawei, SINOPEC and China Communications Construction Company (CCCC). I contend that it is vital to understanding the historical context of the relationship by documenting all the available resources, including oral history,

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<sup>1</sup> Kuwait, China Ink several agreements, MoUs to boost ties, 9/7/2018  
KUNA:<https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2736270&language=en>

newspapers, government documents and other secondary sources in this research project.

## **1.2 OBJECTIVES**

This research study intends to address the factors that shaped the Sino-Kuwaiti relations. Kuwait was the only Gulf nation that had relationships with both capitalist and Communists blocs and this was considered pioneering shortly after its independence. Furthermore, this paper intends to contextualize the evolution of Chinese-Kuwaiti relations and addresses the history of this relationship and, current ties, in addition to their future cooperation, by adopting these strategic objectives:

- a) Analysing Kuwait's desire to formalise ties with the People's Republic of China.
- b) Understanding China's interest in the Arabian Gulf region, especially with Kuwait.
- c) Confirming the Arab-Israeli conflict did play a role in the formation of the relationship.
- d) Exploring the influence of politics, economic, energy and cultural ties in the development of this bilateral relationship.

## **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

### **The research aims to answer and explore these questions**

- a. Did domestic issues in both countries play a role in the development of their bilateral relationship. How Kuwait's sovereignty struggle played a role in this relationship?
- b. Did the foreign policies of both countries contribute to the development of this relationship? Why was Kuwait important to China and vice versa? Did other countries play a positive or negative role in this relationship?
- c. What was the role of both Iraq and the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the development of Kuwait PRC relations?
- d. Did oil play a major role in this relationship? Was oil a relevant factor in bilateral relations in the initial phase?

- e. There were other connections between both societies apart from economic relations, so how did art, social societies, sports and education play a role in the development of this relationship?
- f. What was China (PRC)'s reaction to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990? Why did China choose to support Kuwait while still opposing international intervention?

## 1.4 METHODOLOGY

The research project will be based on the qualitative methodology and it will investigate the official primary documents from both China and Kuwait using *Diplomatic History* theory as main methodology of this research. *Diplomatic History* refers to the researching of the history of relations between states, in which diplomats are the executants and more broadly, embraces the study of diplomatic systems. (Berridge, G. R. Alan, 74) and others define it as the history of international relations between two or more states. (Nicolson 1969) in his research describes it as the government official documents, official visits, correspondence and bilateral economic exchanges. (Fry & Williams, 2) explains that with the development of diplomatic history, new aspects of the diplomacy appear such as cultural diplomacy, which seem to have an important role when nations use their soft power to influence decisions of other countries. This is also useful to understand, the use of soft power in the form sports and cultural exchange in Chapter 3 of Kuwait and China (Reichow:2010, 4).

In addition, *World History* is a theory in which world events and incidents are studied in a manner that tends to use current nation-states for agenda setting and boundaries of studies of the past. To understand the past and learn from history is paramount. One might argue that global history is a modern development of World history but the focus of this theory is on transnational events where the state and nation can no longer play the major role. The Eurocentric assumptions of world history can be justified as Kuwait was a British Protectorate and some parts of China were colonialised and most of the archives and books on both countries derive from a European or American perspective. This research will try to avoid eurocentrism by using official documents from both countries and will focus more on regional scholars. This approach will help understand



China's reaction to the Iraq-Iran War and the Gulf War (Shetova 2013, 180) (Bentely Jerry H:2011)

Finally, oral history can be defined as the recording, preservation and interpretation of historical information, based on the personal experiences and opinions of the speaker. While it is an invaluable method of preserving the knowledge and understanding of older people, it can also involve interviewing younger generations. (East Midlands Oral History Archive)<sup>2</sup> this methodology will be used to understand the value of personal experiences and contact between both countries (Al reyes). The economic chapter, will contextualise stories and expound on how these narratives transformed and affected bilateral relations.

The framework of the research is based on both historic international relation theories that contribute to understanding of the bilateral relations between the People's Republic of China and the State of Kuwait. These assumptions are based on propositions that the both the PRC and the State of Kuwait are endeavouring to find their positions in a post-World War II structure, which later evolves into the Cold War bipolar world. This world system is dominated by the western capitalism on one side and the communism on the other.

China divided its world in three world policy periods developed by Chairman Mao but later adopted, updated and popularised by Deng Xiaoping in 1974<sup>3</sup> in which five principles of foreign policy were highlighted. These principles are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefits and peaceful coexistence<sup>4</sup> (Yee, 1983)(Zhang,2007)

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<sup>2</sup> Definition of Oral History according to East Midlands Oral History Archive:  
<https://www.le.ac.uk/emoha/training/no1.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Chairman Mao Zedong set forth his strategic thinking of the division of the three worlds. He observed, "In my view, the United States and the Soviet Union belong to the first world. The in-between Japan, Europe and Canada belong to the second world. The third world is very populous. Except Japan, Asia belongs to the third world. So does the whole of Africa and Latin America". At the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly held in April 1974, Deng Xiaoping expounded the strategic thinking of Mao Zedong on the division of the three worlds

With regards to China and the Arab States (Kuwait included) in 1963, during Premier Zhou Enlai's Arab State visit, he wanted to stress on China's main policies towards the Arab countries by instating several key policy directives: First, China vowed to support the Arab people in their battle for independence; second, China would adopt a non-bias stance and a neutral policy towards the Arab states; third, China supported the unity and sovereignty of the Arab States and would adopt a non-intervention and peaceful coexistence policy towards the Arab states and their conflicts. (Alsabah, 2017)

With respect to Kuwait, its foreign policy says Abdulreda Assiri, a political science professor at Kuwait University is influenced by post-independence domestic goals, namely, political and military security focusing on sharing wealth and development with Arab Nation and Muslim countries. The key pillar of this policy is to safeguard of the people of Kuwait and their sovereignty and the "policy of the Dinar" that is reliant on easy loans or financial aid that was extended to fellow Arab nations to aid in the recognition of Kuwait as an independent state in both the Arab League and the United Nations. Assiri contends, that Kuwait's foreign policy was largely driven by internal and external factors (Assiri, 1990)

During the period of 1955-1975 China has revisited its policy towards the region several times has maintained policies with Kuwait that differs from those of other Arab nations. He explained that China's pursuit of aid from industrialised third world countries did not apply here because did not aim for 'self-reliance', due to domestic political and economic policies. He explained that trade is vital for Kuwait as the emirate did not want to rely on restricted sources of trade so, Kuwait's trade 'has considerable undercurrents.' (Behbehani 1981, 235-236)

Furthermore, *Mohammed Bin Huwaidin, China's Relations with Arabia and the Gulf 1949-1999*, explores China and its position in the international system and how it enacts its foreign policy with other superpowers, specifically, the USA and Russia. When he examined Kuwait, he posited that "China did not consider Kuwait to have potential to wage a struggle against the West in the Arab world". Bin Huwaidin argues that China leadership classified Kuwait as part of the "Capitalist Camp" of the West.

Moreover, he argues that Kuwait was unhappy with China's support of revolutionary movement in the the Arabian Peninsula and China was dissatisfied because Kuwait still recognised Taiwan. After 1971, with the formalisation of the diplomatic relations, and with the increased presence of the Soviet Union in the region, both Kuwait and China sought to have a neutral policy. Part of the agreement centred on Kuwait and China both supporting one another on international recognition and on a policy of mutual economic interest.

Looking at the historical context from 1961-1990 and applying the main assumptions of both countries foreign policies and the conclusions of Dr. Behbehani and Dr. Bin Huwaiden, this inquiry will present a better understanding of the events that impeded the formalisation of ties between Kuwait and China (PRC) until 1971.

The full recovery of such documents is still not completed and are not open to the public, this is the main reason to justify the use of research and information centres such as Alqabas Information Center المركز للمعلومات التابع لجريدة القبس established in 1972 that collects articles and information from all the newspapers from the Arab world. Alqabas is also a prominent newspaper itself, known to be an objective newspaper with a critical editorial policy of Kuwait's government and parliament and today it is considered one of the most important newspapers and media outlets. The information has been selected, categorized and referenced because the archive is not open to the public. The National Assembly of Kuwait (the Kuwaiti Parliament) مجلس الأمة الكويتي also has a database with the declarations, بيان, minutes محاضر, laws قوانين and studies دراسات regarding the parliament and its members achievement in each parliamentary session. More information are found in the Appendix 4.3 because this archive is not open to public. Nonetheless, there are also other centres and sources of information that will be discussed in further detail in the research centres and information portion of this paper.

In order to fill the gaps in information in Kuwait, it was important to conduct semi-structured interviews with important Kuwaiti figures who held prominent positions, such as ministers, ambassadors and businessmen. The interviews are conducted personally with the following line of questioning: "*Can you describe your encounter with China, and how was the Kuwaiti-China relationship in the context?*". Each respondent was encouraged to speak freely about the topics. Furthermore, each

interview was tailored to the specialisation of the subject being interviewed. More details on my methodology for interviews can be found in the transcriptions in the annexes. In the case of China, the main archive is Chinese National library, which facilitates access to China's official media out Xinhua News Agency **新华通讯社**. Xinhua provided material on bilateral relations and all the information distributed by the Chinese press on Kuwait in the given period of 1961-1990. This archive is only accessed by visiting the Library in Beijing more information will Moreover, I also interned in several Kuwaiti entities that work with China or whose mandate included historical relations during the period of investigation, 1961-1990. The latter provided invaluable insight into the historical and current relationship of the two countries.

Furthermore, I have explored both Arabic and Chinese non-official archives such as Alarabiالعربي magazine and Chinese academic journals: Chinese National Knowledge Information (中国知网) and address social, cultural and sports activities to provide additional context on the relationship. The main challenge for this research -- apart from the several languages used -- would be lack of access to information in both countries. Details of resources is in part 1.5.

## **1.5 THESIS STRUCTURE:**

1-Introduction and thesis framework.

2-Political relations (1961-1990) describes the Iraq-Kuwait question to China, and Kuwait's inability to balance the One China policy and its mutual interest in keeping Taiwan in the United Nations Security Council instead of China because of its opposition to the presence of the British troops that helped aid Kuwait's sovereignty in June 1961 during the Kuwait Iraq crisis, and also due to Taiwan's vote to admit Kuwait as a member in the United Nations in 1963. The chronological order is as follows: 1960's, 1970's,1980's and finally the 1990's with the highlights on the Invasion of Kuwait.

3-Economic, oil and Agriculture relations (1961-1990) describes the economic relations between both countries since 1955, the start of the Kuwaiti easy loans to China in 1982 as well as the Chinese labour presence in Kuwait. China naturalises its relationship with the US and also starts its modernization and openness in 1978. The chronological order: 1955-64, 1965-70,1971-1981 and finally 1982-1990

4- Societal relations (1961-1990) describes other areas of cooperation called people-to-people's exchange which focuses on media, women, education, health and sports. The chronological order is denoted by dates of importance.

5- Conclusion which will illustrate how I addressed and answered the objectives and research questions posed in the introduction.

## 1.6 RESEARCH AND RESOURCES

### 1- Kuwaiti Archives:

**Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait (Kuwait City) مركز البحوث و الدراسات الكويتية، مدينة الكويت**

The Center for Research and Studies in Kuwait is a national repository of knowledge on Kuwait's political, economic and social affairs and its cultural heritage. The Center was established in 1992. The objectives of the Center are to prepare research and scientific studies to define and promote Kuwaiti and Arab identity.

The Center has devoted special attention to the Kuwaiti environment and its culture. It has provided many documented scientific studies on the origins and history of Kuwait and the early pioneers who contributed to its renaissance. It has also addressed the study of the historical, political and social dimensions related to the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait, and refuted the allegations of the former Iraqi regime and its inspectors, while documenting this in a wide body of published research. The Center also devotes its mandate to studying Kuwait's development and research through a scientific purview focused on the future of Kuwait and its culture.

I met with Dr. Abdullah Al Ghunaim (د. عبدالله الغنيم) the director of the Center on Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> January, and we discussed the relationship of China and Kuwait from 1961 to 1990 as a topic of my PhD research. I spent some time accessing the electronic archives to ascertain how many articles were published in Kuwaiti or Gulf magazines in Arabic on the topic of the PRC. I concluded that my areas of research would focus on culture, politics, economics, religion and related topics. Since, the Center itself is devoted to Kuwaiti history and geography, they did not publish academic material on China. The Center granted me access to their digital archive where I found government documents published by the state-owned newspaper *Kuwait Alyoum* (كويت اليوم) *The Alyoum* is charged with publishing all laws والقوانين و الوائح and rules and regulations and

agreements (الاتفاقيات) signed by the Amir and the Prime Minister of Kuwait. In the Appendix 1.3 p. 214 you can read some of the official documents such as ambassadorial appointments and agreements between Kuwait and China, translated and categorized and referenced personally.

In *Al Arabi* magazine (مجلة العربي), I was able to acquire cultural information such as Kuwait's 1952 introduction to the Chinese alphabet, Confucius and modern China in 1972 and religious articles. Published by the Ministry of Information, this magazine was a symbol of Kuwait's educational and cultural triumph between 1968 and 1988; and is described as one of Kuwait's soft power tools of its time. It was further considered the number one Arabic Cultural Magazine in the Arab world. This magazine publishes monthly with contributors were from the Arab World and has historically included Chinese contributions translated and categorized and referenced personally in Appendix 1.4 p.217.

### **Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

I visited the Asian Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but unfortunately, I was provided with minimal information. I have also visited and worked with the Kuwaiti Embassy in China and they were more open to discuss the state's relationship with China. They provided some relevant information and extended me copy of a booklet published in commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the official friendship between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China published by the National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters (NCCAL) in 2016. This booklet is comprised of pictures, trade agreements, bilateral diplomatic visits and other pertinent material.

### **Alqabas Newspaper Information Center – Kuwait (مركز المعلومات التابع لجريدة القبس- الكويت)**

Alqabas Information and Studies Center is owned by a highly regarded newspaper in Kuwait of the same name. It is widely considered one of the prominent newspapers since 1972<sup>5</sup>. The Center collects information and news from local and regional

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<sup>5</sup> Arab Press Network, Kuwait Newspapers:  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20130808043005/http://www.arabpressnetwork.org/newspaysv2.php?id=105>

newspapers and magazines as data for their studies. The local and international newspapers used in this data collection are from Al rai Alaam (1961) the first newspaper in Kuwait, and is known to have a pro-government bias. Alwatan (1962) is in an important newspaper but its scope is continuously evolving, Alseyassah (1965) is politically neutral but is considered a pro-Arab newspaper. Alqabas (1972) is also neutral but closer editorially to the opposition government. Lastly, and Alanba (1976) is an editorially neutral and respectable newspaper even today. I created a timeline of information, visits and cooperation agreements between China and Kuwait (1976-1989) as translated and categorized and referenced personally in the Appendix 1.2 p.195. These articles illuminate the nature of the cooperation between Kuwait and PRC, and PRCs views on regional matters of that period, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, arms sales, nationalist communist movements etc. There is a gap of information from 1961-1975 which is filled by other sources mentioned later on.

#### **Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) <sup>6</sup> وكالة الأنباء الكويتية**

I made several visits to KUNA. KUNA was founded in 1970 and is the official government news agency. According to KUNA staff, the given period of research is worthy of study but loss of information during Iraqi Invasion would amount to a huge set back to my inquiry. Most of the material they were able to furnish was post 1990, following the occupation of Kuwait. Through my sourcing thus far, I was able to accumulate a significant repository of material from 1991 to 2016. Although, this epoch is beyond my research period, it does still contextualise the importance of the strategic relationship and China's new position as the number one energy consumer in the world, and the world's second largest economy. It also expounds on the development of the bilateral relationship between China and Kuwait in areas such as technology, military and more.

#### **Kuwait National Assembly <sup>7</sup> مجلس الأمة الكويتي**

The Parliament in Kuwait was seated after the establishment of the constitution with the preliminary council in 1962. It is significant to note that Kuwait is only country in the

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<sup>6</sup> Brief History of KUNA, KUNA's official website:

<https://www.kuna.net.kw/CMSPage.aspx?CategoryID=14&Language=en>

<sup>7</sup> About Kuwait National Assembly, Official website:

<http://www.kna.kw/clt-html5/about-en.asp>

Gulf that has a parliament and this could have contributed to the relationship with China. Its collection includes material that provided alternate views on the history of Kuwait and their relationship with China and Taiwan in comparison to the other sources I had perused. Although all foreign policy is decided by the Amir and is not part of the parliament's mandate, members of parliament in Kuwait routinely discuss the policy. The Parliament archives are therefore important to gauge how Kuwait's representatives perceived the decisions of the government and how they played a role in the development of the bilateral relations with PRC.

In the Kuwait Parliament archive we can find such documents as

- Sessions minute (محاضر الاجتماعات): the meeting conducted on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December, 1971 that details the parliamentarians views on the formation of bilateral relations, including China' pro-Arab position during the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- Ratifications of the Amir's decisions (التصديق على المراسيم والقوانين و التشريع)

I also met with the Assistant Secretary-General Sector of Information in the Kuwaiti parliament Khalid S.AlMutairi(السيد خالد المطيري). Almutairi and I discussed the importance of the strategic relationship between China and Kuwait. I posed the following questions to him during the course of my interview: The Kuwaiti Parliament conducted its first session in 1963, since then has Kuwait's relationship with China or Taiwan been raised? In the foreign policy committee was there any objection towards it? Were there concerns on China's political ideology and its influence on a young democracy that was created as a result of a national movement? Can you share some of the parliamentary concerns about China's veto to the liberation of Kuwait in 1990/1991. Interviewing MPs was an important tool in my research to demonstrate the role of both the Kuwaiti National Assembly and the People's Congress of China in the advancement of mutual cooperation. As AlMutari explains, there were several bilateral exchange visits between these two bodies of government and many points of views regarding domestic and international issues. The selected documents have been translated and categorized and referenced personally in Appendix 1.1 p192.



## **Kuwaiti Memories Digital Archive<sup>8</sup> (ارشيف ذاكرة الكويت الرقمي)**

Kuwait Central Information and Technology Regulation Authority, known as CITRA (هيئة الاتصالات و تقنية المعلومات), launched a digital archive called Kuwaiti memories in 2018, which includes the main Kuwaiti newspapers and the government sanctioned Kuwaiti magazine that publishes all the new laws dating from 1961 until today. This resource helped fill in the gaps of information that were missing from the Al qabas Center. Most of the information related to China that was cited centred on bilateral relations between Kuwait and China or what was formerly referred to as the Arabic Nationalist China. In 1963, the relationship between Kuwait and the Republic of China (Taiwan) was established and officially ended with the full recognition of one China in 1971. This date was commemorated with a business office here in Kuwait until today. The selected articles have been translated and categorized and referenced personally in appendix 1.5 p. 218.

## **2. Chinese Archives:**

### **Chinese National Library (中国国家图书馆)**

Chinese National Library is one of the only places in China where I could access information about China and the Arab World. The period between 1960 and 1980 is considered a difficult period to research according to many research institutes in China. Nonetheless, I found very relevant and detailed information about the exchanges between China and Kuwait since 1961. Most of the documents explored are from Xinhua news outlet as it is the main source of news in China (新华通讯社). Many of these documents filled in the omissions of the lost archives of Kuwaiti documents. I have established a timeline of this data from 1961 until 1972. Despite the challenge, I will keep on translating the documents until 1990. The selected documents have been translated and categorized but have kept the referencing numbers by Xinhua as shown in refer Appendix 2.1 p.237.

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<sup>8</sup> Kuwait Memory Archive: [http://news.cait.gov.kw/newspaper\\_kw\\_archive.cshtml](http://news.cait.gov.kw/newspaper_kw_archive.cshtml)

## **Shanghai International Studies University**

**The Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies Journal**( 亚洲中东与伊斯兰研究)This journal was established in 2007, by the Shanghai International Studies University. It appears to be one of the most important schools related to China's relationship with the Middle East. I have found several lively and relevant articles that contextualize China's history with the Middle East and Arabian Gulf Countries. Mr. Liu Zhongmin (刘忠民) Professor and Deputy Director of Middle East Studies Institute has several important contributions as an instructor in the same university. This journal provides details on China-Middle Eastern relations and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). From my perusal of the journal, it appears that Kuwait is seen as being instrumental in the relationship with the region today.

## **China Academic journal (China National Knowledge Infrastructure) <sup>9</sup> (中国知网)**

I attempted to find information regarding my research topic in the Chinese Academic Journal. The Chinese language was a challenge; however, I have found a few publications referencing Kuwait especially material from the 1980's. There were five articles that documented the political and geographical location of Kuwait, its population and other factual data. Uniquely, one of the articles highlights the urbanization of Kuwait City. The journals were Arab World Studies (阿拉伯世界研究) published in 1978, Shanghai Journalism review (新闻记者) published in 1983, Global Review (国际失望) published in 1981, World Culture (世界文化) published in 1980, China Muslem (中国穆斯林) published in 1957, Folklore studies (民俗学研究) published in 1985, Movie review (电影) published in 1979 and finally World Affairs (世界) published in 1934. There was no relevant information about bilateral relations. However, they do provide some facts on the culture of Kuwait, including the lives of Kuwaiti women. This was beneficial as it provided some understanding of Kuwait from a Chinese perspective. One common description of the country describes it as being a

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<sup>9</sup>CNKI's Website:

<http://oversea.cnki.net.sare.upf.edu/kns55/brief/result.aspx?dbPrefix=CJFD>

desert state, and particular attention was paid to Kuwait's modernisation in the areas of tourism and landscaping.

### **3. National Archives Administration National Department Council (國家發展委員會檔案管理局)**

The archives were delivered to me by a student friend from Taiwan because travelling to Taiwan was a sensitive issue for both China and Kuwait. It was more convenient to find an alternative solution. Most of the documents found in this archive are from 1963. Other than official letters and telegrams there were newspaper articles from The Daily Start Beirut, which seemed to be a source of information used by the Republic of China (Taiwan)'s foreign ministry to follow up Kuwait's domestic and regional relations. I selected a few significant documents to illustrate important issues unfortunately no other sources of information on Kuwait are found beyond 1963. All the documents are English and have categorized and have kept the same reference as the archive itself as shown in Appendices 3.1 p 291.

### **Taiwanese Maritime custom Statistics (中國海關)**

The statistics provided showed Taiwan's import and export trade volumes with Kuwait from 1958 until 1990. The information was provided in both English and Chinese the table of this information is found in appendix 6.2. This information has been the main source used to produce the tables 4, and 6 in chapter 3 and the table in Appendices 3.2 p.300.

## **4. INTERVIEWS**

The in-depth interviews serve as another valuable source based on experiences and interactions with China during the investigation period 1961-1990. Kuwaiti ministers, ambassadors and businessmen were the primary respondents who worked with their Chinese counterparts and know the essence of this bilateral relations. They were a pertinent source to my research given the data lost during Kuwait's 1990 occupation. The transcription of the interview in English are found in Appendix 5 and the interviews content will be used in the chapters of this research to give a testament or Kuwaiti perspectives and views on China in the given period.

**H.E. Faisal Alghais (Ambassador to China 2003-2009) (سعادة السفير فيصل الغيص):**

I had the pleasure of interviewing one of the outstanding Kuwaiti Ambassadors H.E. Faisal Alghais. He was the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 2003 to 2009. He speaks nine languages, which includes intermediate Mandarin Chinese. He has recently served as an Ambassador to China. I found the interview with him very fruitful as it provided me with a key referral in the form of the first Kuwaiti Ambassador to China H.E. Abdulhamed Albaijan (سعادة السفير عبدالحميد البعيجان) who served from 1972-1973. Alghais offered me several documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the subjects of trade and economy. Alghais says he is fascinated by China's economic capabilities and that he aspires for more economic projects with China. He was one of the few people who mentioned Sheikh Fahad Alahmad Alsabah<sup>10</sup> (الشيخ فهد الاحمد الصباح) and Sports Diplomacy. In addition, he reflected on the importance of the bilateral relations and its recent developments. More information about the interview is documented in Appendix 5.1 p.309.

**H.E. Abdulhamed Albaijan (Ambassador to China 1972-1973 and 1990-1992) (سعادة السفير عبدالحميد البعيجان):**

Abdulhameed AlBaijan was the first Kuwaiti Ambassador to China having served from 1972-1973. He was charged by H.H. the late Amir to China again in 1990-1992 to help the Kuwait's diplomatic corps on the most important and existential issue of the country's history: 'the liberation of Kuwait' from the Iraqi invasion. China is one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and assigning an ambassador with established relationships and knowledge of the issues was crucial his son, Abdulrazzaq, now heads the Kuwait Investment Authority's office in Beijing. His son's appointment suggests his connection with China remains intact. The interview with H.E. Albaijan was one of the most noteworthy ones that I have conducted thus far. He conveyed two perspectives from two sets of experiences. He spoke about not only the political climate in China at the time, but also about the economy and art antique markets. His experience was very impactful as he paid tremendous attention to the social factors that were quite unknown to Kuwait in that period. Correspondingly, he

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also played a role in H.H. Sheikh Jaber the Amir of Kuwait's diplomatic mission to China in 1990, which was arranged to remove political barriers towards the UN vote in support of the liberation of Kuwait from Iraq. Albaijan remained in China until 1992. The interview is documented in Appendix 5.2 p. 313.

**H.E. Sheikh Ali khalifa Alsabah (Minister of Oil and Finance 1978-1990)**

(معالي الشيخ علي خليفة الصباح):

Sheikh Ali Khalifa AlSabah was the Kuwaiti Oil Minister and Minister of Finance from 1978 until 1991. He left his government position post-liberation of Kuwait and he is now a prominent businessman. In the interview, he described Chinese-Kuwaiti cooperation in the economic and oil sectors. He was very linked to Asia, as Kuwait endeavoured to enter the Asian markets. During this period, China was the desired hub to connect oil and gas to the rest of the Asian countries via the Santa Fe project, which was a joint Kuwaiti and Chinese initiative. I do not have much detail about the actual condition of this project. Mr. Alsabah only spoke of the period in which he headed the oil and finance ministries. He also provided some insight on sports diplomacy and see Appendix 5.3 p.318.

**H.E. Mohammad Abu Alhassan (Ambassador to China 1975-1978) (سعادة السفير محمد بوالحسن) interview conducted in Arabic on the 31st May 2019 in Kuwait**

Mohammed Abu Alhassan was the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 1975 until 1978. He later became the Kuwaiti Representative to the UN Mission in New York from 1981-2003. This was a very insightful and comprehensive interview. He provided specifics of the political atmosphere in both China and Kuwait, and he gave an expansive explanation of the reasons behind the Kuwaiti-Chinese rapprochement. He mentioned how each country was beneficial to the others within the international framework as well as bilateral cooperation relations. Abu Alhassan served in this post from 1971 to 1981. He described Kuwait's relationship with China in the UN and the UNSC. He also presented me with insightful information about China's experience as a permanent member of the UNSC. Please see Appendix 5.4 p.311 for full interview.

**Interview with H.E. Abdullah Yacoub Bishara (Ambassador to Kuwaiti Mission at the UN from 1971 to 1981) (سعادة السفير عبدالله يعقوب بشارة):**

Abdullah Yacoub Bishara <sup>11</sup> was the director of the office of the minister of foreign affairs in Kuwait. Bishara was appointed as Kuwait's permanent representative to the United Nations, and served in this post from 1971 to 1981. His interview clearly illustrates the form of relationship that Kuwait and PRC held in the UNSC and how both countries cooperated under the UN umbrella. Please see Appendix 5.5 p. 321 for full interview.

**Interview with Lulwa Alqatami (Kuwaiti Women Association) (السيدة لولوة القطامي):**

The Honorary President of the Kuwaiti Women's Cultural and Social Society Association and was one of the prominent establishing members of the Association 1963. Her contributions in both Kuwait and the larger Arab society have been pioneering, especially during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. She is considered today one of the most influential female figures in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf. Her interview aided me in understanding the role women played in the relationship with China. She further provided details on how Kuwait and China's friendship developed. Please see Appendix 5.6 p. 328 for full interview.

**Interview with Sabah Alreyes (Businessman who worked in China) (السيد صباح الريس):**

Sabah Alreyes is the founder, senior partner and managing director of Pan Arab Consulting Engineers (PACE) in Kuwait from 1968 to date.

He was the chairman of Education Committee of Union of Arab Engineers in Cairo, Egypt (1967-1984), and a member of Board of Trustees in (1977-1983), the vice chairman of the CTBUH, a member of the Global Advancement Council at Lehigh University and the fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

He was one the first Kuwaitis to invest in a mega-project in Beijing in the 1980's. Congruently, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, he faced challenges with the Chinese

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<sup>11</sup> Abdullah Bishara's biography, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah\\_Bishara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_Bishara)

government. In his interview he recounts these issues in great detail. See Appendix 5.7 p.331 for more details.

## **1.7 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS**

It is expected that there would be resistance to interviews and documenting of personal experience from the Chinese. There were several failed attempts to interview officials, academics and translators. In addition to the loss of most Kuwait's old archives during the invasion of Kuwait, the retrievable archives are not yet organised and not yet accessible to the public. The translation of languages of the documents in Chinese, English and Arabic would also prove challenging.

## **1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW**

It is a challenge to find enough academic literature on this topic. The book *China's Foreign Policy in The Arab World 1955-1975*, by Hashim S H a noted sinologist is considered to be one of the most important pieces of literature on China's relationship with the Arab World. This work explores China's connection to Palestine and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Arab Liberation Movements. In his book, the author used Egypt, Oman and Kuwait as other China's extending diplomatic efforts with Arab nations. Hashim examined China's support of the Omani Liberation Movement in the Dhofar Rebellion, which was part of the Arab Liberation Movement that aimed to change the political system in the Arabian Peninsula. He also touched upon the importance of the Sino-Egyptian relations and its influence on China's strategy in the region. He also examined China's competitive approach with the Soviet Union and the United States in working with Arab world and Africa.

He argues that Kuwait was interested in attaining more international recognition after gaining independence in 1961 so it reached out to China through business and shared economic interests. China, on another hand, aimed for more international recognition from Arab states especially after the Bandung conference in 1955. China was the first communist country to recognise Kuwait and he documents the challenges these two countries faced in trying to solidify diplomatic ties. He also references that anti-imperialistic sentiments that both countries shared and their common interest to open new markets (i.e. the Arabian Gulf for China and China for Kuwaiti businesses).

Hashim's publication is the only existing research material that describes the Sino-Kuwaiti relations from 1955 until 1975 from a pan-Arab perspective.

Furthermore, John Calabrese's *China's Changing Relations with the Middle East*(1991) is also another insightful scholarly work that suggests that China's policy towards the Middle East is well structured and links China's foreign policy to its domestic political and economic issues as well as its competitive relationship with the Soviet Union as he calls it "special attention to these sub-theatres or superpower rivalry". He also explains China's tactic to break the American imposed isolation, which depended on leadership decisions rather than institutionalized decision making. He stresses the importance of Sino-Egyptian relations and explicates both positive and negative dynamics of such a relationship. He also illustrates the relationships with other Middle Eastern countries such as Palestine, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, and further he touches on Iran. He postulates that the pragmatism of the Chinese foreign policy towards the Middle East changed when China's foreign policy structure began to be institutionalised during the Cultural Revolution.

He argues that China's interest in Kuwait originated with the purchase of chemical fertilizers as well as "the added incentive of using Sino-Kuwaiti trade ties as yet another lever to gain input into OPEC policy" (Calabrese 1991:89) he also states that China's Muslim minority issues and Kuwait's recognition of Taiwan impeded the formation of official relations until 1971. He concludes that "mid-1970s served as a period of Sino-Kuwaiti familiarisation and confidence building rather than substantial cooperation". He continues to describe the Sino-Kuwaiti relations in the 80's in which the political change in Iran and the Iran-Iraq War played a central role in the increase in trade and commerce between both countries, the Iraqi aligned with the Soviet Union in the 80's and Kuwait's relationship with the United States all influenced the Sino-Kuwaiti political relations. Economic loans, oil supplies, investments are key to understanding this relationship. I would like to argue that although I agree with most of Calabrese's analysis, I believe that China did have interest in the Arab world not as a major power in the political system but in the context of as emerging economies in the developing world and the Arab World towards China as an emerging power.

We also have publications by other writers:



**Yitzhak Shichor, *The Middle East in China's Foreign Policy 1949-1977*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.** The author stresses on the importance of China's relationship with Palestine, Egypt and Syria. He also emphasises China's support of revolutionary movements until 1972 where there is a transition in China's policy towards the Arabian Peninsula. He described China's challenge with recognizing Kuwait because they had friendly relations with Iraq. Instead of taking sides, Zhou Enlai congratulated the Kuwaiti Amir Sheikh Abdullah Alsaleem of this occasion (新华社) In line with other scholars, he surmises that China viewed this as a victory against imperialist rule in the Middle East. He explains that China had to face Iraqi assertion that Kuwait was a part of Iraq as much as Taiwan is a part of China. China's media assailed Kuwait for asking British troops to protect its territory from Iraq following its independence. "The Chinese people resolutely support the proper demand of the Arab peoples; British troops must withdraw from Kuwait." (Shichor, 1979:103) Finally, he also stressed the mutual economic interest of Kuwait and China.

**Mohammed Bin Huwaidin, *China's Relations with Arabia and the Gulf 1949-1999*, RoutledgeCurzon 2002 ( Kindle Version)** He has detailed research on China in the international system and how it conducts its foreign policy to counter other superpowers (USA and Russia). He also stresses on China's relationship with each of the six Arabian Gulf countries, in addition to Iraq and Iran, and how they influenced one another from 1949 until 1999. He addresses the Arabian Peninsula, which includes Iraq and Iran but mainly focuses on energy and trade relations which are core to the existing connections with China today. One reference to quote was particularly noteworthy. Bin Huwaidin emphasized that "China did not consider Kuwait to have potential to wage a struggle against the West in the Arab world". At the time, China's leadership classified Kuwait as part of the "Capitalist Camp" of the West. He explains that Kuwait did not follow Egyptian President Jamal AbduNasser anti-British propaganda but rather continued having friendly ties with the British. China's policy towards Kuwait changed after the latter's declaration of independence in 1961, but the former kept criticising the British Military presence in Kuwait in the media without directly referencing the Kuwaiti government. Congruently, he argues that Kuwait was unhappy with China's support with revolutionary movement in the region and China

was unhappy because Kuwait still recognised Taiwan's sovereignty. After 1971, the Soviet Union began influence began moving into the region. During this period, China and Kuwait's relationship cooled somewhat but they remained cordial. Both had ambitions for more international recognition and they shared economic interests.

**Muhamad S. Olimat, China and the Middle East from Silk Road to Arab Spring, Routledge, 2013 (Kindle Version)** he is part of the Association of Chinese Political Studies and he aimed to fill the void in the Sino-Middle Eastern studies. His book defines the historical links between the Middle East and China from the Silk Road during the Tang Dynasty. He also includes the Sino-Islamic relations, which in many ways, are related to the Silk Road and to the Islamic expansion to the east. He uses the five dimensions approach: energy, arm sales, trade, political cooperation and cultural ties to explain China's relationship with the Middle East. He also describes China's strategy to seek a detente between Saudi Arabia and Iran. This is very enlightening because this type of policy also existed in the past with regards to the regions and superpowers. He describes Kuwait declaration of independence as "one of the major crisis in Sino-Middle Eastern relations during this period," as Iraq attempted to avoid this as much as possible with the aid of Arab states and the Soviet Union. He also perceives Kuwait as a "route to infiltrate the Gulf markets and to encourage diplomatic recognition from Saudi Arabia in particular"(Olimat,2013: 26-27)

Olimat writes about the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and illustrates how China abstained from voting for the UNSC resolution 678 in 1990. This is interpreted by him as China supporting Kuwait and it was "not sanctioned by Kuwait or the United States and its coalition." He also focuses on economic relations between Kuwait and China especially on trade and energy related matters.

Olimat recently published two other books:

1. **Muhamad S. Olimat, China and The Middle East Since WWII: A Bilateral Approach, Lexington Books, 2014** in this publication, he links the region to China not only with the establishment of the Silk Route but he also includes Sino-Islamic relations from 714CE, which is a historic timeline that ends with the fall of Imperial China. He gives a general summary of Arab and Islamic interaction with China. Afterwards, he delves into bilateral relations of China

and its relationship with different Arab Countries, namely, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, UAE and Palestine. He uses five pillars of cooperation in his investigation: Political, Economic, Military and Arm Sale, Energy and Culture, as methodology to explain these bilateral relations. He dedicated a chapter to Sino-Kuwaiti relations; it included the political information mentioned earlier in his previous book. He expands into the economic history between China and Kuwait, which started in 1965 after Kuwait decided to sell chemical fertilizers to China. According to the data, oil sales to China began in 1969. In addition to arm sales to Kuwait in 1988 (Olimat,2014:128), which does not resonate with China and Kuwaiti archive information. There is no military relation until 1995. Olimat's approach in my opinion offers information with less interest in contextualisation to either Kuwait, China or the region.

2. **Muhamad S. Olimat, China and the Gulf Cooperation Council: a Strategic Partnership in a Changing World, Lexington Books, September 21, 2016.**

His manuscript is divided into two parts: part one is a multilateral approach to Sino-GCC relations historical background, and a 5-dimension paradigm and international rivalry in the Gulf region. Part Two, investigates China's bilateral relations with each of the six GCC countries using the 5-dimension Paradigm. He explores the historic relations between Kuwait and China from the Silk Road period. He contextualises China and Kuwaiti cooperation within the Middle Eastern from a geopolitical and historic perspective; referring to the oil embargo in 1973, Arab-Israeli conflict, Iran-Iraq War and the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait. He also defines the economic, cultural and energy ties between both countries from 1961 until 2016.

3. **王景祺 , 科威特 , Wang Jing Qi, The State of Kuwait** published in 2014 by

the Social Science Academic Press China. The author is a retired diplomat who served in Kuwait. His book describes the history, politics, economy, social structure and security of the country. He mentions Kuwait- China relations is a page or two describing a few important visits and the invasion of Kuwait as an international issue. He mentions China's objection to the opening of the Republic of China's business office under the label of China in 1986 in Kuwait.

This is the first time I read such an information and it is fragmentedly translated in the Appendix as the book is in Chinese.

4. **Jonathan Fulton, China's Relations with the Gulf Monarchies (Rethinking Asia and International Relations)** Published in August 2018, Fulton is an assistant professor at the College of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zayed University, in Abu Dhabi. I met him at the China Arab World Forum in Doha, Qatar in May of 2016, before the GCC crisis ensued in the June of 2017. At the time, he was doing research into China-GCC relations. In his book, he describes China GCC relations post-1949. He also researched China's relationship with Iran and Iraq. He focuses on two main countries in the GCC structure: UAE and Oman. His chapters spotlight bilateral relations with China in several fields, including, political, economics and energy. Kuwait is referenced as part of the GCC but no information germane to my research topic is presented. Furthermore, he cites Bin Huwaiden and Behbehani's works on the historical background of Kuwait and China's relationship.
5. **吴富贵：《我们和你们：中国和科威特的故事》，五洲传播出版社，2018<sup>12</sup>** Wu Fugui (ed.)( 2018), *Stories from China and Kuwait, series (We and you), Wuzhou Communication House:* this book includes latest bilateral visits and also highlights China's role in during the invasion, liberation and post liberation of Kuwait with their firemen team and their peace keeping team in the northern border. There are interviews with Chinese nurses, sports trainers and diplomats that served in Kuwait during the 70's and 80's. This information is fundamental in filling the gap of my interaction with Chinese personalities. Although most of the information is most likely, censored or redacted, I attained more of an idea about the social aspects of China-Kuwait interaction. They also have photographs to demonstrate the depth this relationship. ( Arabic Version)
6. **Sara J Al Mutairi (2018), Thesis dissertation 'The Arab Gulf Monarchies' Responses To The Rise Of The Chinese Dragon', December 2018, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ,** AlMutairi discusses China's rise and its influence in the Arabian Gulf. She notes the US and China's

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<sup>12</sup> وو فوقوي(2018)، " قصص الصين والكويت" من سلسلة نحن وانتم، مطبعة الصين الدولية، بكين

divergent policies in the region. The key points that I found relevant for my research is China's pro-Arab stance with regards to the Arab-Israeli issue and Kuwait in the formation of China- GCC cooperation. The publication explores the political environment post-Cold War period and the establishment of China's relationship with the Middle East, while focusing on the Arabian Gulf region.

7. **Dorsey, James M (2019). *China and the Middle East, venturing in to Maelstrom*, Palgrave Macmillan:** Dorsey mentions that the Middle East today has become a significant and security region for China, one because it is the major energy supplier to china and second because it impacts the 'regional posture' and world security and stability. He also describes the One Road One Belt initiative and China's interest in the Middle East for energy and new well-connected markets not only by maritime access.

## 1.9 MOTIVATIONS

The personal motivation to develop and investigate the Kuwait Chinese relations from 1961-1990 comes from my previous attempt to investigate Sino-Kuwaiti relations for my master's thesis. At that time, I realized that there were not enough research or primary resources available but I had the curiosity and eagerness to continue reading Dr Hashim Behbehani's research into Sino Kuwaiti relations, which he presented in his book *China and the Arab in three case studies 1955-1975*. The period between 1961 until 1990 showcases very important historic events that shaped the relationship between Kuwait and China such as the independence of Kuwait, China's reinstatement in the UN, the modernisation of China and the invasion of Kuwait. Behbehani concluded in his research that Naser's pan-Arabism was in line with China's third world or South-South anti-imperialist movement that portended the China Arab world convergence that included Kuwait.

Moreover, conducting the research presented an opportunity to be part of the Kuwaiti Team that dealt with the One Road One Belt Initiative. The historic content in both political and economic bilateral relations is very important and helps to understand the development of the relationship and establishment of such important projects that we are witnessing today.

## 2. POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE OF KUWAIT AND PRC

This chapter is devoted to describing both countries' (Kuwait and the PRC) political structures and ideologies and formation, as well as the circumstances conducive to the development of the official diplomatic relations in a timeline format.

The chapter reflects an attempt to observe the main features that gradually shaped the Sino-Kuwaiti relations over time and up to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, how such relations have developed and what are the main milestones that emerged on the track of such bilateral relations over the period in question.

It also aims to describe PRC's views and stances vis-à-vis the regional conflicts, China's vetoes in the UNSC in favour of, or in line with, Kuwait in terms of regional causes, what issues did they both agree on and what others separated them? Were their foreign policies aligned? The relationship between the Kuwaiti Parliament and its counterpart in China, and did domestic issues play a role in the formation of foreign policies in both countries? China's views and roles in the Gulf region, specifically the Iran-Iraq War and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. All such elements are formulated using topic related subheadings:

- 2.1 Historic overview
- 2.2 Introduction to the Kuwaiti Chinese Bilateral Relations;
- 2.3 China and Kuwait in the UN;
- 2.4 Kuwaiti Parliament and the National People's Congress of China;
- 2.5 Iraq–Iran war;
- 2.6 The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait.
- 2.7 Summary and Conclusions

### **Key Information:**

- People's Republic of China will be referred to in the research as China, PRC and some references refer to it as communist China.
- The State of Kuwait will be referred to as Kuwait in the research
- Republic of China will be referred to as Taiwan also in some references they call it Nationalist China.

## **2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

This chapter will include the historic context of both China and Kuwait: a historic overview of political bilateral relations from 1961 until 1990. This historic context will present an outline of a chain of events that were taking place when contact between modern day Kuwait and China materialised.

The division of the research period into phases facilitates the description of this relationship. Calabrese and Shichor all have their timelines but the timeline I have chosen is a combination of both China and Kuwait's important focal points. Bandung was China's first step out of its international isolation and its first encounter with the Arab world, Africa and Latin America. The independence of Kuwait is a crucial date that helps explain the political context of this research. 1971 denotes the China's instatement to the UN and the establishment of bilateral relations. 1973 is the oil crisis and cut of production of some members of the OPEC and also a seminal date for the Arab-Israeli conflict. The 1980's signifies economic prosperity that ends with the 1990 the invasion of Kuwait.

### **Phase one (1954-1960): Bandung aftermath**

In this period, China had just participated in the Geneva and Bandung conferences in 1954 and 1955, and there it established relations with the Arab National socialist governments. China, whose foreign policy never favoured imperialism-colonialism, did not approach the Arabian Gulf States because they were still under full British protection.

This period marked China striving to find itself in the international order and defend its ideology as well as the use of Islam as a tool to establish relations with the Arab and Islamic world. In the meantime, Kuwait was facing a wave of pan-Arabism and calls for independence from the British protection and formation of a democratic system from the 1938 council that aimed to create a new Kuwaiti constitution.

## **Phase Two (1961-1971): Informal relations**

The government of People's Republic of China wanted to gain a prominent position in the international community as the rightful representative of China. Their objective was to secure a seat in the United Nations, especially at the Security Council. After a successful negotiation with the U.S., and thanks to its regional soft power in the Vietnam War China managed, with the help of the international community, to gain a desirable position. Kuwait was the first Gulf State to vote in favour to China's recognition in the UN resolution 2758 in 1971 and to fully establish diplomatic and economic relations with China.

Meanwhile, China played a central a role in supporting national movements in the Middle East, specifically in Oman, Iraq and Iran. China also prompted the formation of the communist movements to combat what it deemed British imperialistic liberal ideology. During this period, Kuwait became independent and was aiming to find its position in the international community; the Arab league and the United Nations. Kuwait began to use to its national resources to support the development of Arab and African States and again to support its fellow Arab states, and to defend its sovereignty after the Kuwaiti-Iraqi crisis of June 1961 and 1963. It moved to form relationships with many countries aiming to balance both western and communist camps<sup>13</sup>.

It is important to mention that Kuwait formed a formal diplomatic relationship with Taiwan in 1963, after Taiwan's supportive role in Kuwait's admission to the UN. The bilateral relationship is based on mutual economic interests. As a matter of context, it should be noted that Taiwan had an embassy in Kuwait from 1964-1971 until Kuwait adopted the one China policy of the PRC. As a result, Taiwan left Kuwait with a downsized economic office that still exists today. (See Appendix 1.5 p. 218 and 3.1 p. 291)

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<sup>13</sup> Although I mentioned earlier that I will focus on Kuwaiti and Chinese sources of information however, I found 4 documents in the Kuwaiti Records 1961-1965 published by British Archives in 1997 showing the British criticism of Kuwait's policy towards the USSR and how it balanced the relationship with two Chins: Nationalist and Communist. Due to the sensitivity of the content I will only use the citation. (Burdett 1997, p388-391)



### **Phase three 1972-1990: Formal relations**

China admired the influence and efficiency of OPEC and continued its diplomatic relations with the region. Conversely, China was one of the first countries to recognise the formation of the GCC with which it established diplomatic and economic relations (Yetiv & Lu 2007). This was the strategic turning point of the Sino-GCC relations.

The rest of the GCC members established diplomatic relations with China as a result: United Arab Emirates in 1984, Qatar in 1988 and Bahrain in 1989. It is significant to mention that before China became a net importer of oil, it already had interests with some of the Gulf states such as Kuwait, which had been a source of income for over 7,700 Chinese construction workers for Kuwait-based projects that were valued at more than US \$500 million prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. From 1982 to 1989, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development provided China with US \$310 million in soft loans for the construction of thirteen projects in different Chinese provinces, underscoring the strength of their economic ties (Bin Huwaidin 2002:121).

During this period, Kuwait was very much involved with the Palestinian Liberation Movement (PLO) and was supporting Arab causes. In 1980, Kuwait backed Iraq in the 10 year Iraq-Iran War. This backing placed Kuwait in direct threat of terrorism and political turmoil that disrupted its oil trade. Kuwait was also growing its development and investment projects around the world.

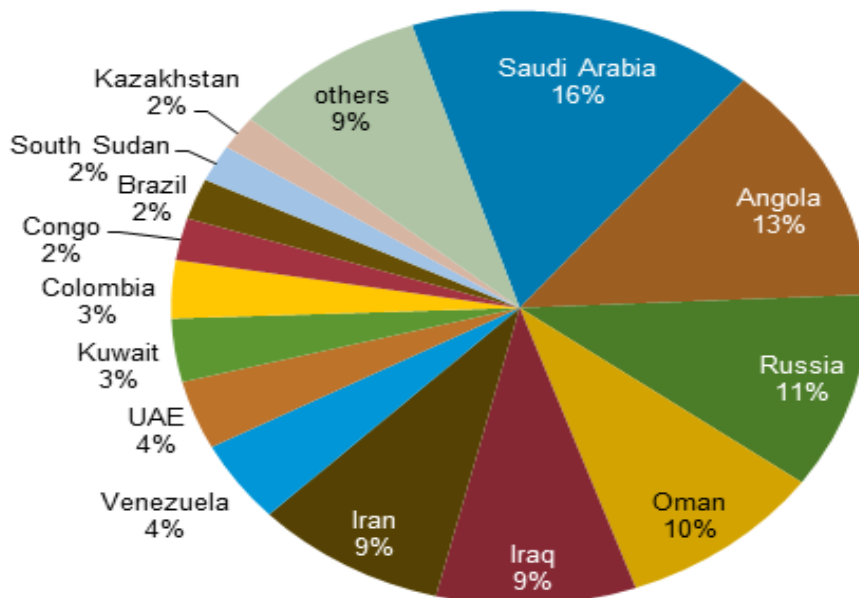
It is relevant to mention that the trade between the GCC states and China rose from US \$14.5 million in 1968 to US \$500 million in 1975, including arm sales to the region and Kuwait is not included.


## 2.2 BILATERAL RELATIONS

People's Republic of China and the State of Kuwait cooperation ties began in 1955 with economic and trade relations and also when Beijing provided significant support to Kuwait in 1961-1962 independence crisis and again in 1990-1991 during the Iraqi invasion. From the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, Beijing utilised Kuwait as the major avenue for opening relations with the Gulf region. In addition, Kuwait was amongst the first countries to provide economic aid, investments, and preferential loans to China during the 1970s until 1982. (Olimat,2014:121).

Their bilateral ties have expanded widely since China's era of economic reform was ushered in 1978. In 1994, China started importing oil from Kuwait and by 2014 it has become a major supplier of oil to China, accounting for 3% of its imports. Their expanded scope of engagement includes political, economic and cultural ties.

**China's crude oil imports by source, 2014**



 Sources: FACTS Global Energy, Global Trade Information Services, Inc.

*Figure 1: China's Crude oil imports by source,*  
*US, Energy Information Administration, China, 14/5/2015 p11*  
[https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis\\_includes/countries\\_long/China/china.pdf](https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/countries_long/China/china.pdf)

Beijing was well-informed of political developments in the Gulf, especially of Kuwait's growing desire for independence towards the end of 1950s. Kuwait declared its independence on June 19, 1961 with the abrogation of the 1899 treaty of protection with Britain (Olimat,2014:121).

The unofficial relations between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China commenced with a telegram sent by Zhou Enlai, People's Republic of China's Prime Minister, and Sheikh Abdullah Al Salem Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait, on the occasion of Kuwait's independence from the British protectorate in 1961 (Appendix 2.3.1 p266). China then became the first communist country to recognise an independent Kuwait.

Since then, Kuwait has endeavoured to gain the international community's recognition. On one hand, China kept an eye on the Kuwaiti-Iraqi sovereignty conflict and how the international community dealt with recognising Kuwait's independence by approving Kuwait's membership in the United Nations in 1963. Kuwait as a young state was very cautious with its foreign relations. As such, it focused more on its neighbouring Arab countries than on permanent members of United Nations Security Council (UNSC). This strategy was instated to advance its membership in the UN, which is the main reason Kuwait delayed its recognition of the PRC and remained supportive of an Republic of China (Taiwan) until 1971.

The shift in China's policy towards the Gulf monarchies is well narrated in the case of the Sino-Kuwaiti, and the Sino-Omani relations. It is important to mention that China and Iraq have established a very close diplomatic and trade relationship since 1958. After the fall of the Iraqi monarchy, China and the new Iraqi regime sought this opportunity as a safe haven to establishing a brotherly pact, which deferred both Kuwait's recognition of China and vice versa.(Alsabah,2017)

In Hashim Behbehani's book, he mentions that "*The Chinese press kept a close watch on the Iraq-Kuwait dispute after attempting to expose the negative Kuwaiti side of the affair*". (Behbehani, 1981:194 ) He explained that China monitored the first crisis between Kuwait and Iraq after Kuwait's declaration of independence. The AlKasim

crisis of June 1961<sup>14</sup> is one compelling illustration of China's news bias, as Behbehani notes: "The first week of July 1961 provides a good example: when the Arab League began to mediate in this conflict, the Chinese press presented only the Iraqi version" (Behbehani, 1981:194). Since China opposed colonial and imperialistic ideologies, the British troops aid in defending Kuwait's sovereignty was taken negatively by China.

Moreover, Behbehani justifies China's position towards Kuwait as "*The Kuwaiti case in the UN was supported by Taiwan, UK, US and France and opposed by the Soviet Union*". (Behbehani, 1981:195) The letter mentioned in Appendix 3.1.5 p298 mentions Taiwan's gratitude for Kuwait's welcoming for their special envoy without mentioning the mission of this envoy, but the dates coincide with the Kuwait-Iraq Crisis in which Taiwan's support was positively seen in the local media and politics. However, there is no official document provided from the Kuwaiti side regarding Taiwan I believe due to its political sensitivity.

Behbehani also argued that on 14th July 1961, the Iraqi embassy in Beijing gave a reception celebrating the third anniversary of the Republic of Iraq's National Day. The ambassador 'Abd-al Hak Fadil spoke first and according to NCNA:

He strongly condemned the British troops for having occupied Kuwait... '*Kuwait is a part of the Republic of Iraq just as Taiwan is a part of China and Goa is a part of India*' (Behbehani, 1981:195) This was the same argument employed each time Iraq had a dispute with Kuwait. Their contention was they had a right to annex the newly independent emirate.

Behbehani also delves into Chinese press coverage of the deployment of the first Arab League peacekeeping mission in Kuwait: '*The ruler of Kuwait Sheikh Abdullah Al Salim AlSabah yesterday September 14 officially demanded that British withdraw its aggressive troops that-have occupied Kuwait since 1st of July, according to a report from Kuwait...*' (Behbehani, 1981:195)

China too expressed their concern that the peace troops would be deployed in other countries in the Arabian Peninsula. China feared that the deployment of troops would precipitate changes in Kuwait's oil pricing policies. Since independence, Kuwait had

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<sup>14</sup> Is also known as the Kuwait-iraq crisis of 1961, when Iraq refused to recognised Kuwait's independence claiming it was part of Iraq in the time of the Ottoman rule of Al Basra.

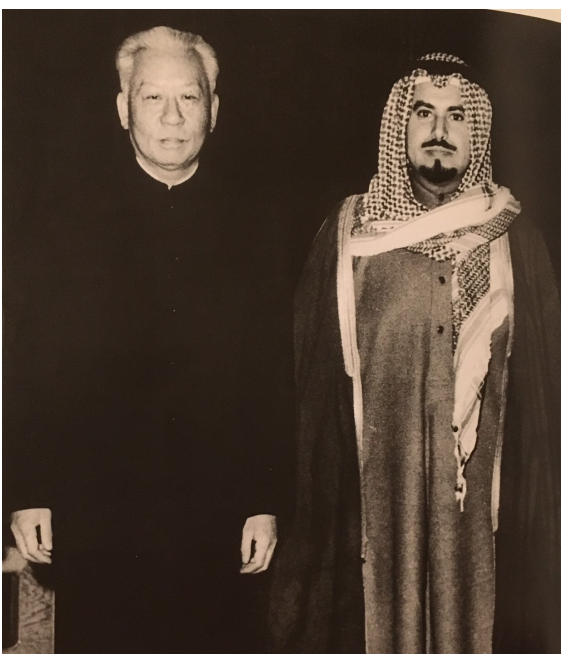
sought diplomatic recognition from various nations in order to strengthen its international position in countering Iraqi Prime Minister Kasim's claims and by June 1962, 71 states had extended recognition to Kuwait.

As a response, Kasim severed diplomatic relations with any state that recognised Kuwait. However, on 9th February 1963, Kasim's regime was overthrown, and he was executed by the Baathists in a military coup. Kuwait consequently reapplied for UN membership and was accepted on 14 May 1963 as an independent state. (Behbehani, 1981:197)

Iraq's recognition of Kuwait was finally secured when the Kuwaiti crown prince and prime minister Sheikh Sabah AlSalim AlSabah visited Iraq on 2nd October 1963 and reached an agreement with Prime Minister Ahmad Hasan Albakr, whereby Iraq recognised Kuwait's independence within its current geography and borders. (Behbehani, 1981:200)

According to the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 2003 to 2009, Kuwait and China had economic relations pre-1965 and the Kuwait's recognition of Taiwan impeded an earlier diplomacy with China. He also touched upon the importance of Taiwan as being a supporter of Kuwait in the UNSC. ( Appendix 5.1 p 309)

Kuwait had a positive image of China and voted in favour of China's reinstatement in UNSC in 1971. Al Ghais said the Finance Minister's visit to China in 1965 was economically driven to enhance trade and economic development. (Alsabah,2017)



In 1965 Kuwait and China began exchanging friendly official and non-official delegations. The most important of these was a visit of the Kuwaiti Assistant Undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance and Industry to establish a trade and

*Figure 2: President Liu Shaoqi with Sheikh Jaber  
Source: Kuwait and China 45th Anniversary book  
NCCLA (2016), page 63*

economic pact with China. (Alsabah, 2017) Details of other pivotal visits will be provided later in this chapter.

It is relevant to mention that Kuwait used to refer to the Republic of China ( Taiwan) as Nationalist China, Kuwait established a diplomatic relationship with Taiwan in November 1963, Taiwan had an embassy in the state of Kuwait until the 1971. Taiwan had a good trading relationship with Kuwait as most of what was referred as Chinese products of the 60's-70's meant Taiwanese made, usually electronic products as a few people mentioned. The political importance of Taiwan comes as it was representing China in the UNSC and it supported Kuwait's admission to the UN and also was an important market to Kuwaiti oil.

According to National Archives Administration National Department Council's Documents, Kuwait and Taiwan started their relationship during Kuwait's aim to become a member of the UN in May of 1963. The Kuwaiti Minister of Foreign Affairs Thanked Taiwan's support on this event and the letter is shown in Appendix 3.1.4 p297 which indicates the first official diplomatic communication between both sides.

The documents also show Taiwan's interest in Kuwait domestic and regional affairs and they were willing to establish relations via their embassy in Tehran. It also mentions that Taiwan nominated an ambassador to Kuwait but Kuwait remained communication through the Kuwaiti embassy in Tehran. ( Appendix 3.1.6 p299)

According to Abu Alhassan during his work at the UN, he noticed that as an independent state their shared anti imperialistic values and it helped china in the UN by blocking Taiwan's aim to gain a membership in the UN as an independent state and Second Kuwait presented a promising market to combat Taiwanese products. (Appendix 5.4 p 321)

On 19<sup>th</sup> of march 1971, Kuwait and the people's republic of China started the negotiation of the establishment of the bilateral relations. The Chinese delegation arrived on the 18<sup>th</sup> from Iraq and the Chinese side was headed by Ambassador Gong

Dafei<sup>15</sup>, Chinese ambassador to Iraq and the Kuwaiti side was headed by Rashed AlRashed undersecretary of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Chinese ambassador predicted that the Taiwan will present a problem during the negotiations for the establishment of the diplomatic bilateral relations. ( Wu Fugui, 2018: 42-43)

The negotiations took place from 19<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, the first session was on the 19<sup>th</sup> and the main discussion focused on how will Kuwait deal with the existing Taiwanese embassy in Kuwait and Kuwait required time to respond to this issue. The Chinese side provided the Kuwaiti side with a draft of the joint statement of the formation of bilateral diplomatic relationship.



Furthermore, the next day the negotiations continues, the Kuwaiti side made some amendments to the joint statement, these amendments excluded that Taiwan per say is part of China(PRC) but rather that Kuwait recognized the People's Republic of China and is implementing a one China policy in support of China's continuous

*Figure 3: Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs Undersecretary and the Chinese ambassador to Iraq in the China Kuwait negotiations (Source: Wu Fugui (2018) page 42*

support for the Arab cause and its anti-imperialistic polices. The Chinese side protested the fact that Kuwait did not mention the expulsion of the Taiwanese Embassy in Kuwait and the part about Taiwan being is part of the PRC and that the government of Taiwan is illegitimate. ( Wu Fugui, 2018: 44-45)

The Kuwaiti side explained that Taiwan by default becomes a domestic Chinese issue once Kuwait recognises one China and the fact that the Taiwanese diplomats have been

<sup>15</sup> Gong Dafei's Biography, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affair's Website: [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/ziliao\\_665539/wjrw\\_665549/lrfbzjbzzl\\_665553/t44370.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/wjrw_665549/lrfbzjbzzl_665553/t44370.shtml)

guests in Kuwait it would be against local traditions just to ‘kick them out’ suddenly and Kuwait fought for its right to deal with Taiwan as it saw fit and with the sufficient time needed. Hence, the Chinese delegation had to send the information back to Beijing via Baghdad and will wait for the government’s response. ( Wu Fugui, 2018: 46)

Finally, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March with both sides on the negotiating table, Kuwait reassured China that it will respect the one china policy and will eventually expel the Taiwanese embassy in due time and it reaffirms that the other views are aligned with respect to the 5 principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

The Chinese side explained that due to Kuwait history and different political system, China is willing to make an exception and approve of this joint statement and both sides signed the statement. ( Wu Fugui, 2018: 49)

In 1972, Kuwait appointed its first ambassador to Beijing and in 1974, the Speaker of the Kuwaiti Parliament, Khaled Al Ghunaim, visited China and met with Zhou Enlai to enhance Sino-Kuwaiti political, social, economic and cultural familiarisation, which then led to the signature of a bilateral economic agreement in 1977 and other aspects of bilateral cooperation.



*Figure 4: Ambassador Albaijan with His Spouse with Zhou Enlai in 1972 ( Source: Ambassador Albaijan’s private collection)*



H.E. Albaijan described his experience as the first ambassador to China as unique; *"China was an unknown country for us. It has a different political, economic and cultural system. I was honoured to give my credentials to Premier Zhou Enlai, which was not a common conduct; this was an exception because I was the first ambassador. I don't believe it happened to my successors."* ( Appendix 5.2 p 313)

According to Abu Al Hassan, the Kuwait delegation arrived in China during a significant period. It was after US-China normalisation after US President Richard Nixon's visit to China. China was reinstated to its place in the UN only a year earlier and just started its integration into the international community. Kuwait was the first Gulf country to open an embassy China. There were a few other Arab nation embassies in Beijing at time, and this sense of community made it easier for the staff and diplomats of the Kuwaiti embassy to acclimatise. ( Appendix 5.4 p321)

It has been noted in an official document that China and Kuwait established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level on March 22, 1971. The friendship between the two countries in the fields of politics, economy, culture, and military has endured ever since.

According to Bin Huwaidin, China's friendship with Kuwait in the 1970s did not witness a substantial political or strategic progression. This might be due to Kuwait's neutral foreign policy stance. Kuwait was able to balance its relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. (Bin Huwaidin 2002:193)

Bin Huwaidin's statement is an interesting observation however, in order to evaluate this bilateral relationship, one must know the main interest of both countries to establish this relationship. Kuwait wanted to have relations with both the capitalist and communist worlds to protect its sovereignty and independence. The economic prospective also aimed at working with everyone regardless of its political ideology which seem to give the first steps for economic and fertilizers cooperation. So, to say it did not reach substantial political progression is considered relative.

With regards to Kuwait-Taiwan relations after 1971, according to a conversation with a diplomat from the Taiwanese Business office in Kuwait, after the official recognition of

the People's Republic of China in Kuwait and its admission in the UN as the representative of China. The Taiwanese government decided to close its embassy in Kuwait because of the application of 'one china policy' and also Kuwait's support to PRC in the international sphere. This means that Taiwan felt it was no longer welcome as an embassy and Kuwait might be siding with PRC in several international contexts as it was the first to do so in the region.

Furthermore, the Taiwanese business office opened in Kuwait in 1986 to serve business and consular services. It is important to mention that PRC objected the name of Republic of China for this office, and Kuwait requested from the office to use Taiwan instead. (Wang, 2014: 230)

After diplomatic recognition most Kuwaiti newspapers focused on China, with headlines such as "China becomes part of the Arabian Gulf conflict by selling arms to Iran" Alqabas 20/6/1973. This suggests that China, as a third world country, and which was installed as a permanent Security Council of the UN, was now involved in the region. The Arabian Gulf region being young independent states in the early 70's not all of course, are used to having involvement of international and regional powers in the region. So, it would be interesting to categorize China in this period as the regional third world leader with Veto power. This explains to a certain extent Kuwait's reluctance to open an embassy in Taipei in 1964, in which it forecasted the importance of PRC due to size, geography and international politics.

In 1974, Al Seyassah published the news headline "China praises Kuwait's anti imperialistic policy and their support for the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)" and documents from China National Library in appendix 2.1 consistently show China's interest in the PLO and Yasser Arafat with whom the Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait has met several times. This may suggest that Kuwait presented an opportunity for China to support the Arab cause, which is considered key in the Kuwaiti foreign policy.

Between 1972- 75 Kuwait and China had strong ties in the regional and with international sporting federations. Kuwait supported the one china policy. As result of this shift in policy, Kuwait expelled Taiwan from its sporting events and likewise,

China supported Kuwait's movement to expel Israel from the Asian Games (Asian Olympic and Football Federation) (please refer to chapter 4 for more sports relations)

In 1976, there was more cooperation the economic, agricultural and petrochemicals sectors. (please see Chapter 3)

In 1977, Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah Alahmad AlSabah (incumbent Amir of Kuwait) visits China and was received by Minister Huang Hua. During the formal banquet, in his speech, Foreign Minister Huang Hua said that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Kuwait, the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has been firmly established.

The visit of the Foreign Minister has given us an opportunity to exchange views on issues of common concern. This will undoubtedly enhance mutual understanding and friendship between our peoples and promote the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua signalled that the aggression, expansion and fierce competition of the superpowers have seriously threatened the security of the Middle East and the Gulf countries. He said that the development of the situation in the Middle East is increasingly beneficial to the people but not to imperialism, hegemonism and Israel Zionism.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua praised the Kuwaiti government and people under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Sabah Al-Salim Al-Sabah, and firmly supported the Arab people and Palestine while safeguarding national independence. He defended national sovereignty and developing the national economy. The people oppose the just struggle of Israel's Zionism. They work hard to promote unity between the Arab and Gulf countries. They oppose the intervention of the superpowers in the Middle East and the Gulf. Lastly, he said, they make positive contributions to the unity and anti-authoritarianism of the people of the region.

In his speech, Minister Sabah Al-Ahmad enthusiastically expressed the friendly sentiment of the Kuwaiti people towards the Chinese people. He said that relations

between the two countries are growing in the right direction along demonstrating the strength of two cultures working together. Despite the different political, economic, and social systems in our two countries, the scope of fruitful cooperation is expanding and diversifying. He said that Kuwait is working with the brotherly Gulf countries to further strengthen their cooperation. We are committed to preventing our Gulf from becoming a political and military venue for great powers. Kuwait also supports efforts aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and freeing it from international competition to ensure its security and stability. Kuwait firmly believes in the heroic role played by the African Liberation Movement. It is sparing no expense to provide the necessary assistance to enable the African Liberation Movement to continue its just struggle. ( Appendix 2.1, N. 412 p 250)

During this visit, Sheikh Sabah also had a protocol meeting with Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien and the rest of the Kuwaiti delegation. Moreover, Kuwait foreign minister Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber held a banquet at the Kuwaiti embassy inviting a few Chinese personalities like Minister Huang Hua and Vice Minister Ma Wenbo. During the occasion both sides said that that joint efforts to establish principles of peaceful coexistence and bilateral relations will result in a brighter future for both nations. Finally, Sheikh Sabah left China shortly after the delegation visited the Guangzhou Export Commodities Fair in spring 1977.( Appendix 2.1, N.410-409 p. 251)

According to Alqabas, 7/5/1977 Sheikh Sabah met with the Chinese president Hua Guofeng during the same trip and delivered a letter from HH the Amir of Kuwait. In the letter from the Kuwaiti ambassador to China Abu Alhassan, he stated that the official talk was successful and that both sides discussed bilateral cooperation and development. It further highlighted the situation in the Arabian Gulf and the Middle East. In his letter he also mentioned the pending economic cooperation and praised Kuwait's support of Arab world challenges. ( Appendix 1.2, 003, p195)

On 9/3/1979 Alqabas, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua says that at a dinner in Beijing hosted by a Kuwait Cabinet Minister AbdulAziz Hussein that China refused involvement in the Arabian Gulf affairs. In addition, on 8/3/1979 Xinhua states that Foreign Minister Huang Hua held a banquet this evening to welcome the Kuwaiti

Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Abdul Aziz Hussein and his delegation. The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly support the just struggle of the Arab countries and the people to regain lost ground and restoration of the national rights of the Palestinians. Arab internal affairs, he contends, should be conducted by the Arab countries and left to the people. We resolutely oppose the hegemonic powers that intervene in the affairs of Arabian Gulf region. ( Appendix 1.2, 009, p.196)

On the same note, Alqabas 2/9/1978 mentions that China will be involved in Arabian Gulf affairs if the Soviet's influence threatens the Arabian water security says a Chinese leader (Hua Guofeng) to Iran. This comes after tensions regarding the Hormuz Strait before the beginnings of the Iranian Revolution. ( Appendix 1.2, 007, p196 )

The China – USSR conflict did play a role on China's involvement in the Middle East, as both sides believed to be the leader of the Communist Bloc of that period of time. This is more visible in China's relationship with Egypt, Iraq and other countries in the region. The Archives did not mention any dialogue directly involving China's opinion regarding Kuwait's relation with the Soviet Union.

On 27/9/1980 Vice Premier Ji Pengfei visited Kuwait and during this trip he expressed his concern on regional matters and warned of further foreign intervention in the Iran-Iraq War. He said, Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories, including Jerusalem, that was occupied in 1967. Israel must recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate in resolving the Middle East crisis.

Ji Pengfei said: "We sincerely hope that the Arab countries, the overall situation, mutual understanding, eliminate differences and strengthen solidarity and concerted efforts to achieve their lofty national goals." He also spoke highly of how the Kuwaiti government and people firmly supported the struggle of the Palestinian efforts to maintain Arab solidarity." ( Appendix 2.1, N. 328, p252)

In the 1981 the six Arabian Gulf Countries agreed to form a Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and to unite and protect themselves from regional security and economic

challenges. China welcomed the formation of this regional institution (Appendix 1.5, K100,p226)

Moreover, in 1984 the GCC decided to formalise a defensive military force called the Peninsula Shield Force. According to Alanba dated 2/12/1984 China supported the GCC's defensive alliance resolution. ( Appendix 1.5, K158, p226)

China supported the formation of such a regional structure with security ambitions because it believes that regional conflicts should be solved in peaceful dialogue and within the region's sphere away from the intervention imperialistic powers.

In 1984 Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian visits Kuwait. In the first meeting with Kuwaiti leaders he exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern. The second was to examine Kuwait achievements.” He delivered an invitation from the Chinese President to HH the Amir Jaber to visit China ( Appendix 2.1,N, 210, p255).

In the morning of 1985, Kuwait Amir Jaber met with Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin. The two discussed bilateral relations amongst other pressing issues. It was reported that the two leaders had a cordial and productive conversation.

Yao Yilin first conveyed Chairman Li Hsien-nien his cordial greetings and good wishes, and President Lee reiterated his invitation to visit China.

Yao Yilin praised the remarkable achievements the government and people of Kuwait under the leadership of the Amir in safeguarding national independence, developing the national economy and nation-building endeavours. He commended Kuwait for safeguarding the unity and cooperation between the Arab and Gulf countries. He noted his appreciated of how Kuwait maintained security and stability in the Gulf region and for their support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people. Finally, Yilin commended the efforts Kuwait made to strengthen South-South cooperation.

Amir Jaber welcomed the visit of Yao Yilin. He thanked the Chairman Li Hsien-nien and accepted the invitation to visit China as soon as it was feasible.

Jaber said the investment protection agreement between the two countries will be signed today. It will open in Kuwait and China cooperation in multiple sectors. He stressed that "Kuwait is a small country, China is a big country, but our cooperation is based on mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit of Kuwait." ( Appendix 2.1, N.136, p258)

Xinhua mentions on 16/12/1989 that Kuwaiti charge d'affaire in an interview with Xinhua, expressed the following opinions on Kuwait-China diplomacy: "President Yang Shangkun forthcoming visit to Kuwait is a major historic event in the history of relations between families, and we will push bilateral friendly cooperation to new heights." ( Appendix 2.1.6,N6, 261)

Yang Shangkun accepted an invitation from the Amir of Kuwait Jaber Ahmad Al-Sabah and Shangkun confirmed that he planned to visit Kuwait on December 24. The news agency announced that since 1971 when the two countries established diplomatic relations that this would be the first Chinese head of state visit to Kuwait. In doing so, the visit marked a milestone as it would further facilitate bilateral relations on multiple fronts.

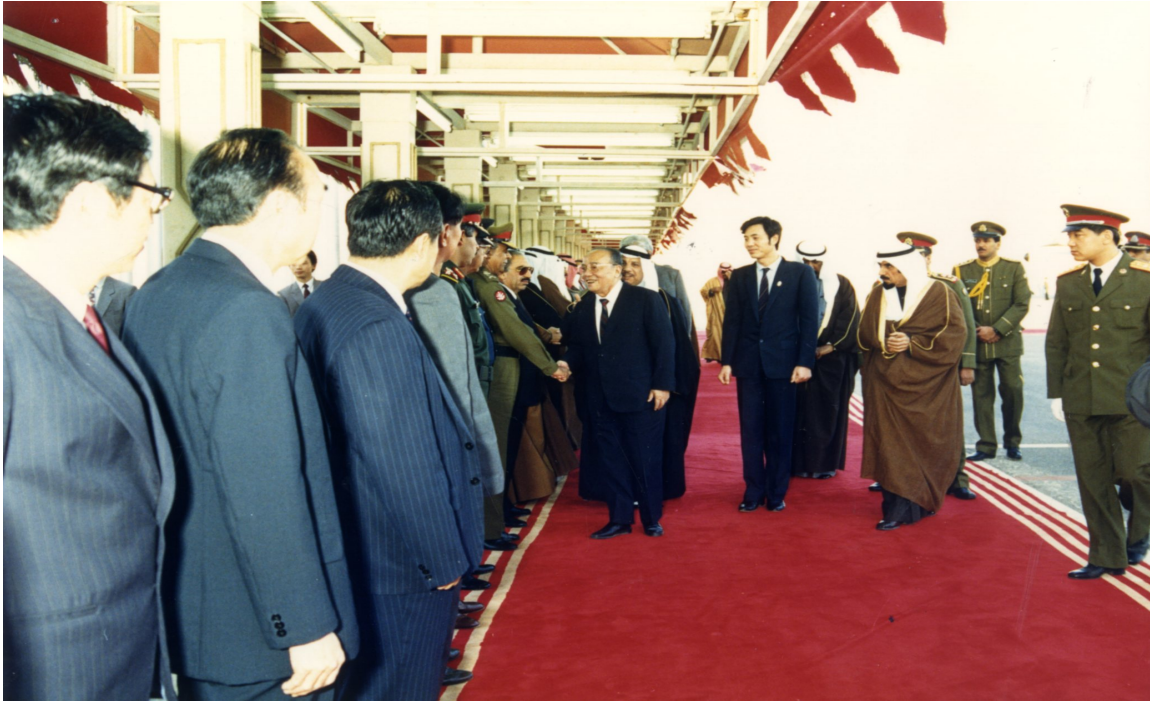
The Amir said that the Kuwaiti people will be very happy to receive President Yang Shangkun and would give him a warm welcome. This will improve relations between the two and advance mutual admiration and understanding. They concluded by stressing that President Yang Shangkun's visit to Kuwait will continue to promote the development of bilateral relations and open new areas of cooperation (Appendix 2.1, N6, 261)



*Figure 5: Chinese president's visit to Kuwait in 1989, source: Alqabas research center*

On the same subject, Xinhua publishes a visit statement on 26/12/1989 Yang Shangkun, President of the People's Republic of China, said this morning that his visit to Kuwait was "completely successful" when he met with the editors of the major newspapers in Kuwait and the head of the press. ( Appendix 2.1,N2,p261)





*Figure 6: Chinese president's airport welcoming ceremony with HH the Amir of Kuwait Source: Alqabas center*

Yang Shangkun specifically mentioned his talks with Kuwaiti Amir Sheikh Jabir Al-Sabah. He said that during the talks, the leaders of the two countries were gratified by the tremendous achievements in the friendly cooperation between the two countries and agreed that China-Kuwaiti relations should be better developed.

He said that China and the two countries already have cooperation in some projects, but both sides hope that the scope of cooperation will be larger and more integrated in the future.

Yang Shangkun said that his visit "achieved the purpose of enhancing the understanding and friendship between the Chinese and Kuwait people and strengthening the unity and cooperation between China and the two countries." ( Appendix 2.1,N2,p261)

Yang Shangkun expressed his appreciation for the internal and external policies pursued by the Kuwaiti government.

He reiterated that China attaches great importance to friendly relations with Kuwait. Further development of friendly cooperation between the two countries in all aspects is an unwavering policy of the Chinese government. He said that the Chinese government is willing to strengthen friendly coordination with Kuwait in major international affairs. Yang Shangkun also briefed Kuwaiti media on the current situation in China. He said that although China faces some difficulties at present, as long as 1.1 billion people are united in one heart and one mind, they will certainly overcome these difficulties and unite to move the country forwards.( Appendix 2.1,N2,p261)

The bilateral relations in the period 1961-1990 can be summarised in main interests of both countries finding their position in the international community, anti-imperial sentiments towards superpowers, the support of the Arab Cause (Arab–Israeli conflict) and the development and promotion of the South-South cooperation or the development of the third world bloc. China was incentivised to become more familiar with its economic and political ally and Kuwait aspired to invest in and to find new markets for its oil and to safeguard its sovereignty.

## 2.3 China and Kuwait in the UN

China's international position was transformed between 1969 and 1972. Although China had long been regarded as an important factor in international affairs, it was not until this period that the PRC received the recognition that allowed it to play an international diplomatic role commensurate with its prominence in world affairs.

China's representation at the Security Council of the United Nations (UNSC) was assumed by Taiwan due to the western disapproval of both forms of government: the PRC and Communist China. It was not until the end of 1971 that the PRC was reinstated as the representative of China in the UNSC.

Congruently, in order to rationalize this complex relationship, we would discuss the Chinese association with the key Arab Countries in the Arab League and their shift of foreign policy between the Republic of China (Nationalist) and the People's Republic of China (Communist). The regional stance on the Chinese recognition was contingent upon the international relations in the form of a balance of power in the Middle East and a peaceful co-existence amongst the UK, France, the US, the USSR and existing Arab independent states in the Arabian Peninsula. ( See chart 1 below)

The British protectorate monarchies of the Arabian Gulf that included Kuwait and Saudi Arabia supported Nationalist China. The revolutionary independent Arab states of Egypt, Iraq and Syria also backed Communist China. There was a consensus amongst the revolutionary Arab nations in their alliance with China, even as in the case of China, the Cultural revolution, the modernisation policy and also the Tiananmen incidents also contributed in the relations between China and the Middle East including Kuwait.

An ideological Iron Wall existed within the coalition owing to Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser's ambition to export his brand of Arab nationalism throughout the Middle East and African countries.

The chart 2 below illustrates the Arab Leagues votes in the UN on the topic of the recognition of China from 1956-1965. This diagram demonstrates a divide in the political ideology of the Middle East and the Arab World.

### CHART I

#### MEMBERS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE GRANTING DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION

Members of the Arab League	Date of Membership to League	To Communist China	To Nationalist China
Algeria	1962	X	
Iraq	1945	X (since 1958)	
Jordan	1945		X
Kuwait	1961		X
Lebanon	1945		X
Libya	1953		X
Morocco	1958	X	
Saudi Arabia	1945		X
Sudan	1956	X	
Syria	1945	X	
Tunisia	1958	X	
United Arab Republic	1945	X	X (1942– 1956)
Yemen	1945	X	

*Chart 1: Arab League members' recognition to both Chinas since 1956, Source Masannat 1966 p 216*

Masannat argues that China tried to woo Arab and African nations by supporting their struggles against colonialization which the case for Egypt in Algeria. China focused on Economic and Cultural relations to approach the Arab world.

Chart 2: Arab League votes regarding China Source Masannat 1966 p 219

**CHART II**  
**VOTING BEHAVIOR OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE LEAGUE OF THE ARAB STATES ON THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF RED CHINA IN THE UNITED NATIONS 1956-1965**

1956	For Nationalist China	Against Nationalist China	Abstaining	Total
U.N.	47	24	8	79
Arab League <sup>4</sup>	3	4	4	11
1957				
U.N.	43	29	9	81
Arab League <sup>5</sup>	3	5	3	11
1958				
U.N.	44	28	9	81
Arab League <sup>6</sup>	2	5	3	10
1959				
U.N.	44	29	9	82
Arab League <sup>7</sup>	2	5	3	10
1960				
U.N.	42	34	22	98
Arab League <sup>8</sup>	2	5	3	10
1961				
U.N.	48	37	19	104
Arab League <sup>9</sup>	2	6	3	11
1962				
U.N.	56	42	12	110
Arab League <sup>10</sup>	3	7	2	12
1963				
U.N.	57	41	12	110
Arab League <sup>11</sup>	2	8	2	12
1964	(No vote was held)			
1965				
U.N.	47	47	20	114*
Arab League <sup>12</sup>	1	7	5	13

\* Not voting on the resolution to seat Communist China and expel Nationalist China were—Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, and Laos.

<sup>4</sup> For: Iraq, Lebanon, and Morocco; against: Sudan, Syria, Egypt, and Yemen; abstaining: Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

<sup>5</sup> For: Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon; against: Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Egypt, and Yemen; abstaining: Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

<sup>6</sup> For: Jordan and Lebanon; against: Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. (In 1958 Egypt and Syria were merged into the U. A. R.)

<sup>7</sup> For: Jordan and Lebanon; against: Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

<sup>8</sup> For: Jordan and Lebanon; against: Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

<sup>9</sup> For: Jordan and Libya; against: Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. (Syria was separated from Egypt. The latter retained the name United Arab Republic.)

<sup>10</sup> For: Jordan, Libya, and Yemen; against: Algeria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic; abstaining: Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

<sup>11</sup> For: Jordan and Libya; against: Algeria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

<sup>12</sup> For: Jordan; against: Algeria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, and Yemen; abstaining: Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

The Arab divide diminishes by 1967, as we witness a shift in Kuwait's attitude towards PRC. The Al Rai Alaam newspaper reported that "Kuwait has supported the reinstatement of China in the UN Security Council since 1967", dated 9 October 1967, published, wherein Foreign Minister of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad, now the Amir of Kuwait, was calling for the halting of the Israeli aggression against the Palestinians. The Arab -Israeli conflict was, and still is, a key factor in the China-Kuwait rapprochement.

In 1971, a Kuwait delegation attended the national assembly that witnessed the vote to reinstate China (PRC) to the UN and the UNSC. At that session Kuwait voted in favour of China.

Kuwait faced tremendous backlash from other nations for voting yes on the resolution to reinstate China. An interview with one of the officials that attended this meeting with the Kuwaiti foreign minister describes the scenarios behind the scenes before the meeting took place in New York.

The American ambassador to Kuwait was in New York at the time and was trying to convince the Kuwaiti delegation to continue its cooperation with nationalist China (Taiwan) rather than the PRC. Kuwait's relationship with the both the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China (communist china) posed a challenge to the western capitalist block. On June 15, 2018, I sat down for an interview with a retired high-level diplomat E.D. The diplomat clearly remembers the pressure the American delegation at the UN were exercising on their allies to hamper PRC reinstatement in 1971. He also explains that Kuwait did not hesitate to support PRC's position in that crucial vote and in previous sessions. What is notable is that Kuwait's foreign policy during this period is considered progressive and bold when compared to those of neighbouring countries.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, Abdullah Bishara, former Secretary General of the GCC, said in the interview that at the time the Chinese were very cautious with their interactions with

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<sup>16</sup> the interviewee allowed me to share this information but the whole interview is not available in the Appendices due his request.

members of other delegations and missions in the UN. They are very attentive and cautious also about the interventions and speeches.

He recalled that China's speeches in the UN were tempered and diplomatic but yet cautious about their new entry to this international body. Their opinions were clear, concise and conservative. They would state their share points of view without needless antipathy. Conversely; however, they were also very hesitant to socialise with other missions and diplomats in general.

Furthermore, China opposes the calls for UNSC structural, legal or administrative reform. They did not want to give Japan or India a chance to embark into this exclusive council. They don't usually veto, but rather depend on USSR's veto and they either abstain or approve just to show support for other developing nations. ( Appendix 5.5 p 324)

Their position towards the Palestinian conflict was a great example. The most important observation of Chinese diplomacy was the way they handled UN policy towards Palestine and their disagreements with the USSR.

In general, they have succinct opinions and would abstain on the most contentious issues. They used their veto power sparingly. If, for example, they were at direct odds with an issue or resolution they made a point of abstaining. Even when the sovereignty of Taiwan was the matter of discussion, the Chinese UN delegation proceeded cautiously and tactfully.

When Kuwait entered the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1978, China had already spent considerable effort and time to adapt to the UN protocols. They always inquired about the situation or any resolution that included Palestine as that was a topic of immense interest to the Chinese as well as other Middle Eastern and African issues. Kuwait and China shared similar views on such matters for more details on China Kuwait experiences in the UNSC see Appendix 5.5 p 324.

They always analysed their positions in a pragmatic and methodical manner. Generally, they always voted in favour of the Arab position in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict,

issues of developing countries, non-alliance movements, and similar matters. As a nuclear power, China avoided votes on topics that advocated for freezing or the capping of nuclear proliferation.

## **2.4 Kuwaiti Parliament and the National People's Congress of China**

The parliamentary relations of China and Kuwait played an important role in the development of bilateral political and economic cooperation. In Kuwait

The Kuwaiti Parliament documents dated 2/11/1971 reflect a Kuwaiti discussion to reinstate the PRC in the UNSC and a proposal that the speaker of the parliament should extend congratulations to China for their reinstatement and for their firm stance in favour of the Arab world. ( Appendix 1.1, K012, p219)

In 1972, two delegations comprised of Kuwaiti MPs visited China. One such visit, according to Xinhua took place in May and was headed by Abbas Habeb Munawer from the foreign affairs committee of The Kuwaiti National Assembly. During that trip, he was received by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Chung Dong Xi (Appendix 2.1, N 272, p242).

The other significant parliamentary visit was headed by Yousef Al Mokhlid who was the deputy speaker of the Kuwaiti National Assembly. During this visit he was received by vice Chairman Guo and also was able to meet with Primer Zhou Enlai. During the official welcome gala both sides delivered opening remarks that focused on anti-imperialism ideology and the Palestinian cause.

Xinhua reports that Al Mokhlid lamented in his speech, “I take this opportunity, to express my gratitude to the Chinese government and Chinese people of our primary intent and support towards the Palestinian cause. Our people appreciate your position on this, and I hope you continue to support it. Kuwaiti people object to aggression and are convinced that as long as peace-loving people of all countries are able to cooperate to defend their freedoms, rather than to pander to the US-led imperialism and Zionism, then they will triumph,” (Appendix 2.1, N 266-67, p242)



Mohammad AbuAlhassan, former Kuwait's ambassador to the UN, said that “The Speaker of the Kuwaiti parliament’s visit to China in 1974 had received immense coverage in both China and Kuwait, and his meeting with Premier Zhou was, and still is, considered historic.” (Appendix 5.4, p321).

The speaker of the Kuwaiti Parliament Khaled Al Ghunaim visited in March of 1974. His visit was regarded as an important one since he was able to initiate a relationship between the Kuwaiti Parliament and National People’s Congress of China ( NPC).



*Figure 7: Zhou Enlai receiving Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Khaled Al Ghunaim in Beijing 1974.  
Source: Kuwait-China 45<sup>th</sup> Anniversary book by KNCCL page 84*

Several letters of condolences and greetings from the Speaker of the Kuwaiti Parliament to the NPC and on the death of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai in 1976. Many senior level leaders including Parliament members attend the ceremony in the Chinese embassy: the Speaker Khaled Al Mokhlid and vice Ahmad Al Sadoun (Appendix 2.1, N19 p 248 & N53,p247).

In November 1976, Vice Chairman Ulanhu, and Secretary General Ji Pengfei of the National People Congress, deputies and members of the delegation visit Kuwait. The delegation met with HH the Amir and HH Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Kuwait. The visit was devised to develop and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. During the visit Ulanhu verbalised that “China and Kuwait belong to the Third World, and are developing countries. In 1971, since the establishment of diplomatic relations department, in our joint efforts, the friendship between the people of our two countries has grown immensely. I believe the Chinese NPC delegation's visit to your country will further enhance our mutual understanding and friendship and promote the further development of friendly and cooperative relations.” (Appendix 2.1, N.11, p246)

After the 1971 establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries has developed admirably. Mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples has strengthened bilateral exchanges in various fields of trade, culture, sports, agriculture, health ( Appendix 2.1, N3, p247).

April 17, 1977, the Vice Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Ulanhu, met with a Kuwaiti education delegation headed by the assistant minister of education of Kuwait, Ahmed Al Jasar during a visit to China. These meetings between senior officials and involving different levels of government and legislative bodies helps foster a better understanding ( Appendix 2.1, N417, p250) .

In 1984, Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sheikh Saad met with Vice Chairman Renzhong’s NPC delegation. The vice chairman expressed appreciation for the Chinese government support of the Arab positions on issues such as the sovereignty of Palestine. Renzhong conveyed greetings to Saad from Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang. During the visit Ziyang emphasised that the Chinese appreciate the independent, neutral and non-aligned policies endorsed by Kuwait in its effort to maintain regional stability and security. Kuwait’s role in restoring the unity of the Arab states as well as the continuous support of Palestine is emblematic of Kuwait’s generosity towards developing nations and populations that lack independence ( Appendix 2.1,N.218, p255).

In the same visit, Renzhong and his delegation were also received by Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Mohamed Yousef AlAdsani, and the Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The meeting focused on issues facing the Arab nations, namely, Kuwait's aid to developing countries and advancing bilateral cooperation with China. The delegation had a protocol meeting with HH the Amir of Kuwait before leaving Kuwait on the 9/4/1984. (Appendix 2.1, N 217,216, p255)



*Figure 8 :The Kuwaiti Foreign Minister and Acting Minister of Information with the Chinese delegation headed by Renzhong at his office (source:Alqabas newspaper information center)*

In 1984, the Kuwaiti parliament speaker met the Chinese ambassador to Kuwait on three occasions to discuss Kuwait's relations with the National People's Congress of China (NPC) and the objectives for maintaining a direct relation between both bodies of government. In one of the meetings prior to his visit on 30/7/1984 to The Chinese ambassador said "China is also a third world country. It is not a foreign aggressor and does not send troops abroad. In international affairs, China is consistently on the side of justice. He opined that the Chinese also have a role to play in global matters." (Appendix 2.1, N.190, p256)

And on 23/8/1984 the National Assembly (Kuwaiti Parliament) issued a press statement prior to the visit of Aladasani, "The development of Kuwait's relations with China is impressive, and the prospects are encouraging because we all want this to be a fruitful and rewarding friendship." (Appendix 2.1, N.188,p256)

The Kuwaiti National Assembly delegation visit China in August 1984. On this occasion they met with Renzhong, the vice chairman of the standing committee of NPC and the chairman of the standing committee of the NPC Peng Zhen. During the meeting with Peng Zhen, the conversation centred on the opening up of China to foreign investment and provisional reforms in the Chinese constitution to accelerate China's socialist modernisation.

Al Adsani said, we express our appreciation for the great achievement China has made in industry and agriculture. Both countries have cooperation in many areas. Many official talks have aimed to boost economic and political ties and to promote ideas like South-South cooperation and common interests of the third world bloc (Appendix 2.1, N.182, p257).

During the meeting with Premier Zhao Ziyang, there was equal praise from all parties. The delegates stressed the importance of the security and unity of the Arabian Gulf and in the Arab world. It was emphasised that South-South cooperation had been showered with international adulation.

In his speech, Adsani described the situation in the Gulf region, particularly the Iran-Iraq War. He postulated that he hoped that the world could promote stability in the Gulf.

Zhao said he hoped the relevant organizations and countries, including Kuwait, could mediate the Iraq-Iran War. He argued that the main source of instability in the Gulf region is directly or indirectly derived from two superpowers competing for the same country. He said, "Iran and Iraq are our reasonable countries. We sincerely hope that the fight will end as soon as possible." (Appendix 2.1, N.185, p257).

On bilateral relations, Zhao said that since the formation of diplomatic ties and bilateral relations have been notable. In his remarks, he referenced China's enactment of an economic open-door policy. "And it aims to open its economic cooperation with Kuwait and other Gulf states." Adsani countered that Kuwait's goal is to develop economic and multilateral cooperation with China.

Zhao Ziyang again extended an open invitation to the Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Sabah to visit China (Appendix 2.1, N.182, p257).

In 1985, Kuwait Parliament Speaker Ahmed Al Sadoun met with Vice Premier Yao Yilin in Kuwait. Vice Premier Yao Yilin and his entourage had a cordial and productive meeting.

Yao Yilin said the Chinese government is optimistic that the visit will further promote the development of bilateral ties. Yao Yilin calls for national unity and for the success of the Gulf Cooperation Council meeting in Kuwait. He also reiterated that China hopes for a quick and peaceful end to the Iran-Iraq War. (Appendix 2.1, N.137, p258)

Similarly, the Kuwaiti parliament documents show the MPs positions on trade agreements and other matters of foreign policy towards China. It should be noted that the foreign policy in Kuwait is set by HH the Amir but the ratification of agreements and laws are passed on to the Kuwaiti parliament and then back to the Cabinet for their endorsement. (Appendix 1.1, p192)

In addition, the archives show that exchanges of visits exposed both nations concern with domestic, regional and international issues. After 1985, there was no information of any meetings or correspondence between both sides. This could be based on the turmoil that the Gulf region was facing at the same time and due to the political instability in China. In 1990, the National People's Congress was involved in the decision making on the liberation of Kuwait ( please go 2.6 to have more details on the invasion of Kuwait and China's reaction to it.)

## 2.5 Iraq -Iran war

The Iraq- Iran war took place between September 1980 until August 1988 and presented both Kuwait and China with a dilemma. To Kuwait, both countries were neighbours and they felt obliged to support their fellow Arab State in this war and face the consequences of such a decision. On the other hand, to China, both Iran and Iraq were important countries to counterpoise Soviet advances in the Gulf region. A war in this region would present an occasion for the Soviet Union to extend its influence. It is relevant to mention that Iran had just faced a fundamental regime change with the 1979 revolution. China formed formal ties with Iran's previous regime in 1971 and was still trying to adopt the same policy with the new regime in Iran. Still, China had hoped to solidify diplomatic relations with both Iran and Iraq.

According to Bin Huwaidin, China's policy toward this conflict was based on: 1) sidestepping criticism of Iran's military and political actions against Iraq; 2) calling for a peaceful solution to the dispute; and 3) praising the Iranian leadership's opposition to hegemony and intervention by foreign powers in Iran's internal affairs. Moreover, the Chinese government's foreign policy towards Iran's conflict with Iraq was characterised by its attempts to prevent the Iranian government from cosyng up to the Soviet Union. Recognizing the limitation of the US ability to influence Iran, the Chinese government refused to support the UN-imposed arms embargo against Iran under Security Council Resolution 598. China's official position was for a political solution in lieu of imposing an embargo. (Bin Huwaiden 2002: 160-161)

In addition, during the 8-year war, the conflict was at the core of talks between Kuwait and China. Despite China's denial of selling arms to Iraq during the Iraq-Iran War, many have reported that China had sold to Iraq, from 1981 to 1988, four B-6 bombers, 700 T-59 main battle tanks, 600 T-69 main battle tanks, 650 Type-531 armoured personnel carriers, 720 Type-59/ 1 130-mm towed guns, 128 C-601 anti-ship missiles, and an unspecified number of the Hai Ying-2 ship-to-ship missiles (SIPRI 1989:252).

**Table 1 China's Arm sale to Iraq 1981-1988 ( Source: Bin Huwaiden 2002:118)**

*Table 4.6 China's arms sales to Iraq, 1981–1988 (source: SIPRI 1989: 252)*

<i>No. ordered</i>	<i>Weapon designation</i>	<i>Weapon description</i>	<i>Year of order</i>	<i>Year(s) of deliveries</i>	<i>No. delivered</i>	<i>Comments</i>
4	B-6	Bomber	1987	1988	4	–
–	T-59	MBT	1981	1982–8	700	–
–	T-69	MBT	1982	1983–8	600	1,000–2,000 ordered in early 1980s
–	Type-531	APC	1981	1982–8	650	–
–	Type-59/1 (130 mm)	Towed gun	1981	1982–8	720	–
–	C-601	AshM (Anti-ship Missile)	1987	1988	128	–
–	Hai Ying-2	ShShM/ ShShM	1986	–	–	Arming Osa-2 class FACs

**Table 2: China's arm sales to Iran 1981-1988( source: Bin Huwaidin 2002:117)**

*Table 4.5 China's arms sales to Iran, 1981–1988 (source: SIPRI 1989: 252)*

<i>No. ordered</i>	<i>Weapon designation</i>	<i>Weapon description</i>	<i>Year of order</i>	<i>Year(s) of deliveries</i>	<i>No. delivered</i>	<i>Comments</i>
–	F-6	Fighter	1981	1986–8	30	Possibly via North Korea
60	F-7	Fighter	1986	1986–8	60	Chinese version of the Soviet MiG 21
–	T-59	MBT (Main Battle Tank)	1986	1987–8	240	–
–	Type-501	APC (Armoured Personnel Carrier)	1986	1986–8	300	–
–	Type-63 (107 mm)	MRL	1982	1983–8	900	–
–	Hai-Ying-2L	Anti-ship missile	1986	1987–8	8	Coast, ship, and air launched versions
–	Hai-Ying-2	Anti-ship missile	1986	1987–8	124	NATO designation: Silkworm
–	Hong Jian-73	Anti-tank missile	1982	1982–8	6,500	–
–	Hong Ying-5	Portable SAM (Surface-to-air Missile)	1985	1985–8	600	–
–	PL-2A	AAM (Air-to-air Missile)	1986	1986–8	540	Arming F-6 and F-7 fighters
–	PL-7	AAM	1986	1986–8	360	Arming F-7 fighters

In summary, China's policy toward Iraq and Iran, during the Iran-Iraq War, consisted of engaging with both countries. Politically, economically, and militarily, China had sought to benefit from the situation in the Gulf by extending its political, economic, and military cooperation with Iraq and Iran. Its aim was to prevent, or at least limit, the possibility of Iraqi dependence on the Soviet Union.

Kuwait had called on China, as a country with a solid relationship with both sides, to help end the war, Alqabas dated 14/11/1985 reports that the Kuwaiti foreign minister calls for China to support the end of the Iraqi-Iranian war. (Appendix 1.2, 053,p204)

In addition, Xinhua dated 12/4/1983 notes that Kuwait sent a special envoy to Chinese leaders Mr. Al Heerbish and submitted to Ye Jianying's a letter from HH the Amir on diplomatic solutions and means aiming to end of this War (Appendix 2.1, N.242, p254).

Moreover, Alseyassah newspaper dated 7/12/1985 reports that the Chinese Foreign Minister's visit to the GCC emphasises the importance of the Arab and Islamic countries to Chinese foreign policy. This list included a host of priorities: ending the Iraqi-Iranian war, the Arab Nations backing of Taiwan, China's support of the Palestinian Cause, and their recognition of the six GCC countries. China denies sales of arms to Iran and mistreatment of Muslims in Xingjian. In addition, Alqabas dated 24/12/1985 mentions that the during a visit to the UAE, the Chinese foreign minister says that Beijing does not supply Iraq nor Iran with arms. ( Appendix 1.2, 057,p 206 &Appendix 1.5, K174,p230)

During the Iran-Iraq War, Kuwait faced multiple security challenges and a terrorist attack as a result of its decision to side with Iraq in this conflict. One was the hijacking of two Kuwait Airways flights, another was the bombing of French and American embassies, and most boldly, there was an attempt to assassinate the Amir of Kuwait by bombing his motorcade. Amidst these actions was the attack on Kuwait's oil tankers, which had a detrimental impact on the regional oil industry<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Terrorism in Kuwait, counterextremism's website:  
<https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/kuwait>



According to Abdulreda Assiri, the Iranian intimidation of Kuwait's oil trade by attacking and threatening its oil tankers attempts to blockade Kuwaiti commerce, he also quotes the foreign minister of Kuwait Sheikh Sabah "that pumping our oil to the outside world was extremely threatened... damaging our main source of national income" this was the main drive to approach the five permanent members of the UNSC and ask them protect Kuwaiti oil tankers by reflagging Kuwait's 22 oil tankers. Kuwait's new strategy of the time was to facilitates the superpower's tasks in keeping peace in the region by protecting the rights of free navigation in the Arabian gulf waters part of the international law. ( Assiri 1990: 102)

In consequence, Kuwait asked the US, China, UK, France and the USSR for help. The Kuwaiti Embassy releases a statement that it had officially requested China to use Chinese flags on Kuwait Oil tankers to protect them from Iran threats during the Iraq-Iran War.

On 9/6/1987 Alqabas, publishes an article stating that Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Suliman Alshaheen has said that China is open to Kuwait leasing Chinese oil tankers. Kuwait received the deputy foreign minister of China and the Chinese envoy to Kuwait

AlRai Alaam newspaper, dated 10/09/1987 (below) accounts that China condemns the Iranian attacks on Kuwait and expresses its concerns about the escalations on the Iraq-Iraq War although it remains neutral. Furthermore, according to AlAnba Newspaper dated 5/11/1987, the Iranian forces held a Chinese commodity ship heading to Kuwait for what they labelled a 'security check'. ( Appendix 1.5, K198 & K200, p233)



Figure 9: Alshaheen: We Asked China to protect our oil tankers, AlRai Alaam, 10/09/1987

\* important

During one Kuwaiti journalist's visit to China in 1988, China denied selling arms to Iran and Israel and also stressed this on an application of resolution 598 that addressed the Iran-Iraq War.<sup>18</sup> According to AlRai Alaam dated 11/6/1987, China veto's a resolution for sanctions that could stop the conflict. ( Appendix 1.5, K193,p232)

The other issue was to charter Chinese oil tankers to export Kuwaiti oil<sup>i</sup> and both requests were studied but not approved by China due to its neutrality on the war. Regional instabilities in the Arabian Gulf region played an important role in the relationship between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China. China had diplomatic ties with many nations in the Middle East that were in conflict including both Iran and Iraq. While China was empathetic to the attack on Kuwaiti oil tankers, there only public course of action was to encourage Iran and Iraq to end the hostilities. China did not feel comfortable directly intervening or else it would risk violating its own non-interventionist policy.

The insecurity of the Arabian Gulf posed a threat to all oil exporting countries, Kuwait managed to reflag its 22-oil tankers with the help of the United States, the United Kingdom and the USSR. France was not eager to participate and China avoided this topic as mentioned earlier.

During the same period, China also suffered some domestic instabilities, the Tiananmen Square crackdown of 1989 was a turning point in China's position in the international community since the cultural revolution of 1967. The UN implemented sanctions that precipitated China becoming politically isolated for the first time since its openness policy of 1978.

In May 1989, nearly a million Chinese, mostly young students, crowded into central Beijing to protest for democratic freedoms and calling for the resignations of Chinese Communist Party leaders deemed too repressive. On June 4, 1989, Chinese troops and security police stormed through Tiananmen Square and fired indiscriminately into the crowd of protesters.

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<sup>18</sup>Security Council Resolution 598: Iraq-Islamic Republic of Iran, Documental Retrieval: <https://peacemaker.un.org/iraqiran-resolution598>

Turmoil ensued, as tens of thousands of the young students tried to escape the rampaging Chinese forces. Some protesters fought back, stoning the attacking troops and overturning and setting fire to military vehicles. Reporters and western diplomats on the scene estimated that at least 300, and perhaps thousands, of the protesters had been killed and as many as 10,000 were arrested.<sup>19</sup>

In June 2019, China commemorated the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this incident by rewriting the history of the violent uprising of 1989. They also circulated propaganda that opposed democratic reforms.<sup>20</sup>

Kuwait's political and economic support for China post-Tiananmen is still considered a key moment in the history of the Sino-Kuwaiti relations as "Kuwait's official reaction was to criticise the economic sanctions imposed by the west on China. At that time, Kuwait deemed the sanctions as tantamount to interventionism and argued that China's crackdown on protesters was a domestic matter." China valued Kuwait's backing and the two countries friendship remained intact through this period. ( Bin Huwaidin, 2002:121)

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<sup>19</sup> The massacre of June 1989 and its aftermath, ASA 17/09/90 from Amnesty International's website: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/document/?indexNumber=asa17%2f009%2f1990&language=en>

<sup>20</sup> Sudworth, John, 2/6/2019, *Tiananmen Square: China minister defends 1989 crackdown* <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48489002>

## **2.6 The invasion of Kuwait**

During the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait of 1990, China resolutely opposed Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and demanded that Iraq withdraw its troops from Kuwait and restore the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

After the Gulf War, China reiterated on many occasions its firm support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait as well as Kuwait's demand for settling the issues remaining from the occupation.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. The Chinese government issued a statement opposing Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and expressed its support for the legitimate Kuwaiti government led by HH the Amir Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah. China called on Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait unconditionally and to restore Kuwait's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate government. It further demanded Iraq utilise diplomatic channels to settle the crisis peacefully.

The Chinese representatives at the Security Council voted in favour of Resolutions Nos. 660,661,662,664,665,666,667,669,670,674,677 on the Gulf crisis. Following the war, China also actively participated in extinguishing oil well fires in Kuwait and in the country's economic reconstruction. China advocated for Kuwait. They released a highly a comprehensive list of demands: implementation of the UN resolutions, respecting the Iraq-Kuwaiti border, understanding and supporting Kuwait's request for the release of prisoners of war (POWs), the return of property and the war reparations. (Appendix 2.2, p265)

According to Hangzhou daily, Xinhua source dated 3/8/1990, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said today that the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait early this morning. The Chinese government expresses its deep concern and unease. Moreover, from the same newspaper dated 6/8/1990 China affirms that it will not sell arms to Iraq.( Appendix 2.1, p262)

Xinhua also reported on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1990, the first appearance of the Kuwaiti, then Crown Prince, Sheikh Saad with the Saudi Arabian King Fahad and Crown Prince Abdullah.



*Figure 10: Kuwaiti Crown Prince with Saudi King and Crown Prince, 5th August 1990. ( Source: Xinhua )*

On another note, China with the support of Sheikh Fahad Alsabah the president of Asian Games was able to host the 11<sup>th</sup> Asian Games. The details of the sports event will further be discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis. It is relevant to mention that Sheikh Fahad was killed during the Iraqi invasion and was not able to attend the opening of the Asian Games. Kuwait still participated and was able to expel Iraq from participating with the aid of supportive participating nations. China also backed the son of Sheikh Fahad, Sheikh Ahmad taking over the reins as president of the Asian Games. ( See chapter 3 for further details)

Zhejiang daily source from Xinhua, dated 9/8/1990: "The tragic death of Chairman Fahad on the eve of the 11th Asian Games is no doubt a great loss to the Asian sports community. We will make every effort to ensure the success of the Asian Games in Beijing with backing of sporting federations from various Asian countries and regions." ( Appendix 2.1, p262)

Hangzhou daily source from Xinhua dated 11/8/1990: Speaking after the vote to reaffirm Chinese Permanent Representative Li Dao Yu, declares that Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected. He called for Security Council resolutions to be enacted to end the war. In this context, it is pertinent to mention that China had more than 5,000 Chinese citizens in Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation and China was negotiating with Iraq for the safe exit of their citizens from Kuwait. ( Appendix 2.1, p262)

According to an article the Chinese Charge d'affaires in Kuwait met with the Iraqi Charge d'affaires on the 13th of August to discuss the safety of Chinese citizens (including Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwanese citizens). They have arranged for many Chinese nationals to leave Kuwait via Iraq to Amman. The Chinese Charge d'affaires described in this article the difficulties they faced along this journey; and still many others chose to stay in Kuwait during the invasion.<sup>21</sup>

The evacuation of Chinese citizens from Kuwait, presented a space to actually exercise the one china policy, as many diplomats suggest that this an opportunity for China to help fellow citizens from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. This shows China's importance also in the region, as it was negotiated with Iraqi and Jordanian officials to make this happen. This could be interpreted as China's rise also in the international community as it exercised its roles in several domains in the United Nations.

On the 23/8/1990, the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah visited China and met with Li Peng. Li reaffirmed that China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and is one of the architects of the Five Principles; "We have always believed that disputes between countries should be resolved through peaceful negotiations and that they should not compel us to oppose any country's military occupation of another country." ( Appendix 2.1, p262)

At the Fifteenth Meeting of the Seventh National People's Congress held on 29/8/1990, Chinese Premier Li Peng said the geopolitical dynamics were devolving rapidly. The development of the Iraqi Invasion has become a major crisis that has captured the world's attention. He acknowledged that the Chinese government stood firmly behind the United Nations Security Council Resolution 660,661,662,664 and that China would additionally utilise their own political machinery to ensure that Iraq complied. ( Appendix 2.1, p262)

At the same time, he said "we also clearly oppose military intervention. Because such action would intensify the crisis. We stand with our Arabian allies and seek a political solution to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, while leveraging existing United Nations

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<sup>21</sup> Chinese Diplomats's Statement: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/秦鸿国>

mechanisms to seek a peaceful outcome.” The Security Council also adopted resolution 665.<sup>22</sup> When the vote came to the floor, China voted in favour, but not before insisting that there be changes to the wording on "minimum use of force" that would be acceptable to all parties on the Security Council. ( Appendix 2.1, p262)

Li explained that Chinese foreign policy has always been one of based on the concept of maintaining peace. China persists with this strategy despite the unpredictability of the international system. China is opposed to the interventionist policies of some of the world’s superpowers and is adamant that countries be allowed to determine their own domestic public protocols. It is only in this manner that China and other countries can coexist and economic progress, domestically and on the foreign front, can be made without impediment

On 9/11/1990, Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister met with Kuwaiti Amir Jaber and Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad, during Qian trip to the Middle East and had a cordial interaction. During the meeting, Qian shared a letter from President Yang Shangkun to HH Sheikh Jaber. In the letter, the President extended his sympathy to the Kuwaiti people for their suffering under the Iraqi occupation. ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

On 1/12/1990, Foreign Minister Qian said at the UNSC discussion on Kuwait that it has been nearly four months since Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait. The international community has made various efforts to solve the Gulf crisis. The Security Council has passed 11 successive resolutions. ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

Regrettably, Iraq has refused to implement these resolutions and has not even said if it will withdraw its troops from Kuwait. The Chinese government is deeply concerned. From November 6 to 12, Qian said “I personally paid a working visit to some countries in the region in order to understand the challenges in resolving the Gulf crisis and exploring the possibility of resolving the crisis peacefully.” ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

When facing the Iraqi leaders, Qian conveyed the call of the international community urging them to withdraw immediately from Kuwait. He added “I am deeply convinced

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<sup>22</sup> A resolution regarding the liberation of Kuwait. <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/665>

that there are two common positions from the international community about the Gulf situation.” ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

Firstly, they all oppose Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and want its immediate withdrawal. Secondly, we hope for a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis.

China voted in favour of the 11 Iraqi resolutions but insisted that use of force not be a part of any remedy. The draft resolution that was put forth adopts the wording "using all necessary means" and in essence allows military action to be taken, which is contrary to the consistent position that the Chinese government advocates.

Therefore, it is difficult for the Chinese delegation to commit on this resolution. Conversely, however, the Chinese are concerned that although Iraq was the aggressor, they have not taken any effective steps to withdraw or end the conflict. We are cognisant that the draft resolution to be voted on also is asking China to fully comply with Security Council resolution 660 and other relevant resolutions, which would require Iraq to withdraw its troops immediately from Kuwait. China will not vote against this draft resolution.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1990, NPC Standing Committee Chairman Wan Li reiterated today that China opposes Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and resolutely advocates the restoration of Kuwait's independence and sovereignty. According to the NPC members' briefing, Wanli met with diplomatic envoys and diplomatic officials from the GCC's six countries in China this morning in the Great Hall of the People and said that China stands for the peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis." ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

On 19/12/1990, the Former Head of the Kuwaiti Municipality, Daoud Musaed Al Saleh led a Kuwaiti Friendly People's delegation to China. The Chinese government and people, “completely understand the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and will take “a clear stand on the side of Kuwait,” Al Saleh said at a press conference. ( Appendix 2.1, p264)



On the trip, Al Saleh unexpectedly met with the Chinese President Yang Shangkun. Before departing, Al Saleh expressed his gratitude to the Chinese government and the people, noting their kindness and humbleness.

Reflecting on his meeting with the Chinese president, he said, “We met with the president for more than 30 minutes and in this time, we were able to show the world and leaders of the world that China supports Kuwait in this war.” ( Appendix 2.1, p264)

He remarked that President Yang Shangkun said, “China will never make any decision detrimental to Kuwait and its people.” ( Appendix 2.1, p264)

Besides Saleh, other members of the Kuwaiti delegation shared their harrowing stories of the devastation that the Iraqi invasion inflicted on them and their families.

H.E. Albaijan said in his interview that unfortunately, there was no Kuwaiti ambassador to China during the invasion, “The former ambassador left and a new one was supposed to be appointed right after the summer holidays. Then he received a call from our Minister of Foreign Affairs assigning me the very difficult job as an ambassador to China.” ( Appendix 5.2,p314)

He continued to say that his mission in “China was very challenging. First of all, there was no consensus in the Arab League on how best to handle the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, which was another Arab nation.” ( Appendix 5.2,p314)

So, the Chinese government met with the Sudanese representative of the Arab league who insisted that as an Arab issue the conflict should be solved by the Arab League and not the Chinese.

From the Kuwaiti ambassador’s perspective, Sudan was attempting to back Iraq’s position even when other members of the Arab League sided with Kuwait and had called for Iraq to withdraw its troops.

After a heated debate, Lebanon, Egypt and a few other members of the League advocated for China to be involved in placing diplomatic pressure on Iraq in favour of Kuwait. Some member countries; however, such as Palestine, Sudan and of course Iraq, lobbied hard to convince China that Kuwait properly belonged to Iraq.

Albaijan further revealed that he had been provided with “protection by the Chinese government as Kuwait’s relationship with the other Arab countries deteriorated.” As support from the Arab League came to a standstill, Kuwait made the hard choice to seek out military assistance from the United States although it was antithetical to their previous stance on western intervention.

Many nations of the Arab world did not view US intervention in the invasion favourably as it was seen as an intrusion in Arab affairs. At the time, only Syria supported US military action to liberate Kuwait.

Albaijan also explained that Kuwait could overcome the issue of Arab resistance to Kuwait seeking US military aid only by asking the Chinese to support the resolution as a member of the Security Council by reciprocating the Chinese president’s friendly visit to Kuwait on December 1989.



*Figure 11: Discussions in Beijing during the invasion of Kuwait December 1990. ( Source: AlBaijan’s Private collection)*

On this historic trip, they took the opportunity to convince China not to use their veto in the Security Council on a resolution sanctioning a US-led coalition to liberate Kuwait. The aim was to convince the Chinese government not to use the Veto on this resolution. This visit happened and it was a historical visit.



*Figure 12: Chinese President Yang Shangkun receives the Kuwaiti Amir HH Sheikh Jaber for the first visit as a Head of state and Second in general on 26/12/1990*

*Source: AlBaijan's private collection*

The Chinese government received H.H. the Amir. The talks involved sharing Kuwait's views and concerns as a sovereign country, emphasizing that in order to liberate Kuwait, it is obligatory to ask for a coalition force. (Appendix 5.2, p315)

China's press published an article about Kuwait and China relations dated 28/12/1990:

The relationship between China and Kuwait continues to develop at a steady and positive pace. Since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Kuwait in March 1971, cooperation between the two countries has been developing in all fields. (Appendix 2.1, p264)

The leaders of the two countries and high-level delegations exchanged frequent visits during this period. In July 1972 and March 1974, Yousef AlMokhlid the deputy speaker of Kuwait National Assembly and its speaker, visited China routinely. In May 1987, and August 1988, Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Sabah led the delegation of the Arab League for our country. During the presidency of the Asian Olympic Council, the younger brother of Amir Jaber, late Prince Fahd, made frequent trips to China and aided them in securing hosting rights to the 11th Asian Games.

Our leaders have also repeatedly visited Kuwait. From 1970 to 1985, Ulanhu Vice Chairman, Vice Premier Ji Pengfei, Vice Chairman Wang Renzhong and Vice Premier Yao Yilin made trips to Kuwait. In December 1989, Chinese President Yang Shangkun paid an official goodwill trip to Kuwait. The leaders of the two countries exchanged views on strengthening ties, international and regional issues of common concern, including the situation in the Middle East.

Yang praised the Kuwaiti government for its wise policies. Yang made promises to strengthen the Arab world by supporting the Palestinian people, safeguarding peace and stability and promoting economic development and technical cooperation. In particular, after His Highness Jaber was elected as the chairman of the Islamic State Conference Organization, Yang played an active role in promoting the unity and cooperation amongst the Islamic countries. Amir Jaber said that both Kuwait and China share many of the same positions on major international issues. The friendship between the two countries has a long history. Consequently, Kuwait is willing to develop its relationship with China. Both countries have great potential and broad prospects and they should strive to open up new fields of cooperation.

The economic and trade cooperation between the two countries expanded rapidly. In November 1985, China and Kuwait signed the Agreement on Encouraging and Protecting Investment. In December 1986, the two countries signed the agreement on

setting up a hybrid commission on economy, trade and technology cooperation. The two countries also ratified civil aviation agreements, trade agreements, cultural agreements and economic and technological cooperation agreements. Many of our commodities, especially textiles, foodstuffs, hardware and light industrial products, are welcomed by Kuwait. In 1988, bilateral trade volume exceeded US \$200 million. There was also an agreement on foreign labour. By the end of 1989, China had about 10,000 workers in Kuwait mainly engaged in the construction industry. Kuwait is the only country in the Third World that has provided loans to our country. The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development supplied China with a long-term low-interest loan in excess US \$300 million for the construction of 13 projects.

His Highness Amir Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah will visit China. His visit will promote the further development of the friendly cooperative relations between China and Kuwait ( Appendix 2.1, p264)

This article summarizes the importance of Kuwait to the Chinese government and its National Congress. It appreciates the friendly visits from different institutions and the economic and development cooperation, which helped in Kuwait's liberation from Iraq.

On 29/12/1990, Jiang Zemin met with the Amir of Kuwait in Beijing. This is the first visit of the Amir as a Head of State and second in total. China demands that Iraq immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kuwait. Kuwait's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate government remain entrusted to the legitimate leadership of His Highness the Amir Jaber and must be respected and restored. It is important to note that the Kuwaiti Amir is considered to be China's friend since he visited china in 1965 and today, he is one of the main personalities that symbolizes friendship between the leadership of both countries.

Kuwait entrusted China to place political, economic and diplomatic pressure on Iraq to force Iraq to comply with the resolutions of the international community. ( Appendix 2.1, p264)

The Arab forces were unable to protect Kuwait. China ended up abstaining from the vote in the UNSC on resolution 678, which addressed the liberation of Kuwait by force

if necessary. On 1/12/1990, 2 votes against and 1 abstention by the majority on Resolution 678, authorising enforcement of the resolution before January 15, 1991 in the case of the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. The resolution wording was clear: The UN was sanctioning the “use all necessary means to safeguard” and restore peace and security to the Gulf region. ( Appendix 2.1, p263)

After the withdrawal of Iraqi troops, Kuwait faced the very difficult task of negotiating with Iraq to release prisoners of war, many of whom were also foreign nationals. The Kuwait government also pursued Iraq to furnish reparations for the Invasion.

H.H. the Amir visited China again in November 1991, to thank China for its abstention and its effort in supporting the Kuwaiti cause. H.H. the Amir met with the Chairman of the Communist Party Jiang Zemin. Since China still maintained friendly ties with Iraq, the aim of the visit was to gain China’s support in pressuring Iraq to release information on prisoners of war and missing persons.

He concluded that the first few years after the liberation of Kuwait, there were new options for cooperation with China, such as defence and security and the advancement of trade and energy.

China strongly support(s) Kuwait’s sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and appreciates “its interest in resolving all pending issues related to the invasion.

Within days of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement, calling for respect of Kuwait’s independence and territorial integrity. China was one of the first countries to applaud the liberation of Kuwait in February 1991.

In July 1991, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng visited Kuwait to convey his nation’s congratulations and best wishes to the people and leadership. He was also open to exploring new ways of strengthening bilateral relations.

Even today, China condemns the former Iraqi regime’s killing of Kuwaiti POWs. We understand and support Kuwait’s legitimate assertion of immense hardship caused by

the occupation and its push to free POWs and to secure reparations and also China help Kuwait with the fire extinguishing efforts in its oil fields that the Iraqi forces have set. It is important to mention that Chinese forces have participated for the first time in the UN peace keeping force in the UN mission in the Kuwait Iraq border. ( Wu Fugui 2018: 187-188)

## 2.7 Conclusion of the Chapter

Bilateral political relations between China and Kuwait can be summarised into four major periods: the initial phase of the 1960's, the official recognition and bilateral cooperation phase and finally, the challenging period with political change and regional conflicts of the 1980's and one seminal event: the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

In the initial period (1960's), Kuwait and China already established trade relations and the Kuwaiti Finance Minister's accepting China's invitation in 1965 symbolises Kuwait's intent to develop its own foreign policy independent of neighbouring countries and other nations.

Only 10 years after Kuwait's independence, it is said to be daring to shift away from the western capitalist countries to communist ones. This was another factor that played an important role during this period in the pro-Arab stance of China that facilitated their political dialogue with Kuwait.

China formally recognised Kuwait in 1961; However, the one china policy impeded Kuwait's mutual recognition as Kuwait needed Taiwan's vote during its battle for UN recognition from 1961 until 1963. With the regime change in Iraq, the issue of the USSR veto in the UNSC in Kuwait's admission was finally resolved. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that China's aim to build mutual diplomatic relations with Kuwait was due to the fact that Kuwait was the only independent state in the Arabian Gulf and it was seen as a gateway to the rest of the Gulf states. "China's relations with Kuwait was intended to contribute to further stability in the Persian Gulf." ( Shichor 1979, p173)

The official recognition and the start of bilateral cooperation in the 1970's is shown by Kuwait's vote in the reinstatement of China's membership in the UN in 1971. China's conflict with the USSR and its normalisation with the US affected foreign policy and its role in the Middle East. Mao's 'Theory of the Three Worlds' referenced in Deng Xiaoping speech to the UN influenced the shift of China's foreign policy in the 1970's.



It is also important to mention that Kuwait's decision to establish the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development in 1961 also served as a tool to promote Kuwait's foreign policy and international recognition as Abdul-Reda Assiri notes in his book *Kuwait's Foreign Policy* as the "dinar policy", a strategy developed to defend its sovereignty (Assiri, pp26-27).

On a bilateral level, both governments and parliamentary bodies exchanged visits with one another (National People's Congress in the case of China). These friendly trips helped to build a mutual trust and understanding between both countries. The change of leadership with the death of Mao and Enlai in 1976, and the change of the Amir of Kuwait in 1977 did not impede the development of bilateral relationships.

In the 1980's China was one of the first countries to recognise the formation of the GCC with which it established diplomatic and economic ties. (Yetiv & Lu, 2007) This was the strategic turning point of the Sino-GCC and Sino Kuwaiti relations. It is significant to mention that before China became a net importer of oil, it already had a vested interest in some Gulf States, such as Kuwait, which constituted a source of income for over 7,700 Chinese construction workers in contracted projects. Labour service agreements with Kuwait amounted to US \$500 million prior to the invasion of Kuwait. From 1982 to 1989 the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) provided China with US \$310 million dollars in soft loans for the construction of thirteen projects in different provinces ( Bin Huwaidin,2002:121).

Furthermore, there were two important developments in China's foreign policy. Firstly, China instated a new foreign policy. This new foreign policy was similar to Kuwait's neutral foreign policy. This similarity created disparities with other countries on many foreign relations. Secondly, the Chinese government started to commit itself to the Four Modernisations programme, which elevated Kuwait's economic significance to China. Kuwait became an important source of loans and investments to China and the Chinese considered Kuwait an important ally to South-South cooperation (Bin Huwaidin,2002:121).

It is critical to mention that China assumed a neutral position during the Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War. It declined Kuwait's request to lease Chinese ships or to register

Kuwaiti oil tankers with Chinese authorities. China however, pursued 'active mediation' between Iran and Iraq during Iran- Iraq War. This was considered a very challenging time for Kuwait as it faced military aggression and acts of terrorism from Iran. An attempt to assassinate the Amir of Kuwait in 1985 is one illustration of a consequence for its support of Iraq. ( Bin Huwaidin,2002: 113)

The invasion of Kuwait in 1990 tested China's foreign policy and its influence in the Middle East. Iraq was considered an ally to China and a robust regional partner. Nevertheless, most of China's Arab partners sided with Kuwait.

Although China abstained on the resolution to send an international force to liberate Kuwait, respecting its non-intervention policy, it has repeatedly voiced its support of Kuwait. The relationship between China and Kuwait has historically relied on trade. After the Gulf War, the Kuwait is said to have cancelled interests on loans provided to China and introduced a new area of cooperation, most notably in the military sector. (Appendix 1.5, p216).

**We can conclude that:**

- a) Kuwait and China both agreed on the anti-imperialistic policies and the core idea of non-intervention. As, archive reveal both policies were devoted to support South-South cooperation and the support of underdeveloped or developing countries. The protocol applied during bilateral visits at least from the Kuwaiti side reflects the importance of the relationship for Kuwait, most of the delegation have either met with the Amir or the Crown prince which is symbol of tradition and importance. Moreover, the Arab cause was at the core of both countries policies since the inception of official diplomatic relations. During this period China rarely exercised its UN veto, instead choosing to abstain.
- b) Iraq and Taiwan played important roles in the development of the alliance of China and Kuwait. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait presented a threat to Kuwait's sovereignty and China's interest in Iraq. The after the invasion China changed its policy towards the region driven principally by geopolitics.

- c) The domestic issues of both countries influenced the creation their foreign policies specifically towards the bilateral relations. The Kuwaiti parliament and the National People Congress of China (NPC) both participated in the decisions related bilateral policy development.
  
- d) In the Iran-Iraq War, China remained an ally of both warring countries and sold arms to both Iran and Iraq. China supported Kuwait in its most important issue: its liberation Iraqi forces in 1990. In this research, the timeline illustrates China's roles as key actor in the Gulf region and specifically its relationship with Kuwait. This timeline is limited by available information.
  
- e) China held a pivotal role in the Kuwait's short history. As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council it was influential during the Invasion of Kuwait on key resolutions. After the war, it brokered negotiations with Iraq over Prisoners of War (POWS), and reparations and also was instrumental in peacekeeping. Kuwait helped restore China's position in the UN after the Tiananmen Square protests and they participated in the UN peacekeeping in that country. The modern policy on military cooperation between Kuwait and China in 1995 represented a major shift in bilateral relations because previously no military collaboration existed.

### **3. Economic, Energy and Housing Relations between the People's Republic of China and the State of Kuwait.**

This chapter is devoted to delineating both China and Kuwait's economic relations, bilateral trade and joint projects in detail. The role of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) in China, the investments of Kuwait in China, as well as the industries that were attractive to both parties, will be highlighted. This chapter will elucidate the significance of the economic aspect in the bilateral relations between the People's Republic of China and the State of Kuwait. It will contextualise information found in the China National Library, specifically Xinhua and the data provided in newspaper articles in Al Qabas and the Memories Archive. Behbehani and Bin Huwaidin publications proved to be tremendous resources, both offering insight and arguments on the role of economics in China's policy in the Arabian Peninsula region.

The timeline division of economic relations will focus on economic related dates of importance rather than political related dates. This chapter also aims to address the following inquiries: Kuwait's desire to cooperate with China in the oil sector and discusses the existing competition and challenges towards such cooperation. *What kind of economic relations did they have? And in what sectors? What were the challenges of such bilateral trade relations? What kind of agricultural cooperation did they both share? And did it contribute to their economic exchanges?*

This chapter is divided into seven sections:

- 3.1 Introduction;
- 3.2 Economic Relations
- 3.3 Fertilizer cooperation
- 3.4 Loans
- 3.5 Agriculture and Housing.
- 3.6 Private sector business
- 3.7 Summary and conclusion

#### **Key information**

- Kuwaiti Dinar exchange rate to USD in the Kuwaiti government financial entities is estimated as 1KWD = 3.4 USD.
- Most of the figures will be rounded up from KWD to USD using this rate.

### 3.1 Introduction

Since 1955, China and Kuwait have established direct non-governmental trade relations. From the establishment of diplomatic relations, the trade volume between the two countries has been steadily increasing. China mainly imports fertilizers (urea) and primary forms of plastic from Kuwait. Kuwait primarily imports mechanical and electrical products, clothing and textiles from China.

In 1979, China established its labour contractual industry in Kuwait. Kuwait is also continually developing governmental and non-governmental investment in China. Following the establishment of diplomatic relations, the two governments signed the following economic and trade agreements: Trade Agreements (1980), Civil Aviation Agreements, Cultural Agreements, Investment Encouragement and Protection Agreements (1985), Agreement on the Joint Commission of Economy, Trade and Technology Cooperation (1986), and Double Tax Avoidance Treaty (1989). In July 1985, the two countries opened the China-Kuwait route. (Chinese embassy website)<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Chinese embassy in Kuwait's Bilateral information: <http://kw.china-embassy.org/eng/zkgx/sbgxjj/t580302.htm>

## 3.2 Bilateral Economic Relations

### Initial phase 1955-1964

There is inadequate data available detailing the economic relations of that period. In general; the economic relations were dependent on alimentation, goods and raw building materials. The Kuwaiti imports from PRC represented 1.8% of total imports at the value of 2,095 thousand Kuwaiti Dinars in 1964 (Behbehani, 1981: 210).

Conversely, Bin Huwaidin maintains that from 1950-1955 that China's total trade volume with Middle Eastern countries (Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen and Saudi) accounts for only US \$1.7 million, with 75% of that are imports from China representing around 0.5% of China's trade ( Bin Huwaidin, 2002: 94).

In addition, Table 3 demonstrates China's value of trade with Kuwait from 1955-1964 in millions of dollars. So, China exported a value of 0.11 to Kuwait and the volume of trade significantly increased to 5.35 in 1964 (Editorial board 1984:842, IMF data 1990: 135).

**Table 3: China's trade with Kuwait (in US million dollars) collected from data provided Behbehani 1981: 211)**

Year	Exports	Import	Total
1955	0.11	-	0.11
1956	0.43	-	0.43
1957	0.28	-	0.28
1958	1.1	-	1.1
1959	1.03	-	1.03
1960	0.67	-	0.67
1961	1.06	-	1.06
1962	1.83	-	1.83
1963	2.79	-	2.79
1964	5.35	-	5.35

This data underscores that although there was no direct contact between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China, there was a line of economic trade mainly on imported products from China. Both tables; however, failed to provide any export details from Kuwait to China.

There was no mention of any formal or informal economic related visits or meetings between both sides in this period. According to Behbehani, the Chinese considered Kuwait's resources to be under the control of the imperialist power, in this case, Great Britain. Behbehani believes it was time for Kuwait to take charge of the interests of its own people. He also adds that the Chinese government later praised the nationalisation of many of Kuwait's companies. (Behbehani, 1981: 208)

It is significant to note, that in 1964, Kuwait Chemical Fertilizers Company (KCFC) was established with 60% ownership of the Kuwaiti government with the remaining equity belonging to the Gulf Oil Company and foreign countries (British Petroleum-BP). According to Behbehani, KCFC was endeavouring to sell its product but lacked the "optimal conditions (Behbehani, 1981: 206) to sell its products on the international market." He explains that in that specific period, the bulk of fertilizers sales derived from US subsidies or soft loans to countries such as Pakistan and India. These market conditions made it challenging for Kuwait to compete. (Behbehani, 1981:206)

Moreover, within this KCFC there was resistance in the board of trustees to sell to China. There is some debate about whether this reluctance to sell to China was based on geopolitics or economics. The Kuwaiti representation in this company felt that in order to be competitive it was necessary to engage with the market regardless of its political relationship. There was no clear objection to selling to the PRC but they preferred it to be the 'last option'.

Finally, owing to the fact that Taiwan had established an embassy in Kuwait in 1964, it was easier to begin trade deals with them, since the one China policy made conducting business with both untenable. The Kuwait government-owned companies in the petrochemical sector found it easier to work with Taiwan. Eventually, Kuwait did decide to sell its 60% in KCFC. Ironically, the west did not object to trade agreement with China (Behbehani,1981: 201).

On this note, in Sheikh Ali Khalifa AlSabah, ex-oil minister, said in his interview that Taiwan was a just as an important trade partner for Kuwait in the 60's as any other Asian country. During that decade, the main oil and petrochemical markets were Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong. ( see Appendix 5.3, p318)

According to the Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical series (中国海关) Kuwait represented an important regional exporter, it imports from 1958 to 1964 on a rate of 2.5 % of oil and petrochemical products and it exports to Kuwait some electronic appliances, textile and alimentation products of insignificant value but taking into consideration that only a few Arab countries did trade with Taiwan in the given period. (Appendices 3.2, p300)

The Balance of trade has been favourable to Kuwait during this period. There was no mention of any economic or petrochemical agreements in the records found in the National library of Taiwan or the Maritime Custom and statistics department. ( Appendices 3.1,p291 & 3.2p300)

**Table 4: valued of Taiwan's trade with Kuwait period collected Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical series.**

Year	Exports	Import	Total
1958	0.077	2.94	3.01
1959	0.778	8.83	9.61
1960	0.722	10.22	10.94
1961	0.689	14.67	15.36
1962	0.009	7.726	7.735
1963	0.0174	0.6973	0.7147
1964	1.31	3.50	4.81



## **Development phase 1965-1970**

This phase witnessed official visits based on bilateral economic discussions. From 11 to 13 February 1965, at the invitation of Fang Yi, director of the Foreign Economic Relations Commission of China, Sheikh Jaber Al Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah (former Amir), Minister of Finance and Industry of Kuwait, led a delegation to China. Chinese President Liu Shaoqi, Premier Zhou Enlai, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Chen Yi met with the Kuwaiti delegation and Fang Yi and Sheikh Jaber and held talks on economic and trade cooperation.

In June 1965, Nan Hanchen, Director of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, was extended an official invite to Kuwait. Kuwait's Amir HH Sheikh Sabah Al Salim and Crown HH Sheikh Jaber met respectively with Hanchen. Additionally, Assistant Ministry of Finance and Industry Khaled Al Issa and his delegation visited Beijing in October 1965, at the invitation of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade. They met with Nan Hanchen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and Lei Renmin, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade. They also met with the Chinese authorities to discuss the development of political, economic and trade relations.

These talks opened a trade dialogue between both countries. As a result of the discussions, Kuwait decided to sell China fertilizers, which had been one of the points of contention, a major sign of progress in economic relations (Behbehani, 1981: 201). Alseyassah newspaper dated 13/10/1969 reported that although the decision was made in 1965, the first shipment of fertilizers was not exported until October of 1969, 1.250 million KWD in values of 1969.

The first Chinese Fair for International Trade and Investment in Kuwait took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1967. The event was inaugurated by Kuwaiti Minister of Industry and Commerce Sheikh Abdullah Jaber AlSabah and attended by several prominent Kuwaiti personalities as well as by members of the general public. According to Xinhua on 23/1/1967, the audience gave the Chinese delegation a warm reception and expressed their admiration for Chinese leader, Chairman Mao. Some of the visitors said after visiting the exhibition: “ The Reason why China is able to achieve such great

success is due to the leadership of the great leader Mao Zedong.” ( Appendix 2.1, N.322,p239)

The opening ceremony was presided over by the Chinese government delegation led by Chinese Ambassador to Iraq Cao Chi. At the opening ceremony, there were more than 300 senior government officials, celebrities and foreign envoys.

Behbehani said that during this period, Kuwait’s volume of imports from China was 5,439 thousand KWD in 1965 before rising to 7,269 thousand KWD in 1970. In 1969, the trade volume hit a record high of 8,920 thousand KWD. A figure that was almost double what it was in 1964. This data seems to indicate the beginning of Kuwait’s fertilizer exports to China in 1969. (Behbehani,1981: 210)

Moreover, China’s exports to Kuwait prior to fertilizer exports was hovering near USD \$8.39 in million USD, before reaching USD \$16.76 million. At the same time, imports from Kuwait totalled USD \$3.68 million in 1970. The total trade between China and Kuwait ultimately reached reached USD \$20 million 1970. This demonstrates an increase of 300% in just six years. Table 2 denotes that 1969 is the best performing year for Chinese exports with USD \$18.84 million. (Editorial board 1984:842, IMF data 1990: 135)

**Table 5 : China’s trade with Kuwait 1965-70 (in US million Dollars) Source: Behbehani 1981: 210-211**

Year	Exports	Imports	Total
1965	8.39	-	8.39
1966	10.5	-	10.55
1967	15.69	-	15.69
1968	18.05	-	18.05
1969	18.84	0.38	19.22
1970	16.76	3.68	20.44

This can be described as the development phase in which both sides began to explore the economic cooperation possibilities with some limitations due to the one China

policy. Still, there was significant economic advancement and ongoing discussions about expanding trade.

In the case of Kuwait Taiwan trade during this period focused Taiwan's importation of Kuwaiti oil and petrochemicals and exportation of alimentations like tea, fruits and vegetables, Machinery, Metals leather goods, textiles and so forth. Kuwait and Iraq were two important regions in terms trading countries with Taiwan.

**Table 6: Taiwan's trade with Kuwait ( in US million Dollars) collected from Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical series archive.**

Year	Exports	Imports	Total
1965	1.769	N/A	1.769
1966	1.531	15.11	16.64
1967	1.871	11.56	13.43
1968	4.25	11.29	15.54
1969	4.04	24.23	28.27
1970	5.92	58.55	64.47

### **Formal development economic relations 1971-1981**

This decade includes many economic related visits, exhibitions and negotiations. Two major economic agreements had been signed in this period and the negotiations on petrochemical cooperation moved forwards. This period is considered seminal because it signifies the establishment of China-Kuwait cooperation post Kuwait's official recognition of China. It was during this decade that both countries exhibited keen interest in expanding their economic cooperation with one another.

In May of 1972, the State of Kuwait Amir Sabah Salem Al-Sabah, Crown Prince, Prime Minister Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber and the Kuwait Minister of Commerce and Industry Khaled AlAdsani met with all members of the Chinese trade mission. This meeting

included the Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chen Jie and the Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei (Appendix 2.1 N, 276,p242)

In December, an economic delegation headed by Kuwaiti Commerce and Industry Minister Khaled AlAdsani and the Kuwaiti ambassador to China, Abdulhameed AlBaijan were invited to attend a banquet and meetings with the Vice Foreign Minister He Ying, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chen Jie and other members of the Chinese delegation. AlAdsani praised the Kuwait and Chinese friendship. He said that the delegation's aim was to strengthen trade and economic ties between the two countries. He also used this speech to condemn Zionism and imperialist aggression against the Palestinian people. (Appendix 2.1, N.244, p243)

During the same visit, Premier Zhou Enlai, Minister of Trade and Industry, Bai Xiangguo and Vice Minister Chen Jie met with Kuwaiti Minister of Industry and Commerce Khalid Suleiman Adasani. Behbehani provided the minutes of the meeting between Aladsani and Premier Enlai. The minutes describe possible economic cooperation. They also show that Enlai was very much interested in Japanese economic relations with the other Gulf countries.

Aladsani proposed to open up the market for foreign investment and was aiming to bridge Kuwait's trade deficit with China. It's important to note that China did not need to import oil from Kuwait as it was self-sufficient at the time as Enlai himself acknowledged in this meeting. Hamad Abdulaziz Al Sagar from the Kuwait Chamber of Commerce was also in attendance at this meeting. ( Appendix 2.1 ,N 239, p243 and Behbehani, 1981:322)

On the December 2, 1972, Kuwait held the China Economic and Trade Exhibition. It was inaugurated by Kuwait's Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry Abdullah Al-Ghanem. Among the approximately 1,000 guests attending the opening ceremony, included: Sheikh Abdullah Jabir Al-Sabah, Special Adviser to the Amir of Kuwait, and Khalid Al Ghanem, President of the Kuwaiti National Assembly and several other prominent ministers and deputy ministers.

In his speech, the Minister of Industry and Commerce of Al Ghanem expressed his warm welcome to the China Exhibition. When opining on China's economic achievements, he said: "We hope that these achievements will become the main factor in promoting economic relations between our two countries." He went on to praise the development of trade relations and stressed that "trade relations between countries should be seen as an example of successful international cooperation amongst people in developing countries. I hope that such cooperation will benefit the people of our two countries and the people of the third world." (Appendix 2.1, N.233,p244)

In 1976, there was an increase in the fertilizer trade with China. Another key economic and trade exhibition was held on 22 of September until 6<sup>th</sup> of October. Kuwaiti Minister of Education and Acting Minister of Industry and Commerce Jasim Khalid Almarzoug attended the opening ceremony. In his opening speech, Zhang Xiunian, head of the China Economic and Trade Exhibition Group, praised the development of friendly relations between the two countries and the two peoples. More than 600 people in Kuwait attended the opening. Kuwaiti Minister of Trade and Industry Abdul Wahab Al- Nafisi visited the China Exhibition. More than 20,000 people visited the exhibition. The exhibition included a theatrical component with screening of several Chinese documentaries. The showcase received a warm reception from the location audience.

The Kuwaiti President of the Chamber of Commerce and his delegation made an official visit to China on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1977, and met with Foreign Minister Li Qiang Zhang Yuhe, Director of the Foreign Trade Department, and Xiao Fangzhou, Deputy Director of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, in addition to other Chinese dignitaries. During the same visit, he also met with Tan Chen-lin, Vice Chairman.(Appendix 2.1, N.413,p251)

On December 17, 1977, the Chinese government economic delegation headed by Li Ke, deputy Minister of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Foreign Affairs visited the State of Kuwait.

The representative of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the assistant to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Ali Isa Alwazzan, and the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the Chinese delegation.

According to Xinhua News Agency, the China-Kuwait Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement was signed here on December 26. Li Ke, head of the Chinese government economic delegation, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Abdul Hamad, the Undersecretary of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Industry and Commerce, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments. The Deputy Head of the Chinese delegation, Ding Hao, Chinese ambassador to Kuwait, and officials from the Kuwaiti Ministry of Industry and Commerce also attended the signing ceremony.( Appendix 2.1, N386, p251)

It is relevant to highlight that at the end of 1978, China decided to launch their Reform and Opening-up policy, a strategic three-step vision for modernisation. This process included a reform of Chinese old institutions, the building of new ones, and a blueprint for integration into the global economy.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the first step involved the de-collectivisation of agriculture, the opening up of the country to foreign investment, and permission for entrepreneurs to start businesses – although most enterprises remained state owned. In the late 80's and 90's, the second step of the reform is known for the privatisation and contracting out of much of the state-owned industry and the lifting of price controls, protectionist policies, and regulations. Nevertheless, state monopolies in sectors such as banking and petroleum remained intact to attract foreign investment and also to maintain steady economic growth.<sup>24</sup>

In 1980, both countries signed an oil exploration agreement. Alwatan reported on 20/2/1980 that Kuwait based bank Alahli Bank is said to have invested or loaned China USD \$ 50 million. It was further reported that this was the first Arabian bank to setup operations in China. I have not seen this news elsewhere; however, I have read that Kuwait leverages local banks to fund international projects. (Appendix 1.5, K085,p 225)

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<sup>24</sup> China's Economic Modernization Plan: <https://www.cirsd.org/en/horizons/horizons-winter-2018-issue-no-10/the-new-plan-for-chinas-modernization>

In 1980, China and Kuwait signed a civil aviation agreement and the first Chinese flight to Kuwait was in 1985.

In 1981, China and Kuwait signed a new trade agreement. According to the agreement, both sides will offer imported goods and exchange labour given the necessary logistics and infrastructure are in place. This arrangement was also contingent upon the establishment of a joint committee responsible for the implementation of the agreement. The pact was signed by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang and Kuwaiti Minister of Trade and Industry Abdul Wahab Al Nafisi.

In the same year, a Chinese government trade delegation headed by Li Qiang made a visit to Kuwait. During the trip, the Kuwaiti Emir Jabir Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah and his party met with Li Qiang. (Appendix 2.1, N.325, p 253)

Moreover, the Kuwaiti cabinet discusses Kuwait China economic relations as China becomes Kuwait's 9<sup>th</sup> exporter, as reported in Al Seyassah newspaper dated 15/5/1972. In July, China concludes a purchase of 300 thousand tonnes of fertilizers from Kuwait. So, this suggests that bilateral trade dynamics were still focused primarily on importing of Kuwaiti fertilizers and exporting of Chinese commodities to Kuwait. The trade imports from China were at 7,629 thousand KWD in 1971 and it reached 10,778 in 1973 amounting to 3.5% of Kuwait's total imports. (Behbehani,1981:210)

Bilateral trade volume between Kuwait and China was USD \$22.08 million in 1971 and it reached USD \$199.11 million in 1980 and USD \$154.71 million USD in 1981. The trade volumes kept increasing for 10 years but there was a slight decrease in 1981 due to the Iran-Iraq War. Although Kuwait held a trade deficit with China, the Kuwait government felt that it was necessary to absorb this loss due to the importance of economic diversification. (Editorial board 1984:842, IMF data 1990: 135)

**Table 7: China's trade value with Kuwait 1971-81 (US million dollars) source: . Behbehani,1981:210-211**

Year	Exports	Imports	Total
1971	18.39	3.69	22.08
1972	24.10	9.78	33.88
1973	41.55	19.05	60.60
1974	54.33	24.14	78.48
1975	69.75	2.46	72.21
1976	99.91	10.39	110.30
1977	94.45	20.86	115.31
1978	92.98	33.11	126.09
1979	136.24	38.73	126.09
1980	156.98	42.13	174.97
1981	146.16	8.57	199.11

The presence of Chinese companies in Kuwait in this period due to the economic exhibition provided China with the prospect of working with Kuwaiti local companies to secure tenders for construction and housing related projects. According to Behbehani's research there were more than 20 agents in Kuwait peddling Chinese products. These merchants were focused on alimentation, textiles, clothing and light machinery. From 1971-1981, the balance of trade was favourable to China, as it only imported petrochemicals products from Kuwait and Kuwait imported a variety of products as shown on Table 8.



Table 8: Kuwaiti trade agents for Chinese products 1975, collected by Behbehani himself (Source: Behbehani 1981:232)

Table 8.2 *Kuwaiti trade agents for Chinese products as at December 1975*

<i>Name of Agent</i>	<i>Items</i>
Sū'ūd 'Audjan and Bros.	Canned Mutton, 'Great Wall' Brand; Canned beef
Ra'ad Stores	Frozen Broilers; Frozen Mutton
Sulaiman al-'Abd al-Karīm & Bros.	Canned goods, 'Malīn' Brand
Husain Makī al-Djum'h	Woollen mixed-piece goods
Bahman Trading Corporation	Sanitary wares, 'Victory' brand; Glazed wall tiles, 'Three Ring' brand; Acid resisting glazed ware pipes and fittings; bed sheets; machine-embroidered bed sheets (Shanghai); pillowcases; nails; singlets and sweaters, 'Double Mull' brand
'Aḥmad Bahman and Bros.	Leather shoes; rubber shoes; plastic sandals; enamelware
'Isā and 'Abd 'Alī Bahman Co.	Machine-embroidered bed sheets
'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Alī 'Akbar al-Radan stores	Embroidered blouses, 'Pony' brand
al-'Ahlī Trading Exhibition	Staple fibre blankets
'Alī 'Abd al-Wahab Sons & Co.	Garments (100% cotton)
'Aḥmad Muḥamad al-Rashid	Carpets (Tientsin Branch); 'Camel' steel safes; Chairs (Peking Branch)
Fahad Ṣulṭan	Vacuum flasks; footballs; kerosene cooking stoves; cotton-piece goods No. 90700
Mansūr Makī al-Djum'h	Fountain pens, 'Youth' brand
Muḥamad 'Aḥmad al-Basam	Sewing machines, 'Butterfly' brand
al-'Amīr Trading & Contracting Est.	Picture frames
Salam Trading Co. Ltd.	Cell batteries
Faiṣal Bozie al-Yasīn	Toys
Yūsuf Khalid al'Adasānī	Lubricating grease
Muḥamad al-Djasim	Medicines
Sa'adī 'Abū Ḍarir	Sanitary towels; bandages
Faūd Muṣṭafa	Malleable iron; pipe fittings
'Abas 'Alī al-Hazīm	Cigarettes, 'Pony' brand
Nūr Trading Co., W.L.L.	Carpets (Shantung branch)
Muḥamad 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Baḥr	Transformers
United Shipping Trading and Contracting Services, W.L.L.	Shipping
'Abd al-Khaḍar Behbehani	Shipping
	Dactylo-mycin tablets, 'Great Wall' brand

Source: Privately drawn list for the author by Kuwait Ministry of Commerce, December 1975.

**Table 9: Taiwan’s trade with Kuwait 1971-81 collected from Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical series archive.**

Year	Exports	Imports	Total
1971	57.749	7.071	64.82
1972	124.35	17.77	142.12
1973	73.40	29.63	103.03
1974	478.278	38.67	516.94
1975	506.30	52.88	559.18
1976	828.26	134.133	962.393
1977	822.9	110.9	933.8
1978	945.57	116.42	1061.99
1979	1344.18	155.47	1499.65
1980	2606.19	228.08	2834.27
1981	2663.6	197.9	2861.5

The data in the table above indicate that Kuwait’s political decision to recognise the People’s republic of China as one china, didn’t affect its trade relations with Taiwan. Taiwan was one of the major buyers of Kuwaiti petroleum and petrochemical products according to statistics and information mention by Kuwaiti Ex-Minister of Finance. The statistics show that in 1980 Kuwait presented 11% of Taiwan’s total import, this is considered a big number.

Moreover, the Kuwaiti oil minister’s visit to Taiwan in 1976 and signing an oil agreement in 1977 to supply Taiwan with 60,000 barrel per day until 1979. In 1977, Kuwait’s oil exports to Taiwan represented 8% of total imports. (Appendix 1.5, k045,p221 &K066, p223).

According to Alanba newspaper dated 1/4/1980, Kuwait National petroleum company signed an agreement with Taiwan to build 2 oil tankers with a capacity of 21606 thousand tonnes. China did not import Crude oil from Kuwait until 1994, information provided by the Chinese embassy of Kuwait. ( Appendix 1.5, K088,p225)

## **Fruitful economic and energy relations 1982-1990**

Kuwait had provided Iraq with financial assistance standing at USD \$4B since the declaration of the Iran-Iraq War, while initiated a precipitous drop in oil revenue. Thus, the financial pressures increased on the Kuwaiti economy. Most notably, oil revenues amounted to USD \$16.6B in 1981-1982. In 1985-1986, the revenues slipped to USD 9B. Moreover, the Kuwaiti economy went through the "Souk Al-Manakh" Kuwait's unofficial stock exchange crisis in 1982, which resulted in Kuwait losing USD \$81B. All the aforementioned variables forced the region to slide into an economic recession.<sup>25</sup>

From the 1982, economic relations between Kuwait and China entered a new phase known to many researchers as the 'easy loans period'. What is material; however, is this is a formative phase that was marked by more cooperation in establishing a trilateral fertilizers company as well as China's openness towards foreign investments.

In 1982, Kuwait Oil Company (KPC) acquired joint exploration rights in off shore China, including an agreement to build a production platform and an underwater pipeline estimated at USD \$40 million from which 15% was to paid by Santa Fe Minerals (Asia) Inc, a unit of the KPC-owned Santa Fe international. (Bin Huwaidin,2002: 194 )

Sheikh Ali Alkhalifa reports that several Kuwaiti delegations made official visits to discuss Oil and fertilizers' cooperation. In China, they were received by Deng Xiao Ping and they discussed the Santa Fe refinery that was majority owned by Kuwait International Oil Company. Sante Fe was formed with the mandate to produce oil and gas for and exporting to Hong Kong to Hainan, which was just off the shore of Japan.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Lewis, Paul KUWAIT'S MARKET BAILOUT, Feb. 18, 1983

<https://www.nytimes.com/1983/02/18/business/kuwait-s-market-bailout.html>

<sup>26</sup> ARCO IS THE FIRST U.S. OIL CONCERN TO WIN OFFSHORE CHINA CONTRACT, 20/9/1982

<http://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/20/business/arco-is-the-first-us-oil-concern-to-win-offshore-china-contract.html>

Linn, Glenn, CHINA'S SEARCH FOR CLEAN ENERGY CENTERS AROUND GAS DEVELOPMENT FOREIGN HELP WILL BE NEEDED, 24/29/1995

This initiative was a joint project with China National Offshore Oil Company as the relationship between China and Hong Kong started to normalise ( Appendix 5.3, p318)

According to Alanba, Kuwait and China were both endeavouring for more robust economic cooperation in 1983. During that time, the president of the Kuwaiti Chamber of commerce visited China in an economic climate in which China Middle East trade has flourished. ( Appendix 1.5, K128,p227)

In the same year, a Chinese investment delegation visited Kuwait Investment Authority to promote investments in China. This meeting was a result of Kuwaiti mandate to accelerate foreign investments. ( Appendix 1.5, K130,p228)

In 1984, a Kuwaiti business delegation from the Group of Kuwait Sabah Al Reyes met with General Manager of China International Trust and Investment Corporation. He is notable for being the first private businessman to visit China to better survey China's investment potential. (See private 3.6 Private Sector relations)

In 1985, Sheikh Ali Al Sabah minister of Oil goes on an Asian Tour. At the same time, Kuwait's Oil and Finance Minister Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah's visits Beijing, China and Kuwait sign an agreement on the Fujian Shaxikou hydropower project loan among other contractual commitments outlined in section 3.3.

According to Kuwaiti press that Kuwaiti Oil Minister tries to convince his Chinese counterpart to lower oil production to keep a reasonable oil price. The Minister delivers a letter from HH the Amir of Kuwait to the Chinese president on 7/1/1985.

On 8/1/1985, Kuwaiti Oil and Finance Minister visits China to discuss cooperation in the energy sector. He mentions that Kuwait was the first country in the region to export petrochemicals and fertilizers to China and it was the first country to import Chinese labour. (Appendix 1.1, 041,p204)

According to Xinhua News Agency in Kuwait, March 16 1985, the head of the Chinese government economic delegation and State Councilor Zhang Jinfu announced here

today that China and Kuwait will sign an investment protection agreement as soon as possible to expand and trade relations.

Zhang Jinfu said: "My visit was very successful. It pushed the cooperation between our two countries to a new stage." (Appendix 2.1, N.158,p258) He also announced that after the signing of the investment protection agreement, China will entrust Kuwait to convene an investment in China and the Gulf countries. They welcomed the industry of Kuwait and other Gulf countries to invest in China. He also revealed that the delegation held a frank exchange with Kuwaiti officials to participate in the development of natural gas in Hainan Island, China.

During the visit, HH Amir of the Kuwait Sheikh Jaber met with Zhang Jinfu and the main members of the delegation and engaged in a friendly talks . Zhang Jinfu conveyed the greetings of Chairman Li Xiannian to the Kuwaiti Amir and submitted a letter to Chairman Li. In the letter, Chairman Li Xiannian thanked the Amir for his invitation to visit Kuwait and reiterated his invitation to the Amir to visit China. In Return, the Amir thanked Chairman Li for his invitation and said that he would visit China when his schedule allowed. (Appendix 2.1, N.158,p258)

On the same day, Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad also met with Zhang Jinfu and the main members of the delegation at the Prime Minister's Office. Appendix 2.1, N.158,p258)

On April of 1985, China opened its first economic office in Kuwait and by the end of the year Kuwait and China sign an agreement on a bilateral development investment, which included real estate.

It is worth mentioning that Alqabas dated 25/11/1985 states that finance minister explains China Kuwait economic cooperation and includes for the first time, the option 'oil for products and services.' This is notable because previously was no evidence of any exchange with Kuwait on the matter until this date. ( Appendix 1.1, 056,p206)

Accordingly, on 25/11/1985, Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin, China and the Government of Kuwait signed an investment, encouragement and protections agreements (Appendix 2.1, N.135,p258)

Similarly, Kuwaiti Financial Minister AlKhurafi inaugurates the China Invest forum in Kuwait. Overview of the economic relations between both countries includes multiple bilateral agreements. The Chinese ambassador praises Kuwait's loans on infrastructure and says he hopes that the GCC finds China a prolific investment destination.

On 6/5/1986 the China - Kuwait Investment Seminar took place at the headquarters of Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development. The delegation headed by State Councillor Zhang Jinfu of the Chinese delegation and Minister of Finance and Economy and the head of the Kuwaiti Kharafi company participated in the seminar. Seventy officials from Chinese companies and enterprises and 56 Kuwaiti and other Gulf countries representatives also participated in the seminar.

Zhang Jinfu said in his speech at the opening ceremony that economic cooperation between China and the Gulf countries has great potential. The wealth of oil resources in the Gulf region has created a large surplus of funds, which can be earmarked for foreign investments, while the expansive Chinese market is a robust landscape that can attract foreign capital.

Zhang Jinfu also said that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, China will encourage foreign businessmen to invest in the development of many critical areas such as **energy, transportation, port and terminal building, new building materials, telecommunications, electric power, light industry and agriculture.**

He added: "We are particularly encouraged that foreign investors are seeking to allocate money for high-tech projects and exports of those products as part of foreign exchange programs." (Appendix 2.1, N.118 ,p259)

Zhang Jinfu emphasised that China and the Gulf countries should be integrated and committed into a system of developing greater power and prosperity for their respective countries, the revitalization of the **Third World, promoting South-South cooperation and contributing to the international economy.**

He praised the friendly and ties between China and Kuwait, and expressed the hope that businesses of China and the Gulf would also follow this model and further promote China and Kuwait's friendship.

Like Jinfu, Kharafi also praised the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries in his remarks. He said the information sessions aimed at investors in Kuwait and other Gulf countries are beneficial because they will equip participants with the knowledge necessary to conduct business and trade in these countries. Additionally, he felt the seminars would provide opportunities for mutual exchange of ideas in order to facilitate a better understanding of China's economic climate and possible key investment areas. (Appendix 2.1, N.118 ,p259)

On November 15 1986, Premier Zhao Ziyang met with Kuwaiti Finance Minister Jassim Al Kharafi. Al Kharafi said that China will continue to make its own efforts to promote peace and stability in the Gulf region. China's hope is that the destructive war in the Gulf region will end soon.

Zhao Ziyang said that China will, as always, support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. He emphasised that, that would be a position unlikely to change. When talking about bilateral relations, Zhao Ziyang said that China and Kuwait not only have rapid economic and technological relations, but also have good political relations. Because the two countries belong to the third world, their positions on many international issues are consistent or similar.

Zhao Ziyang said that an important part of China's opening up policy is to welcome foreign investment to China, including lending and joint ventures in China through loans. He issued an open invitation for Kuwaiti entrepreneurs to invest in China. He said, "in order to advance our economy we will continue to encourage and work with foreign investors and entrepreneurs." (Appendix 2.1, N.103 ,p257)

Kharif said that the Kuwaiti Amir and the Crown Prince and Prime Minister attach great importance to progressing relations with China. The talks with the Chinese have produced positive results, which will promote the development of economic relations

between the two countries. In terms of investing in China, Kuwait will encourage other Gulf countries to work with the PRC (Appendix 2.1, N.103 ,p259)

The agreement between the Chinese government and the Kuwaiti government to establish a mixed committee on economic, technological and trade cooperation was drafted in Beijing tonight.

Zheng Tuobin, Minister of Economy and Trade, and Jassim Al Kharafi, Minister of Finance of Kuwait, signed the documents on behalf of their respective governments. (Appendix 2.1, N.104 ,p259)

The committee's mission is to examine the implementation of economic and technological cooperation agreements, trade agreements, and encouragement and protection of investment agreements. It will also expand economic and technological cooperation and trade, and examine proposed cooperation projects.

State Councilor and Minister of Finance Wang Bingqian and State Councilor and the Governor of the People's Bank of China Chen Muhua met with Al Kharafi and his party respectively this morning and again in the afternoon at the Great Hall of the People. The two sides expressed their desire to further develop economic, trade and scientific and technological cooperation.

On 24/4/1987, Xinhua conducted an interview with Dr. Fahad Al Rashed, managing director of the Kuwait Investment Authority (KIA)<sup>27</sup>, which is headed by Minister of Finance who is also the Chairman. Since the 1970s, Kuwait has been investing oil profits in the international market. For the first time in the 1982-1983 fiscal year, Kuwait's foreign investment revenue exceeded oil revenues. At present, Kuwait's total outward investment is approximately \$80 billion. In the past, most of Kuwait's outbound investment holdings were concentrated in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. In recent years, in order to adapt to the changes in the international political

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<sup>27</sup> Kuwait Investment Authority (KIA) is the oldest sovereign wealth fund in the world. KIA traces its roots to the Kuwait Investment Board, which was established in 1953, eight years before Kuwait's independence in 1961 In 1982, KIA was created by Law No. 47 as an autonomous governmental body responsible for the management of the assets of the country. (<http://www.kia.gov.kw/en/ABOUTKIA/Pages/Overview.aspx>)



and economic situation, Kuwait has steadily adjusted its foreign investment policy and diversified its types of investments.

Dr. Rashed makes a compelling analogy: "Kuwait will no longer put all of its eggs in one basket." To that end, Kuwait has provided some USD \$5 billion in credit to more than 60 developing countries. These countries include 16 Arab countries, 28 African countries and a number of other Asian and Latin American countries. (Appendix 2.3.9, P277)

The Kuwaiti government is currently considering new plans to expand investment in China, Turkey, India and the Soviet Union. "Kuwait's financial assistance to developing countries is primarily aimed at promoting South-South cooperation and aiding countries with economic difficulties to build development projects," Dr. Rashed said.

Similarly, Dr. Rashid told reporters with great enthusiasm, "China's modernisation and foreign investment policies are very attractive to both Kuwaiti government agencies and private companies. Kuwait's investment in China is based on equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation. We must embolden the investment industry to seize opportunities, be competitive, have diverse interests and to become both self-reliant and stable." (Appendix 2.3.9, P277)

In the past two years, the economic cooperation projects between Kuwait and China have been steadily increasing. The equipment purchases upgrades at the Beijing Silk Factory, the Shandong Qilu Building Ceramics Factory and the Xiamen Airport Expansion Project are just a few examples. In terms of joint ventures, the two sides are also working hard to explore their experiences. Beijing Garden Apartment, which is jointly built and operated by Zhongke, will be delivered at the end of this year. This is the largest residential construction project of the Gulf countries in China.

The Qinhuangdao Phosphate Ammonia Fertilizer Plant, which is a co-venture of China, Kuwait and Tunisia, supplies phosphate raw materials from Tunisia. China provides labour and plans to produce 600,000 tons of fertilizer per year. The three examples of

multilateral cooperation amongst developing countries are considered to be new attempts for third world economic cooperation.

Dr. Rashed believes that China is an important partner of Kuwait's investment and economic cooperation. At present, China-Kuwait economic cooperation involves credit, finance, labour, direct investment and joint venture projects. Kuwait's investment in China has reached about 350 million US dollars.

Dr. Rashed provided the following as an example, “Kuwait provides funds, human resources and resources from China, and the introduction of foreign advanced equipment. Co-production replaces imported goods.” This means they would work together in a trilateral project with a third country that will have added value like the United States. (see Appendix 2.3.9, P277 for full translated interview)

On the same note, the importance of this interview shows China’s interest in several Kuwaiti financial institutions and the possibility to cooperate within the third world spectrum. This interview also demonstrates an alignment for Kuwait and China’s investment and development interest.

In the interview with the former Kuwaiti Oil and Finance minister, he said “In the 60’s, many regional countries refused to sell fertilizers to China with exception of Kuwait. Our Finance Minister at the time was H.H. the Amir of Kuwait Sheikh Jaber (1977-2006). He did not believe that country should be boycotted economically because of its political system. Kuwait was an open market and economy to all products including Taiwan, but the trade with PRC started in 1955.” (Appendix 5.3, p318)

He also added that during his time in the ministry “China extended a fixed quota to Kuwait with regards to fertilizers trade and favoured trading with Kuwait until 1980’s.” He also found China very intriguing because “although they were a communist country, they had a business-driven mentality and they were very clean and Beijing as a huge city was well maintained.” (Appendix 5.3, p318)

He also highlighted Kuwait’s economic interests with China, “Kuwait strived for a new state, it desired to open its market to new products and also cooperate with other

countries in the oil and petroleum sector. China seemed to be a promising market towards the mid 80's. Many delegations visited China and Hong Kong in this regard. In China, they were received by Deng Xiao Ping and they discussed the Santa Fe refinery that was majority owned by the Kuwait International Oil Company and mandated to produce gas and oil for export to Hong Kong and Japan just off the shore of Hainan.<sup>28</sup>”

The ex-minister described that “this project was a joint project with China National Offshore Oil Company and the relationship between China and Hong Kong started to normalise. I would like to add that Taiwan was a major buyer of Kuwaiti oil as well even after adopting the one China policy,” (Appendix 5.3, p318)

Although, China is self-reliant when it comes to oil production and consumptions, it still coordinated and supported Kuwait in production strategies, including the decision to maintain production at current levels in 1987. This proves that although there was not an exchange of oil, China and Kuwait were able to cooperate in exploration and the development of the oil sector in China as this project indicates.

On 7/12/1987, Shanghai Export Commodities Week concluded in Kuwait. After five days of trade talks, deals totally almost USD \$2 million in contracts were signed with representatives of the Gulf countries. (Appendix 2.1 , N.52, p261)

Alqabas newspaper accounts that on 13/3/1988, a Chinese economic delegation visits Kuwait and states that the bilateral trade between the two countries reached USD \$140 million in 1987. It also states that China imported 430 thousand tons of cement and exported several products like textile and clothes. It lists the products that the delegation is promoting in the economic exhibition in Kuwait. ( Appendix 1.2,K124,p227)

Alqabas newspaper also noted on 25/11/1989 that before the visit of the Chinese president to Kuwait, The Kuwaiti-Chinese Economic Committee met to discuss the new economic agreement. During the meeting, they declared that in 1988 that bilateral trade

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<sup>28</sup> Mann, Jim, 29/9/ 1985 Arco Signs Contract to Develop Big Chinese Offshore Gas Field, [http://articles.latimes.com/1985-09-29/news/mn-18702\\_1\\_natural-gas-field](http://articles.latimes.com/1985-09-29/news/mn-18702_1_natural-gas-field)

reached USD \$234 million, a 66% increase from the previous year and an equivalent to USD \$310 million dollars in loans to China. ( Appendix 1.1, 083, p212)

According to Xinhua on 19/12/1989, Kuwaiti Commerce and Industry, Undersecretary Al- Hamad met with Xinhua News Agency correspondent, said that President Yang Shangkun's upcoming visit to Kuwait, is a "very important matter", it "will spur the development of friendly relations between the two countries." (Appendix 2.1, N6, p261)

He expressed satisfaction with the growing trade. In 1988, bilateral trade reached USD \$234 million an increase of 66.4% over 1987. At the time, China's major imports from Kuwait were food and industrial products and fertilizer. (Appendix 2.1, N6, p261)

In the case of Taiwan, Taiwan's trade with Kuwait, has dropped in the given period because Saudi Arabia became one of the most important trade partners in the region in addition to political pressure to apply the one china policy would have affected the trade relations but it had not stopped completely. It decreased from 11% of imports in 1980 to 1.8% in 1988. The Iraq-Iran war could also be a part of it, since Iraq also decreased its trade with Taiwan in the given period. According to Kuwaiti newspapers that Taiwan was pressured by the US to import oil from the US and its allies. In 1986, Kuwait negotiated the use of Taiwan oil refineries and oil trade agreements but there is no information regarding this project. (Appendix 1.5,K179,p231)

Regarding, Kuwait Investment Authority, Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development and Kuwait trade ministry did not have information about Taiwan in terms of investment, trade agreements or easy loans.

This section provides an overview on the development of economic, energy and other economic related cooperation between China and Kuwait. This segment will also explore the formation of the bilateral economic committee, the interest between both countries' investment authorities and alignment in South-South and developing countries approaches to trade and commerce. It further argues for a direct correlation between both countries politics and their economic policies.

### 3.3 Fertilizers Cooperation

The fertilizers trade between China and Kuwait is considered key in the formation of economic bilateral relations. The negotiations of fertilizers sales to China began in 1965 and all the data presented in 3.2 reveals that the actual trade began in 1969. The partial Kuwaiti ownership of the Kuwait Chemical and Fertilizer Company ( KCFC) and Kuwait's relationship with Taiwan is believed to have had hampered the initial steps of trade and cooperation. This section will explain the trilateral cooperation between China, Kuwait and Tunisia as tangible examples of both countries investment and development policies in the South-South and in Third World nations which are elements of both countries foreign policies.

According to Behbehani, the negotiations on a fertilizers trade deal started in 1965, but the table below explains the sales of fertilizers from 1969 until 1973. This table underscores the importance of China for fertilizer industry in Kuwait and also showcases China's growing demand for fertilizers. ( Behbehani 1981:208)

Table 10: China Kuwait Fertilizers trade 1969-1973 source Behbehani 1981: 208

#### *China and Kuwait*

PIC in KCFC. This decision opened the door officially to KCFC to start trading fertiliser with communist China. The following deals were since then concluded with this country:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place of negotiations</i>	<i>Tonnage concluded M/T</i>	<i>Total Production of KCFC/PIC for this year (round figures)</i>	<i>Percentage of the Chinese deal to total sales</i>
<b>UREA</b>				
1969	Peking	50,000	135,000	37.0
1970	"	75,000	162,000	46.2
1971	"	150,000	182,000	82.4
1972	Kuwait	231,750	514,000	45.1
1973	"	203,000	580,000	35.0
<b>AMMONIUM SULPHATE</b>				
1973	Kuwait	24,000	119,000	20.0

*(Continued on page 105)*

In addition, the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance's statement after his visit to China reaffirms long-term fertilizers sales deal with China at 400 thousand tonnes in 1987 through 1988. Just under decade previously in 1969, fertilizers exports to China stood at 15,500 tonnes. By 1980 they had risen to 150 thousand tonnes. In 1985 they rose again to 200 thousand tonnes before finally peaking in 1987. ( Appendix 1.2,p209)

Furthermore, the negotiations of this project started in 1981. According to Xinhua Agency, dated 23/11/1981, Vice Premier Kang Shien met with the Chairman of Kuwait Petrochemical Industry Corporation Abdullah Al Nuri and the delegation of Kuwait National Petrochemical Industry Corporation. During the talks, Kuwait and China discussed the trilateral project with Tunisia. (Appendix 2.1, N281,p254)

In 1984 AlNouri said that China provided assurances for the trilateral cooperation, as the Alwatan newspaper article notes some protocols that Tunisia, Kuwait and China have to provide in order to proceed with this crucial agreement.

At the invitation of the Minister of Petroleum Industry Tang Ke, Kuwaiti Minister of Petroleum and Finance Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah and his delegation arrived in Beijing on the 3/1/1985 for a six-day friendly visit to China. During the trip, Al-Khalifa will discuss the use of natural gas and cooperation in the exploration and development of oil, and will also discuss the establishment of fertilizer plants in China, Kuwait and Tunisia. Over the course of his stay, Al-Khalifa will sign the applicable agreements. (Appendix 2.1 , N.165,p258)

China and Kuwait bilateral economic and technological cooperation has evolved into multilateral arrangement that now includes Tunisia. This triumvirate will advance South-South cooperation. The trio of countries firmly establishes the production of fertilizers with the Qinhuangdao JV agreement.

The plant would utilize phosphoric acid feedstock produced by the Kuwaiti Tunisian joint-venture company Société Industrielle d'Acide Phosphorique et d'Engrais (SIAPE) and ammonia produced locally. Sixty per cent (US \$15 million) of the capital would be held equally by Kuwait Petrochemical Industries Company (KPIC) and SIAPE, and the

remaining 40 per cent would be owned by the Chinese National Chemical Construction Company (CNCCC).



*Figures 13: The picture shows Alnouri's visit to China to negotiate the agreement in 1985. (source: Wu Fugui, 2018: 171-172)*



*Figure 14: The picture below shows the inauguration of the project in 1988. (source: Wu Fugui, 2018: 173)*

On the west coast of the Pacific Ocean and Buhai Sea beach in China, there lies the city of Chihuangdao, a city of deep history and lush scenery. It is the only city in China that was named after the emperor, the largest energy export harbor at a global level. This city, which combines originality and modern features, has witnessed amicable cooperation between China and the Arab world since the 1980's.

The Sino-Arab Chemical Fertilizers Co. Ltd. – a mega project for the production of composite fertilizers with joint investments between China, Kuwait and Tunisia, was established in this city. This joint project is well-known for the unique management approach, and distinctive products.

The aforementioned Sino-Arab Chemical Fertilizers Co. Ltd. (SACF) is located in the eastern industrial zone of Chihuangdao city. It was established in June 1985, and commenced production in January 1991, as a producer of composite fertilizers of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, with joint investments between CNCCC of China, the Tunisian GCT Group, and PIC of Kuwait, with a capital of USD 58m.

Since its inauguration the company produced 70 kinds of fertilizers and by 1994, it was serving markets in Asia: Japan, Indonesia, South Korea, North Korea and Pakistan, in chinese analysis of this project did not mention how did the ownership Kuwait got transfered to China nor the date was mentioned. I have tried to find answers from several goverment agencies but still did not get an official answer.

The partnership was a main project and the largest in the area of chemical cooperation between China and the third world countries. It was commended by Deng Xiaoping as "A model for cooperation between the south and the south." ( Wu Fugui 2018: 167)

This joint project goes hand in hand with the production and lives of millions of peasants in China. It formed a broad influence and enjoyed a good reputation. The company and its products constitute a crucial part of China's success in implementing reforms, open-door policy, international exchange and cooperation. It is the crystallization of cooperation between China, as the initiator of investment, Kuwait as investor, and Tunisia as provider of resources in the area of chemicals. It is the historic evidence to friendship, mutual benefit, and common gains between the three countries.



SACF is a joint partnership that is renowned locally and globally for composite fertilizer (SACFO), which reflected positively with benefits on millions of workers and contributed tremendously to the Chinese economic structure and long-term development which represents around 30 years of cooperation in the fertilizers industry.

In the interview with the former Minister of Oil and Finance, he said “They opened a fertilizer company in collaboration with Tunisia with three equal shares, called Chinese Arab chemicals and fertilisers company in 1985. Kuwait sold its share to China in the 90’s. Kuwait and China enhanced cultural and economic exchanges as well as supporting one another in the international community.” ( Appendix 5.3, p318)

On the same note, he did not mention the reasons behind Kuwait’s sale of its shares but he mentioned that in the 1980’s most of the projects with China were successful. Nevertheless, for Kuwait, there was long learning curve understanding the decision-making process and laws like the energy sector regulation of oil prices. This early lack of knowledge impeded initial foreign investments.

Kuwait was the first Gulf country to export fertilizers to China. It was also the first Gulf country to open Chinese markets domestically. Kuwait is now beginning to invest in China through various official channels. The country is open to encouraging other Gulf and Arab nations to make efforts to invest in China. ( Appendix 2.1,N.164, p258)

### 3.4 Loans

Kuwait is the first country in the Gulf Arab states to provide preferential government loans to China and the Arab country that provides the largest amount of loans. Since 1982, the Kuwaiti government has provided long-term, low-interest loans to China through the Kuwait Economic Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED)<sup>29</sup> as shown below:

**Table 11: Kuwait Fund (KFAED) Projects in China 1982-1990**

Source: (<https://www.kuwait-fund.org/en>)

Note: All Amounts are in Kuwaiti Dinars (Millions) (1 KD = US\$3.40)

Sector	Sr. No.	Project Name	Loan Amount	Date of Agreement	Interest Rate	Loan Period (Years)	Grace Period (Years)	Grant Element
Industry	1	NINGGUO CEMENT	13.986	05-07-1982	4.00%	18.50	3.50	36.40%
Industry	2	HUNAN WOOD BASED PLANT	10.000	08-11-1982	2.00%	19.67	4.75	52.38%
Industry	3	URUMQI FERTILIZER PLANT	11.732	04-05-1983	4.00%	18.67	3.50	36.54%
Industry	4	Tianjin Mini Vehicle	3.998	06-07-1985	5.50%	19.00	3.83	27.55%

<sup>29</sup> Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (The Fund) is a Kuwaiti public corporation established by the State of Kuwait in order to provide assistance to Arab and other developing countries in developing their economies and to promote cooperation and friendship between the State of Kuwait and such countries. The Fund was established originally by Law No.35 of 1961, which empowered the Prime Minister to issue the Charter of the Fund.

The operations of the Fund were confined until the year 1974 to the Arab countries, in accordance with the initial mandate of the Fund. In July 1974 the Fund was reorganized by Law No.25 of 1974 and its object was amended so as to include the provision of assistance to developing countries in general, in addition to Arab countries. (<https://www.kuwait-fund.org/en/web/kfund/law-and-basic-information>)

Sector	Sr. No.	Project Name	Loan Amount	Date of Agreement	Interest Rate	Loan Period (Years)	Grace Period (Years)	Grant Element
Industry	5	Manufacturing Beijing Silk Fabrics	1.978	12-02-1986	5.50%	17.42	2.42	25.11%
Industry	6	Qi-Lu Ceramic Tiles Plant Project .	1.991	15-11-1986	5.50%	17.67	4.67	27.54%
Industry	7	Luoyang Polypropylene Plant.	6.200	19-03-1987	5.50%	18.83	5.67	29.10%
Industry	8	BEITAI DUCTILE CAST IRON PIPE	5.971	21-09-1989	5.50%	17.83	5.08	28.02%
Industry	9	Cheng Du Aluminium Foil	8.669	27-12-1990	5.50%	19.58	5.58	29.43%
Energy	1	SHAQIKOU HYDRO-ELECTRIC	8.952	05-01-1985	4.00%	19.50	4.50	38.46%
Transportation 1	1	XIAMEN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT	5.871	02-12-1982	4.00%	17.58	2.75	34.58%
Transportation 2	2	Jinzhou Harbour (First Phase)	4.873	09-03-1988	4.00%	18.33	3.33	36.04%
Transportation 3	3	Jinan Yao-Qiang Airport .	2.633	13-12-1988	4.00%	18.58	3.42	36.36%
Transportation 4	4	SHENZHEN AIRPORT	8.000	21-03-1990	4.00%	18.83	3.75	37.00%

## Loans in details

On 7/7/1982, in Kuwait, Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development provided China with a 14.3 million Kuwaiti dinar (about US \$50 million) loan to finance the construction of Anhui Ningguo Cement Plant in China. The Chairman of the Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development, Finance and Planning Minister Under Secretary and the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait Chargé Cao Li signed the loan agreement today. With an annual capacity of 1.5 million tonnes of cement, the Anhui Ningguo plant is one of China's largest cement processing facilities ( Appendix 2.1,N.259,p254)

This was pioneering as it marked the first time Kuwait's Arab Fund for Economic Development extended a loan to China. The loan came with certain provisions that were favourable to Kuwait: The loan agreement provided Kuwait with preferential treatment in Chinese tenders.

In the same year: on 8/11/1982, Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development and China signed a loan agreement today. Under the agreement, the Fund will provide China with a 10 million Kuwaiti dinar (US \$35 million) loan to help in the development of Hunan timber.

The program started in 1982 and it is expected to be completed in 1985. It is projected to produce 50,000 cubic meters of plywood and 50,000 cubic meters of wood. The interest rate on the loan was set at 2%, over a repayment period of 20 years. ( Appendix 2.1,N.259,p254)

The third loan was funded on 9/9/1984 to build the Shaxikou power plant station. The station is one of the largest foreign investment projects in Fujian most. Most of the funding is provided by Kuwaiti loans. The station is located in Shaxi and Tunxi Interchange and has a reservoir capacity of 160 million metres. It also has an installed capacity of 300 thousand kilowatts and an annual average generating capacity of 960 million. During Kuwait's Oil and Finance Minister Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah's visit, China

and Kuwait signed an agreement on the Fujian Shaxikou hydropower project loan. (Appendix 2.1, N.178, p258)

On 16/11/1986, the State Building Materials Industry Bureau Director Lin Hanxiong and Director of the Arab Fund for Economic Development in Kuwait, Bader Al Homaidhi signed a loan agreement to build a factory in Shandong Qilu. Also, in attendance were Chen Muhua, the Chinese State Councillor, and the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance Al-Khurafi. (Appendix 2.1, N.104,p259)

In 1982-1983, Kuwait provided China with a batch of low-interest loans totally USD \$150 million dollars for the construction of four projects. Among them was the Xiamen Airport, which was put into service in October 1983, in advance of the loan. The Economic Development of Fujian Province on Transportation played a key role in the brokering the financing.

Construction of the Anhui Ningguo Cement Plant and the Xinjiang Chemical Fertilizer Plant are well under way and will be officially placed into operation in April and October respectively. Ningguo Cement annual output is expected to top 1.5 million tonnes of cement. This will make the facility one of nation's largest cement plants. Kuwait also extended loans for the Urumqi ammonia fertilizer plant, which upon completion has an annual output 300,000 tonnes of urea. Kuwait provided China with its second batch of low-interest loans. The funds were used for the construction of Fujian Shaxikou Station, a minicar factory in Tianjin, Beijing, Silk Factory, in Shandong Qilu and for a ceramic tiles factory in Fuzhou. (Appendix 2.1, N.164,p257)

Moreover, on 20/3/1987, China and the State of Kuwait, through the Arab Fund for Economic Development Fund, signed an agreement to provide loans for the Luoyang polypropylene project in Beijing. (Appendix 2.1, N.96 ,p259)

On 9 March 1988, Zhang Jinfu attended a loan signing ceremony. This loan will be used for the construction of the Jinzhou Port in Liaoning Province. According to reports, the 10 loan agreements total about \$ 240 million. (Appendix 2.1, N.41,p261)

On 13 December 1988, the two countries signed an agreement to build Yaoqiang Airport in Jinan with a US \$10 million loan provided by Kuwait. Finally, in September 1989, the KFAED agreed to provide a loan of US \$21 million to help China finance a ductile cast-iron pipe project in north-eastern China. It also agreed to grant China a preferential loan of US \$28 million to buy navigation instruments and equipment for Shenzhen Airport. ( Bin Huwaidin, 2002: 193)

So, from 1982 until 1990, during the 8-years Kuwait provided China with easy or preferential loans for 14 projects related to infrastructure (airports, ports), industries (factories) and for the oil or energy sector (electricity and fertilizers). By 1989, seven out of 13 projects were completed and one loan was provided later in 1990. Total loans amount to 94.854 million KWD equivalent to USD \$322.5 million (adding amounts mentioned in table 10)

In addition, these loan agreements demonstrate that Kuwait and China had interests in similar economic sectors and that Kuwait did not dwell on China's political differences when making investment decisions. Similarly, Kuwait provided India with nine easy loans from 1976 to 1990 that also focused on energy, agriculture, and fertilizers. They further supplied Pakistan with eight loans in the same period for similar industries. China was the largest recipient of loans from Kuwait outside the Arab world. The string of loans underscores Kuwait's unique relationship with China and China's importance as a regional political and economic power. Moreover, Kuwait was the only developing country that provided China with easy or preferential loans.

### **3.5 Agriculture and Housing**

Agriculture and Housing remains an attractive industry for both Kuwait and China. China was known to have an agrarian economy in 1970's until the industrialization began in the 1980's. Chinese labour and construction companies were seeking projects in Kuwait. At the same time, Kuwait needed to expand its governmental housing projects and support a new authority established in 1986 to implement agricultural policies in the arid nation.

The available information illustrates that there were several senior visits from both sides to induce cooperation. However, there is very little information on the results of the visits and existence of such projects because China had immense competition from the Republic of Korea, Japan and other Asian nations in those industries.

In 1977, Kuwait hosts the first Chinese Agricultural delegation. The delegation visited several farms and related facilities. On the agenda were the Agricultural Experiment Station, irrigation and engineering plants, scientific research institutes and the Shuaiba industrial area.

Furthermore, in 1986, Kuwaiti Minister of Public Works and the head of the Agriculture and Fisheries Authority receive a Chinese delegation. The officials discussed agricultural initiatives and the possibility of inviting technical support experts from China to visit farms and water irrigation plants.

Finally, in 1987, Ahmad Alnaqeeb Vice President of the Agriculture and Fisheries Agency heads to China. It is crucial for Kuwait to find solutions for its food security through enhancing of its agricultural sector. At that time, it was a key economic challenge for a country that imports almost 90% of its food stuffs.

In 1978, the Kuwaiti Housing Minister Hamad Mubarak Alayar visited China. He was received by State Council Deputy Prime Minister and Director of the State Construction Commission Gu Mu. He also met with Vice Premier Li. These senior-level visits indicate the importance of bilateral relations in a cross section of fields. In addition, in 1983 the Chinese delegation meets with the housing officials in Kuwait. By the end of

1989, Kuwait had signed a total of 175 contracts for labour with China, housing, infrastructure and other essential sectors. ( Bin Huwaidin, 2002: 195)

Moreover, infrastructure, housing and transport are industries that both China and Kuwait are focused on building. Kuwait has just begun to modernise. As part of this modernization it requires the expertise and labour of China for the development of infrastructure, housing, schools and hospitals. This process is a joint venture between Chinese and Kuwaiti companies that partner through a tender to procure a government mega project. According to various sources, by the end 1989 there were more than 10,000 Chinese labourers in Kuwait and a handful of Chinese construction companies. Xinhua states that “Recently, Chinese firms are providing increased labour to Kuwait. At present, China has eight contracting firms in Kuwait. Kuwait has signed 44 labour contracts that encompasses 10,000 Chinese workers.” (Appendix 2.1, N.164,p257)



### 3.6 Private sector

Most of the Kuwaiti investment in China was funded by Kuwaiti government entities such as the Arab Economic Development Fund. In the 1980's, China welcomed Kuwaiti businessmen and financial institutions to visit to become acquainted with its foreign investment laws as part of its openness policy. According to Kuwaiti and Chinese resources National Bank of Kuwait, Al Ahali Bank and Al Reyes Group are the main private businesses that visit China in the 1980's. Although it currently has branch in China, at the time, some newspapers state that the National Bank considered opening a branch in China but the Chinese regulatory policies in banking created too many challenges.

According to Xinhua, on 15/10/1985 Vice Premier Yao Yilin met with National Bank of Kuwait Delegation headed by Vice Premier Yao Yilin met with the National Bank of Kuwait, delegation led by Chairman Al-Kharafi.

Al-Kharafi said, bilateral relations are excellent and that China and Kuwait have close economic ties. He further said that the delegation's mission is to strengthen bilateral research cooperation in the economic and trade divisions of the bank.

National Bank of Kuwait, the country's largest commercial bank, has established a strong relationship with the Bank of China. The delegation is here at the invitation of the Bank of China and arrived in Beijing on October 12 on a visit of goodwill. (Appendix 2.1, N.140 ,p258)

Moreover, AlAhli bank is said to have extended easy loans to China and it is the first bank from the Middle East to work with China. Despite this information being published in Kuwaiti newspapers, there is still some questions about its accuracy. (Appendix 1.5, K196,p233)

On another note, the Chairman of the Group of Kuwait Sabah Al Reyes met with General manager of China International Trust and Investment Corporation on a visit to China (Appendix 2.1 N.177,p257) Moreover, on 23/10/1985 Zhang Jinfu, State Councillor met here today with a delegation led by the Chairman of the Group of

Kuwait Sabah Al Reyes. The delegation aims to further cooperation and to survey investment prospects. ( Appendix 2.1, N.139,p258)

During the interview with Sabah Al Reyes, he said that “the standards of the hotels were really terrible but I saw an opportunity to expand our business in China. We did a few small projects but the main objective was to build a housing compound.” . ( Appendix 5.7,p331)

He added that his company started a project there called Beijing Garden Villas, “it was built near the highway that takes you from the airport to the city the right before Lido hotel and the river. On 100000 m<sup>2</sup> we built 500 villas and 1 or 2 building. It was a one of kind project because of the range of facilities that it offered.” . ( Appendix 5.7,p331)

He also explained that “the invasion of Kuwait impeded the venture and the project ended. In July of 1990, we had a meeting with the China Investment and Trust investment Cooperation CITIC, they were our partners in China. Due to the rules and regulations of foreign investment of that time, we had to submit a formal proposal for the project by the end of October 1990. Due to a cash shortage, we asked for an extension from CITIC industrial bank to meet loan payments until the submission deadline. It was approved but when the invasion occurred just a few weeks later, my situation changed completely” . . ( Appendix 5.7,p331)

He clarifies that “from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August the whole situation changed: the attitude of the Chinese staff and friendly relations all quickly dismantled. I received a letter from the bank saying that we have were calling in the of USD \$26 million loan because the extension was refused. I contacted CITIC for an explanation. They said that since you cannot pay the loan, we will sell your shares etc...It was an awful situation because we made a deal and everything was going smoothly until a week after the invasion. I did not really have a choice because I didn't have a country. My accounts in Kuwait were frozen and it was a difficult and a confusing time for all Kuwaitis. I decided to leave for Jeddah to meet with the exiled Kuwaiti government.” . ( Appendix 5.7,p321)

He added that no one else he knew had a similar situation as standard commerce between Kuwait and China was based trade. “To invest, or to form a joint venture with China, was not common. Only trade or import and export was common between Kuwaiti and Chinese companies. I filed a complaint through our foreign affairs so no one else would face similar circumstances.” . ( Appendix 5.7,p331)

At the start of the war he said that “(Chinese) construction companies were more evident and the majority of the Chinese people were construction workers.”

( Appendix 5.7,p331)

Finally, AlReyes did take part in the Kuwaiti People’s delegation in Malaysia, Japan and China to raise awareness of the situation in Kuwait and the crimes of war that were committed by the Iraqi regime.

It would have been beneficial for future investigations to find a Chinese businessmen or company representatives to interview about their experience in Kuwait in the 1970’s and onwards. This will explain more the relationship of businessmen in Kuwait and China and how did they communicate and did that relationship change during these years.

### 3.7 Conclusion

The bilateral relations between the State of Kuwait and China can be divided in four main periods. The initial phase from 1955-1964 describes a normal import and export trading relationship with favourable trade surpluses for China, as Table 3 indicates. The second phase, the development phase 1965-1970 describes the first official informal economic contact between both countries and the start of several economic-related visits to better understand the political and economic dynamics of both countries. The start of economic exhibitions demonstrates that China is vying to compete with Taiwan in the Kuwaiti market. Around this time, there is a significant increase in bilateral trade volume, which placed Kuwait in a trade deficit to the benefit of China.

In addition, the third phase known as the formal development phase from 1971-1981, is a decade of negotiations, signing of trade agreements and the main focus remained in fertilizers, materials, alimentation and infrastructure development. The final phase, the fruitful phase, 1982-1990 is the most diverse and unique. Kuwait's economic recession was due largely to its stock market crash of al "souk Al Manakh" and the consequences of the Iran-Iraq War. Additionally, other economic and political factors such as the fall of oil prices drove Kuwait to find new markets and areas of cooperation in oil, fertilizers and as loan providers to China.

From 1982 to 1990, Kuwait provided commercial loans to China. This phase witnessed a proliferation in economic agreements and Chinese labour agreements. Chinese construction companies worked in Kuwait and a few private businesses tried their chances in the Chinese market after its opening and modernisation policy of 1978. Research seems to indicate that political structures and institutions in both countries are dissimilar and although the negotiations and visits are at the highest-levels of government, progress slowed during this period.

Moreover, it is important to mention that both countries had the same interest in development of the third world camp or the South-South cooperation. It was reported numerous times in the Xinhua news that discussions in meetings amongst senior officials focused more on the Arab and African nations as being part of the Arab

League. Talks also focused on China working with Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Furthermore, the final phase for Taiwan's trade with Kuwait, could be described the period of decline. Both Imports and exports suffered a decline to 1.8 % , relations with other regional oil producers like Saudi Arabia that did not recognise the People's Republic of China yet could be a more attractive market to Taiwan. However, the industries in which both countries' traded remained constant from 1958-1990, Petroleum and gas and alimentation, pharmaceutical, metals, machinery and equipment, plastic and leather. Like what Kuwait imported as well from the People's Republic of China.

- a) The State of Kuwait and China had a traditional economic relationship that depended mostly on import and export. Their economic interest was based on fertilizers, infrastructure, alimentation, clothing and foreign investments. China became the number one buyer of Kuwaiti fertilizers and Kuwait became the third most important trade partner in the region.
- b) From 1982-1990, Kuwait loaned China approximately USD \$322 million, which was invested in transportation, fertilizers, agriculture and in the oil and gas industries.
- c) Agricultural cooperation included visits to Kuwait's farmlands and irrigation systems as well as the water distillation plants. However, there is no sufficient data about realised projects due to the invasion and lacks record keeping procedures for government expenditures.
- d) China attracted Kuwaiti Investment Authority as well as the private business sector to visit and invest in China. As the interview with Dr. Al Rashed demonstrated, Kuwaiti leadership was keen to have investments in China. As a result, Kuwaiti investment reached USD \$350 million. However, according to Al Reyes Group, the private investment sector did not materialise due to the red tape and bureaucracy that made it difficult for foreign companies to operate.

- e) A fascinating observation to note is that although China was an oil producer and was self-reliant until 1990, one would assume that oil cooperation would not be key in this economic relationship. However, in the mid-80's, Kuwait wanted to invest in the oil sector in Asia and to coordinate with China on setting and meeting oil production levels in OPEC. There also seemed to be mutual interest in developing and expanding oil production in China with Kuwaiti investment, which is best illustrated in the Sant Fe Hainan project.
  
- f) Another interesting observation, is that in Kuwait Fund archive there are no mentions of easy loans to Taiwan and no mention of Kuwaiti investments in any formal document. Newspapers indicate that Kuwait and Taiwan had oil agreements since 1976 to supply 60,000 bpd.
  
- g) The Sino-Arab Chemical Fertilizers Co. Ltd. (SACF) is commended as a model of both south-south and China- Arab cooperation.



## **4. Societal Relations between the People's Republic of China and the State of Kuwait**

This chapter aims to explore the bilateral relations in several society related field, Women, Culture (Media, Health, Education, Art) and Religion. Both countries exercised in several forms their soft power and it will be describe using soft power and cultural diplomacy theories and the use of oral history as tool to document stories from people who took part in bilateral relations in the period of 1961 until 1990. The Chinese counterpart were very hesitant to participate but I have some information to be noted anonymously.

Cultural diplomacy is defined as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding”....also cultural diplomacy is said to be only used when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests”. In the case of Kuwait and China, governments did in a certain degree influence the cultural and societal activities with another country.

Main characteristics of cultural diplomacy within a culture: including the arts, education, science, medicine, technology, religion, customs, sports, language, professional vocations, among others and the various media by which these elements may be communicated. These tools of cultural diplomacy are applicable in the case of the bilateral use of culture or soft power by both countries. ( Waller, 2009: 74)

Analysing the value of societal relations in the development of the Kuwaiti Chinese relations, data from China National Library, China Academic journal (China National Knowledge Infrastructure) and Al Arabi magazine and others were viewed and some parts were translated. The Sports information is also mention in Behbehani's book and has made interesting arguments about it.

Moreover, parts of this chapter information come from in depth interviews conducted with several people and pictures and information were also provided by family members of personalities mentioned in this chapters as part the oral history documentation of this relationship.



The chapter will be divided into 6 main sectors: Women relations, Cultural relations with subdivision health, media, sport, art and education, Religion and finally, People's relations. Aiming to answer the following questions: What other cooperation's influenced bilateral relations? How so? What are tools of both countries' cultural diplomacy? Any similarities and why?

#### **4.1 Introduction**

From the 1960s until the 1980's China focused on its cultural diplomacy to bridge out to the Middle East. The list of visits made by China to the Middle East from 1955-1975 in Behbehani's book indicate that China used Sports, Medical, Technical teams, All China for Women, Religion (Islam) and others to become closer to the in Middle Eastern Countries like Algeria, Tunis, Egypt and Kuwait in our case. ( Appendices 4.1 & 4.2 p306-308)

In the case of Kuwait, from the late 50's it has begun exercising its soft power by establishing AlArabi Magazine, which is considered the most influential cultural magazine in the Middle East until today. Kuwait has the National Council of Culture, Arts and Letters (NCCAL) established in July 1973 with a vision to promote its culture and arts in general with fellow Arab countries and others and also international institutions.<sup>30</sup> Kuwait consider sports, media and art and religion as part of their soft power with in the Arab and Islamic world.

As, one can see that both countries regardless of size and influence, do exercise in their own way their cultural diplomacy. Both countries signed a cultural agreement in 1982, which included cooperation in education, translation of books, medical exchange, media ( TV, Magazines and Radio), Sports and Arts.

## 4.2 Women relations.

Interviewing the honorary president of the Kuwaiti Women Cultural and Social Association<sup>31</sup> she said that “as far as I remember, there was a Chinese delegation visiting Kuwait in the 1970’s, I’m not sure about the date. I was requested the ministry of foreign affairs to escort and host the female representative from the Chinese delegation. The details of the names and dates might be found in the Association’s archive...A few months later, the Chinese Women’s Association (All-China Women's Federation) sent us an invitation to visit China and so we did”.

However, according to Xinhua the first visit ACWF Executive Committee (Executive Committee of the All-China Women’s Federation) and Minister of International Liaison Department, headed by Zhang Jie ended a good will week visit to Kuwait on April 1980. Mrs. Al Qatami could be referring to this visit or maybe another one unfortunately not a lot of information was found in the Kuwaiti Women’s Association. (Appendix 2.1, N. 340, p252)

In addition, in 1981 Ji Pengfei, the State Council, met the President of Kuwaiti women delegation of the Kuwaiti Cultural and Social Association, Gulf Committee coordinator of the association, Lulwa Alqatami, and they had a friendly cordial conversation. The meeting was attended by All China Women’s Federation’s Secretary Guo Liwen.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1981, Deng Yingchao, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Honorary Chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, and Kang Keqing, Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, met this evening with a delegation of the Indian-Chinese Friendship Women's Association headed by President Shenta Pant and Lulwa Al Qatami President of the Women's Social and Cultural Association.

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<sup>31</sup> Kuwait Women’s Cultural & Social Society (WCSS) is the first women’s society to be established in Kuwait. It was founded on February 3, 1963 by a group of Kuwaiti women who were among the first to graduate from universities and higher education institutes. It was the first women association in the Gulf and it was and still is influential in the Arab and Islamic world. (<https://www.kwtwcss.org/overview/>)

After the meeting, Deng Yingchao and Kang Keqing attended a welcome reception hosted by the All-China Women's Federation to welcome the delegation of Indian and Kuwaiti women and the Thai-Chinese women's delegation headed by Thai Women's Council President Chen Shuqing. Kang Keqing toasted at the reception. Referring to Chairman Ye Jianying's remarks to Xinhua News Agency today, she said the talks further clarified the policy on Taiwan's return to the motherland and peaceful reunification. She pointed out that this is a matter of great concern to the people of all ethnic groups in the country, including the people of Taiwan, as well as to overseas Chinese and the progressive people of all countries.

At the reception, Chinese and foreign women and sisters performed a song and dance program. Vice-Presidents of the All-China Women's Federation Huang Ganying, Lin Liyuan and Ape Caidan Zhuoga attended the meeting and reception. During the same visit Yingchao met with Kang Keqing Friendship Association delegation of women and women's delegation in Kuwait. ( Appendix 2.1, N. 294, p253)

Moreover, Ms. Alqatami adds that “I remember that we spoke with the head of the Chinese women’s federation and I believe we were the first women delegation from the Arabian Gulf if not from entire Arab world whom have visited China. I felt that they were very interested and impressed by the role the Kuwaiti women were playing in that period of time post-Independent Kuwait”. ( Appendix 5.6, p324)

She also describes her third visit to China in 1990, she said “we went to the northern part of China, Inner Mongolia. It was extremely cold and we were not prepared for it. They provided us with jackets and gloves as we drove there from Beijing, it was 4-5 hours by car. It was snowing and we ate potato with sugar on top, it was delicious.

*Figure 15: The pictures from Alqatami’s trip to China in 1990, in Mongolia with the Head of the All China for Women association in Mongolia. ( Source: Bint Alnoukha, Alqatami’s autobiography, 1996:194)*



We were received by the president of the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. He seemed very surprised to meet Arab women for the first time. He hosted a dinner on our honour, the food was an experience, they served us baby turtles. I had to eat it although it was challenging. The head of the Mongolian women association also met the delegation and is present in the picture on the right with Mrs. Lulwa. This is common with Chinese food. The Mongolian houses were beautiful made from bamboo sticks. They are round tents with heating in the middle with a tea kit available. We went Camel riding and the experience was very different from the Arabian camel”. She provided me with her autobiography with pictures of this journey.



*Figure 16: Alqatami with the Head of All china for Women Association in Beijing in 1990. ( Source: Bint Alnoukha, Alqatami's autobiography 1996:195)*

Although, both women associations as considered as part of the civil society, the case of Kuwait it is considered very active and socially and politically influential and in China it is very much connected with the communist party.

Both had a mission to promote women's right in a different political and social context. Mrs Al Qatami mentioned on a side talk that Kuwait paid attention to civil relations with China and wanted to give a modern image of Kuwait to China and the world in general. She mentioned that the Association's worldwide network

played a role in the international civil society to fight for the liberation of Kuwait in 1990. With regards to China, she said that from in 1970-90 the association had a continuous relationship and there were several communications and visits, which included orphanages and child care centers and so forth. This is not the case in recent years.

In addition, China and Kuwait's exchange formal and informal delegation also included a female presence, the President of the Kuwait Parliament's visit was with his spouse

and there was a visit for two ladies from the Kuwaiti royal family and they early 1980's and the vice premier Ji Pengfei met with them.

It is important to note that 25/1/1989, the societal page on the AlAnba newspaper, reports that the Chinese Ambassador's wife hosts an afternoon tea for the Kuwaiti prominent ladies, and the pictures show the Chinese ladies in national Qipao and the Kuwait women in modern attire chatting in a friendly environment in a lady's only reception. ( as shown below but the news is not clear).



Figure 17: The article of Alanba stresses the importance of women interaction reflecting on the Chinese Ambassador's spouse invitation to Kuwaiti and Diplomatic Women Society. ( Alanba, 25/1/1989)

## 4.3 Culture cooperation

### 4.3.1 Medical cooperation

As part of China's cultural diplomacy to the Middle East it sends Medical teams to promote Chinese medicine and alternative healing methods acupuncture, massages and diets. In the case of Kuwait, the first medical delegation came in 1973, headed by Yin Ding Fan, the delegation visited several Kuwaiti hospitals and they have invited their Kuwaiti counterparts to visit China. "They shared their experiences with doctors in Kuwait. Through this visit, China and Kuwait, two medical workers Promotion Friendship and understanding." ( Appendix 2.1, N.203,p244)

In the same year, a Kuwaiti Medical delegation reciprocates China's visit which was headed by Dr. Nouri Al Kazemi, Preventive Medicine Department Ministry of Public Health Kuwait. He met with the people in charge of the relevant department and the medical professionals in the capital, Zhang Zhaosheng, Yin Dingfan, Li Jiatun, Zhangzhao Sheng, Yin Ding Fan, Li Jiahui, Xinfu Lu, Dai Shiming, and Kuwaiti Ambassador Al Baijan also attended the meetings. (Appendix 5.1, N.190,p244)



*Figures 18: Pictures from the First medical Kuwaiti delegation's visit to China  
Yin Ding Fan, Abdulhameed Al Baijan and Nouri Al Kazemi with Hospital nurses in Beijing. Source: Family of AlKazemi's private albums*

On December of 1976, Kuwaiti Minister of Health Abdul Rahman Al-Awadi met with the Chinese medical team headed by Li Guipan. The two sides held cordial and friendly talks, the two sides expressed the hope that the existing friendship between China and Kuwait, will work together through cooperation between health workers and further enhanced. Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei attended the meeting. Chinese medical team and his party seven people arrive here on November 30. They will be here to work with the Kuwaiti Ministry of Health. (Appendix 2.1, N2,p247)

According to several information, China sends to the Middle East medical teams from different regions, all medical teams that come to Kuwait for example are from Jilin Province since 1993 until today, Algeria from Hubei, Morocco from Shanghai and so forth. The provinces are chosen randomly as the informed me, it strengthens the province's friendship with the given country.

The Kuwaiti Health Minister held a banquet for all members of the Chinese medical team working in Kuwait 18/4/1977, the Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei was also invited to attend the banquet. This event was held a symbol of friendship and gratitude to the first Chinese team in Kuwait. (Appendix 5.1, N.415,p248)

On 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1977, the Kuwaiti Health Minister Al Awadhi visits China, They expressed confidence that the Kuwaiti Health Delegation visit to China, the two countries will contribute to medical and health workers to exchange experiences with each other and promote the development of bilateral medical and health undertakings. Kuwait's ambassador to China attended the banquet Abu Al Hassan. The delegation of the Kuwaiti Health Ministry of Health had discussion on health exchange and visited the Institute of Traditional Chinese Acupuncture Institute, and a tour of historical sites

In 1980, Dr. Alawadi minister of health holds talks with vice premier about expert support and Chinese medical clinics in Kuwait which in other words Al Anba called as Health cooperation. ( Appendix 1.5, K092, p220).

Furthermore, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1982, H.H. the Amir receives the Chinese Minister of Health who visited the country to explore the health sector specially the cancer centers and to find elements for future cooperation. On the second day, he meets with

H.H. the Crown Prince and Prime Minister and hold in depth talks on health cooperation.



Figure 19: H.H. the Amir receiving the Chinese minister of Health.  
Source: Alqabas newspaper



Figure 20: H.H. The Crown Prince and Prime Minister hold a long talk on cooperation and expertise specially in Cancer related centers.  
Source: Alqabas newspaper information center

Finally, we can observe that there was no mention of Health cooperation between both countries until the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. So, China since 1976 until 2014 has dispatched 11 medical teams to Kuwait. There is a Chinese medicine department in Alsabab hospital in Kuwait where patients are treated with acupuncture, needles, cupping and so forth. Using alternative medicine became an interesting option in the 1990s. One of the Head nurses in Kuwait has been working in Kuwait in early 1990s, she blended very well in the culture. She has been living in residential areas and has a lot of Kuwaiti friends. Her son speaks perfect Arabic with a Kuwaiti accent and she is one of the most influential members of the Chinese community association established in 1997, the first officially established in the Arabian Gulf region.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The information shared in a personal conversation with the Chinese community Association members and head nurse ( L.L.) at the Chinese Reception in 2018.



### 4.3.2 Education

Both countries were trying to promote the use of Arabic and Chinese language by sending exchange students to Beijing and Kuwait City, book fairs, translations of books and worked on a mechanism to accredit each other's education system.

Al rai alaam Newspaper mentions that Kuwait university accepted 2 students from china to study in Kuwait university after Kuwait's Foreign Affairs has organized this scholarship and it also mentions that there is a Kuwaiti Student doing his masters in China in the same year. I believe that would Dr. Behbehani.

According Xinhua, on 2/9/1975 a delegation from Kuwait University visited China and meet with vice director Zhou Pei-Yuan of Peking University. The delegation consists of the President of Kuwait University and the Dean of the college of Business Administration. (Appendix 2.1, N.63, p246)

A delegation from Peking University, headed by Professor Dai Zhuo reciprocated with a ten day visit to Kuwait on 18/4/1976. The delegation is here at the invitation of Kuwait University to Kuwait for a friendly visit. During the visit, the delegation received Kuwaiti Minister of Education Khaled Daoud Al Marzouq and met with the head of Kuwait University. (Appendix 2.1,N31,p248)

On April 16, 1977 the Minister of Education Liu Xi Yao receives Kuwaiti education delegation headed by Kuwaiti Ministry of Education assistant minister Ahmed Aljaser headed with them cordial and friendly conversation. Present at the meeting the person in charge if there is Shu, Yin Shangzhi. Kuwait Ambassador Abu Alhassan also attended the meeting. During this visit, Vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee inquiry Ulanhu , met with a delegation of Kuwait Ministry of Education, Assistant Minister, and they had cordial and friendly conversation. Kuwaiti Ambassador to Abu Alhasan attended the meeting. Here the Ministry of Education in charge of Liu Yifen, and Shu Ruo, Cheng Yuanxing and Yin Shangzhi were with the delegation. ( Appendix 2.1, N.416,p250)

Although, the Cultural cooperation was signed later on in 1982, China offered 2 scholarships for Kuwaiti Students, to study in the universities of China, Bachelor or Masters. The Kuwaiti Ministry of Higher Education had a notice in the newspaper about this scholarship and information on where to go and apply for it in Alrai Al aam newspaper dated 29/5/1978. ( Appendix 1.5, K058,p222)

Furthermore, on 9/12/1979 the Chinese Assistant minister of education visits Kuwait and is received by Jassim Almazroui Kuwaiti undersecretary of Education. They delegation visited Kuwaiti educational facilities and spoke about a cultural cooperation



*Figure 21: Bader Al Qatami with Chinese official during the inauguration of his exhibition in Beijing in 1981 with the Kuwaiti Ambassador present.*

*Source: Alqatami autobiography 1983,212*

between both countries ( Appendix 1.5,K082, p224)

It's interesting to note, that 1981 Kuwait painter Khalifa al Qattan works in Beijing Exhibition according to the news it was the first Kuwaiti art exhibition in China. (Appendix 2.1, N.311,p253) and also I found another artist who had an exhibition in China, Bader Al Qatami also in 1981 hosted by the

Kuwaiti National Council ( NCCAL) as shown in the picture.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1982, China and Kuwait signed a cultural cooperation agreement, Agreement between the two

countries and will promote the development of culture, education, science, health, sports, publishing, journalism and broadcasting cooperation Chinese side was signed by Director Wang Langxi, deputy director of Foreign Culture Committee and Kuwait's was signed by Ahmad Al Adwani, the Secretary General of the Kuwaiti National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters..(Appendix 2.1, N. 272,p254 )

During this visit, Kuwait hosted a Chinese 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century art paintings from its best artists and the opening ceremony was attended by the Secretary General of the Kuwaiti

National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February.. (Appendix 1.5, K110,p223)

From 1982-1984, the Kuwaiti Higher Education was trying to promote education in China and has nominated and sent only 3-4 students. From 113 students studying abroad only 28 chose to study in the communist bloc ( Russia and China). (Appendix 1.5, K144,p229)

In 1986, May 14 - Kuwait comprehensive art exhibition opened at the China Art Gallery this afternoon. Display more than 100 pieces of art including paintings, ethnic clothing, woven goods, children's drawings, pictures and other printed materials. During this trip, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Wang Renzhong met with Kuwaiti National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters, Deputy Secretary-General Khalifa Abdullah Al Wogaiyan, Kuwait government cultural delegations. Vice Minister of Culture Liu Yang with and on behalf of the two governments signed the "People's Republic of China and the Government of Kuwait Cultural Agreement 1986, 1987, 1988 implementation plan". (Appendix 2.1, N,114, p259)<sup>33</sup>

In 1988, An education delegation visits Kuwait and offers 5 annual scholarships for Kuwaiti students. The delegation visited Kuwait university and other colleges to discuss degrees legalization and equivalization. (Appendix1.2, 076, p211)

Furthermore, in 1989, Kuwait Ministry of education had nominated 5 students to study in china only 3 went. And in the same year there was a government to government exchange agreement as well. ( Appendix 1.5,K220,p234)

In 1989, China donated Chinese culture and language books to the University of Kuwait's library and the Chinese Ambassador inaugurated the Chinese book fair on 24/9/1989. (Appendix 1.5, K224, p235)

In general, both countries sought that education cooperation is essential to understand both societies better. Student and youth exchange from both sides, China was keener to

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<sup>33</sup> In a friendly conversation, Mr. Alwogaiyan said that this visit focused on signing a continuous agreement on previous cultural agreement and its implementation.

send students continuously to Kuwait to Arabic program than Kuwait was to send students to China. It seems that the language and cultural barriers remains until today, because it is still hard to attract Kuwaitis to study in China ... from 5 scholarships for China as far as 2019 no one presented for this program however, Japan for example has only 2 has been attracting Kuwaitis since 1989 in which the cultural agreement has been modified and implemented.

Art, Music and Dance were other forms bridging both cultures most of which was seen post 1990s, and until today most Chinese cultural events remain ambiguous in comparison to other Asian countries in Kuwait. This is the main reason why, both countries decided to open a Chinese cultural center in Kuwait by the end of 2019.

### **4.3.3 Mass Media**

Media is a very important element of both countries cultural diplomacy, Kuwait newspapers, Magazines, Tv and radio are considered very influential in the region from 1970's until 1990 specially on cultural and political issue regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the other hand, China relied on publishing magazines in Arabic and having Xinhua representatives in most of the Middle Eastern countries. The Kuwaiti newspapers data show several journalists have visited the Chinese embassy are the span of the 1971-1989. China was interested in the news reported about its domestic issues and communist values.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1983 a Chinese media delegation left Kuwait to Damascus , the journalist delegation was led by Hu Ruomu, Director of the Directorate of the Ministry of Radio and Television, made a one-week visit to Kuwait at the invitation of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Information and the Association of Journalists. During this visit the delegation met Kuwaiti officials; the delegation received the Kuwaiti cabinet affairs minister Hussein, Kuwaiti deputy speaker of the Parliament Ahmad AlSadoun, Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) director and Minister of information.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of October according to al Seyassah newspapers, the Chinese media delegation headed by Hu Roumu, of 5 very famous personalities in Chinese local media: visited many touristic sites and cultural events accompanied by Yousef Alolaiyan from the Kuwaiti Journalist Association, there was a female within the delegation and Wang Di Chou, the director of the Arabic Section , Beijing Radio Station, she was very interested and intrigued by the modernization of Kuwaiti women in KUNA, Kuwait University and other places they have visited. She also spoke Arabic and was very much interested in Arabic music and Cinema mostly Egyptian. The Kuwaiti newspaper journalist was surprised by the quality of the Arabic language and their knowledge about the region. The article mentions that a representative from the Islamic newspaper was present in this delegation. ( Appendix 1.5, K129,p228)

On 17<sup>th</sup> April 1984 Kuwaiti journalist Association Delegation reciprocated the visit, headed by the Chairman of Kuwait Journalists Association Yousef Alolaiyan. In a friendly conversation, Li Hsien-nien asked the delegation to convey greetings to HH

Amir Jaber Al-Ahmed AlSabah . Li Hsien-nien said AlSabah, HH has accepted the invitation to visit China I asked him, hoping the friendly cooperation between the two countries for the further development of relations. Alolaiyan presented a handmade gift - a wooden boat Boum, represents Kuwait's past and presented it to President Li Xiannian as a symbol of friendship between the two people. Also, Vice Premier met of the delegation during the visit. (Appendix 2.1, N.205,p256)

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1985 Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with all members of the Chinese news delegation headed by Qian Qiqian, vice chairman of the All-China Journalists Association, at the Prime Minister's Office today. A cordial and friendly conversation took place.

Yousef Alolaiyan, President of the Kuwaiti Journalists Association, and Yang Fuchang, Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait, attended. (Appendix 2.1, N.150,p258)

An article written by journalists who accompanied Mr. Qian in this trip titled "forget the traditional and focus on the future - Kuwait horizons"... mentions the following "We visited the modern equipment news agencies, radio, television, newspapers, magazines, toured historical sites, wherever we went, the people of Kuwait have felt the friendly feelings towards the Chinese people. Seven-day visit, so that we have a better understanding of this country: Kuwait is not only a wealthy state, and is an important tradition, the National Visionary"( Appendix 2.1, N.150, p258)

He also describes Kuwait as "Kuwait is the country turned to the sea for a living. Wooden sailing merchant ships, passenger ships, fishing boats and fishing boats beads become Kuwaitis long companion. In recent decades, several Kuwaiti discovery and exploitation of oil and natural gas, and has become world famous oil exporter, in the last ten years... However, the Kuwaitis did not forget the past, forget the traditional, wooden sailboat became the national historic landmark, it has become a symbol of national tradition." (Appendix 2.1, N.147,p258)

On 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1988, A Kuwaiti Journalist delegation visits China and Kuwaiti Journalist's visit to China. The undersecretary the ministry of foreign affairs of china Yang Fuchang, denied selling arms to Iran and Israel) also stressed on the application of resolution 598 concerning Iraq-Iran war. The delegation members are Ahmad Shams

Aldeen, Naif Alrekaibi and Adnan Alrashid as see with Yang Fuchang below. ( Appendix 1.2,072,p210)



Figure 22: China reaffirms no arm sales to Iran and Iraq. This article states that Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of China reaffirms that his country did not sell any arms to Iraq or Iran. Also, there is no relations with Israel since China only supports Palestine. Speaking to the Journalist delegation from Kuwait. Alqabas newspaper dated 25/1/1988

Finally, Media cooperation also involved exchange visits from the TV, Radio and Xinhua and Kuwait News Agencies (KUNA). We can observe the both countries have aimed to use its media outlet to influence the region with their own point of view. Kuwait through its Newspapers and Magazines and influential TV programs. China on the other hand wanted to promote itself using Arabic to its middle eastern counter parts and wanted build friendship bridges to have China friendly Arab media for example Mao's red book was published in 1968 and a book about Chinese communism as well.



#### 4.3.4 Sports

Sports was the most important element in China's cultural diplomacy, which many called ping pong policy with regards to its relationship with the United States. China through regional sport organization was able to connect with nations and implement its *one china policy*. Kuwait also used sports as a tool for its cultural diplomacy but at a lesser degree than china. Kuwait helped China a lot within the Asian Football Federation and Asian Olympics organizations by supporting its reinstatement as China and expelling Taiwan in many cases and China supported the Arab Cause by expelling Israel from the same sports organizations. In the 70's the sport sphere witnessed a lot of soft power or sports diplomacy.

The first sports contact between China and Kuwait was in 1972, when the Beijing table tennis team visited Kuwait. Chinese table tennis team and Kuwait national table tennis team April 12 in the evening in the sports hall in Kuwait a high school for the first-time friendly match. There are a thousand people watched the friendly match, which includes: Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of Kuwait Hamad Al Ayar and other Kuwaiti personalities. Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei and other embassy diplomats also watched the match. At the opening ceremony held before the game, the Chairman of the Kuwaiti National Table Tennis Association Abdullahi Yusuf Jamal welcoming remarks and hopes to further strengthen the two countries and two people's athletes through the Chinese table tennis team's visit Friendship.

On the 11th night, the Kuwaiti National Table Tennis Association held a reception to welcome the Chinese table tennis team. The Special Adviser to the State of Kuwait Amir Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Hamad AlAyar, including the Chairman of the Kuwaiti National Table Tennis Association Abdullahi Yusuf held a banquet for the Chinese tennis team. (Appendix 2.1, N.281,p241)

Behbehani described the Sino Kuwaiti relations from 74-75 as “ sports diplomacy” , he argues that after China's reinstatement in the United Nations, and has stopped supporting revolutionary movements in the region, China wanted to focus on the

international arena and the International sports federations and the Olympics were a few to mention. ( Behbehani 1981:203)

He also elaborates that, the sports diplomacy in the case of Kuwait and China started in November of 1974 when Chinese diplomats both in Kuwait and Tehran in preparations for the games, have began the to call for the expulsion of Taiwan from the international Olympic organization... following its one china policy. ( Behbehani 1981: 203)

In 1973, there were visit from the volleyball, football, Gymnastics Chinese teams to Kuwait also welcome by high raking officials in Kuwait. (Appendix 2.1, N 234,N 229 N216, P243-244)

In the same year, Kuwait also began to reciprocate the sports visits as well with the Tennis Team in May of 1973. But, most important is that the head of the Kuwaiti Football Association Ahmad Al Sadun on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February 1974 calls for the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the International Football Association (Appendix 2.1, N.154, p244)

On 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1974, an Olympic high ranked delegation visited Kuwait headed by Wang Meng Minister of Chinese Physical Culture and Sports commission and met with Abdullah Al Rashid the Chairman of the Kuwaiti Olympic Committee and Kuwait Volleyball Association Director. ( Appendix 2.1, N.149,p245)

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1974, Kuwait proposal at the meeting of the majority support, the one china policy should be immediately adopted. However, a small number of people with ulterior motives in the FIFA thwarted and destroyed their vote before playing a trick called to order by a three-fourths majority vote of the Kuwaiti proposal, so excuse the lack of support for the proposal quarters of Kuwait the third most, and unreasonably be rejected. This is their obstruct restoration of the lawful seat in another FIFA poor performances.

Chinese sports community has always been willing to cooperate with the international sports organizations since mutual respect, and to strengthen the friendship among peoples and athletes, promote the development of sports and contribute to their strength.

We are pleased to see that in Third World countries, the struggle against FIFA also plays a change. We strongly support the struggle of some international sports organizations irrational old system against the majority of Third World countries. We are convinced that if Third World peoples and athletes with other countries who uphold justice and solidarity, adhere to the principle of the struggle, the cause of justice will eventually triumph, China's legitimate seat in the number of international sports organizations will be restored. ( Appendix 2.1, N.112,p245)

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1974, Kuwait succeeds with the support of Asian countries to expel Israel from the Asian games. As Kuwait was heading the Asian Olympics council and football federation. ( Appendix 1.5,K029,p220)

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1975, the Chinese embassy representative hold talks with the Asian Olympic committee regarding sports issues and on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, China ( PRC) took its place in Asian games and Taiwan ( Nationalist China) was expelled. Also, Alanba mentions that China's membership in FIFA was accepted in 1976. (Appendix 1.5, K033&K035,p221)

In 1977, The Kuwaiti Head of the Football Association states that Kuwait opposes interference in the domestic issues of China and shows full support for one china policy. (Appendix 1.5, K055,p222)

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1978, China thanks the Kuwaiti Football Association and the Head of the Kuwaiti and Asian Olympic association Sheikh Fahad Alahmad Alsabah. (Appendix 1.5,K062, p223)

In 1979, Alarabi sports club signs an agreement with china on training expertise in various sports, although some documents show that the first sport coach came to Kuwait in 1976.

In 1981- Kuwait soccer team arrived in Beijing, Head of the Kuwaiti soccer team was Sheikh Fahad Al-Sabah, according to many this was one of the most important high-ranking sports visit to China. As, HE Ambassador Alghais mentioned in his interview that Kuwait China's friendship relations comes from the investment in the Sports field

and that Sheikh Fahad was very famous in China during the period 1974-1990.<sup>34</sup> As China become a member in the international Olympic and others by 1979. ( Appendix 5.1 p 299)

Sheikh Ali Al Sabah, ex minister of finance and oil mentioned in his interview that Sheikh Fahad AlAhmed Alsabah<sup>35</sup> the President of Asian Games Federation from 1979-1982. He is known to have a very good relationship with China. He helped the lobbying for PRC to replace Taiwan in the Asian Games, Olympics and FIFA. Kuwait and China both participated in several games and there were many sports related bilateral visits in the 70's. Another reason why Sheikh Fahad is known to China, is because he was a strong believer of the Pan Arab politics; he participated in several battles with fellow Arab nations against Israel and imperialistic powers. We believe he made connections with China in the 60's but it would be a challenge to document or find evidence to support this information since the Palestinian Liberation Organization started in Kuwait and Yaser Arafat was living in Kuwait. ( Appendix 5.1,p309)

It was interesting to find a poster picture of Sheikh Fahad in Chinese regarding the World Cup of 1982 when Kuwait played France, He requested to cancel the 4<sup>th</sup> goal because the Kuwaiti player thought the game whistle was blown and for the first time in history, a referee cancels a goal. The Chinese media happen to follow the event had a

slogan the Kuwaiti prince changed the results of the game as shown below.



*Figure 23: Sheikh Fahad and the world Cup, source: Baidu.*

<sup>34</sup> Several Chinese people have mentioned that, Sheikh Fahad was known as the Arab prince and who was a supporter of the Palestinian people. He was also known for his visit before the Asian Games in Beijing in 1990.

<sup>35</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fahad\\_Al-Ahmed\\_Al-Jaber\\_Al-Sabah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fahad_Al-Ahmed_Al-Jaber_Al-Sabah)  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20071008120451/http://www.kuwaitolympic.com/committee/Board/e\\_Detail.s.asp?ID=12](https://web.archive.org/web/20071008120451/http://www.kuwaitolympic.com/committee/Board/e_Detail.s.asp?ID=12)

In continuation, it is important to mention that Sheikh Fahad has expressed his full support for all international competitions held in China in 1989, during his visit. He confirmed that the Asian Games venues and facilities and will consult with officials will be visited and ready and he will consult that Organizing Committee on specific issues such as the security of the Asian Games, television broadcasting and means of communication.



*Figure 24: The Chinese president and the President of the Asian Olympics in 1990. ( Source: China National Library)*

Moreover, President Yang Shangkun met with the President of Olympic Council of Asia Sheikh Fahad, Fahad said that what happened in Beijing in early June was entirely the internal affairs of China. If a country's government and people have a strong

desire to host the Asian Games, then the Games will surely be successful when was asked about the Tiananmen incident.

In 1990, Sheikh Fahad visited China with his family and check the Asian games sites, they said he made 5 visits in total. He played a big role on the success of the 11<sup>th</sup> Asian games. ( Appendix 5.1,p300)



*Figure 25: Sheikh Fahad AlAhmad and Chinese Charge d'affair in Kuwait Airport before Beijing trip. Source: Wu Fugui 2018: 68*

In conclusion, Kuwait and China supported one another in the Sports field both in the Asian and international Sphere. Kuwait's sports diplomacy aimed to bring the Middle East, Africa and Asia together and China aimed to become internationally recognised and lead the third world sport arena. China thanked Kuwait on several occasions for the support in implementation of the one china policy in the International sports organizations: the Olympics and FIFA mainly in the 1970's. On the other hand, China supported Kuwait's representative the Asian Olympics for a long time and supported the Arab stance with regards to Israel. This presents what china calls today a win -win situation. China needed Kuwait's support again in 1989 due to its political isolation post Tiananmen incident however, after 1979, China's interest in sports diplomacy in the middle east has begun to decline.

### 3.4 Religious Affairs

It is important to mention that Kuwait post-independence's foreign policy relied on the support of the Arab and Islamic nations as Kuwait feels in need to be in line with its fellow Arab States. China on the other hand was investing in its Islamic association to become closer to the Middle East and Islamic nations. Both Behbehani and Bin Huwaiden mention in their books that China did use Islam as first step to reach the Arab world. ( Bin Huwaidin 2002: 99)

Behbehani argues that China always had a Muslim member in the delegations sent to the middle east pre recognition to build a friendship bridge with the region's countries. He mentioned Haj Yusuf Sha Meng Pi, the vice president of the Islamic association who was present in the National People's Congress's visit to Kuwait.

Hence, China used to have a participation of the Chinese Muslim Association in 1960's and 70's delegations to the Middle East and also used to highlight the importance of Haj- the pilgrimage, to symbolise its openness to all religions in China despite conflictive information from the cultural revolution period in which practicing religion was forbidden.

In the case of Kuwait, Kuwait supports the Islamic communities by building mosques, distribution of the holy Quran and also provide aim for pilgrimage. In 1980, A Chinese Muslim delegation visits Kuwait which is the second, according to Behbehani Kuwait hosted the first Muslim delegation in 1966. I did not find any further details about the visit.

In 1983 Religious Affairs ministers visited china, Religious Affairs of the State Council held a banquet welcoming the religious Affairs of Kuwait Ahmed Saad Al Jasser. Vice Premier Wan Li met Religious Affairs of Kuwait Ahmed Saad AL Jasser, he says that the Chinese government pursues a policy of religious freedom was pleased. He hoped that the Bureau and Chinese governments, and Muslim peoples to further strengthen the friendly cooperation and solidarity. ( Appendix 2.1,N.220,p255)

In 1984 Muslim pilgrimage delegation arrives in Kuwait and in 1985 Yang Jingren guests met the Kuwaiti Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Awqaf and in charge of Hajj affairs assistant minister Abdul Rahman al Faris. (Appendix 2.1, N.181, p257)

Furthermore, in 1987 Kuwait donated to build mosques built in Qinhuangdao, All investment mosque was \$ 175,000 donation from the Kuwait International Islamic Charitable Foundation. (Appendix 2.1, N.53, p260)

Also in 1988, Islamic Charity president visited some Chinese religious facilities رئيس الهيئة الخيرية الاسلامية العربية ( Mr.AlHaji) ( Appendix 1.5, K209,p233)

During the 1980's, the Kuwaiti Minister of Religious Affairs praised relations with China with regards to Religious cooperation. There were several visits from the Kuwaiti Awqaf and religious affairs minister to China. He said that the Muslim community in China has the freedom to practise their religion and that Kuwait and China are willing to cooperate on this matter. ( Appendix 1.5, K217 p234, Appendix 1.2, 073, p210)

However, there were a few articles in the Kuwaiti Newspaper that condemned the religious oppression in general in china and there was an interesting article that talks about the religious openness that started in 1980. Only in the 1980's the practice of religion in this case Islam was allowed in China. In the archives and documents researched there was no mention of any discussions or arguments about religion. China supported Kuwait's interest in the Muslim community within the Chinese context and Kuwait welcomed China's acceptance.

Although, there was no official reservations on Kuwait's support to the Muslim communities but in the late 1990's, the support is promoted towards building schools, clinics and cultural centers rather mosques and Quran printing and distribution. Many Kuwaiti Islamic charities have activities in China in collaborations with the Kuwaiti Embassy but no further details were provided.



## **4.5 People's relations**

In this section, I have translated some personal memories and articles of Chinese people who have lived and worked in Kuwait during the period of 1970-1990. This will provide a better picture of the Chinese views on the Kuwaiti society specially during the invasion of Kuwait and how the Chinese in Kuwait had to suffer like others for 7 months period of the Iraqi invasion. The interviews of the Kuwaiti personalities have provided a general idea on Kuwait's views on china in the same given period.

### **4.5.1 Kuwait's views and experience about China**

The First Kuwaiti ambassador to China, mentioned during the interview that the Chinese system was very strict and communicating with the Chinese society is very difficult unlike other countries he served. They needed to ask permission from the ministry of foreign affairs to visit areas 15 km away from the center, as well as hold any reception or gathering in which more than one nationality is involved.

His wife pointed out that they did not choose their residence like in other countries; they were given a beautiful and modern house in a compound with the Chinese staff already selected. This experience was difficult because of language and culture barriers. However, she added that the work ethics, cleanliness and honesty of the Chinese staff were impressive. In addition, she highlighted that "going to the market was an experience in itself; people stare at us because we look different and some in amazement and others in confused looks". ( Appendix 5.2,p 313) So, as a couple were found of art, they enjoyed the antique stores and art scene, they still appreciate some pieces they purchased during their living period in China.

She explained that they had to ask for permission from the government to take the art pieces back to Kuwait, the collection comes the imperial art period of China, which was not of great value at that time.

She continues that the children schooling was a challenge, since they stayed only a little bit longer than a year it was not a major issue. Most of the necessary shopping was done in Hong Kong like all the foreigners in China. ( Appendix 5.2,p313)



*Figure 26: Ambassador Albaijan with the Chinese Premier in 1990*

*Figure 27: Ambassador Albaijan with a group of chinese officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ( Source: Albaijan's private collection)*



During an interview with The Second Kuwaiti Ambassador to China mentioned an interesting story about a Kuwaiti Businessman called A. B. from an important merchant family of Kuwait in the 1950's. He decided in 1958 to visit the Beijing without asking for permission. He usually went to Taiwan for trade matters but he suddenly became curious to go and he had an interesting story there. He got lost in translation and was unable to negotiate any business deal with them at that time. Unfortunately, Kuwait was not independent yet so, he was not allowed to visit a communist country without permission. Luckily enough, his passport was confiscated for only 6 months and continued his trade with Taiwan and other Asian countries until things changed in 1961.

In the same interview he mentioned that although he never met with Mr. Behbehani, a Kuwaiti Master level student in Beijing, He heard from the diplomatic community That Behbehani was studying in the University of Beijing and that he had a good level of mandarin. ( Appendix 5.4, p321)

It's important to note that, a Kuwaiti diplomat working in the embassy in Beijing from 1977 until 1980, Khaled Al Maghames, published a book called a *Kuwaiti view of China, on the other end of the world(1978)* He described China's modern history from the republic in 1912 up until Mao Zedong, he mentions the Chinese – Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War; which ended up with two Chinas and China- USSR rivalry. His book also discusses Mao's three world's theory in 1955 which defined China's initial foreign policy.

In the conclusion he highlights many cultural differences between China and Kuwait as well as the stating his opinion about his experience in China including the different cities he has been to. He mentions the living conditions of Muslims in China which according to many people in the ministry of foreign affairs caused a lot criticism from Beijing. This book was used in Kuwait University as material to teach China's politics in the political science course.



*Figure 28: The cover of the Kuwaiti Perspective of China of 1978. ( Source: Kuwait research center archive)*

Moreover, the former minister of Finance and Oil mentioned during his interview that he left China with “two impressions from my first Chinese trip; one although they were a communist country, they had a business-driven mentality and they were very clean and Beijing as a huge city was well maintained”. ( Appendix 5.3, p318)

## 4.5.2 Chinese views and experiences of Kuwait

### 4.5.2.1 The First Chinese Sports coach in Kuwait. (1975 )

**Author: Sue Xiao**

In the article he wrote on his life in Kuwait, he described his first visit at the Chinese Gymnastics coach in 1973. He said it was desert with 49 degrees, and he was thinking how could people be able to train or play sports with such weather conditions. In 1975, he was invited to become the coach of the Kuwaiti national gymnastics team. He described the training space and the incapability to accommodate preparations with cultural and environment conditions.



*Figures 29: The picture on the right show the coach with the Kuwaiti gymnastics team in training. ( Source: Wu Fugui 2018:213)*

*Figure 30: The picture of the left shows the coach train Salmiya gymnastics team, a local club. ( Source: Wu Fugui 2018:208)*

He continued to describe Ramadan, the fasting month of the Islamic calendar in which people fast from dusk until dawn. Training during this period was challenge since he was asked to adopt the Chinese training model.

Salmiya club was not fully equipped for the training he required so they used as space of private foreign school and bought some equipment and prepared the training for the young Kuwaitis. He described Kuwait as oil rich but yet developing in the sports field. Although, the Kuwaiti team did not win in the Arab Gymnastic tournament in 1979 but

their performances were praised by local and Arab media. He left back to china at the end 1979.

In 1981, he was asked to come back to Kuwait to train again with the same athletes but this time with his wife and kids. He did not hesitate at all because he already knew Kuwait and its culture. Kuwait in the following Arab and Asian tournaments did well and exceed expectation with the golden medals especially in gymnastics. He also trained the team that participated in 1983 gymnastics world tournament.

In addition, he said that he continued his training methodology by writing a gymnastics curriculum with one of the local trainers and set a good foundation for the future. He concluded that the Friendship between him and the Kuwaiti counterparts is timeless. (Wu Fugui p207-223)

#### **4.5.2.2 the Invasion of Kuwait from Two witness from the Chinese Embassy of Kuwait ( Fragmented translation from their contribution to the US and them Stories from China and Kuwait)**

##### **1. Former China's Ambassador to Libya and Former Political Advisor to Chinese Embassy to Kuwait ( source: Wu Fugui 2018: 67-79)**

The year 1990 witnessed the insolent Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, and the outbreak of Gulf war in its aftermath. This incident represented a substantial event that shook the entire world in the 1990s. The repercussions and implications of such incident still chases the world, after over 20 years from its occurrence.

At that time, he was working at the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait. I witnessed that unforgettable period.

At 5am, dawn of 2nd August 1990, Iraqi fighters broke the quietness of the sky of Kuwait City. They flew at a low altitude, over the roof of the embassy building. They woke me up with their scary humming that took the hearing away. The occurrence was most scary and horrible. Hastily, he got up and left my bed, pushing open the shut window, to find out that the sounds of missiles were then overlapping, while approaching from the outside. The black smoke columns were escalating, while seen from far away. Immediately, I turned on a radio device that was at the front of the bed. Kuwait Radio transmitted a short statement issued by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Defense, announcing that the Iraqi army had impetuously invaded Kuwait at 2am, and that the government of Kuwait calls on the entire nation to resist the treacherous occupants, by all means. He had no room to change my clothes, yet he expediently headed for the upper floor in my sleeping clothes, and notified China's command thereof in time.

While he was busy writing the cable message, the head of the American affairs department at the Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called me, saying: "I urgently

notify you, and ask you, Mr. Plenipotentiary, to notify the government of China on an urgent basis that the Kuwaiti government calls on the friendly China, and other permanent members of the Security Council, to stand by justice, condemn and stop the Iraqi occupation, as well as protecting the sovereignty and unity of Kuwaiti territories.”

The office phone bell drew the attention of everyone to the inside of the building. They were told by a Chinese medical team in the suburb that the hospital they were in has received a lot of injured persons. They inquired about the reasons for the sounds of missiles outside. The call suddenly reminded me that our fellow citizens, including the employees of the commercial attaché office, the branch of Xinhua, the offices of thirteen companies, and five thousand workers were spread over the towns and areas of Kuwait. All of a sudden, he felt the heavy responsibility on my part.

Following the Iraqi army’s occupation of the Kuwaiti capital on 2 August, all Kuwaiti government agencies were paralyzed. Social services were ceased, and fear of war dominated the scene in this small oil-rich country. The fear held people breathless. Features changes in banks, shops, institutions, schools, newspapers, and publishing houses. Doors and windows were broken, and everything in those places was looted. Yet, some were burnt.

The city, which I knew yesterday as a flourishing, fully active place, with stunning lights, has vanished. Public transport vehicles and taxi cards disappeared from the roads, and only few cars and pedestrians remained. These elements were replaced by tanks, armed vehicles, and troop armed vehicles, constantly hovering around the place. Trees, bushes, and plants in the street islands and grass playgrounds became arid under the burning sun. Trash was spread everywhere, producing choking odor, and smoke columns escalated from the tanks and vehicles, which were devastated by shelling, and were put into blast. In the fuelling stations, no workers remained to collect fees, so the passing cars were filling and leaving.

Under the cruelty of the Iraqi occupation, the lives of Kuwaitis and expats were even more difficult. Everyone was threatened in food, drinking, home and movement, including the police personnel. The war spread unbearable horror.



The old premise of the Iraqi Embassy in Kuwait was turned into a headquarters for the command of the occupant Iraqi army. The photos of Saddam and the phrase “President Saddam, a Great Leader of the Arab Nation” were on posters everywhere. Color lights hanged in the National Day were still surrounding the embassy building, however, the building roof had four high-rise machine guns erected thereon.

The building was surrounded by tanks and armed vehicles. The place had a cordon of strict guards bearing live ammunition, while Kuwaitis were brought, with handcuffs and blind folded, accompanied with militants pushing them inside. The basement was turned into a temporary prison. The Iraqi Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abu Jaber, supervised this building. He previously worked as Iraq’s Ambassador to Kuwait for seven years. He was a real “occupation” forces commander. He used to review and sign all affairs relating to Kuwait.

During the twenty-four days whereon the Chinese Embassy persisted, continuing to work, Abu Jaber, from the Iraqi side, was the person with who they communicated most. He has been to the Iraqi army headquarters more than ten times to search for lost Chinese citizens and to discuss passages for evacuating the citizens. He went there specifically to obtain permits for each group of individuals to be evacuated. He visited that center several times during nights where curfew was announced. Yet, he took the risk of going there in the events where communication was hindered across the phone. According to the requests of the Iraqi party, Abu Jaber must write by himself the number of individuals to be evacuated, number of vehicles and roads, in order to issue the permits, which he signed and archived.

In the evening of 19 August, in order to obtain exit permits for Chinese citizens from Kuwait, the driver Xuan Xu Ping and he had to take the risk and go the headquarters of the Iraq army. We started at 9pm, and returned to the embassy only about 11pm. All our colleagues were much worried about us.

The group consisted of 1818 persons, to be transported by 104 vehicles. It was the largest group. Upon a precise arrangement by the commercial attaché section and the concerned companies, the number of those to be evacuated and the number of vehicles on the following day was only reported to the embassy at 8:30pm. He had to obtain the

permit that evening, and wake up before dawn and copy and circulate the same to all vehicles.

They gave a farewell greeting to everyone by the embassy gate. They repeatedly said: “caution on the road, curfew started at 7:30, they may shoot at any time, all we rely on is the national flag hanged on the vehicle and the diplomatic ID.” Thus, he responded and got into the car.

The night was totally quiet, and the weather was extremely hot. The ground looked like a heater. The car a/c was working. The shirt I wore under the suit was wet with sweat. From the outside of the car, stars emitted cruel, merciless rays. The Iraqi army had deployed barriers and checkpoints on all roads. Only few cars were passing on the road. All vehicles on the road were patrols carrying machine guns, hovering the place with high speed, and obstructing any car passing by from there to question and inspect them. This was clearly fearsome. He lived and worked for several years in Kuwait. However, this country had never witnessed such a dark and scary night.

The vehicle arrived at the area where the Iraqi army headquarters existed. It was heavily guarded. Once we passed the numerous checkpoints, the Iraqi soldiers aimed their machine guns at us, acting like a colonial master. They voiced in a loud tone “Halt!” We dare not even show any low attention, and hastily brought out our IDs and told them about the reason why we were there. Thus, we could pass.

“The headquarters sent the note twice to all members of the diplomatic corps in Kuwait. They stressed that the special gate pass must be available when evacuating diplomats and communities. Otherwise, they shall bear all consequences.” Abu Jaber answered him without any courtesy.

When they heard their speech, they had a sigh of relief. Fortunately, the Iraqis had finalized the procedures smoothly, and were able to evacuate the individuals from Kuwait at the right time.

## **2. Another Former diplomat in China's story during the invasion. ( Source: Wu Fugui, 2018: 54-66)**

Kuwait is a small country, with an area not exceeding 17818 square kilometers. However, it possesses a rich inventory of oil, as it is called "Underground Oil Stock". It maintains a substantial amount of petrodollars, and tops the list of world countries in terms of average per capita income. It has gained a tremendous foothold as a rich country at a global level.

At 2am, On 2 August, Iraqi forces of 100,000 soldiers, and 350 tanks, launched a blitz attack on Kuwait. They easily penetrated the Kuwaiti border defense lines, and continued to advance inwards. It took them only three hours to be able to occupy Kuwait. The guards of those sites showed fierce resistance against the Iraqi army. However, being less in numbers, they could not persist. The fighting ended so fast, and the Iraqi army took control over the situation in full. They built strongholds around those sites, and deployed tanks and armed vehicles, as well as a large number of armed soldiers. The premises of Xinhua news agency branch was located near the Amiri palace. It was annexed to this zone with stiff defenses.

Morning of 3 August, the Iraqi army penetrated and combed the Amiri palace, and turned to the shopping areas and residences to start looting and devastation. The vehicle of Xinhua news agency branch in Kuwait was looted by Iraqi soldiers, who stole the cameras, video recorders and other objects. Several Iraqi soldiers penetrated the back building of the Chinese Embassy to Kuwait. They took away the cameras, recorders, hard currencies, golden jewellery, etc. Furthermore, the cars of the Chinese companies and their fuel stock were looted. Even the personal pocket money was stolen.

During the Iraqi occupation, there were 4885 Chinese people in Kuwait, mostly construction workers and medical staff, in addition to employees of the embassy and Xinhua news agency, as well as 150 Chinese citizens from Taiwan, Singapore and Egypt. Under the turmoil, the occupying Iraqi army committed unlawful acts against norms. It became impossible to ensure safety of the Chinese people in Kuwait, as they were facing difficulties with their daily living. There was a sharp shortage of foods in

the Chinese companies, and of water in certain construction sites. Some fuel warehouses were looted, rendering it very difficult to generate powers, which meant that a/cs could not be turned on under the high temperature.

The Chinese Embassy to Kuwait adopted the necessary urgent actions, as much as it could. The Embassy decided to relocate the eight staff of Xinhua, who were residing near the Amiri palace, as well as scholarship students of Kuwait University, to the Embassy. It also arranged the residence of the female doctors and workers to the hosting house of the commercial attaché section. The Embassy took numerous actions in order to stabilize their emotional conditions and to solve the living difficulties they were facing.

However, the situation in Kuwait was deteriorating day after day, and it became very difficult to secure the necessities of the daily living for thousands of Chinese workers in Kuwait. All works ceased.

On 9 August, Iraq announced that all countries should close down their embassies in Kuwait before 24 August. Once everyone heard this news, they became more worried, and anticipated the issuance of a resolution from the Chinese authorizes to evacuate the Chines from Kuwait.

Following the Iraqi occupation and annexation of Kuwait, the Central Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as the State Council, paid attention to the safety of the Chinese citizens. Mr. Jiang Zemin, Secretary General, was keen to oversee this matter himself. Mr. Lee Ping, Prime Minister, issued directives indicating that “It is essential to exploit time and take all approaches, irrespective of the price against the evacuation of our citizens from Kuwait, safely back home, including our citizens in Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan.”

With the participation of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce & Economy, Public Security, Health, Civil Aviation Authority, Office of Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan Affairs at the State Council, Taiwan Office, Public Customs Department, Chinese Public Civil Engineering Company and others, a general action plan was set to evacuate all citizens from Kuwait. Accordingly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would

take over foreign communications, and the Ministry of Commerce & Economy would organize the evacuation of individuals. Due to the waterways in the Gulf under siege, and the blockade of the road leading to Saudi by the Iraqi army, the only way available was by car from Kuwait, through Iraq, to Jordan, then taking the plane from there. Therefore, the embassies of China in Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, and UAE had to take over the mission in its various parts. As everyone got this news, their feelings were affected, and expressed their sincere thanks and appreciation to the party and the government, for their care.

Following the Iraqi invasion, 150 people from Taiwan and Hong Kong were stuck in Kuwait, mostly from Taiwan, including employees of the “Commercial Office” of Taiwan in Kuwait, as well as company employees. Most of them were technicians and administrative staff from “China Engineering Projects Company” and their families. Those technicians handled the airport runway project. As they resided near the airport, which was annexed to the military zone of the Iraqi army, this represented a huge dilemma for their living.

Thus, the employees, managers and families of the Chinese Engineering Projects Company in Kuwait turned into orphan children. They were without support, and were helpless. When the Taiwanese people heard that Kuwait women near their house were raped by Iraqi soldiers, they became extremely worried about the safety of their women. Through the two offices of the Chinese Non-Iron Metal Company and the Chinese Civil Engineering Company, they could ask whether the Chinese Embassy to Kuwait could help. The Embassy urgently replied with confirmation.

Thereafter, the manager of the Chinese Engineering Projects Company in Kuwait and Saudi contacted the Chinese Embassy. On the following day, he came to the Embassy, accompanied by three persons, and submitted three requests. First, there were Iraqi soldiers near their residences. Those soldiers came to their residence searching for girls, which threatened the safety of the Taiwanese females. Therefore, they requested taking 29 women and children to the Chinese Embassy. Second, they requested the Embassy to provide them with the flag of the People’s Republic of China, so that when war is declared they could raise the flag in front of their residence. Third, they requested evacuating them when the Authority of Main China decides to evacuate its citizens.

The Embassy of China to Kuwait studied this matter, and reported to the Ministry headquarters, which gave a quick response to the requests of the Taiwan citizens. Regarding the first request, the embassy expressed its sympathy with the Taiwanese females in their current condition. However, the accommodation available to the embassy was very limited, and was allocated to the employees of Xinhua branch and scholarship students, so it was indeed difficult to find a free room. The embassy offered to host those women and children in the commercial attaché section. In the same manner 150 Chinese women from the mainland were treated.

The second request was fully responded to, where it agreed to provide them with China flag. It also expressed its approval of the third request, where their evacuation would be arranged together with the citizens of the mainland. Because the Taiwan “passport” could not be used, the Embassy of China would issue a travel document from the People’s Republic of China, and the relevant formalities would be simplified due to the special nature of this situation. Our citizens in Taiwan expressed their profound thanks and appreciation and said they were ready to provide any help that the citizens from the mainland would need in Kuwait.

According to the directives issued by the government of China, the employees of the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait, and the Chinese companies, were fully involved in the evacuation of the Chinese citizens. They launched integrated arrangement. With the exception of the affairs of the mainland and Taiwan citizens, they also found citizens from Hong Kong and the Chinese communities from Singapore and Egypt, including the granddaughter of the brother of Mr. Mapu Fang and her son, and a family from Xinjian region, who had resided here for a long time, ...etc. In addition, under those circumstances resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, 32 Chinese workers were lost. Following contacts made by the plenipotentiary with the Iraqi party, it was assured that they were sent to Basra Prison. The Iraqi party expediently sent them back to the Chinese Embassy in Iraq.

Meanwhile, the embassy issued a list to evacuate all citizens in groups, and notified everyone. Following efforts by different parties, 100 large trucks were booked and it was decided to evacuate large groups on 18 August. However, an unexpected

emergency occurred. On 16 August, the Iraqis seized those trucks and forcibly took them to transport the objects they looted to Baghdad. Such sudden change rendered the Chinese party unable to evacuate the citizens as per the primary plan. They had to arrange the vehicles. They adopted all solutions and found the necessary vehicles. Within only one week, i.e. from 19 to 25 August, all 4885 Chinese citizens were evacuated from Kuwait.

On 19 August, the first group of 97 Chinese citizens was evacuated from Kuwait. On 20 August, the second group of 1818 persons, including 136 persons from the workers of the Chinese Engineering Projects Company, from Taiwan, were evacuated. The embassy let them join the second group. Prior to their departure, the Plenipotentiary at the embassy in Kuwait was there to give them a farewell. They took over 100 cars, each bearing the Chinese national flag (with 5 stars). All vehicles went on in a large motorcade on the road from Kuwait to Amman (1600km long).



*Figure 31: The Chinese vehicles prepared to leave Kuwait into Iraq on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1990. ( Source: Wu Fugui 2018: 59)*

The vehicles drove fast forward, across the arid, deserts – as scene that has no plants. As many persons wanted to leave Kuwait, and due to the savage vehicles of the Iraqi army, penetrating the place, a scene of chaos and turmoil appeared. The motorcade of the Chinese vehicles was compact from back to front, and maintained order and a planned distance. However, having passed the border some vehicle broke down and their passengers separated. Iraqi soldiers looted one of the luggage vehicles.

Prior to evacuating the Chinese citizens from Kuwait, the Chinese Embassy in Iraq, according to the directives of the government of China, made the necessary organizational and political arrangements. The Plenipotentiary in the Embassy of China in Iraq ran contacts with the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this matter. The Iraqi side approved notifying the Iraqi border crossings to facilitate the Chinese mission, exempt them from the entry visa, and not to inspect their luggage.

As some Chinese workers in Kuwait could not retrieve their passports from their employers, a special care would be given to those not carrying passports. The Chinese Embassy in Kuwait issued them travel documents proving that they were coming from the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait. Regarding the looting of their property they sustained while passing by Iraq, the Plenipotentiary in the Chinese Embassy in Iraq and the Military Attaché made contacts with the Iraqi side, who promised to take all security actions necessary to assure their safety, and to provide utmost facilities to the Chinese.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Embassy in Iraq, under the organization of the attaché's transported the food, cans, beverages, medicines and fluke, and headed to the crossroads in Baghdad to meet and care for the citizens. The also took charge of providing the lost with accommodation. Thanks to their efforts, all those who lost their way were found the helped catch the motorcade. Everyone felt convenient, although short, however that was necessary. Such empathy, which came in time, had a profound impact on those who were evacuated.

The Chinese Embassy in Jordan spared no effort to meet the Chinese citizens. The Chinese Ambassador in Jordan had previously made several contacts with the Jordanian side about this matter. Further, the embassy's attaché lead a team and headed for the border to meet and care for the Chinese citizens. The Jordanian side also provided facilities to the Chinese, where the Jordanian officials handed over the entry stamp of the Jordanian border to the Chinese to continue the stamping procedures by themselves, when they left the Iraqi border. According to the instructions of the Chinese government, the Chinese Embassy in Jordan rented four hotels for the convenience of the Chinese while crossing the border. The Embassy further sent persons to meet and care for the accommodation and meals.



In order to return all citizens home as soon as possible, upon state approval, the Civil Aviation Authority decided to send special planes to Amman to take them. Such decision reflected the interest of the party and the government in our citizens abroad. It also represented a political mission of great impact, internally and externally. Such mission was split into two phases: In Phase 1, the individuals were transported from Amman to Sharjah, UAE. In Phase 2, they were transported from Sharjah to Beijing. For this purpose, the Chinese Embassy in Abu Dhabi, and the Consular Section in Dubai, formed a taskforce to meet those evacuated, and assigned persons to execute this mission.

At noon of 29 August, 4741 Chinese citizens returned safely to Beijing (including 4738 Chinese, and 3 Singapore persons of Chinese origin) in 24 special planes and flights. 137 Chinese persons from Taiwan and Chinese from Hong Kong headed for their destinations after they were evacuated to Amman, and 3 persons from the Chinese community staying in Egypt headed for Cairo.

When the first group of individuals arrived in Beijing, Mr. Lou Gan, Secretary General of the State Council, as mandated by Mr. Lee Ping, Chairman of the State Council, was off to the airport to meet them and express sympathy with them. Each individual, upon arrival in Beijing or their work place, were met with care and sympathy by the official of the concerned institutions. Furthermore, airport employees showed respect for the special directives by the Chairman of the State Council to provide “full facilities for special cases” and to give them special treatment. Thus, those evacuated were met with full and special care.

The successful and smooth evacuation was commended by the party and the state council, as well as the competent authorities. Mr. Jiang Remin, Secretary General of the Party, requested that it was essential to commend such action. While meeting and transporting those individuals, the various embassies made great efforts under harsh conditions, where they worked day and night, leaving behind convenience, families and food, and their efforts were praised by those evacuated.

Following a successful evacuation operation, all Chinese returned back home safely from Kuwait, and had reunion with their families. The operation echoed largely and had a great political impact.

## 4.6 Conclusions

This chapter explores the societal relationship between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China. Both countries believed in the importance of cultural diplomacy and exchange.

The chapters explore the bilateral women's relationship, which describes the desire of both governments to show that women are an important element of the society and their relationship could form an important bridge between both societies. Although, the current situation has developed, Kuwait and China still have a relationship between the Kuwait women Culture and society association and All women for China. This cooperation did help the society relations as it has given both societies a chance to meet and exchange information via social, cultural and other activities. Whether this relationship has flourished into any political platform for both countries other than in the period of the Invasion of Kuwait in 1990, is still unknown. Maybe in the future it would be an interesting point for further research, until now no relevant information has been found.

In addition, cultural relations, is considered key to the development of the bilateral relationship. China used its medical team to warm up to the Kuwaiti society, and they sent coaches and trainers for several sports post 1990. Their participation in art, music and education also helped the society to know and understand China. Other than sports, I don't believe that China's approach with regards to Kuwait was successful. Although, scholarships were provided not many Kuwaitis went to study in China in the 1970's and 1980's as opposed to other countries like Japan for example.

Sport was considered key for China's political and cultural diplomacy as so did Kuwait. Kuwait used the sports platforms to support the Arab cause and also support China's one China policy. Kuwait did benefit from its cultural diplomacy as several Chinese came to study in Kuwait and work in different fields. We can say that culture was the third most important field of cooperation after political and economic at least from 1961-1990.

Religion, Kuwait tried to promote the safety and wellbeing of the Arabs and the Muslims worldwide as part of its post-independence foreign policy. It made a difference to its local image to the Kuwaitis and a new channel to bond with China. China at a given point of time did also use its Muslim community to reach out to the middle eastern region. So, Islam or religion did play a part in the china's policy towards the region and it was step closer to the Arabian Gulf in our case Kuwait.

Finally, People's relations reflect personal experiences that describe china to Kuwaitis and Kuwaitis to the China via the memories, short stories or interviews. Impressions and expectations as well. It is a great mirror of one's society to reviewed and seen by another. The witnesses of the invasion of Kuwait was an interesting finding as not many Kuwaitis know about other foreigners' experiences during the invasion period, some foreigners wrote books or articles but the Chinese did not because of political and cultural differences. So, this would be a great statement for the bilateral friendship of both countries.

- a) yes, both countries did use cultural diplomacy to influence their foreign policies and its relations with one another. China focused mostly on sports and so did Kuwait. So, sport was considered the main tool for cultural cooperation. Kuwait focused on religious affairs and media as well and China used its friendly medical teams.
- b) I believe that both countries had similar cultural diplomacies but the practise and goals were rather different. Kuwait focused more on Arab and Islamic nations with regards to its cultural diplomacy and China had different layers of cultural diplomacy due its location and size.
- c) Finally, there were other fields of cooperation such as tourism and technological exchange which did not present any data nor influence in bilateral relationships. Today, 30s post the invasion of Kuwait. Kuwait's foreign policy and cultural diplomacy has changed but china with regards to the middle east still has its medical teams in place but gives less importance to Islam and its Muslim community due to the change in ideology since 2012.

- d) It's important to mention that in the Diplomatic exchange of views and media coverages all show that in the 1970's, both countries had a little knowledge of one another. During the mid-1980's, there was more contact and exchange so, this is reflected in articles and views of the diplomats on Kuwait, its culture and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- e) Although, the statements of the Chinese diplomats during the invasion mention Xinhua representatives. All the archive data and information don't mention any agreement of a Xinhua regional or local office. This occurred in 1994, after a new agreement was signed. The Statement of two diplomats on the invasion of Kuwait shows the Chinese presence and network in Kuwait and the relationship between the Chinese and the Taiwanese during a hard time. The ability of the Chinese presence in the region to solve their issues between Kuwait, Iraq and Jordan is telling on the importance of China's presence in the region.

## **5. Conclusions**

The relationship between the State of Kuwait and the People's Republic of China has been analysed in the 3 chapters of this research: The Political relations, the economic, Agricultural and Housing and finally Society relations. In each chapter, the main objective is to answer the main questions and sub questions in each chapter divided into phases and later in points answering these main questions.

### **Initial phase 1961-1970**

In the initial period of 1960's Kuwait and the people's Republic of China has a trade relationship since 1955 but, the Republic of China (Taiwan) is the officially recognized as China for Kuwait since 1964. Kuwait and Taiwan have established a diplomatic relationship with a Taiwanese (ROC) embassy in Kuwait since 1964 which remained until 1971. Since, the republic of China (Taiwan) supported Kuwait's admission as a member to the UN in 1963 and also supported Kuwait in the Kuwait- Iraq crisis of 1963.

It was challenging for Kuwait to apply the One China policy demanded by the People's republic of China. Nonetheless, Taiwan was a main buyer of Kuwaiti Oil and according to the National archives since 1958, Kuwait was one of the main exporters of oil to Taiwan until 1990. Kuwait did not reciprocate with Taiwan as it did not open an embassy in Taipei, as Kuwait predicted that PRC will resume its place in the United Nations since the end of the 1960's and the importance of China as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council was and still is key to the formation of the bilateral relations.

Moreover, Kuwait's foreign policy since 1961 was very much influenced by Pan Arabism, since the first Kuwait -Iraq crisis after the British withdrawal from Kuwait, it tried to please its fellow Arab nations by replacing British troops with an Arab League force to protect Kuwait from Iraqi interests. Since then, the Kuwaiti dinar policy was implemented through the creation of Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development and the Kuwait Investment Funds as a mean to help Arab and developing countries and also protect national sovereignty using soft power rather hard power.

Hence, in 1965 the Kuwaiti Finance Minister Sheikh Jaber's visit to Beijing as a friendship visit aimed to balance Kuwait's foreign policy and economic diversity as it feared to rely only on the capitalist camp. So, Kuwait was the only country in the Arabian Gulf that sought to establish relations with the communist bloc. Kuwait has been criticised by many and is said to be daring to shift away from the western capitalist countries to communist ones. This is the main reason why, Sheikh Jaber is known to be the friend of China until today.

Another factor that played an important role during this period is the pro-Arab stance of China, which facilitated such a political dialogue, specially with the rise of Pan Arabism in Kuwaiti domestic politics as well as the establishment of the constitution and the first parliament elections. The domestic politics environment during this period is very much influenced by regional affairs specially the Arab- Israeli conflict. There was a large Palestinian community of around 400 thousand in Kuwait until 1990 and the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization had its base here. So, China's pro-Arab stance and anti-imperialistic views helped it become closer to the Kuwaiti society as argued in the 1971 parliamentary discussed regarding China.

Kuwait was a unique in the region because it was one of the first States that became independent and it was a movement lead by the people and their readiness to modernise the country and have an independent foreign policy from its neighbouring states. Saudi Arabia has a different history and reality than the rest of the Gulf states but Oman, UAE, Qatar and Bahrain all followed a rather a balanced and aligned policy. Their relationship with China flourished later on in 1980's and in a different format.

The economic relationship between Kuwait and China in initial phase focused on Kuwait's aim to sell fertilizers to China and China to sell textile, alimentation and other products to Kuwait. In 1964 the balance of trade was favourable to China with 5.35 million dollars, and Kuwait only started the fertilizers trade in 1969 after the nationalization of the major shares of the Kuwaiti Fertilizers company and overcoming the Taiwan issue with regards to China. From 1960 until 1970 China's trade increased from 0.67 million dollars to 20.44 million dollars with balance of trade is favourable to China.

In the case of Taiwan, the trade records suggest that the trade started in 1950's as well but the information from the archives indicate a start in 1958 with a total 3 million dollars to 64.47 in 1970 with the balance of trade favourable to Kuwait. This is because Kuwait exported crude oil to Taiwan and was considered in this phase an important regional trade partner. Kuwait used to import textiles, alimentations, light machinery and electronics from Taiwan.

With regards to the societal relations, there was no direct contact before the formation of diplomatic relations but there was interest in the Kuwaiti AlArabi magazine in Chinese culture and language and China showed interested via its academic magazine world affairs that described the oil rich country and some historic information. The Newspaper and New agency of China paid attention to Kuwait's independence and the issue of its Iraqi crisis and its Arab Israeli stance and Kuwait paid attention to China and its neighbourhood policy and the po towards the Muslim community.

### **The official recognition phase 1971-1981**

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March 1971, Kuwait and China established their diplomatic relations. This period witnessed flourishing exchange in bilateral visits in several fields, the government, the National People's congress and others like sports and culture to better build a bridge of understanding between two societies. The Republic of China (Taiwan) reduced its representation to a business office in Kuwait to continue administering business relations and others.

Its key to understand the manner in which Kuwait was able to balance both the relationship between establishing relations with PRC and not expelling Taiwanese diplomats directly after March of 1971. The way both countries China and Kuwait were able to overcome this milestone by just reaffirming that Kuwait only recognises one China as the discussed in this research.

On a bilateral level, there were several exchange visits between both governments and Parliamentary bodies ( National People's Congress in the case of China) and how these friendly visits helped to build a mutual trust and understanding between both leaderships and the people of both countries. The change of leadership with the death



Mao and Enlai in the 1976 and the change of the Amir of Kuwait in the late 1977 does not affect the development of bilateral relationships.

The visit of the president of the Parliament in 1974, is considered key to the development of the bilateral relationship. China National Library Archive and Kuwait Memories Digital Archive documents in this period suggest that the Kuwaiti government and parliament's willingness to develop relationship with China is highly appreciated by the Chinese counterpart. In addition, vice Chairman of the NPC Ulanhu and Ji Pengfei was considered a historic visit to the Kuwaiti government and most of the cooperation that happened were influence also by these visit that aimed to understand each other legal and political systems.

It is significant to mention that Kuwait and China did work together in the United Nations Security Council in 1978, and in the UN in general. They were aligned with regards to the Arab-Israeli conflict in most of the cases. Kuwait did support China's instatement in the UN since 1967 according to local newspaper and did vote accordingly in 1971. Kuwait also helped china by reinforcing the one china policy by support China's policy by voting to block Taiwan's request to become a member in the UN several times.

From 1972-1975 Kuwait and China worked together in several sports platforms the Sports Federation and the Olympics. Sports was is the most important tool for both China and Kuwait's cultural diplomacy in which both manifested its political ideology and influence in the case of Taiwan's expulsion and Israel as well and later Iraq in the 11<sup>th</sup> Asian Game in Beijing in the period of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Moreover, the first gymnastic coach came to Kuwait to work in 1975 and later again in 1980's. His statements about Kuwait and its environment, culture and work ethics are important as it gives us a scope on the labour or technological sharing that was happening between both in 1970's and 1980's and the friendship networks that flourished from that period is very interesting.

In the same context, the Chinese medical team that worked in Kuwait since 1976 is also considered an important tool of China's Cultural diplomacy until this day. The team

contributed to the promotion of the traditional Chinese medicine. The Chinese medical team is an important symbol of Chinese friendship towards the third world countries specially in the Middle East and Africa.

In 1976, both countries started to explore more fields of cooperation in agriculture, housing and others. This year witnessed an increase in fertilizer sales to China. Moreover, there were several Chinese economic exhibitions in Kuwait and bilateral visits that result into the signing of the economic agreement between the two countries at end of 1977. Moreover, China in 1978 has decided to launch the reform and modernization policy that aimed to open up to foreign investment and its integration to the global economy. China hosted two important Kuwaiti artists to promote relations with Kuwait.

In this period, China became Kuwait's 9<sup>th</sup> exporter and fertilizers is the most important factor in the bilateral trade increased from 22 million USD in 1971 to 199 million USD in 1980. In this decade the trade volume increased until china represented 3.5% of Kuwait's total imports. In 1979, china entered the construction and labour field in Kuwait through local agents and enter local tenders for government projects in addition to more than 20 local Kuwaiti agents for Chinese products that represents China's increasing presence in textile, alimentation, light machinery and others.

Moreover, towards the end of this period, China and Kuwait have started to engage with the civil society starting with the Women association and the visit of the Ji pengfei with the president of the All for China Women association and later maintaining exchange visits and dialogues as Miss Al Qatami mentioned in her interview.

Furthermore, Chinese Muslim delegations also visited Kuwait and the religious affairs cooperation has begun in 1980 and talks regarding the Muslim community in china has developed. Nonetheless, it is important to mention the negotiations of education exchange and scholarship as well began in this period. It has been said that there was a Kuwaiti student studying his master in China in 1975 and the was the only sinologist in the region Mr. Hashim Behbehani which is the main source of information regarding China's relationship with the Arabs until today.

In the 1980's China was one of the first countries to recognise the formation of the GCC with whom it established diplomatic and economic relations but it is also important to mention the Iran-Iraq war that took place in 1980, this influenced the bilateral political and economic relations as the next phase will show.

In the case of Taiwan, this period witnessed a significant growth in bilateral trade with Kuwait. Since Taiwan needed oil for its energy consumption. The trade relation was not affected by the implementation of the one china policy of 1971. Kuwait presented 11% of Taiwan's import in 1980 which is a fruitful year for oil imports from Kuwait. Taiwan remained an important market for Kuwaiti oil and it also maintained bilateral economic driven exchange visits in order to secure and develop this bilateral trade.

The private Kuwaiti banks also exchanged visits to China during this period to explore possibilities of market growth but the different market systems and total government control over the financial system there was not inviting as other free markets these private institutions are used to dealing with. So, there was no real private sector cooperation in China but some Kuwaiti news shared that Alahli Bank of Kuwait have invested 50 million dollars in China in 1980. There is no evidence to support or discard this information.

## **Development phase ( 1982-1990)**

This phase is considered a crucial period for both China and Kuwait. Kuwait faced the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war, terrorism and an invasion from a neighbouring country and finally an economic recession due to a market crash in 1985. In the case of China, they were implementing the Four Modernizations programme, which raised the level of Kuwait's economic significance to China. Kuwait, resolutely, became an important source of loans and investments to China and was an influential contributor to South-South cooperation in the Chinese view.

China aimed to maintain its non -intervention and neutral position during the Iraq-Iran war or the first Gulf War. It declined Kuwait's request to hire Chinese ships or have Kuwaiti oil tankers registered with Chinese authorities, however, it rather have pursued

an 'active mediation' between Iran and Iraq. There were several claims that China benefited from its neutral stance to sell arms to both Iran and Iraq during the 10-year period of this war. There several high official visits the Chinese government and the NPC to dialogue with their Kuwaiti counterparts to deny these claims but today we have evidence that they actually did sell arms to both parties.

It is important to mentioned that the 1980's is considered a very challenging time for Kuwait it faced attacks from Iran and terrorist action and attempt to assassinate the Amir of Kuwait in 1985 only because it sided with Iraq in this war. The parliament exchange visits during the 1980's aimed to bridge both countries views on regional matters. China promoted its pro-Arab stance and the respected of 1967 UN resolution and its non-intervention policy in the Iran Iraq war and also its refusal to allow Kuwait to use its flag on oil tankers of 1987 crisis which the US, USSR and UK all agreed to do.

On another note, in 1981 Kuwait and china signed another economic agreement which discussed the goods and labour issues and the establishment of an economic joint community between both countries. In 1982, both countries entered a new phase of economic cooperation that served both countries south-south or third world policy. Kuwait starting loaning china easy loans to enhance its infrastructure, petrochemical, energy sectors among others. From 1982-1990 Kuwait helped fund 14 projects in China which amounts to 322.5 million dollars. No other third world country has provided China with such loans.

In 1982, the Kuwait oil company started its energy cooperation but acquiring exploration rights off shore of south china including an agreement with Santa Fe a Kuwaiti owned American Company. Furthermore, Kuwait and china also started the trilateral fertilizer cooperation with Tunis and the negotiations continued until the agreement was signed in 1985 during Alnouri's visit to China. The inauguration of the project took place in 1988 and the company started functioning in 1990. Kuwait its 30% share of this company during the mid-90's according to the Ex finance minister.

Although China was self-sufficient with its energy consumption, in 1987 Kuwait and China had coordinated its oil production level at the OPEC and also there was some

coordination between Kuwait and China on a fertilizers exports to china since 1970's and it has believed to be changed post 90.

In the same year, the ex-Finance and Oil minister of Kuwait visited China with a large economic delegation including the Kuwait investment Authority, Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic development fund and the chamber of commerce. Kuwait was looking for alternative markets for its oil industry as its economy was suffering due to war, al manakh crash and loans to Iraq among others.

Bilateral trade with PRC researched 140 million dollars in 1987, and 234 million dollars with 66% increase from the previous year focusing on textiles, construction material, alimentation and clothing from china and fertilizers and petrochemicals from Kuwait.

In case of Taiwan, Kuwait remained an important source of petroleum with 396 million dollars in 1990 total trade of 458 million dollars which included Kuwait imported metals, pharmaceuticals, light machinery and electronic from Taiwan (ROC), the balance of trade with Taiwan was always favourable to Kuwait unlike the case with China.

Kuwait had a large number of Chinese in the labour market specially in the construction sector until the invasion of Kuwait some say they are 5,000 others claim 10,000. Still, Kuwait unlike other countries was an important market for Chinese labour in the region.

In 1984, AlReyes company director visited China and negotiated a business construction and development industry with a mega project called the Beijing Garden Villa, as it was mentioned earlier and his experience with the Chinese banks and financial and legal institutions until 1990, when he realised that he lost the cause for fighting against the government controlled financial sector. He said no foreign investor has a good experience in the 1980's in china. Miscommunication, prices and other setbacks made it difficult for companies to secure its investments in China.

During this period, the Women association visited china twice for cultural exchange, there were education and cultural motivated meetings that resulted into a cultural

exchange agreement that promoted translation of publication, student exchange and also government exchange in the mass media sector. There were relevant visits in the medical sector and exchanges in the research and cancer centers. The Medical team has been in Kuwait since 1976 and they stayed and evacuated during the invasion in 1990, they have witnessed according to the Chinese diplomat a lot violence that the Kuwaitis lived in during this hard time.

In 1989, China faced its diplomatic isolation due to Tiananmen situation and how the government dealt with the democratic motivated demonstrations. China needed economic and political support from Kuwait and it happened via the Chinese president's visit to Kuwait. Sheikh Fahad the president of the Asian Olympics paid several visits to china between 1989-1990 to secure China's desire to host the 11<sup>th</sup> Asian Games and he delivered that wish to china. Unfortunately, he was killed during the invasion and the Kuwaiti team did participate under the patronage of his son Sheikh Ahmad who unanimously assumed his father's position as the president of the Asian Olympics and worked to expel Iraq for this game. This happened only to honour Sheikh Fahad's death and also show gratitude to Kuwait's support during China's hard time.

The Chinese president's visit to Kuwait in 1989, comes as a part of a regional visit that China aimed to counter balance its international isolation, this was the only presidential visit of a Chinese president to Kuwait until today. The Kuwaiti Amir Sheikh Jaber did not visit China although he received an invitation since 1978 until 1990 to share with the Chinese leadership their views on the invasion of Kuwait and the suffering to the Kuwaiti people.

Once again, the invasion of Kuwait in 1990 has tested China's foreign policy and its influence in the Middle East and also the strength of the Kuwait Chinese relations. Although, Iraq was considered an ally to China and a good regional partner most of China's Arab friends sided with Kuwait and the matter of its sovereignty was the key value to China and the communist party.

Although China abstained on the resolution to send an international force to liberation Kuwait respecting its non-intervention policy, it has voiced its political and humanitarian support to Kuwait and its people. The political relations with China

always involved a trade and economic package, which resulted in cancelling paying back of some Chinese loans to Kuwait as well as new cooperation such as military during the post liberation period.

## **Conclusions:**

- a) Kuwait and China both agreed on the anti-imperialistic policies and the core idea of non-intervention. They both support south-south cooperation and the support of developing countries. The Arab cause was at the core of both countries policies since at least the formation of official diplomatic relations. China during this period rarely vetoed on the UNSC but rather abstained and Kuwait was only a member in UNSC in 1978 and there was a clear collaboration between them as Ambassador Bishara mentioned regarding 1979 Vietnam issue. Kuwait was courageous enough to challenge the Arabian Peninsula's foreign policies and develop relations with the communist bloc and aimed to materialise this relationship in various aspects which challenges the argument of Bin Huwaidin's argument.
- b) Both Iraq and Taiwan did play an important role with regards to the formalization of the relationship between both PRC and Kuwait. Iraq also presented a threat to Kuwait's sovereignty in 1961 and also a difficult position for China during the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. This comes in agreement with Behbehani's argument that both countries did play a role at this research shows. The Post invasion period has changed China's policy towards the region because of the Establishment of the Saudi Arabian Chinese diplomatic relations and its increasing demand for oil in the early 90's.
- c) The domestic issues of both countries did play a role in the formation of its foreign policy specifically towards the bilateral relations between both countries. The Kuwaiti parliament and the National People Congress of China (NPC) both played a role in the decision making with regards to regional and international issues that involved this bilateral relation.

- d) The first Gulf war (Iraq-Iran), China tried to intervene by helping Kuwait but it was said to sell arms to Iran several times and Iraq as well. But, supported Kuwait in its most important issues with the support of NPC.
- e) The importance of China as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and its role during the Invasion of Kuwait, with its support of the related resolutions and later the negotiations with Prisoners of War (POWS) and the compensation of the Kuwaiti people. This opportunity gave China a chance to gain its position back after the Tiananmen position.
- f) The State of Kuwait and China had a traditional economic relation that depended mostly on import- export trade. Their economic interest was based on fertilizers, infrastructure, alimentation, clothing and foreign investments. China became the number one buyer of Kuwaiti fertilizers and Kuwait became the third most important trade partner in the region.
- g) Kuwait loaned China from 1982-1990 around 322 million dollars, which were invested in transportation, fertilizers, agriculture and oil and gas industries. Most of the researchers ( Bin Huwaidin, Calabrese and Shichor) agree that loans were key to the development of the bilateral relations in the 1980's.
- h) The agricultural cooperation talks mentioned visits to Kuwait's farmlands and irrigation systems as well as the water distillation plants, Calabrese also mentioned that China was interested in development of such cooperation with Kuwait. However, there are no sufficient data about materialised projects and that's because of Kuwait's economic and later invasion of Kuwait which changed the priorities of government expenditure.
- i) China sought the Kuwaiti investment authority as well as the private business sector of Kuwait to visit and invest in China. However, the private sector relation did not materialise according to Al Reyes group and the banks due to difficult business conditions and unclear laws that made it difficult for foreign companies to operate.



- j) An interesting observation, that although China was an oil producer and was self-reliant until 1990, one would assume that oil cooperation would not be key in this economic relationship but its specially in the mid 80's. Kuwait wanted to invest in this sector in Asia and also coordinate with China on several occasion on oil production levels in the OPEC. There seem to be mutual interest to develop and expand production in China with Kuwaiti investment which is the case of Sant Fe Hainan project.
- k) Both countries did use cultural diplomacy to influence their foreign policies and its relations with one another. China focused mostly on sports and so did Kuwait. So, sport was considered the main tool for cultural cooperation. Kuwait focused on religious affairs and media as well and China used its friendly medical teams.
- l) Both countries had similar cultural diplomacies but the practise and goals were rather different. Kuwait focused more on Arab and Islamic nations with regards to its cultural diplomacy and China had different layers of cultural diplomacy due its location and size.
- m) Finally, there were other fields of cooperation such as tourism and technological exchange which did not present any data nor influence in bilateral relationships. Today, 30s post the invasion of Kuwait. Kuwait's foreign policy and cultural diplomacy has changed but china with regards to the middle east still has its medical teams in place but gives less importance to Islam and its Muslim community due to the change in ideology since 2013.

## **Post 1991 remarks**

China also exercised for the first-time sending peace keeping troops to the Kuwaiti-Iraqi border in 1992, and have participated in the fire extinguishing teams efforts community to help Kuwait restore its oil industry with least environment damage<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, it opened the doors for military cooperation between Kuwait and China in 1995 which represents the major shift in bilateral relations because no military cooperation existed between both countries before 1995.

Researching the first 30 years of the Sino-Kuwaiti relations aims to understand and contextualise this relationship today. The shift in international and regional power post 1991 and the different path each country embarked upon to achieve its national interest. Political dialogue on regional Middle Eastern matters, Energy, Economics, investment and development in the south-south cooperation and cooperation in the construction industry still remain important in this bilateral relation.

China respects Kuwait's foreign policy and neutrality in several issues and Kuwait respects China's support to Palestine. Societal and cultural relations are more symbolic today rather an actual people to people exchange. There are still a few exchanges of students, professors and professional between Kuwait and China. The religious affairs aspect of bilateral relations at least has not been pursued officially due to the ideological changes from 2013. The main change is that Kuwait was perceived as the gateway to the Arabian Gulf in 1971 and in 1991, things have changed to the interested shifted to other regional countries which is now considered the gateway no only to the Arabian Gulf but also to the Middle East. It has more attention in cultural and societal relations at least in past 10 years.

Sino- Kuwaiti relations remain important to both sides not only for energy and trade but also for Kuwait's views on China's role in developing countries infrastructures in the One Road One Belt Initiative which Kuwait is part of this huge project. China remembers well Kuwait's early support and values historical relations when dealing with Kuwait, this is felt in meeting and negotiations that took place during my

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<sup>36</sup> In 1991, the Iraqi forces set fire to 600-700 oil wells causing an environmental and economic catastrophe to Kuwait by damaging 85% of its oil fields and it took 6 months to extinguish all the fires from these oil fields.

internship and work in China- Kuwait relations. I hope that a 30 years research could provide at least the Kuwaiti Academic or interested community the chance to know and value this relationship in which before 2012-13 was away from the local society's interest.

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## 1. Kuwaiti Archives

The Kuwaiti documents are selected from the Kuwaiti Parliament Archives, Alqabas Newspaper Information Center, Alarabi, Center for research and studies on Kuwait and Memories archives. Since the archives are not all open to public, I have created tables below with important documents, categorized and fragmentedly translated from Arabic to English and established a personal serial number to each archive on its own. The main objective from this to provide a database on Kuwait-China relations from 1961-1991 for any researcher who would like to continue exploring this topic. Moreover, these tables represent the amount of work and effort given into this research from collecting, selecting, categorizing and translating. It provides a Kuwaiti perspective overview on this bilateral relationship covering Political, economic and Development, Societal relations including its cultural dimension.

### 1.1 Archive and Information's Department, Research Section at the information sector at the Kuwait National Assembly ( P.O. Box 716 Safat code 13008 kuwait)

ادارة التوثيق و المعلومات – قسم البحوث في قطاع المعلومات في مجلس الامة الكويتي  
( ص. ب . 716 الصفاة الرمز البريدي 13088 الكويت )

### Kuwaiti Parliament Documents ( categorized by dated and used a serial number using P standing for Parlaiment)

Date and Serial Number	Title	Topic	Source
2/11/1971 P01	Parliaments call to support China	The Kuwaiti parliament discusses the reinstatement of PRC in UNSC. The parliament discussed that the president of the parliament should congratulate China and thank her Pro Arab Stance	The 3 <sup>rd</sup> parliament session. Second period
14/12/1971 P02	The parliament informs the govt with China's response	From Zhu De Chairman of the National People's	The 3rd parliament session. Second period

	letter	Congress.	
3/3/1974 P03	Chairman of the National People's Congress invites the Kuwait Parliament president to visit China.	7-16 of March 1974. The parliament and government approved the visit.	The 3rd parliament session. Fourth period
3/2/1976 P04	A condolence letter on the death of Premeir Zhou	Sent by the president of the Kuwaiti Parliament to Zhu De.	The 4th parliament session. Second period
8/3/1978 P05	Parliament viewed this agreement.	H.H. the Amir's approval on the Economic Agreement with China signed on 26/12/1977 and the all details of the agreement ( in	Kuwait Al youm ( 3 pages)
7/12/1980 P06	The parliament viewed this agreement	H.H. the Amir approving a new economic agreement with China on 7/10/1980.	Kuwait Al youm 2 pages
6/6/1981 P07	New legislation approved to implement the Chinese Economic and technical Agreement		The 5th parliament session. First period
5/10/1982 P08	The Parliament approves the Cultural and Media	The agreement details and comments in Arabic.	The 5th parliament session. Third period

	cooperation Agreement between Kuwait and China signed on 15/2/1982		
13/10/1986  P09	Parliament viewed the agreement between China and Kuwait on investment incentives and protection.		Kuwait Al youm 6 pages

## 1.2 Alqabas Newspaper Information Center مركز المعلومات التابع لجريدة القبس

Alqabas Information Center belong to a prestigious and a well-known newspaper in Kuwait. It is considered one of the few newspapers that afforded to remain politically neutral for since 1972. This center collects information and news from local and regional newspapers and magazines as data for their studies. The newspaper articles were hard copies found in old files, nothing before the period of 1995 has been digitalized. I created a time line of information, visits and cooperation agreements between China and Kuwait and China and the Arabian Gulf from 1961-1989 categorized by date, translated important titles and content and used a serial number using 00, a personal organization to help contextualise this information. The original articles are available in digital PDF files and I have the willingness to share it with other researchers upon their request.

Date and Serial number	Information ( Fragmented Translations )	Source
001 23/11/1976	Chinese Parliament visit to Kuwait ( 6 days visit) guest was hosted by Sheikh Salman Al Duaij minister of Justice.	Alqabas newspaper (Kuwait)
002 24/11/1976	Crown Prince and Minister of Information meet with Chinese Delegation	Alqabas newspaper
003 7/5/1977	Kuwaiti Minister of Foreign Affairs visits China and meets with Chinese President presenting a letter from H.H the Amir of Kuwait. ( following up discussion of the previous visit on economic and trade cooperation and regional	Alqabas newspaper



	affairs)	
003 27/12/1977	Assigning the economic agreement between Kuwait and China	Al Anba newspaper (Kuwait )
004 27/12/1977	President of the Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce speaks about economic relations with China	Alqabas newspaper
005 25/1/1978	H.H the Amir and the deputy prime minister and Minister of Information receive a Chinese economic committee delegation	Alqabas newspaper
006 27/6/1978	H.H. the Amir receives the Chinese foreign Minister ( Ho Ping) conveying a letter of invitation for the Amir to visit China.	Alqabas newspaper
007 6/9/1978	China will be involved in the Arabian Gulf affairs if the Soviet's influence threatens the Arabian water security says a Chinese leader ( Hua Guofeng)	Alseyasah newspaper (Kuwait)
008 23/2/1979	Deputy prime minister of China Cheng Muhua praises Chinese Kuwaiti relations after receiving the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China.	Al Qabas newspaper
009 9/3/1979	Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua	Alqabas newspaper ( al herbesh)

	says that China refuses superpower's involvement in the Arabian Gulf Affairs at a dinner hosting the Kuwaiti Cabinet Minister AbdulAziz Hussein in Beijing.	
010 7/4/1979	Deputy Minister of Chinese foreign affairs Fu yin says in an interview that Middle Eastern Conflicts can be solved together, each issue should be solved individually and the soviets are the ones benefiting from the Middle Eastern divided between the US and the Soviets. Also discussing Egyptian Chinese relations with President Sadat.	Akhbar al youm ( Egyptian newspaper) ( Hu Ying)
2/5/1979	The Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Ding Hao expresses; China's desire to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, denying China's intent to establish a relationship with Israel after the Peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, and the solution to the Vietnamese conflict.	Alseyassah
011	Deputy Chinese Minister of	Alqabas Newspaper

30/10/1979	Foreign Affairs says that China support Oman and is willing to ensure the safety and sovereignty of Oman during his visit to Beirut where he met with the Omani Sultan a year after establishing diplomatic relations with Oman.	( Hu Ying he)
012 24/9/1980	H.H. the Amir receives Vice president of the Chinese Parliament ( Ji pengfei) talks on bilateral relations and a visit to the Ministry of Information.	Alqabas newspaper
013 7/10/1980	Signing of the Economic and trade agreement between Kuwait and China .. the articles also states china's interest in economic agreements with regional countries.	Alqabas newspaper
014 29/5/1981	China welcomes the establishment of the GCC and the unity of the Arabian Gulf countries, taken from the CP's newspaper "People's Daily".	Alqabas newspaper
015 11/6/1981	China's openness to have trade links with the Gulf Countries via a Sudan-Emirati companies and	Gulf Newspaper ( Emirates)

	China State Construction engineering Corporation ( CSCEC)	
016 16/2/1982	Kuwait and Chin sign a cultural and educational agreement.	Alqabas newspaper
017 April 1982	China's historic relations with Oman, mentions the first Chinese messenger to Oman in 1422.	Build China ( a Chinese magazine published in Arabic 3 pages
018 June 1982	Talks about Chinese education and teaching.	Build China ( a Chinese magazine published in Arabic
019 May- June 1982	The Chinese- Arab cultural relations ( part 1 and 2) ; silk route referring to Ibn Battuta's visit and the Arab influence in south China.	Build China ( a Chinese magazine published in Arabic ( 5 pages)
020 25/6/1982	Interview with the Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Ding Hao, he praised the Chinese Arab relations that depended a lot on mutual respect and the independence and the rights of the Palestinian people. He criticized the Russian and US intervention the Middle East specially the US support to Israel.	Alanba newspaper
021 29/8/1982	Amiri Decree to accept and apply the Cultural agreement with China and	Alqabas

	the detailed agreement.	
022 20/10/1982	H.H. Amir receives the Chinese Minister of Health who visited the country to explore the health sector specially the cancer centers and to find elements for future cooperation.	Alqabas
023 21/10/1982	H.H. the crown prince and prime minister also meets and holds a long talk with the Chinese minister of health.	Alqabas
024 10/11/1982	Kuwait loans China a 3 <sup>rd</sup> easy loan that will be paid in 20 years ( 35 million USD). To construct a wood factory in Hunan. The article mentions the 2 previous loans were provided to build a cement factory and an airport. Also emphasising the importance to the Kuwaiti-Chinese relations.	Alwatan ( Kuwaiti)
025 1983	China renews its relations with the Arabian Gulf countries. Calling for the unity of the Arabs to fight for the sovereignty and independence of the Arabian countries/	Sout al Khaleej
	Strengthening the Chinese	Future magazine (

<p>026 25/6/1983 or 82</p>	<p>the Arabian Gulf Countries economic ties. The article mentions some numbers in trade between China and the 6 countries. Trade between the region and China began in 1958 informally before the diplomatic recognition between them and China. this was influenced by the Iraqi-Chinese relations.</p>	<p>published in London in Arabic)</p>
<p>027 1984</p>	<p>An article on China's military aid in certain regions</p>	<p>Russian news agency published in Arabic.</p>
<p>028 January 1984</p>	<p>Chinese Arab economic relations before the Tang dynasty</p>	<p>Build China قوه بنغ ده 3 pages</p>
<p>029 12/4/1984</p>	<p>Chinese Foreign Minister's press conference before leaving Kuwait. Reassuring that Kuwait's investment in Hong Kong will remain even when it returns to china. This was his first visit to Kuwait. He praised bilateral relations with Kuwait and he also urged the Arab nations to solve their issues away from the superpower US and USSR.</p>	<p>Alqabas 3 pages</p>

	<p>He also denied that his country provided or sold arms to Iran. He added that his country takes a neutral stance with regards to the Irani-Iraqi war.</p> <p>He said that Taiwanese issue remains key issues pending in the US-Chinese relations.</p> <p>He commented that USSR's involved in Afghanistan, their military presence in the border with China and their involvement in Vietnam stand as milestones between this relationship.</p>	
<p>030 26/5/1984</p>	<p>Kuwaiti Journalist Association's Visit to China and met with the Chinese president and the deputy premier. During this visit they signed a cooperation agreement with the Chinese Journalist Association.</p>	<p>Alseyassah والرئيس لي تشان يان و نائب رئيس الدولة ياو يالين 2 pages السكرتير الثالث عبدالحميد علي محمد علي.</p>
<p>031 13/6/1984</p>	<p>Chinese Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs met with the Kuwaiti Journalist delegation and spoke about bilateral and multilateral relations.</p>	<p>Alqabas</p>

032 23/8/1984	H.H. the Amir meets with the Kuwaiti Parliamentary delegation before they head to China. He spoke about the Chinese –Kuwaiti relation since his first visit in 1965.	Alanba
033 24/8/1984	Kuwaiti parliamentary delegation headed by the President visits China. ( china's invitation) they spoke about laws and constitution laws etc. then bilateral relations; trade, Islamic affairs, Kuwait Fund, culture and journalism.	Alqabas
034 25/8/1984	The Chinese president met with the President of the Kuwaiti Parliament. They spoke about free trade and Kuwait's important role in the peace and stability of the Arabian Gulf.	Alqabas 2 pages محمد يوسف العديساني
035 29/8/1984	Kuwaiti parliament president's press conference after the visit; we spoke with the Chinese officials about the Iraqi-Irani war and other regional issues.	Alwatan ( Kuwaiti)
036	Minister al Awqaf and Islamic Affairs visits China	Alwatan



1984	and he met with the deputy of the Islamic association in China شن شياشي and the head of the head of the religion committee in the Chinese government.	
036 30/12/1984	A Chinese financial delegation visits the Arabian Gulf countries; Kuwait, UAE, Oman and Bahrain.	Alanwar ( Lebanon)
037 3/1/1985	Ali Khalifa goes to China and Japan.	Alqabas
038 5/1/1985	Kuwaiti oil minister tries to convince the Chinese counterpart to lower oil production.	Alqabas
039 6/1/1985	Kuwait loans China 9 million Kwd	Alqabas
040 7/1/1985	Kuwaiti Oil Minister delivers a letter from HH the Amir of Kuwait to the Chinese president.	Alqabas ( important) Discusses the establishment of the Chinese Arab Investment company and the joint fertilizers company ( Kuwait Tunisia and China)
041 8/1/1985	Kuwaiti Oil and Finance Minister visits China to discuss cooperation in the energy sector. He mentions that Kuwait was the first	Alqabas

	country in the region that exported petrochemicals and fertilizers to china and it was the first country to accept Chinese labour in the Market.	
042 18/1/1985	Chinese Economic Fair in Kuwait, it was a chance to market Chinese products to the Kuwaiti population and Market.	Alwatan
043 28/1/1985	Kuwait hosts a Chinese products exhibition	Alwatan
044 20/2/1985	Kuwait and China sign an agreement to establish the Chinese Arab chemicals and fertilisers company.	Alqabas
046 7/3/1985	Kuwaiti Oil Minister speaks about the Kuwait's proposal to establish a joint oil company with china.	Alanba
047 12/3/1985	Chinese Economic delegation visits Kuwait invited by the Minister of Oil and Finance.	Alqabas ( <a href="#">Sheikh Ali Alkhalifa</a> )
048 12/3/1985	Kuwait Amir and Crown Prince receive the Chinese Minister of Oil	Alqabas
049 14/3/1985	Article on the Chinese State Advisor, claiming that China has what Kuwait needs and Kuwait has what China needs	Alwatan

050 17/3/1985	Agreement to Sign an Investment Guarantee protocol in the field of energy.	Alqabas
051 22/6/1985	Dr. Behbehani wrote that China's Pro Arab policies comes as result of China's competitiveness with the Soviet Union	Asharq Alwastan newspaper (London)
052 12/11/1985	Chinese Deputy prime minister say we support the formation of the GCC to support economic development and world security.	Al etihad newspaper ( UAE)
053 14/11/1985	Kuwaiti foreign minister calls for China to support the end of the Iraqi-Iranian war	Alqabas
054 16/11/1985	Xingjian provinces wants to increase trade with the GCC	Alqabas
055 24/11/1985	China and Kuwait sign the agreement for joint investment projects	Alqabas
056 25/11/1985	Kuwaiti oil in exchange for Chinese products and services	Alqabas The Kuwaiti finance ministry describes the economic exchange with China.
057 7/12/1985	Chinese Foreign Minister's Visit to the GCC. Emphasizes on the	Alseyassah

	importance of the Arab and Islamic countries to the Chinese foreign policy; they will try to negotiate to solve the Iraqi-Iranian war, the China vs Taiwan in the Arab countries, China's support of the Palestinian Cause, their recognition of the 6 GCC countries. It denies sales of arms to Iran and mistreatment of muslims of Xingjian.	
058 24/12/1985	China chooses to transport heavy equipment from Abdu Dhabi to the rest to the region	Al etihad newspaper (UAE)
059 24/12/1985	Chinese foreign minister says that Beijing doesn't supply Iraq nor Iran with arms, during his visit to the UAE.	Alqabas
060 29/3/1986	China and Kuwait celebrate 15 years of relations.	Alqabas ( the diplomatic notes were sent by both ministers of foreign affairs, the Kuwaiti was deputy Prime Minister and is the current Amir of the State)
061 5/5/1985 ( check the dates)	Kuwaiti Financial Minister AlKhurafi inaugurates the China Invest forum in Kuwait. Overview	Alqabas ( important to support the idea that relations started right after Kuwait's

	economic relations between both countries including agreements. The Chinese ambassador praises Kuwait's loans on infrastructure and hope that the GCC finds China attractive for investments.	independence)
062 6/5/1986	H.H the Amir and Crown Prince also Prime Minister met with the Chinese Economic Delegation. ( Advisor Chang Jian)	Alqabas
063 9/5/1986	Kuwaiti Minister of Public Works and the head of the Agriculture and fisheries Authority receive a Chinese delegation.( Agriculture and technical support and inviting technical experts from China to visit farms and water irrigation plants)	Alqabas .
064 29/5/1986	H.H the Amir receives the Tunisian Prime Minister and the Chinese State Councilor Zhang Jinfu	Alqabas ( rephrase) not clear
065 16/11/1986	Kuwaiti Finance Minister visits China and was received by Zhao Ziyang third premier of PRC in which he conveyed the premiers regards to the Amir of Kuwait and praised	Alqabas ( south-south cooperation) or southern countries. ( developing countries) (Interesting divide )

	the political and economic relations between both parties. The visit included a central bank, people bank of China. <a href="#">More easy loans for China.</a>	
066 20/11/1986	Kuwaiti finance ministers declare that China imports 400 thousand tons for Kuwaiti Fertilizers during his visit to China . HE mentioned a long term fertilizers deal with china. Fertilizers export to china 1969- 15,500 tons 1980- 150 thousand ton 1985- 200 thousand ton 1987- 400 thousand ton	Alqabas <a href="#">To monitor Kuwaiti funded projects Fujian,</a> - <a href="#">China imports fertilizers and petrochemical from Kuwait since 1969.</a>
067 19/3/1987	Kuwait Fund loans china 5 million KWD to build jiangju port.	
068 29/6/1987	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Suliman Alshaheen states that China shows a positive reaction towards Kuwait's demand to rent Chinese oil tankers. Kuwait received the Deputy Foreign minister of China and the Chinese envoy to Kuwait	Alqabas Praised china's role in UN resolution 598 with regards to seize fire between Iraq and Iran. KFUND supported around 16 projects in China.
069	Kuwaiti Embassy releases a statement that it had	Alqabas

Date not clear	requested officially from China to use China flags on Kuwait Oil tankers to protect them from Iran threats during the Iraq-Iran war.	Mr. Shukri Naser Al Shuraim Who gave the statement also said that the Soviet Union and the USA have both agreed on the use of their flags on the Kuwaiti Oil tankers and if China accepts it might compromise its neutrality towards this war.
070 7/9/1987	China condemns the Iranian attacks on Kuwait and expresses its worry on the escalations on the Iraq-Iran war and remains on its neutral stance.	Alqabas
071 1987	Kuwait provides China with ceiling with thermal insulation.	Alqabas
072 3/8/1988	Kuwaiti Journalist's visit to China. (China denied selling arms to Iran and Israel) also stressed on the application of resolution 598 concerning Iraq-Iran war.	Alqabas Also the Palestinian stance
073 12/11/1988	Kuwaiti Awqaf and religious affairs minister visits China. He said that the Muslim community in China has the freedom to practise	Alqabas

	their religion and that Kuwait and China are willing to cooperate on this matter.	
074 14/12/1988	Kuwait loans China 3 million Kwd for an new Airport in Jinian.	Alqabas
075 1988	Kuwait signs an agreement to develop Hainan Gas Field ( refinery). ( with an American company as well)	Alqabas
076 1988	An education delegation visits Kuwait and offers 5 annual scholarships for Kuwaiti students. The delegation visited Kuwait university and other colleges to discuss degrees legalization and equivalization.	Alqabas ( a relationship that started well but then faded away)
077 20/3/1988	Chinese economic delegation visits Kuwait and states that the bilateral trade between the two countries reached 140 million dollars in 1987. China imported 430 thousand tons of cement and exported several products like textiles, clothes and so forth. It mentions the products that	Alqabas



	the delegation are promoting in the economic exhibition in Kuwait.	
078 16/3/1989	Tian Ji yun Vice premier of the Chinese State Council visits Kuwait and hands a letter from the Chinese President to the Kuwaiti Amir.	Alqabas
079 22/5/1989	Kuwait and China sign a government cultural exchange agreement.	Alqabas More scholarships Media, art literature etc.
080 20/10/1989	Kuwait loans China 28 million dollars	Alqabas
081 24/11/1989	China tries to breaks its international isolation by visiting the Gulf States ( express more economic interest towards the UAE)	Al Anwar – Lebanese newspaper
082 24/11/1989	China looks for easy loans in the Gulf States to overcome economic issues. ( also stresses the importance of the UAE)	Alwatan
083 25/11/1989	The Kuwaiti-Chinese economic committee met to discuss the new economic agreement.	Alqabas 1988 bilateral trade reached 234 million USD 66% increase from the previous year. 310 million dollars of loans to China
084	Kuwaiti Senior leaders	1983-1989 there are 32

21/12/1989	praise the Chinese's leader's visit	Chinese sports trainers in Kuwait Also mentions media and information cooperation.
085 24/12/1989	Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait and the president of the Kuwait University inaugurated the Chinese Book Fair.	Alqabas
086 25/12/1989	Kuwaiti Amir receives the Chinese President in Kuwait. The First visit of its kind and it was a historical one.	Alqabas The visit discussed: Arab-Israeli conflict Signing for a new economic agreement

**1.3 Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait information** مركز البحوث و الدراسات الكويتية

In this center, I was able to gather information from Kuwait Al youm and Alarabi magazine. Both government owned magazines: Kuwait Al Youm is a government owned Magazine that publicizes government rules and regulations including foreign agreements and government circulation of documents in Arabic. I have a copy of the most relevant documents regarding the research topic Kuwait and China. The table below shows the information categorized by date, given a serial number Kuwait National Doc. And a number. The appointment of ambassadors, approval of agreements among other documents are found.

**Government Documents:**

Document	Date	Information	Source
Kuwait National Doc 01	10/6/1972	Appointing Abdulhameed Abdulrazaq Al Baijan Ambassador to China Signed By H.H. the Amir Sabah Salim Alsabah	Kuwait al Youm
Kuwait National Doc 02	13/5/1975	Appointing Mohammed Abdullah Abbas Abu Alhasan as Ambassador to China Signed By H.H. the Amir Sabah Salim Alsabah	Kuwait al Youm ( government owned)
Kuwait National Doc No. 2/1978 03	8/3/1978	H.H. the Amir's approval on the Economic Agreement with China signed on 26/12/1977 and the	Kuwait Al youm ( 3 pages)

		all details of the agreement ( in Arabic)	
Kuwait National Doc 04	27/11/1978	Appointing Mohammad Zaid AlHerbesh as Ambassador to China Signed By H.H. the Amir Jaber AlAhmad Alsabah	Kuwait al Youm ( government owned) ( he left in march 1982)
Kuwait National Doc 05	20/1/1980	H.H. the Amir approves the aviation transportation Agreement between Kuwait and China	Kuwait Al youm
Kuwait National Doc No. 98/1980 06	7/12/1980	H.H. the Amir approving a new economic agreement with China on 7/10/1980.	Kuwait Al youm (2 pages)
Kuwait National Doc 07	23/8/1982	H.H. the Amir approves the Cultural and Media cooperation Agreement between Kuwait and China signed on 15/2/1982	Kuwait Al youm
Kuwait National Doc 08	2/10/1983	Appointing Abdulhadi Al Muhaimed Ambassador to China Signed By H.H. the Amir	Kuwait al Youm ( he stayed until September 1986) Followed by Hassan Ali Al Dabagh ( feb 1987- 12/1989) one

			year void.
Kuwait National Doc No. 47/89 09	16/4/1989	Approval for the Chinese Embassy to use Kuwaiti land properties	Kuwait Al youm
Kuwait National Doc 10	23/8/1982	H.H. the Amir approves the Cultural and Media cooperation Agreement between Kuwait and China signed on 15/2/1982	Kuwait Al youm
Kuwait National Doc No. 59/90 11	22/4/1990	H.H. the Amir approves the economic and technical cooperation Agreement between Kuwait and China signed on 25/12/1989	Kuwait Al youm
Kuwait National Doc 12	7/10/1990	Appointing Abdulhameed Abdulrazaq Al Baijan Ambassador to China Signed by H.H. the Amir Jaber AlAhmad Alsabah	Kuwait Al youm ( second term in China due to the invasion of Kuwait)

#### 1.4 Kuwaiti Magazine- Alarabi Magazine

It is the cultural tool of Kuwaiti soft power since 1952, this magazine targets and promotes Arab Culture within the Arab world itself. This magazine is published monthly and below a few articles it published about China. Categorized by date and given a serial number M, for Media. Communism, socialism and leftist ideologies appetite in the region grew after the Pan Arabism movement that started in Egypt. It's not a surprise to see any topics regarding soviet or Chinese communism. It's important mention that not all its publications were available from 1961-1990. I visited the Kuwaiti National Council for Culture, Arts and Letter's library and check their available magazines. They have many publications of china from 1999 onwards anything before this period was not available.

Date and Serial Number	Title	Magazine	Information
March 1959 M01	Chinese Short Stories: A Big Heart	Al Arabi	Written by Abdulmajed Fareed
April 1961 M02	The Difference between Chinese and Soviet Communism	Al Arabi	Written by Mohammed Jamel Bahem
March 1965 M03	The Chinese Weaver	Al Arabi	Written by Mohammed BaderAlden Khalel
April 1969 M04	Something about the Arabic Language and the story of creating Chinese-Arabic dictionary	Al Arabi	Jalal Hanafi
July 1972 M05	Confucius and Modern China	Al Arabi	Ali Adham
January 1973 M06	Chinese Changes its Language Symbols	Al Arabi	Yousef Zoubi
September 1986 M07	The Oldest Chinese Civilization	Al Arabi	Yousef Zoubi

#### 4.5 Kuwait Memories Digital Archive ارشيف ذاكرة الكويت الرقمي

The Kuwaiti Central Agency for Information and Technology known as CITRA, has launched a digital archive called Kuwaiti memories in 2018 which includes the main Kuwaiti newspapers: Alrai Alaam( 1961), Alwatan (1962), Aseyassah (1965), , Alqabas (1972) and Alanba (1976). This helped fill in the gap of information that was missing the Alqabas center which only began in 1976. My research in this archive show that the Kuwaiti newspapers were indeed interested in Chinese affairs since 1961 with establishment of Alrai Alaam Newspaper.

China's domestic issue, regional issues, China and the Arab world etc. it is important to mention that from 1963 until 1966 ( the Chinese embassy in Kuwait and visits refer to Taiwan and this faded away from 1969 until one china policy was adopted at the end of 1971 which are not included in research) In 1961, there were 7 articles about China and only 13 about the UK and in 1971 there were 240 articles about China and 220 about the UK. This shows that Kuwait's pro-Arab media is interested in China due to its pro-Arab stance since Bandung of 1955 but only in 1961 could it express its interest after being independent from the British Protection.

The relevant articles that were found in the search engine of this data base using China, Communist China, Nationalist China and Taiwan in the given period 1961-1990 is listed, categorized by date and given a serial number K for Kuwait from K001-K239. The Information has been fragmentedly translated and also the source is provided.

Date and Serial Number	Information	Source
20/10/1963 K001	Kuwaiti Amir receives a thank you letter from the Taiwanese president on HH congratulatory letter on the 52 <sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Chinese National Day.	AlRai Alaam newspaper
25/11/1963 K002	A joint statement on the formation of diplomatic relations between Kuwait and Taiwan ( ROC).	AlRai Alaam newspaper
20/1/1964 K003	Taiwanese ambassador present credentials to the Kuwaiti Foreign minister.	AlRai Alaam newspaper

3/3/1964 K004	Taiwan asks Kuwait's support on its membership nomination the Postal Union.	AlRai Alaam newspaper
26/3/1964 K005	Taiwanese minister of transport visits Kuwait regarding Kuwait housing project	AlRai Alaam newspaper
30/3/1964 K006	Taiwanese president grants the Kuwaiti foreign Minister a high level decoration.	AlRai Alaam newspaper ( no confirmation of this information )
16/3/1971 K007	Agreement on diplomatic exchange between China and Kuwait	AlRai Alaam newspaper
12/3/1971 K006	Chinese Senior official visits Kuwait. ( trade issues)	AlRai Alaam newspaper
22/3/1971 K007	China and Kuwait reach a diplomatic recognition ( agreement)	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
3/5/1971 K008	Ahmad Aljarallah is in China ( he is prominent journalist and editor)	AlSeyassah newspaper
26/5/1971 K007	China expands its presence in the Middle East	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
6/8/1971 K008	First Ambassador to Kuwait	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
8/8/1971 K009	Kuwait seems that PRC is the only representative of China. ( one china policy)	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
12/9/1971 K010	Kuwaiti delegation visits China (negotiations on fertilizers deal) Hamad Abdulaziz Alsager	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
16/9/1971 K011	China( PRC) requests officially Kuwait's support to reinstate its membership in the UN	Alseyassah Newspaper
22/11/1971 K012	China thanks Kuwait for its support in the UN reinstatement	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
11/4/1972 K013	First Chinese sports delegation visits Kuwait ( more than one game represented)	Alqabas Newspaper
9/5/1972	First delegation visits after	AlRai Alaam Newspaper



K014	recognition.	
15/5/1972 K015	China is the 9 <sup>th</sup> exporter to Kuwait	Alseyassah Newspaper
20/5/1972 K016	The Kuwaiti Cabinet discusses Kuwait China economic relations (Khaled Sulaiman AlAdsani)	Alseyassah Newspaper
11/7/1972 K017	Both countries support the Arab Cause	Alqabas Newspaper
14/7/1972 K018	China buys 300 thousand tons of Fertilizers from Kuwait	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
16/7/1972 K019	Kuwaiti Parliament delegation visits China. ( Headed by Youssef Al Mokhild, Rashed Aljuaisry, Sami Al Munais, Almarzog, Abdalmutalib Alkazemi)	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
25/7/1972 K020	Kuwait and China held talks in beijing regarding China's participations in the international sports federation.	AlRai Alaam Newspaper
31/7/1972 K021	Kuwait sells a large amount of fertilizers to China	Alseyassah newspaper
11/12/1972 K022	15 million KWD worth of Urea/ fertilizers sales to China	Alseyassah newspaper
17/12/1972 K023	Minister of Finance and industry visits china to promote fertilizers and oil cooperation	The minutes of the meeting in Behbehani's book. AlRai Alaam Newspaper
29/11/1972 K024	Chinese Embassy in Kuwait hosts a journalist's event.	Alqabas newspaper
20/6/1973 K025	China became part of the Arabian Gulf's conflict by selling / proving arms to Iran	Alqabas
12/3/1974 K026	China praises Kuwait's anti imperialist policy and their PLO support.	AlSeyassah
18/3/1974 K027	Parliamentary talks in china to promote bilateral trade and cooperation	Alseyassah
25/6/1974 K028	Kuwait recommends that China joins FIFA	Alseyassah
15/9/1974	Kuwait succeeds with the support	Alseyassah

K029	of Asian countries to expel Israel from the Asian games. ( its heading the Asian Olympics council and foot ball federation)	
23/9/1974 + 25/9/1974 K030	Chinese trade delegation headed by assistant minister of foreign affairs visits Kuwait ( Kuwait fertilizing company)	Alseyassah
16/11/1974 K031	Kuwait university accepts 2 students from china.	AlRai Alaam
28/3/1975 K032	Kuwait increases oil sale to Taiwan .. talks during the visit of the Taiwanese national petroleum company's visit to Kuwait	AlRai Alaam
5/7/1975 K033	Chinese embassy representative hold talks with the Asian Olympic committee regarding sports issues.	AlQabas
19/7/1975 K034	Kuwait is one of the first Arab countries to establish diplomatic relations with china	AlRai Alaam
31/8/1975 K035	China ( PRC) took its place in FIFA and Taiwan ( Nationalist China) was expelled.	AlRai Alaam
24/3/1976 K036	Increase in fertilizers exports to China .	AlSeyassah
18/4/1976 K037	A university delegation from China visits Kuwait ( foreign program promotion)	AlQabas
19/4/1976 K038	Chinese expert delegation visit Kuwait	AlAnba
22/9/1976 K039	An invitation handed to the minister of health to visit China.	AlSeyassah
30/9/1976 K040	Kuwaiti agricultural delegation visits china	AlAnba
1/11/1976 K041	Chinese ambassador says more cooperation between both countries ( in all fields)	AlRai Alaam
5/11/1976 K042	Talks about food security and Kuwait plans to visit the agriculture and food product	AlSeyassah

	exhibition in china. ( Altamween company – Mohammed almishari)	
5/11/1976 K043	Kuwaiti Oil Minister visits Taiwan on his way to Japan... ( negotiations on oil exports to Taiwan)	AlAnba
23/11/1976 K044	Chinese National People’s congress visit to Kuwait	AlWatan
11/2/1977 K045	Kuwait oil tanker sank near Taiwanese waters and the personnel of 37 were saved at the Taiwanese shore. The Dutch company prevented the oil to leak into the waters. ( intensive Kuwait Taiwan communication due to the accident)	AlWatan
18/3/1977 K046	A Taiwanese trade visits Kuwait seeking cooperation.	AlWatan
13/4/1977 K047	A comparison between women’s rights in china and Kuwait	AlWatan
30/4/1977 K048	Alsager leave to china heading an economic delegation – president of the Chamber of Commerce.	AlRai Alaam
5/5/1977 K049	Sheikh Sabah leaves for china ( minister of foreign affairs’s first visit)	AlSeyassah
6/5/1977 K050	Sh. Sabah AlAhmad met with Chinese vice premier.	AlWatan
8/5/1977 K051	Education delegation headed by Mohammed Al roumi returns to Kuwait form china.	AlAnba
19/8/1977 K052	China invites education delegation to visit Chinese education facilities	AlSeyassah
27/9/1977 K053	Talks with Chinese basket ball delegation	AlSeyassah
14/11/1977 K054	Alawadi begins his visit to china ( minister of health)	AlQabas
15/11/1977 K055	Ahmad Alsadoon: we oppose any FIFA involvement in Chinese	AlRai Alaam

	domestic affairs.	
11/12/1977 K056	Kuwait's export to Taiwan represents 8% of its imports (mainly oil)	AlAnba
18/12/1977 K057	A Chinese delegation studies Kuwait's housing policies.	AlWatan
29/5/1978 K058	China provides 2 educational scholarships for Kuwaiti students	AlRai Alaam
25/6/1978 K059	Assistant minister of foreign affairs of China arrives in Kuwait.	AlAnba
27/6/1978 K060	China extends an invitation to the Amir of Kuwait to visit China.	Alqabas
8/7/1978 K061	Abu alHassan: Foreign ministers visit to China symbolises the development and importance of bilateral relations.	AlRai Alaam
23/7/1978 K062	China thanks the Kuwaiti football association for its support.	AlWatan
31/7/1978 K063	China is involved in the Arabian Gulf and the Arab world ( by Hashim Behbehani)	Alseyassah
1/10/1978 K064	Visiting Chinese delegation suggests the Kuwait should build a sports city.	Alseyassah
22/10/1978 K065	Private trade delegation visits to promote cooperation with the Kuwaiti private sector	AlRai Alaam
27/10/1978 K066	Kuwait extends oil agreement with Taiwan until the end of 1979	AlRai Alaam
1/11/1978 K067	Kuwait aims to develop its relations with China. ( statement by Rashed Al Rashed assistant minister of foreign affairs).	Alqabas
12/1/1979 K068	Kuwait affirms to both the US and China that it is opposing any country's aggression or intervention by another country.	AlRai Alaam
6/2/1979 K069	Chinese embassy in Kuwait: China still support the Arab Cause	AlWatan
16/2/1979	Ibrahim al Ibrahim: there are	AlRai Alaam

K70	chance to establish a joint China – Arab company to promote economic cooperation. The chairman of the Arab African bank during his visit to China.	
23/2/1979 K71	Vice premier praises Kuwait Chinese relations	AlRai Alaam
9/3/1979 K072	China opposes Superpower meddling in the Arabian Gulf matters says Huang Hua during Abdulaziz Hussains visit to China (minister of Cabinet and parliaments affairs)	AlWatan
10/3/1979 K073	H.H the Amir receives an invitation to visit China.	AlSeyassah
15/3/1979 K074	China's middle eastern strategy	Alqabas
2/5/1979 K075	China's strategy in the region is to establish a diplomatic relation with Saudi Arabia .	AlSeyassah
3/6/1979 K076	Kuwait foreign minister hold talks with Chinese Delegation	AlRai Alaam
25/8/1979 K077	Alarabi sports club signs an agreement with china on training expertise in various sports.	AlSeyassah
4/9/1979 K078	Kuwait considers China's request to lower its financial participation in the UN budget.	AlSeyassah
30/9/1979 K079	Chinese ambassador to Kuwait agrees with Kuwait's statement against any foreign involvement in the Arabian Gulf.	AlSeyassah
9/11/1979 K080	Chinese assistant minister of foreign affairs comes to Kuwait to promote Arab unity.	AlSeyassah
11/11/1979 K081	Sh. Sabah AlAhmad meets with assistant minister of foreign affairs: discussed china's views on Arab and international affairs.	AlSeyassah
9/12/1979	Jassim Almarzouq receives	AlAnba

K082	Chinese assistant of education	
2/1/1980 K083	China is looking for investment and easy loans from Kuwait and the Arabian gulf states. They invited may financial institutions and banks to visit China.	AlSeyassah
10/2/1980 K084	Kuwait minister of Islamic affairs welcomes Chinese religious freedom. ( during his visit )	AlRai Alaam
20/2/1980 K085	Alahli Bank of Kuwait contributes to a 50-million-dollar loan to china.  It's the first Arabian Gulf bank to work with China and this news was never mentioned anywhere before.	AlWatan
1/4/1980 K086	Kuwait National Petroluem company representative visits Taiwan to sign an agreement to build 2 oil tankers with capacity of 38,000 tons	AlAnba
8/4/1980 K087	Kuwait and China sign an agreement on oil exploration	AlSeyassah
11/4/1980 K088	Oil imports to Taiwan increases	AlWatan
21/4/1980 K089	Kuwait signs an oil agreement to provide Taiwan with 80,000 bpd for 2 years for 5.50 dollars pb.	AlRai Alaam
24/9/1980 K090	Vice president of China's state council arrives to Kuwait	AlSeyassah
25/9/1980 K091	Sh. Jaber al Ali receives vice president of the Chinese state council.	AlSeyassah
26/9/1980 K092	Dr. Alawadi minister of health holds talks with vice premier about expert support and Chinese medical clinics in Kuwait.	AlRai Alaam
7/10/1980 K093	Kuwait China agree to increase bilateral trade.	AlSeyassah
8/10/1980	Kuwaiti crown prince receives	AlWatan

K094	Chinese trade minister.	
14/11/1980 K095	A Chinese Muslim delegation visits Kuwait.	AlRai Alaam
29/12/1980 K096	Health agreement between Kuwait and China	AlAnba
12/2/1981 K097	Sh.Fahad receives sports delegations from Korea and China	AlRai Alaam
15/3/1981 K098	Alsager inaugurates a Chinese exhibition.	AlWatan
7/5/1981 K099	Minister of finance and industry receives an invitation to visit China.	AlAnba
29/5/1981 K100	China welcomes the establishment of the GCC	AlSeyassah
29/5/1981 K101	Kuwait and China's football federations call to expel New Zealand from the world cup( no idea why)	AlRai Alaam
2/6/1981 K102	China provides 2 scholarships for Kuwait	AlAnba
8/7/1981 K103	Kuwait supports the use of the Chinese language in the FIFA	AlAnba
12/7/1981 K104	Alqatami visits China ( President of the women's association )	AlRai Alaam
19/8/1981 K105	China supports the Palestinian people	AlRai Alaam
4/11/1981 K106	13 thousand Chinese are working the Middle East.	AlWatan
15/11/1981 K107	China supports GCC laws and regulations	AlRai Alaam
17/1/1982 K108	Kuwait fund delegation visits China	AlRai Alaam
16/2/1982 K109	Kuwait and China sign a cultural agreement	AlWatan
16/2/1982 K110	Aladwani inaugurates a Chinese painting exhibition	Alwatan
25/6/1982 K111	China opens the door for foreign investments.	AlWatan
6/7/1982 K112	22.8 million KWD easy loans for China, Jordan and Tunis.	AlAnba

13/8/1982 K113	Kuwait sends 4 students to study in china.	AlAnba
22/8/1982 K114	Santa Fe ( Kuwait Oil company) and An American company joint venture are exploring in the south china sea. ( this cooperation is mention in Sh. Ali Al Khalifa's interview)	AlRai Alaam
29/8/1982 K115	Kuwait and China sign Cultural agreement	AlAnba
2/9/1982 K116	China asks for Kuwait's to support Cambodia's calling for Vietnams withdrawal.	AlAnba
17/10/1982 K117	Bilateral trade between china and the Middle East has increased.	AlWatan
20/10/1982 K118	Taiwanese Olympic delegation Visits Kuwait	AlSeyassah
21/10/1982 K119	Kuwaiti Amir and Crown Prince both welcome health cooperation with China.	AlAnba
17/11/1982 K120	Kuwait and china look for deeper economic cooperation	AlAnba
3/12/1982 K121	24.4 million dollars loans for Bangladesh, China, Botswana and Thailand.	Alqabas
24/1/1983 K122	Talks on bilateral economic cooperation	AlWatan
25/1/1983 K123	Chinese delegation meets with the housing entities in Kuwait.	AlSeyassah
31/3/1983 K124	Industrial delegation visits Kuwait regarding aluminium training.	AlRai Alaam
31/5/1983 K125	Education minister meets with Chinese delegation regarding cooperation	AlSeyassah
28/9/1983 K126	Kuwait and china foreign ministers meet in New York	AlSeyassah
17/10/1983 K127	Chinese media delegation visits Kuwait.	AlSeyassah



20/6/1983 K128	Alsager president of the chamber of commerce discusses economic relations with China.	AlWatan
20/10/1983 K129	Media and information bilateral cooperation	AlSeyassah
5/11/1983 K130	President of Chinese investment visits Kuwait investment authority	AlWatan
22/12/1983 K131	Minister of Islamic affairs visits China and is received by the vice premier.	AlWatan
6/1/1984 K132	Vice Chairman of NPC appreciates Kuwait's support to China	AlQabas
9/1/1984 K133	Amir receives China NPC delegation and received an invitation to China.	AlWatan
21/1/1984 K134	Kuwait develops its relationship with China to help them Muslims worldwide.	AlWatan
11/4/1984 K135	China's foreign policy and its pro-Arab stance and south-south cooperation.	AlRai Alaam
14/4/1984 K136	Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs visits Kuwait	AlAnba
15/4/1984 K137	Kuwaiti journalist delegation association visits China.	AlSeyassah
18/4/1984 K138	Dawood Musad Alsaleh Kuwaiti municipality president meets with Chinese embassy.	AlRai Alaam
1/5/1984 K139	China agrees on holding an international peace conference regarding Middle East in the UN	AlAnba
20/5/1984 K140	MOFA representative meets with Chinese ambassador to talk about bilateral cooperation and Gulf war	AlQabas
2/6/1984 K141	Praises Chinese youth visiting delegation.	AlRai Alaam
15/6/1984 K142	Kuwait's exports to Taiwan increases 178% in the past 5 year	AlAnba

16/6/1984 K143	Kuwaiti delegation: China is ready to ready to host Championship after visiting their sport facilities.	AlRai Alaam
17/6/1984 K144	113 Kuwaiti are studying on Kuwaiti government scholarship 28 of them are based between USSR and China.	AlWatan
20/6/1984 K145	Kuwait Olympic delegation heads to Japan and then China.	AlRai Alaam
24/6/1984 K146	Japanese Foreign Affairs Minister welcomes Sh. Fahad's recommendations on China-Japan talks on hosting the Asian games of 1990.	AlRai Alaam
3/7/1984 K147	Kuwaiti parliamentary committee to visit China, Germany and Geneva.	AlAnba
25/8/1984 K148	The Chinese president met with the President of the Kuwaiti Parliament. They spoke about free trade and Kuwait's important role in the peace and stability of the Arabian Gulf.	AlWatan
10/9/1984 K149	Talks between China and Kuwait on sports cooperation	AlWatan
14/9/1984 K150	TV delegation visits china after Korea.	AlWatan
21/9/1984 K151	Islamic delegation visits Kuwait and praise support.	AlWatan
9/10/1984 K152	Kuwaiti Businessmen are in China to look for investment opportunities.	AlSeyassah
24/10/1984 K153	Tunis, Kuwait and China have signed an agreement.	AlWatan
26/8/1984 K154	China's leader invites Kuwaiti Amir to visit China.	AlWatan
28/10/1984 K155	Amir receives Tunisian FM regarding cooperation with China.	AlQabas
29/10/1984 K156	Turkey and China hoped that Gulf war ends	AlAnba

5/11/1984 K157	AlNouri said that China provided assurances for the trilateral cooperation	AlWatan
2/12/1984 K158	China supports the GCC's resolution to form their defence cooperation.	AlAnba
3/1/1985 K159	Sheikh Ali AlKhalifa heads to Japan and China ( Minister of Oil)	AlSeyassah
6/1/1985 K160	Tourism delegation visits Kuwait	AlRai Alaam
7/1/1985 K161	Taiwan reduces oil imports from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia... diversification of imports	AlAnba
15/3/1985 K162	Investment cooperation	AlAnba
26/3/1985 K163	Investment and cooperation in energy and exploration.	AlAnba
17/4/1985 K164	Petrochemical agreements and talks on economic benefits	AlQabas
18/4/1985 K165	Chinese Cultural week in Kuwait	AlRai Alaam
24/4/1985 K166	First Chinese government economic office opens in Kuwait	AlRai Alaam
6/5/1985 K167	Kuwait participates in the Youth conference in China.	AlRai Alaam
4/7/1985 K168	First commercial flight lands from China	AlRai Alaam
7/7/1985 K169	Kuwait Fund gives easy loans to Uganda and China ( 7 million KWD)	AlAnba
16/9/1985 K170	KUNA and Xinhua agreement	AlSeyassah
29/9/1985 K171	China signs an gas agreement with two company and one of which is Kuwaiti ( don't know which one yet)	AlQabas
30/10/1985 K172	Vice premier visits Kuwait	AlAnba
22/11/1985 K173	Real estate agreement included in the investment cooperation.	AlRai Alaam

24/11/1985 K174	Kuwait and China sign an agreement on investment development and bilateral trade.	AlRai Alaam
11/12/1985 K175	A Muslim Chinese delegation visits Kuwait	AlRai Alaam
29/3/1986 K176	China and Kuwait celebrate 15 years of relations.	AlQabas
6/5/1986 K177	H.H the Amir and Crown Prince also Prime Minister met with the Chinese Economic Delegation. ( Advisor Chang Jian)	AlQabas مستشار الدولة شانغ جين و نائب رئيس الوزراء الصيني شانغ جين فو
9/5/1986 K178	Kuwaiti Minister of Public Works and the head of the Agriculture and fisheries Authority receive a Chinese delegation. ( Agriculture and technical support and inviting technical experts from China to visit farms and water irrigation plants)	AlQabas جينغ شان زهو القائم بالاعمل لدى السفارة المستشار الاقتصادي تساو قوان لين.
22/5/1986 K179	Kuwait aims to refine oil in Taiwan for Asian markets	AlRai Alaam
29/5/1986 K180	H.H the Amir receives the Tunisian Prime Minister and the Chinese State Councilor Zhang Jinfu	AlQabas
4/10/1986 K181	Taiwanese Vice President denies relationship with Israel	AlRai Alaam
11/6/1986 K182	Kuwait Ambassador to China: Abdulhadi Muhaimed said “ our relationship with China is good in all fields of cooperation”	AlQabas
16/11/1986 K183	Kuwaiti Finance Minister visits China and was received by Zhao Ziyang third premier of PRC in which he conveyed the premiers regards to the Amir of Kuwait and praised the political and economic relations between both parties. The visit included a central bank,	AlQabas

	people bank of China. <a href="#">More easy loans for China.</a>	
20/11/1986 K184	Kuwaiti finance ministers declare that China imports 400 thousand tons for Kuwaiti Fertilizers during his visit to China . ( a third of Kuwait's production)	AlQabas
8/1/1987 K185	Alrefai( deputy assistant of education) meets with Xinhua representative in Kuwait	AlQabas
27/1/1987 K186	Amir receives a letter from Chinese Leadership	AlRai Alaam
17/3/1987 K187	China buys some shares in the Arab African investment Bank	AlWatan
19/3/1987 K188	Kuwait Fund loans china 5 million KWD to build jiangju port.	ALQabas
3/4/1987 K189	China send vets to work in Kuwait	AlSeyassah
28/5/1987 K190	Volley ball Federation's president goes to China.	AlWatan
9/6/1987 K191	Ahmad Al Naqeeb vice president of the agriculture and fisheries agency heads to china.	AlRai Alaam
10/6/1987 K192	Kuwaiti Embassy : China is studying our official request officially use China flags on Kuwait Oil tankers to protect them from Iran threats during the Iraq-Iran war.	AlSeyassah
11/6/1987 K193	China veto's a resolution regarding sanctions that could stop the Gulf war.	AlRai Alaam
15/7/1987 K194	Al Osaimi says that China has a big role to play to end the current Gulf war.	Alseyassah
29/6/1987 K195	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Suliman Alshaheen states that China shows a positive reaction towards Kuwait's demand to rent Chinese oil tankers. Kuwait	AlQabas

	received the Deputy Foreign minister of China and the Chinese envoy to Kuwait	
31/8/1987 K196	Alahli bank is the first bank to invest in china from the region.	AlSeyassah
3/9/1987 K197	Salem Al Fahad goes to China from Kuwait TV. First documentary on China wall in Kuwait TV	AlRai Alaam
10/9/1987 K198	China condemns the Iranian attacks on Kuwait and expresses its worry on the escalations on the Iraq-Iran war and remains on its neutral stance.	AlRai Alaam
10/11/1987 K199	AlGhunaim praises the results of his visit to China regarding Iranian attack on Kuwait. ( foreign affairs)	AlAnba
15/11/1987 K200	Iran holds a commodity ship coming from China to Kuwait	AlAnba
21/12/1987 K201	Kuwait -China cooperation talking during a Chinese delegation visit.	AlRai Alaam
31/12/1987 K202	Alahli bank of Kuwait opens a branch in China ( no other source of info)	AlRai Alaam
15/1/1988 K203	Taiwan is expectd to resume its original rate of oil imports from Kuwait and Saudi	AlRai Alaam
28/1/1988 K204	Increase in Kuwait and Saudi exports to China	AlAnba
24/2/1988 K205	Statement by Fuhan Xi: Kuwaiti policy is been praised by China and the world.	AlSeyassah
9/3/1988 K206	China support non-proliferation of weapons agreement	AlAnba
13/3/1988 K207	140 million dollars bilateral exchange with China.	AlQabas
26/5/1988 K208	Kuwait participates in the Chinese Fertilizers company ( investment)	AlSeyassah
9/6/1988 K209	Islamic Charity president visited some Chinese religious	AlAnba

	رئيس الهيئة الخيرية الاسلامية facilities ( Mr.AIHaji) العربية	
4/8/1988 K210	AlDabbagh: Kuwait Fund plays a big role in the development of bilateral relations with China. ( PLO and end of Gulf War) Kuwaiti ambassador to china .	AlRai Alaam
25/4/1988 K211	Kuwait Fund studies further investment in China during an official visit to china	AlQabas
2/8/1988 K212	A Kuwaiti Journalist delegation visits China	AlAnba
3/8/1988 K213	Kuwaiti Journalist's visit to China. (China denied selling arms to Iran and Israel) also stressed on the application of resolution 598 concerning Iraq-Iran war.	AlQabas
24/10/1988 K214	Kuwaiti minister of religious affairs praises relations with China	AlAnba
31/10/1988 K215	Chinese economic delegation visits Kuwait	AlSeyassah
9/11/1988 K216	Cattle trade from China to Kuwait	AlSeyassah
12/11/1988 K217	Kuwaiti Awqaf and religious affairs minister visits China. He said that the Muslim community in China has the freedom to practise their religion and that Kuwait and China are willing to cooperate on this matter.	AlQabas
14/12/1988 K218	Kuwait loans China 3 million Kwd for new Airport in Jinian.	AlQabas
1988 K219	Kuwait signs an agreement to develop Hainan Gas Field ( refinery). ( with an American company as well) Sant fe	AlQabas
1988 K220	An education delegation visits Kuwait and offers 5 annual scholarships for Kuwaiti students. The delegation visited Kuwait	AlQabas

	university and other colleges to discuss degrees legalization and equivalization.	
16/3/1989 K221	Tian Ji yun Vice premier of the Chinese State Council visits Kuwait and hands a letter from the Chinese President to the Kuwaiti Amir.	AlQabas
22/5/1989 K222	Kuwait and China sign a government cultural exchange agreement.	AlQabas
23/7/1989 K223	Kuwait nominated 5 students to study in china	AlRai Alaam
8/9/1989 K224	3 students are studying in China	AlQabas
20/8/1989 K225	China hosts Asian Olympic council delegation and speak about china Kuwait relations	AlRai Alaam
23/9/1989 K226	China donated 500 books to Kuwait University	AlQabas
26/9/1989 K227	Kuwait University thanks china for its donation to the university book fair.	AlAnba
20/10/1989 K228	Kuwait loans China 28 million dollars	AlQabas
20/8/1989 K229	Mayor of Beijing praises bilateral relations.	AlSeyassah
24/11/1989 K230	China looks for easy loans in the Gulf States to overcome economic issues. ( also stresses the importance of the UAE)	AlWatan
25/12/1989 K231	Kuwaiti Amir receives the Chinese President in Kuwait. The First visit of its kind and it was a historical one.	AlQabas
25/11/1989 K232	The Kuwaiti-Chinese economic committee met to discuss the new economic agreement.  1988 bilateral trade reached 234	AlQabas



	million USD 66% increase from the previous year. 310 million dollars of loans to China	
21/12/1989 K233	Kuwaiti Senior leaders praise the Chinese's leader's visit	AlQabas
21/12/1989 K234	Minister of Information says that 234 million dollars in bilateral trade between Kuwait and China	Alqabas
12/3/1990 K235	Chinese minister of foreign affairs visits Kuwait	AlAnba
14/3/1990 K236	China nominates Sh. Fahad to be the president of the Asian Olympic Council	AlQabas
4/7/1990 K237	Kuwait holds exhibitions in China, Spain and Italy	AlQabas
14/1/1991 K238	39 Chinese companies in Kuwait	AlQabas
15/7/1991 K239	Chinese premier visits Kuwait and talks are held about the POWS	AlAnba

## 2. Chinese Archives

### 2.1 Chinese National Library Records ( Xinhua and other newspaper sources)

I visited the Chinese National Library in Beijing, I used the search for Kuwait in Chinese, 科威特, the results produced around 300 pages of different information regarding Kuwait, from Xinhua and have Numbers that could be repeated because Xinhua has a number and date archive system. Below, I have listed all the documents found using its original serial number categorized it by date, translated the main and relevant documents and most of them are from Xinhua a few are from local Newspapers as shown. I have selected a few relevant documents and translated them in section 2.2, these texts can provide more details on important events on bilateral relations in the period 1961-1990. The original file in Chinese is available and I'm willing to share it with other researchers in the future. I believe producing these tables can help with providing data to support arguments in my research and others in the future.

Number & Date	Topic	Information and Translation	Source
N.383 30/6/1961	Correspondence from China to Kuwait congratulating on Kuwait's independence	Premier Zhou to Sheikh Abdullah Al Salem.	Xinhua News Agency
N. 353 19/6/1963	Correspondence from China to Kuwait to congratulate on Kuwait's' Second year of independence.	Chairman Liu Shao qi to Sheikh Abdullah Alsalem	Xinhua News Agency
N. 349 13/12/1964	President of the People's Republic of China Premier Zhou Enlai received the letter of the Kuwait Emir Abdullah Salim Al-Sabah on December 1 replying to his October 17 telegraph regarding nuclear weapons.	Urging China to join the Moscow Agreement	Xinhua News Agency
N. 348 12/2/1965	Kuwaiti Delegation's visit to China.	Shiekh Jaber's Vist then minister of finance received by Fang Yi, Ding Xilin.	Xinhua News Agency
N.346 13/2/1965	China Premier Zhou Enlai received the head of the Kuwaiti Delegation	Vice-Premier Chen Yi	Xinhua News Agency
N.347	Fang Yi invites the Kuwaiti delegation	During the ceremony he spoke about the Arab and Chinese struggle against imperialism and	Xinhua News Agency

13/2/1965	for a banquet	that they should support one another as people.	
N.345 14/2/1965	Chairman Liu Shaoqi met with the head of the Kuwaiti delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N. 344 14/2/1965	Farewell banquet	Fang Yi pointed out that the guests have made important contributions to the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the Chinese people and the Kuwaiti people and the Arab people. He said that the two sides agreed to take effective steps to develop economic and technological cooperation and trade between the two countries.	Xinhua News Agency
N.343 16/2/1965	Kuwaiti delegation arrives at Shanghai	Accompanied by Fu Shenglin vice minister of trade.	Xinhua News Agency
N.342 18/2/1965	A full review of the Kuwaiti delegation's visit invited by Chairman Liu.	The talks and agreements	Xinhua News Agency
N.341 20/2/1965	Continuation of the coverage	the delegation left on the 16 <sup>th</sup> back to Kuwait	Xinhua News Agency
N.338 3/6/1965	Chinese visit to Kuwait	The Chinese delegations leave Beijing heading to Kuwait. Headed by Nan Han Cheng a delegation of 4 people.	The delegation was headed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and Chairman of the Bank of China,
N.336 10/6/1965	The Crown prince and Prime Minister of Kuwait has met the Chinese friendly delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.335 12/6/1965	Kuwait has published my delegation's visit to the Joint Press Communiqué.	In order to expand the exchange of goods between the two countries, the Chinese delegation expressed its willingness to purchase chemical fertilizers and other products from Kuwait. The two sides agreed to hold the China Economic Exhibition in Kuwait. The time for holding the exhibition will be determined by both parties at a later date.	Xinhua News Agency
N.333	Letter from Zhou		Xinhua News

2/7/1965	En lai to the Amir of Kuwait		Agency
N.332 5/7/1965	Response to the letter		Xinhua News Agency
N. 331 10/10/1965	Assistant to the Ministry of Finance and Industry of Kuwait	They arrived in Beijing on October 3 at the invitation of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT).	Xinhua News Agency
N. 328 26/11/1965	The Chinese Government sent a letter of condolence to the death of the Kuwaiti Amir.		Xinhua News Agency
N. 329 26/11/1965	Information the new Amir and his government.		Xinhua News Agency
N. 327 27/11/1965	Congratulation the new Amir of Kuwait	Sent by Chairman of the People 's Republic of China Liu Shaoqi	Xinhua News Agency
N.325 6/12/1965	Congratulating the new Crown Prince and Prime Minister	Sent by Zhou Enlai	Xinhua News Agency
N.324 25/2/1966	Premier Zhou Enlai congratulated the National Day of Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.323 23/1/1967	Economic and Trade Fair held in Kuwait, hosted by Kuwaiti Minister of Industry and Commerce Sheikh Abdullah Jaber Al-Sabah	Many Kuwaiti audiences expressed their feelings of love for the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao...	Xinhua News Agency
N.322 24/1/1967	The Chinese ambassador to Iraq Cao Chi meets with Kuwaiti Prime Minister	He was the head of the economic and trade fair.	Xinhua News Agency
N.321 4/2/1967	700,000 people visited the fair in 2 weeks	"Chairman Mao led the Chinese people are really new friend of the Arab people, we see this picture, a symbol of fraternity unite the Arab people and the Chinese people	Xinhua News Agency
N.319 3/6/1967	President of Yemen, Kuwait and the United Arab National Assembly commended me for the Arab people support the Chinese people is a reliable friend of the Arab people		Xinhua News Agency
N.316 9/10/1969	Kuwaiti Amir congratulates China on its 20 <sup>th</sup>	A letter to the president of China	Xinhua News Agency

	anniversary.		
N.317 9/10/1969	Kuwaiti Crown prince and Prime Minister congratulates China on its 20 <sup>th</sup> anniversary.	A letter to primer Zhou Enlai	Xinhua News Agency
N.311 5/10/1970	Both letters to congratulate Chinese National Day	As previous year	Xinhua News Agency
N.305 30/3/1971	Government of the State of Kuwait and the Government of People's Republic of China News Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations	Official start of bilateral relations	Xinhua News Agency
N.306 30/3/1971	Kuwaiti Prime Minister and Foreign Ministers receive the Chinese Ambassador to Iraq	This is to discuss the framework of establishing official relations between both countries	Xinhua News Agency
N.304 31/3/1971	A press communiqué congratulating them on this important relation.		Xinhua News Agency
N.303 18/5/1971	Appointing the charge d'affair to Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.301 4/6/1971	Kuwaiti Foreign Minister receives the Chinese charge d'affaire	Shi Qian	Xinhua News Agency
N.298 4/8/1971	Appointing the first Chinese ambassador to Kuwait	Chinese president appoints the first Chinese ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei	Xinhua News Agency
N.297 14/8/1971	Acting Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait issued a statement expressed opposition to the "two China" or "one China, one Taiwan" or any similar policy reiterated full support for the restoration of China's seat at the United Nations.		Xinhua News Agency
N.296	First ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei presented his		Xinhua News Agency

25/8/1971	credentials to the State of Kuwait Deputy Emir and Prime Minister Jaber .		
N.294 4/12/1971	The Kuwaiti Permanent Representative of the United Nations also the Chairman of the Asian Group for yaquob Abdullah Bishara, held a reception in honor of representatives of People's Republic of China Head of Mission Qiao Guanhua.	Kuwait and China start coordinating their stance in the international framework. ( in Abu Alhassan's interview)	Xinhua News Agency
N.290 25/2/1972	Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu congratulates Kuwait on its independence day.		Xinhua News Agency
N.291 25/2/1972	Primer Zhou congratulates Kuwait on its independence day.		Xinhua News Agency
N.283/1/0 18/4/1972	Beijing table tennis team visits Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.279 3/5/1972	Kuwait Table Tennis Association member Ali Nasser Ahmed composed of representatives of Kuwait Table Tennis Association group, to participate in the preparatory meeting of the Asian Table tennis Union in Beijing.		Xinhua News Agency
N.277 10/5/1972	Chinese government trade delegation by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, led by Chen Jie, at the invitation of the Government of Kuwait, to visit Kuwait.		Xinhua News Agency
N.276	Kuwaiti Amir received the Chinese delegation		Xinhua News Agency

16/5/1972			
N.275 21/5/1972	Chinese delegation concludes the visit	They met with finance, trade and oil ministers and visited the Kuwaiti oil facilities.	Xinhua News Agency
N.273 24/5/1972	Vice Minister Ho Ying met with the State of Kuwait Embassy Chargé		Xinhua News Agency
N.272 25/5/1972	Kuwaiti Parliamentary visit to China ( Abbas Habib Munawer)	<a href="#">Zhou Pei-Yuan Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.271 26/5/1972	Deputy Minister for Foreign Ministry Chung Dong Xi met with and hosted a dinner tonight Kuwaiti National Assembly, Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee		Xinhua News Agency
N.268 15/7/1972	Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Kuwait Youssef al Mokhild visits china	vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, and his wife in Liqun -Dan Tong, head of the Islamic Association of China, and cooperation between our two countries based on the Five Principles, there is a vast promising.	Xinhua News Agency
N.267 16/7/1972	Premier Zhou Enlai, Guo, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, met this afternoon with the Deputy Speaker of the Kuwaiti National Assembly Youssef Al Mokhlid		Xinhua News Agency
N.266 17/7/1972	Premier Zhou Enlai, Guo, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee held a banquet for the Deputy Speaker of the Kuwaiti National assembly		Xinhua News Agency
N.265 18/7/1972	Deputy Speaker of the Kuwaiti National assembly left Beijing for Shanghai		Xinhua News Agency
N.263 22/7/1972	The Kuwaiti Ambassador to China arrives	Albaijan	Xinhua News Agency
N.262 25/7/1972	Chinese foreign Minister meets with Kuwaiti		Xinhua News Agency

	Ambassador		
N.261 26/7/1972	Kuwaiti Ambassador presents his credentials		Xinhua News Agency
N. 259 17/8/1972	Kuwaiti Table tennis delegation in Beijing		Xinhua News Agency
N.255 1/10/1972	Premier Zhou meets the Kuwaiti Ambassador and his Wife		Xinhua News Agency
N.254 5/10/1972	Chinese Ambassador to the State of Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei evening of October held a reception to celebrate the 23rd anniversary of the People's Republic of China.	In the more than 200 guests attending the reception are: Emir of the State of Kuwait Special Adviser to Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	Xinhua News Agency
N.253 21/10/1972	Acting Prime Minister of Kuwait Ambassador met Chinese ambassador		Xinhua News Agency
N.252 30/10/1972	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister met Chinese Ambassador		Xinhua News Agency
N. 250 3/11/1972	Kuwaiti representative at the UN hosts a dinner for Chinese diplomat	Qiao GuanHua Abdulla Bishara	Xinhua News Agency
N.248 13/11/1972	Chinese volleyball team visits Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.244 3/12/1972	Kuwaiti minister of trade and industry visits china.	Also mention the MOFA documents	Xinhua News Agency
N. 239 6/12/1972	Zhou Enlai meets with Kuwaiti Minister of Commerce and Industry- Al Adsani	Minutes from behbehani's book	Xinhua News Agency
N.234 15/12/1972	Special Adviser to the Emir of the State of Kuwait I entertain men's volleyball team	Sports diplomacy Sh Abdullah Aljabar	Xinhua News Agency
N.233/1 16/12/1972	Chinese economic and trade exhibitions on display in Kuwait held a banquet.		Xinhua News Agency



	Invited to attend the banquet: Interior and Defense Minister of Kuwait Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salem		
N.229 1/1/1973	Chinese football team visits Kuwait. They visited the Kuwaiti army football team 1-5 January	Sports diplomacy	Xinhua News Agency
N.226 19/1/1973	China Economic and Trade Fair in Kuwait ( a good source for Kuwait-chinese trade relationship)	H.H representative Shiekh Abdullah Aljaber and several government prominent personalities attended this event. According to Xinhua 35,000 people attended ( it's a big number)	Xinhua News Agency
N.216/17 20-21/3/1973	Chinese Gymnastic team visits Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.209/207 20-22/4/1973	Chinese Medical Delegation headed by Yin Ding Fan visit Kuwait	5 other people were part of the delegation	Xinhua News Agency
N.204 4/5/1973	Kuwaiti Table Tennis team visits China ( Beijing)		Xinhua News Agency
N.203 6/5/1973	Chinese Medical Delegation visit AlSabah hospital	Field trip and medical sector evaluation.	Xinhua News Agency
N.199 27/5/1973	Kuwaiti Medical delegation visits China		Xinhua News Agency
N.194 18/6/1973	Chinese Gymnastics team visits		Xinhua News Agency
N.190 23/7/1973	Kuwait Medical Delegation visits China received by Yan Yun	Nouri Al kazemi	Xinhua News Agency
N.189 25/7/1973	Continuation medical delegation , they left on the 27 <sup>th</sup> .	Liu Xiang, Yan Yun	Xinhua News Agency
N.176 5/10/1973	New Kuwaiti ambassador gives credentials		Xinhua News Agency
N.177 5/10/1973	Qiao Guanhua with UN heads of delegation. He met with the Kuwaiti Minister of foreign affairs ( now amir) sheikh Sabah.		Xinhua News Agency
N.154 9/2/1974	Kuwait Football Association to make recommendations for the restoration of China's legitimate seat in	the head of the Kuwaiti football association was Ahmad Al sadoon, he refused to be interviewed.	Xinhua News Agency

	the International Football Federation		
N.149 18/2/1974	Wang Meng, director of the National Sports Commission, today met the Kuwaiti Olympic Committee President Abdullah Rashid, Chairman of the Kuwait Olympic Committee treasurer and Kuwait Volleyball Association Khalid Al-Thani	<p>Many sports delegations (sports diplomacy) Try to interview related persons if possible.</p> <p>Li Meng Hua</p> <p>A men's volleyball match between Kuwait and China</p>	Xinhua News Agency
N.141 10/3/1974	Kuwaiti parliament speaker and his wife visit vice chairman of Beijing.	<p>Charge d'affaire al yagout was there. Chairman Zhu De Zhou Jiao ( Jianren) Islamic association 245 official Zhange Jie</p>	Xinhua News Agency
N.112 25/6/1974	Kuwait proposal at the meeting of the majority support, this should be immediately adopted. However, a small number of people with ulterior motives in the FIFA thwarted and destroyed their vote before playing a trick called to order by a three-fourths majority vote of the Kuwaiti proposal, so excuse the lack of support for the proposal quarters of Kuwait the third most, and unreasonably be rejected. This is their obstruct restoration of the lawful seat in another FIFA poor performances. Chinese people and football players expressed outrage!	Explore kuwait's role in this.	Xinhua News Agency
N.84 /83	Wang Yizhou as leader, Chen Cheng as deputy leader of the Chinese youth football team, on		

30/3/1975	the 28th and left Beijing to Kuwait, held there to participate in the 17th Asian Youth Cup.		
N.82 9/4/1975	Kuwait Parliament Speaker Khaled AlGhunaim went to the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait to offer condolences on the death of Comrade Tung Pi-wu.	<a href="#">Members of the Palestinian ( PLO) attended this event.</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.74 30/7/1975	Kuwaiti football team visits China	<a href="#">ZHAO ZHENGHONG</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N71 7/8/1975	Vice Minister Ho Ying met with the State of Kuwait Ambassador to China	<a href="#">CREDENTIALS</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.69 9/8/1975	Kuwait's new ambassador to China presented his credentials to Chairman Zhu De		Xinhua News Agency
N.67 15/8/1975	Football match between China and Kuwait in Beijing		Xinhua News Agency
N.66 17/8/1975	Banquet for the Kuwaiti football association delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.65 26/8/1975	Vice Premier Li Xiannian meets kuwaiti ambassador.		Xinhua News Agency
N.63 4/9/1975	Kuwaiti delegation from Kuwait University visit China and meet with Zhou Hongbao from Beijing university.		Xinhua News Agency
N.62 25/9/1975	Zhuang Zedong hosted the National Chairman of the Kuwait Football Association	<a href="#">Frequency ( high) Ahmad Al sedon</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.61 26/9/1975	Vice Chairman Tan Zhen-lin met with Chairman of the Kuwaiti National Football Association	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tan_Zhenlin">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tan_Zhenlin</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.59	Kuwaiti handball		Xinhua News

8/10/1975	match in Beijing		Agency
N.58 9/10/1975	Chinese ambassador to Kuwait holds a national day reception	<a href="#">Attended by several ministers in Kuwait and Kuwaiti parliament president.</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.55 29/12/1975	Kuwaiti amir extends his condolences on the death of Comrade Kang Sheng.	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kang_Sheng">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kang_Sheng</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.51 13/1/1976	Kuwaiti Amir extends his condolences on the death of Premier Zhou Enlai.		Xinhua News Agency
N.52 13/1/1976	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah's message of condolence		Xinhua News Agency
N.53 13/1/1976	Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Khaled's message of condolence	<a href="#">He did visit china and had a very good experience .</a>	Xinhua News Agency
N.49 17/1/1976	Jaber AlAli Al-Sabah on behalf of the Kuwaiti Emir Sabah Salem Al-Sabah went to the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait, mourning the death of Premier Zhou Enlai. Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah on behalf of the Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah and the government, condolences.	Go to the embassy to offer condolences are: National Assembly Speaker Khalid Saleh Al Ghunaim, Deputy Speaker Ahmed AL Sadun, representatives of mass organizations, friends from various circles.	Xinhua News Agency
N.41 26/2/1976	Abu AlHasan Ambassador held a reception to celebrate the National Day of Kuwait	Invited to attend the reception were Deputy Minister of Health screen Liu Xiang, the National Sports Commission director Zhuang Zedong, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister He Ying, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chen Jie, vice minister Zhang Ruguang PLA General Logistics Department, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Liangchang Wu	Xinhua News Agency
N.31	Peking University Delegation return		Xinhua News Agency

25/4/1976	home from Kuwait		
N.29 11/5/1976	Desalination Expedition returning from Kuwait	Visit happened in April.	Xinhua News Agency
N.24 22/7/1976	Vice Chairman Wu met with the delegation of the Kuwaiti National Assembly Standing Committee held a banquet in honor the delegation.	Secretary-General has Ji Pengfei Standing Committee, Deputy Secretary-General Wu Xinyu, members Bai Shouyi, Vice Foreign Minister Liu Zhenhua,	Xinhua News Agency
N.20 9/8/1976	Chinese sport coaches arrive to Kuwait	Four sports associations table tennis, tennis, track and field, gymnastics, swimming, water polo and five sports clubs. This news describes the culture shock of living in Kuwait. Kuwait is one of the sponsors of the Chinese proposal requires acceptance in the IOC	Xinhua News Agency
N.19 18/9/1976	Kuwaiti leaders extend condolence on Chairman Mao's death	"Chairman Mao's death is a great loss not only to the Chinese people, but also a great loss of people around the world." Sheikh Jaber	Xinhua News Agency
N.18/17 19/9/1976	2 letters from Kuwaiti Amir and Crown Prince		Xinhua News Agency
N.14 10/10/1976	Chinese exhibition in Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.13 12/10/1976	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Information of Kuwait in 1976 Jabir Ali Salem Al-Sabah, met with the head of China Xinjiang Song and Dance Ensemble		Xinhua News Agency
N.12 15/11/1976	the General Assembly People's Republic of China National People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairman <b>Ulanhu</b> headed, Secretary-General of the NPC Standing Committee, deputy head of Ji Pengfei, invited to Kuwait	Members of the delegation are: Standing Committee Bai Shouyi, Mao Di autumn, deputies representing Ao week, Mou Sen, Yutao, Min Enze, Yang Xiuying.	Xinhua News Agency
N.11 23/11/1976	Delegation arrives in Kuwait and received by Sheikh Salman Al Duajj	Chairman <b>Ulanhu</b> , China and Kuwait belong to the Third World, are developing countries in 1971, since the establishment of diplomatic relations department, in our joint efforts, friendship and the friendship between the two peoples of our two countries. cooperative relations have developed satisfactorily. I	Xinhua News Agency

		believe Chinese NPC delegation's visit to your country through, will further enhance our two peoples mutual understanding and friendship and promote the further development of friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries . "(people's database information)	
N.9/7 25/11/1976	Crown Prince Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, His Highness the morning of November 23 met in Kuwait visit the people's Republic of China National People's Congress Standing Committee vice chairman, head of the NPC delegation Chairman <b>Ulanhu</b>	Standing Committee Secretary-General, the Deputy Head of Ji Pengfei deputies and members of the delegation as well as Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Sun Sheng Wei.	Xinhua News Agency
N.8 25/11/1976	Salam Al Duaij receives the Chinese delegation.	Today, you came to us, and we hope your visit will be fruitful development of economic, cultural and scientific aspects between us." Salman minister praised China in the field of science, particularly in the nuclear field achievements. He said: "This is the pride of all peace-loving countries of the third world and our world.  Chinese Side China pursues non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of foreign policy in terms of these great principles, we are in agreement	Xinhua News Agency
N.6 29/11/1976	A Banquet held on 28 <sup>th</sup> before the delegation's departure.	Hosted by the Special Adviser to the Emir of Kuwait Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, and Minister of State for Administrative and Judicial Affairs Salman AlDuaij.	Xinhua News Agency
N.3 03/12/1976	NPC delegation to visit Kuwait's full report	The visits to develop and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries in the Division contributed. In recent years, especially after the 1971 establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in the Division, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries has been developing satisfactorily. Mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples deepening bilateral exchanges in various fields of trade, culture, sports, agriculture, health	Xinhua News Agency
N.2 7/12/1976	Kuwaiti Minister of Health Abdul Rahman Al-Awadi met with the Chinese medical team.	Head of delegation was Li Guipan  Chinese medical team will continue its efforts to serve the people of Kuwait, in order to strengthen the friendship between the two peoples to contribute	Xinhua News Agency

		The delegation stayed 21 days in Kuwait	
N.421 28/3/1977	First Asian Handball Championship on 26 March opening in Kuwait.	Kuwait Amir adviser Abdullah Jaber Al-Sabah, the Interior and Defense Minister Saad, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Salim Al-Sabah attended the opening ceremony. President of the Asian Handball Federation, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the championships highest Fahad Ahmad opening statement.	Xinhua News Agency
N.419 12/4/1977	Agricultural delegation to visit Kuwait	The delegation has visited a number of farms, Agricultural Experiment Station, irrigation engineering, scientific research institutes and Shuaiba industrial area.	Xinhua News Agency
N.418 17/4/1977	Liu Xi Yao Minister Meets Kuwaiti education delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.417 18/4/1977	vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee inquiry Ulav, met with a delegation of Kuwait Kuwait Education, Ministry of Education		Xinhua News Agency
N.415 22/4/1977	Kuwaiti Minister of Health	Held a banquet for the Chinese medical team with the attendance of the Ambassador Sun.	Xinhua News Agency
N.414 4/5/1977	Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang today met with the delegation of Kuwait headed by Chamber of Commerce president Abdul Aziz Al Sager		Xinhua News Agency
N.412 5/5/1977	Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua hosted a banquet to welcome head of the delegation's visit foreign minister of Kuwait Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber	Current Amir of Kuwait. One of the most important visit to China in the that period. Foreign Minister Huang Hua pointed out that the superpower aggression and expansion and intense competition, a serious threat to security in the Middle East and the Gulf States. He said the development of the Middle East situation more favorable to the people and unfavorable to imperialism, hegemonism and Israeli Zionism. Despite the different political, economic and social systems of our two countries, but the scope of cooperation is expanding and fruitful tend to diversify. He said that Kuwait is working with brotherly Gulf countries together to further strengthen cooperation with them to contribute. We are committed to preventing our bay become large political, military compete for a place. Kuwait also supports the efforts aimed at making the Indian Ocean has become a zone of peace, international scramble to get rid of it, to ensure its security and	Xinhua News Agency

		stability. Kuwait believes heroic role played by the African liberation movements, and is sparing no effort to make the African liberation movements can continue their just struggle to provide the necessary assistance.	
N.413 5/5/1977	Tan Chen-lin, vice chairman of the delegation met with the Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce		Xinhua News Agency
N.411 6/5/1977	Li Hsien-nien, Vice Premier Meets Kuwaiti foreign minister Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah and his delegation with Foreign Minister Huang Hua Minister Ahmed talks		Xinhua News Agency
N.410-409 7/5/1977	Kuwait foreign minister Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber held a banquet at the embassy.	Invited to attend the banquet Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Vice Minister Ma Wenbo, responsible people and Zhang Geng, Li Buxiao, Cheng travel, Fu Shun, Lin Jiasen, Kongcan Dong, Lin Lin	Xinhua News Agency
N.390 17/11/1977	Ministry of Health held a banquet this evening to welcome the Kuwaiti Minister of Health Abdul Rahman Abdullah Al-Awadi		Xinhua News Agency
N.389 19/11/1977	Vice Premier Wang Zhen met with the delegation of Kuwait Health	For two days, the delegation of the Kuwaiti Health Ministry of Health with the person in charge of the discussion, the exchange of experiences of medical health. The guests visited the Institute of Traditional Chinese Acupuncture Institute, and a tour of historical sites	Xinhua News Agency
N.386 18/12/1977	Chinese government economic delegation arrived in Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.384 27/12/1977	China and Kuwait signed the Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation		Xinhua News Agency
N.379 15/1/1978	H.H. Sheikh Jaber assumes his position as Amir and premier Hua Guofeng congratulates him.		Xinhua News Agency



N.377 25/1/1978	H.H. Sheikh Jaber, Emir of Kuwait And Minister of Information Sheikh Jabir Ali met with China's International Trade Minister headed by Director Wang Yaoting for a friendly visit to Kuwait.		Xinhua News Agency
N.371 28/6/1978	Vice Foreign Minister He Ying visits Kuwait.	Vice Foreign Minister He Ying at the airport by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs Acting minister Faisal Saleh Al Mutawa	Xinhua News Agency
N.368 23/7/1978	The Kuwaiti Housing Minister Hamad Mubarak Ayar visits China.	Received by State Council Deputy Prime Minister and Director of the State Construction Commission Gumu	Xinhua News Agency
N.367 26/7/1978	Vice Premier Li met with the delegation of the Government of Kuwait	Housing delegation	Xinhua News Agency
N.354 23/2/1979	Chen Muhua Deputy Prime Minister met with new ambassadors to Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.352 8/3/1979	Foreign Minister Huang Hua held a banquet this evening to welcome the Kuwaiti Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Abdul Aziz Hussein and his delegation.	the Chinese Government and people will unswervingly support the just struggle of the Arab countries and the people to regain lost ground and restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people carried out; always advocated Arab internal affairs should be conducted by the Arab countries and people to solve their own and resolutely oppose hegemonism powers to intervene and interfere in the affairs of Arab Gulf region. - Vice Minister of Culture and He Jingzhi attended accompany them.	Xinhua News Agency
N.347 13/11/1979	Vice Minister of Chinese Foreign Minister He Ying and his party ended a two-day visit to Kuwait.	Vice Foreign Minister He met with Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the two sides had a very friendly conversation	Xinhua News Agency
N.345 22/1/1980	China and Kuwait signed a civil aviation agreement		Xinhua News Agency
N.340 4/4/1980	women delegation to visit Kuwait	ACWF Executive Committee (Executive Committee of the All-China Women's Federation) and Minister of International Liaison Department, headed by Zhang Jie ended a good will week visit to Kuwait.	Xinhua News Agency
N.328 27/9/1980	Ji Pengfei said that the end of the visit to Kuwait hopes	Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories, including Jerusalem, occupied in 1967, must recognize the national rights of the Palestinian	Xinhua News Agency

	Iraq and Iran resolve their differences peacefully	people. Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate in resolving the Middle East issue. He said: "We will always stand by the Palestinian people, the Arab people and the cause of justice." Ji Pengfei said: "We sincerely hope that the Arab countries, the overall situation, mutual understanding, eliminate differences and strengthen solidarity and concerted efforts to achieve their lofty national goals." He also spoke highly of the Kuwaiti government and people firmly support the struggle of the Palestinian cause and efforts maintain Arab solidarity position.	
N.325 9/10/1980	China and Kuwait signed a new trade agreement.	According to the agreement, both sides will offer imported goods and labor given the necessary facilities, and the establishment of a joint committee responsible for the implementation of this agreement. The agreement by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang and Kuwaiti Minister of Trade and Industry Abdul Wahab Nafisi signed. Chinese government trade delegation headed by Li Qiang from 4 to 8-day visit to Kuwait	Xinhua News Agency
N.311 15/4/1981	Kuwait painter Khalifa al Qattan works in Beijing Exhibition		Xinhua News Agency
N.295 30/9/1981	Ji Pengfei met with the delegation of Kuwaiti women	Ji Pengfei, the State Council, met here this afternoon by the President of Kuwaiti women delegation of the Kuwaiti Cultural Association women's social, Gulf Coordinating Committee for Women, Lulu Al Qatami, with them We had a friendly conversation. Here are ACWF secretary Guo Liwen	Xinhua News Agency
N.294 1/10/1981	Yingchao met with Kang Keqing Friendship Association delegation of women and women's delegation in Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.289 15/10/1981	Kuwait soccer team arrived in Beijing	Head of the Kuwaiti soccer team was Sheikh Fahad Al-Sabah	Xinhua News Agency
N.284 29/10/1981	Economic Delegation visits Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.282 9/11/1981	Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah today received head of the Chinese government economic delegation's visit		Xinhua News Agency

	here, deputy director of the State Import and Export Management Committee Wei Yuming.		
N.281 23/11/1981	Kang Shien State Council, met with the chairman of Kuwait Petrochemical Industries Company		Xinhua News Agency
N.273 13/2/1982	Government cultural delegation went to visit Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.271 20/2/1982	China and Kuwait signed a cultural cooperation agreement	Agreement between the two countries and will promote the development of culture, education, science, health, sports, publishing, journalism and broadcasting cooperation	Xinhua News Agency
N.259 7/7/1982	Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development will provide China with 14.3 million Kuwaiti dinars (about US \$ 50 million) loan to finance the construction of Anhui Ningguo Cement Plant.	This was the first Kuwaiti Loan to China.	Xinhua News Agency
N.252 9/11/1982	Kuwait and Arab Fund for Economic Development in China and Kuwait signed a loan agreement.	Under the agreement, the foundation will provide China 10 million Kuwaiti dinars (US \$ 35 million) loan to help in the development of Hunan timber.	Xinhua News Agency
N.243 11/4/1983	Special Envoy of the Emir of Kuwait Mohammed Zaid Heerbish		Xinhua News Agency
N.241 3/5/1983	Kuwaiti Amir Jaber Al-Sabah met Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Luming at the Seif palace		
N.242 12/4/1983	Ulanhu meets Kuwaiti Envoy	Kuwait special envoy to Chinese leaders Heerbish submitted to Ye Jianying's letter on the end of the Iran-Iraq war of the letters.	Xinhua News Agency
N.231 28/8/1983	Chinese youth handball team beat Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.228 26/10/1983	Chinese journalist delegation led by director of Radio Television editor Hu Wakagi	A week long visit	Xinhua News Agency
N227	11th Asian Games	Kuwait participates	Xinhua News

5/11/1983	Delegation		Agency
N.222 14/12/1983	Many countries condemned the bombings in Kuwait	the United States and the French Embassy in Kuwait and Some public facilities bombings two people were killed, 54 people were injured. (no mention of China's reaction)	Xinhua News Agency
N.221 17/12/1983	Religious Affairs ministers visits china	Religious Affairs of the State Council held a banquet welcoming the religious Affairs of Kuwait Ahmed Saad Al jasser	Xinhua News Agency
N.220 18/12/1983	Vice Premier Wan Li met Religious Affairs of Kuwait Ahmed Saad AL Jasser	Chinese government pursues a policy of religious freedom was pleased. He hoped that the Bureau and Chinese governments, and Muslim peoples to further strengthen the friendly cooperation and solidarity	Xinhua News Agency
N.219 4/1/1984	NPC delegation to visit Kuwait	Vice-Chairman Wang Renzhong We have two objectives of this visit; The first is to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples in the Division, followed by construction in your country to learn modern experience the national level.	Xinhua News Agency
N.218 5/1/1984	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with Vice Chairman Renzhong Chinese NPC delegation,	He expressed appreciation to the Chinese government supports the Arab position and the Palestinian cause. Renzhong first to Saad conveyed greetings from Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, then he said the Chinese government and people Independent, neutral and non-aligned policy pursued by Kuwait appreciates highly of Kuwait in the Gulf region to maintain Security and stability, to restore the unity of the Arab ranks, support the just struggle of the Palestinian people and other aspects The efforts and commended Kuwait's generous assistance in third world countries.	Xinhua News Agency
N.217 6/1/1984	Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Mohamed Yusuf AlAdsani met with NPC delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.216 10/1/1984	Amir of Kuwait met NPC delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.215 9/2/1984	Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sheikh Saad met with Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Yang Fuchang		Xinhua News Agency
N.210 12/4/1984	Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian visits Kuwait	three-day official goodwill visit : The first meeting with Kuwaiti leaders exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern; The second is to look at Kuwait achievements. " When talking about the Iran-Iraq war, Wu	Xinhua News Agency

		<p>Xueqian said: "The Chinese government continues to expand Iran-Iraq war is deeply concerned.</p> <p>We have Iran and Iraq has invited the Foreign Minister to visit China, to express to them our position.</p> <p>We hope that Iran and Iraq, the peaceful settlement of their disputes through consultation ways to end this as soon as possible war. "</p> <p>Amir Jaber thanked the invitation to visit China from President Li Xiannian</p>	
N.209 13/4/1984	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with Wu Xueqian Wu Xueqian		Xinhua News Agency
N.208 14/4/1984	On Chinese visit to Kuwait	<p>China has consistently advocated, Middle East problem must be in the absence of external forces. Addis non-Arab summit resolutions as a basis for resolving the Middle East problem. "</p> <p>When talking about the Iran-Iraq war, Wu Xueqian stressed that: "China has always been in the Iran-Iraq war in neutral position.</p>	Xinhua News Agency
N.205 17/4/1984	Li Hsien-nien Meets Delegation of Kuwait Journalists Association		Xinhua News Agency
N.206 17/4/1984	Yao Yilin, Vice Premier Meets Kuwaiti Journalists Association		Xinhua News Agency
N. 190 30/7/1984	Speaker of Kuwait, said China has always supported the just cause	<p>Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Ada-Thani today received Xinhua</p> <p>The Delegation agency said China is the third world countries. It is not foreign troops, and did not send troops abroad</p> <p>Ship. In international affairs, China has always supported the cause of justice.</p> <p>He hoped that the Chinese media play a better role in the international arena.</p>	Xinhua News Agency
N.189 12/8/1984	Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker Adsani met with Chinese ambassador Yang Fuchang		Xinhua News Agency
N. 188 23/8/1984	Kuwait National Assembly session Prior to Al Adasani's visit to China.	"The development of Kuwait's relations with China is satisfactory, and its bright prospects Gratifying, because we all want this relationship in terms of quality and quantity greater development"	Xinhua News Agency
N.187 24/8/1984	Standing Committee of the National Assembly hosted the Kuwaiti	Renzhong said that since the establishment of diplomatic relations department, on the basis of the Five Principles of friendly cooperation between the two countries.	Xinhua News Agency

N.185 25/8/1984	Premier Zhao Ziyang met National Assembly Delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.182 26/8/1984	Peng Zhen met with the delegation of the National Assembly of Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.183 26/8/1984	Ulanhu Kuwaiti delegation met with National Assembly		Xinhua News Agency
N.184 26/8/1984	Renzhong held talks with the delegation of the National Assembly of Kuwait	The two sides briefed each other about economic developments in their respective countries, and to shape the Middle East and the Gulf region Situation, bilateral relations and issues of common concern in the talks.	Xinhua News Agency
N.181 28/8/1984	Muslim pilgrimage delegation arrived in Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.178 9/9/1984	Kuwait loan to build a power plant Shaxikou	\$ 160 million	Xinhua News Agency
N.177 9/10/1984	Chairman of the Group of Kuwait Sabah Al Rayes met with General manager of China International Trust and Investment Corporation	Interviewed Mr. AlRayes	Xinhua News Agency
N. 175 4/12/1984	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad visiting chairman of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, Rong		Xinhua News Agency
N. 166 4/1/1985	Kuwait's oil and finance minister arrived in Beijing	discussed at the same time China, Kuwait, Tunisia jointly build three fertilizer plant matter and sign the relevant agreement	Xinhua News Agency
N.165 6/1/1985	China, Kuwait and Tunisia on the joint establishment of the Joint Venture Fertilizer Company agreement		Xinhua News Agency
N.164 7/1/1985	promote South-South cooperation	Construction of Anhui Ningguo Cement Plant and Xinjiang Chemical Fertilizer Plant is well under way, is expected this year, will be officially put into operation in April and October respectively. Ningguo Cement annual output of 1.5 million tons of cement, is one of the largest cement plants. Urumqi ammonia fertilizer plant with an	Xinhua News Agency

		annual output 300,000 tons of urea five hundred and twenty thousand tons.	
N.158 18/3/1985	Amir of Kuwait met with Zhang Jinfu will sign an investment protection agreement Gulf States welcomes China investment		Xinhua News Agency
N. 154 27/3/1985	Amir of Kuwait met with Chinese Minister of Petroleum Industry		Xinhua News Agency
N.152 26/4/1985	PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met here today Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Yang Fuchang		Xinhua News Agency
N.150 15/5/1985	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with the Prime Minister of all members of the Chinese journalist delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.147 19/6/1985	Journalist report on the visit	Kuwait in China's perspective	Xinhua News Agency
N.145 4/7/1985	Chinese airliners inaugural Kuwait flight via karachi.		Xinhua News Agency
N.143 6/7/1985	Yang Jingren guests met with Kuwait	met with the Kuwaiti Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Awqaf and mosques in charge of Hajj affairs assistant minister Abdul Rahman al Faris	Xinhua News Agency
N.140 15/10/1985	Yao Yilin met with National Bank of Kuwait Delegation		Xinhua News Agency
N.139 23/10/1985	Zhang Jinfu Meets Kuwaiti Guests	Sabah Al Rayes group.	Xinhua News Agency
N.137 23/11/1985	Kuwait Speaker Sadun met Yao Yilin The two sides hope to further develop bilateral friendly cooperative relations	Yao Yilin of national unity and the Gulf Cooperation Council in Kuwait and other cooperation, and strive for common development made appreciated. He also reiterated China's principled stance on the Iran-Iraq war, hoping to stop the war as soon as possible.	Xinhua News Agency
N.136 24/11/1985	Amir of Kuwait met with Vice Premier Yao Yilin		Xinhua News Agency
N.135 25/11/1985	Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin	China and the Government of Kuwait signed here today an agreement on investment encouragement and protection agreement.	Xinhua News Agency
N.134	Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin		Xinhua News Agency

26/11/1985	ended his visit		
N.130 28/1/1986	oil kingdom of joy and sorrow	Journalist report	Xinhua News Agency
N.127 20/2/1986	Li Zhuang invited to visit Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.122 22/3/1986	memorable Kuwait City	Journalist report	Xinhua News Agency
N.121 1/4/1986	future-oriented exploration	Journalist report	Xinhua News Agency
N.120 9/4/1986	recapture the traditional activities	Journalist report	Xinhua News Agency
N.118 6/5/1986	China and the Gulf countries to strengthen economic cooperation between China Kuwait Investment Seminar	Delegation headed by State Councilor Zhang Jinfu to the Chinese delegation and Minister of Finance and Economy as the head of the Kuwaiti AlKharafi participated in the Seminar. 70 Chinese companies participated	Xinhua News Agency
N.117 7/5/1986	Kuwaiti leaders met Zhang Jinfu		Xinhua News Agency
N.116 10/5/1986	Economic Mission Ends Visit to Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.113 15/5/1986	Kuwait comprehensive art exhibition in Beijing		Xinhua News Agency
N.114 15/5/1986	Renzhong cultural delegation met with the Government of Kuwait		Xinhua News Agency
N.112 29/5/1986	Zhang Jinfu met Kuwait, Tunisia Guests		Xinhua News Agency
N.103 16/11/1986	Prime Minister of Zhao meets Kuwaiti meets Finance Minister		Xinhua News Agency
N.104 16/11/1986	Government of China and Kuwait Agreement on the establishment of economic, technical cooperation and trade mixed committee		Xinhua News Agency
N.96 20/3/1987	China with the State of Kuwait, the Arab Fund for Economic Development on this foundation to provide loans to Luoyang polypropylene project agreement signed in Beijing		Xinhua News Agency
N.94 23/4/1987	Kuwait Emir Jabir met with visiting Chinese Minister of		Xinhua News Agency



	Chemical Researches and his party, the two sides had a cordial and friendly conversation.		
N.93 24/4/1987	An Interview with Dr. Rashid Kuwait Investment Authority director	Journalist report Kuwait's investment in China has reached about \$ 350 million.	Xinhua News Agency
N.54 1/11/1987	State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, State Councilor Zhang Jinfu , met separately with Kuwaiti Minister of State for Municipal Affairs Abdurrahman Khalid Al Ghunaim		Xinhua News Agency
N.53 5/11/1987	Kuwait donated to build mosques built in Qinguangdao	All investment mosque was \$ 175,000 donation from the Kuwait International Islamic Charitable Foundation	Xinhua News Agency
N.52 7/12/1987	Shanghai Export Commodities Week in Kuwait	Shanghai Export Commodities Week concluded this afternoon in Kuwait. After five days of trade talks, deal nearly two million dollars	Xinhua News Agency
N.50 14/12/1987	PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met here on the 10th Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait	On Israeli attacks	Xinhua News Agency
N.41 10/3/1988	Zhang Jinfu this afternoon met with President of the Arab Fund for Economic Development of Kuwait Bader Al Humaidhi	According to reports, this is the foundation signed with the Chinese side the first 10 loan agreements totaling 10 loans of about \$ 240 million	Xinhua News Agency
N.16 16/3/1989	Amir of Kuwait Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah in Kuwait City met with Chinese Vice Premier Tian Jiyun		Xinhua News Agency
22/8/1989	Fahd expressed his full support for all international competitions held in China	During his visit to China Prince Fahd will continue to visit the Asian Games venues and facilities and will consult with officials of the Organizing Committee on specific issues such as the security of the Asian Games, television broadcasting and means of communication.	Zhejiang daily From Xinhua
26/8/1989	President Yang Shangkun said today the President of Olympic Council	Prince said that what happened in Beijing in early June was entirely the internal affairs of China. If a country's government and people have a strong desire to host the Asian Games,	Zhejiang daily From Xinhua

	of Asia Prince Fahd, run the Games is our common cause	then the Games will surely be successful.	
4/10/1989	Kuwait newspaper criticized Western sanctions against China	Kuwait Times" Today's Papers criticized Western countries to impose economic sanctions on China and urged them to re-examine the policy of China.	Zhejiang daily From Xinhua
N.8 16/12/1989	Kuwait Embassy charge d'affaires interview	Regarding Chinese presidents visit	Xinhua News Agency
N. 6 22/12/1989	Kuwaiti Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to the President Yang milestone in the history of relations between families	In 1988, bilateral trade reached 234 million US dollars, an increase of 66.4% over 1987. China's major imports from Kuwait of food and industrial products, fertilizer exports to China. Since 1982, Kuwait has provided more Chinese pen long-term, low-interest loans to support the construction of China 13 projects, of which seven projects have been completed.	Zhejiang daily From Xinhua
N.4 25/12/1989	At the invitation of Amir of Kuwait Jabir Ahmad Al-Sabah, President of the People's Republic of China Yang Shangkun		Xinhua
N.2 27/12/1989	The Chairman Yang says visit to Kuwait is successful.		Zhejiang Daily
N.3 27/12/1989	Egyptian and Kuwaiti newspaper published an article that the Chair Yang visit will promote friendship and cooperation	Al-Ahram" published an article that the President of People's Republic of China Yang Shangkun official goodwill visit to Egypt, will promote bilateral cooperation in various fields. The article said that Egypt is a model of cooperation and friendly relations between the state and respect for international norms based on the relationship. Egyptian people will not forget, especially China's support for the Arab cause of the Palestinian people's just struggle. China's consistent position that President Yang Shangkun speech once again reaffirmed. Kuwaiti newspaper published today, President Yang Shangkun have access to pictures and news headlines position, commended the Chairman Yang Middle East tour, and that the visit to the further development of relations in the Division has an important significance.	Xinhua
12/4/1990	Prince Fahad visits China with his family and check the Asian games sites.	They said he made 5 visits in total Played a big role on the success of the 11 <sup>th</sup> Asian games. Mention confirmation in the Olympic delegation of South Korea.	Zhejiang Daily
17/4/1990	Prince Fahad reiterated this conviction in his talks with Wu		Zhejiang Daily

	Shaozhu		
3/8/1990	Iraq border conflict occurred	Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said today that it was reported that the Iraqi army invaded Kuwaiti territory early this morning. The Chinese government expresses its deep concern and unease.	Hangzhou Daily
5/8/1990	China expresses grave concern over the invasion of Iraq	Therefore, we voted in favor of the U.N. emergency resolution and we also support the statements made by the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council." Qian Qichen said China advocates that this issue should be resolved within the Arab sphere.	Zhejiang Daily
6/8/1990	China will not sell weapons to Iraq		Hangzhou Daily
9/8/1990	Condolence on Prince Fahad's death.	"The tragic death of Chairman Fahd on the eve of the 11th Asian Games is no doubt that the world and Asian sports circles are undoubtedly A great loss, and in memory of his contribution to sports in Asia, we will make every effort to ensure the success of the Beijing Asian Games with the sports communities in various Asian countries and regions. "	Zhejiang Daily
11/8/1990	Council declared Iraq's annexation of Kuwait invalid	Speaking after the vote to reaffirm Chinese Permanent Representative Li Dao Yu, Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected, relevant Security Council resolutions must be implemented.	Hangzhou Daily
20/8/1990	First news on the invasion of Kuwait and Chinese citizens	97 Chinese officials in Kuwait left Kuwait today for repatriation in Amman	Hangzhou Daily
23/8/1990	China's stance on the invasion	China has always advocated and supported the political settlement of the Gulf crisis by peaceful means	Hangzhou Daily
23/8/1990	Li Peng met with Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in Beijing.	Our current Amir. Li said that China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, is one of the initiators of the Five Principles; "We have always believed that disputes between countries should be resolved through peaceful negotiations and should not resort to force us to consistently opposed any country. military occupation of another country. "	Hangzhou Daily
29/8/1990	China's policies towards international issues.	Premier Li Peng at the Fifteenth Meeting of the Seventh National People's Congress held today, delivered a report on the current international situation and circumstances to visit Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. On the international situation, Li said that recently, the international situation is changing rapidly. The occurrence and development of the Gulf crisis has become a major event involving the world.	Hangzhou Daily
30/8/1990	The last group of citizens arrived from returning	( included people from Hongkong and Taiwan)	Hangzhou Daily
5/9/1990	Kuwait Olympic Committee Will be	Verify the information on the expulsion of the Iraqi delegation.	

	Chairman of Prince Ahmed and an official of the Asian Games Kuwait Sports Delegation.		
7/9/1990	He called for effective implementation of Security Council resolutions	MOFA spokesmen of china	Hangzhou Daily
27/9/1990	China Advocates Peaceful Solution to the Gulf Crisis		Hangzhou Daily
4/10/1990	China Respects the Necessary Defense Measures Taken by the Gulf Countries		Zhejiang Daily
2/11/1990	China Advocates Peacefully Resolving the Gulf Issue Through Political Means		
9/11/1990	Qian Qichen met with the Amir of Kuwait	Qian Qichen met with Kuwaiti Amir Jabir and Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad, and had a cordial and friendly with them conversation. During his meeting with Foreign Minister Qian forwarded his letter to President Yang Shangkun to Jaber. Yang, Chairman, on behalf of the Chinese people expressed deep sympathy for the catastrophe and the people of the State of Kuwait currently suffered.	Hangzhou Daily
14/11/1990	China is ready to make efforts for the peaceful resolution of the Gulf crisis	Foreign Minister Qian paid a one-week visit to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq and met with the leaders of these countries.	Hangzhou Daily
1/12/1990	China calls on the international community to continue its efforts to solve the Gulf crisis peacefully	The Security Council has passed 11 successive resolutions. Regrettably, Iraq has refused to implement these resolutions and has not even said that it has withdrawn its troops from Kuwait. The tense situation in the Gulf and the increasing danger of a war broke out.	Zhejiang Daily
1/12/1990	UN resolution authorizing force against Iraq	2 votes against and 1 abstention by the majority of Resolution 678, authorizing UN member states still refusing to implement before January 15, 1991 in Iraq the case of withdrawal from Kuwait and other relevant security Council resolutions, to use all necessary means to safeguard, implement the relevant resolutions to restore peace and security in the Gulf region.	
11/12/1990	China opposes Iraqs invasion and occupation of Kuwait and resolutely advocates the restoration of Kuwait's independence and sovereignty		Zhejiang Daily

19/12/1990	Expressed sympathy for the families of the people of disaster	Yang Shangkun met with the delegation of the Kuwaiti People's delegation headed by the Kuwait, former chairman of the municipal council Daoud Musad Al-Saleh	Hangzhou Daily
27/12/1990	Kuwait Amir Arrives in Beijing	It's his first visit to China as the Amir of Kuwait.	Hangzhou Daily
28/12/1990	The friendly relations between China and Kuwait are developing in all fields of cooperation.		Zhejiang Daily
28/12/1990	Li held talks with the Amir of Kuwait	Amir Jabir said that China's position is clear, Kuwait to China is "completely trusted."	Zhejiang Daily
29/12/1990	Jiang Zemin met with the Amir of Kuwait	China demands that Iraq immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kuwait; Kuwait's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate government of Kuwait under the leadership of His Highness the Emir Jabir must be respected and restored. Kuwait hoped that China maintains political, economic and diplomatic pressure on Iraq to force Iraq to obey the resolutions of the international community to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, so the region and the world to avoid the dangers and horrors of war.	Hangzhou Daily

## 2.2 Chinese Embassy Statement

### 四、1990 年，伊拉克入侵科威特

1990 年 8 月 2 日，伊拉克入侵科威特。中国政府发表声明反对伊拉克对科威特的侵占，支持以科威特埃米尔贾比尔为首的科威特合法政府，要求伊拉克无条件从科威特撤军，恢复科威特独立、主权、领土完整和合法政府，并力争通过政治和外交途径和平解决危机。中国队安理会就海湾危机作出的第 660、661、662、664、665、666、667、669、670、674、677 号决议均投赞成票。战后中国也积极参与了科威特扑灭油井大火和经济重建工作。中国主张应全面、切实执行联合国有关决议，尊重伊拉克-科威特边界，理解并支持科威特要求伊拉克释放战俘、归还财产、给予战争赔偿等海湾战争遗留问题，受到科威特政府高度赞赏。

Translation: Fourth, in 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. The Chinese government issued a statement opposing Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and its support for the legitimate Kuwaiti government led by Kuwaiti leader Amir Jaber, calling on Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait unconditionally and to restore Kuwait's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate government and to strive through political and diplomatic channels Settle the crisis peacefully. The Chinese team Security Council voted in favor of Resolutions Nos. 660,661,662,664,665,666,667,669,670,674,677 on the Gulf crisis. After the war, China also actively participated in the Kuwaiti oil well fire and economic reconstruction. China advocates that the Kuwaiti government highly advocates the comprehensive and effective implementation of the UN resolution, respecting the Iraq-Kuwaiti border, understanding and supporting Kuwait's request for the release of prisoners of war, the return of property and the war reparations.

## 2.3 Fragmented translations from China National Library:

A few documents have been selected and informally translated from Chinese to English to show the type, form of documentations that were produced in China's government media outlet Xinhua and also to show important occasions and bilateral exchanges and their contents chronologically.

### 2.3.1 Xinhua, N. 383 ( This document has been interpreted as China's recognition of Kuwait's independence, it was the first communist country to do so.)

<日期>=1961.06.30

<版次>=1

<标题>=周总理电贺科威特宣告独立

<作者>=新华社

<正文>=

新华社 2 9 日讯 中华人民共和国国务院总理周恩来今天打电报给科威特酋长阿卜杜勒·萨利姆·萨巴赫，祝贺科威特宣告独立。电文如下：

科威特

科威特酋长阿卜杜勒·萨利姆·萨巴赫

阁下：

值此科威特宣告独立之际，我谨代表中华人民共和国政府和人民，向科威特政府和人民致以衷心的祝贺。祝科威特人民在反对帝国主义和殖民主义、维护民族独立以及建设自己国家的事业中取得进一步的成就。祝贵国国家繁荣，人民幸福。

中华人民共和国国务院总理 周恩来

1 9 6 1 年 6 月 2 9 日于北京(人民数据库资料)

<数据库>=人民日报

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382

<Date> = 1961.06.30

<Edition> = 1

<Title> =Premier Chou Congratulates Kuwait declared its independence

<Author> =Xinhua News Agency

<Text> =

Xinhua News Agency, Xinhua News Agency Premier Zhou Enlai, People's Republic of China today sent a telegram to Kuwait sheikh Abdullah Salem Al-Sabah, congratulating Kuwait on it declaration of independence.

The message is as follows:

Sheikh Abdullah Salem Al-Sabah

Your Highness:

On behalf of the Government and the people of the People's Republic of China, I would like to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the Government and the people of Kuwait on the occasion of the independence of Kuwait. I wish that Kuwaiti people success in further achievements in the cause to counter imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding national independence and building their own country. I wish your country prosperity and happiness of the people.

Premier of the State Council of the People 's Republic of China Zhou

Enlai

June 29, 1961 in Beijing

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### 2.3.2 Xinhua N. 337 ( first Chinese delegation to visit Kuwait)

337

<日期>=1965.06.08

<版次>=4

<标题>=科威特国家元首接见我国友好代表团

<作者>=新华社

<正文>=

新华社科威特六日电 科威特埃米尔（国家元首）阿卜杜拉·萨利姆·萨巴赫今天上午在塞弗宫接见了中华人民共和国友好代表团。

代表团是由全国人民代表大会常务委员会委员、中国国际贸易促进委员会主席、中国银行董事长南汉宸率领。

南汉宸向科威特埃米尔递交了刘少奇主席的一封信，并转达了刘主席对他的问候和良好祝愿。

他们进行了友好的谈话。

科威特财政、工业和商业大臣贾比尔·艾哈迈德·贾比尔·萨巴赫今晚在这里设宴招待南汉宸和代表团的其它成员。

新华社科威特五日电 由全国人民代表大会常务委员会委员、中国国际贸易促进委员会主席、中国银行董事长南汉宸率领的中华人民共和国访问科威特友好代表团一行四人，今天乘飞机到达这里进行友好访问。科威特财政、工业和商业大臣贾比尔·艾哈迈德·贾比尔·萨巴赫、政府高级官员和一些知名人士在机场欢迎代表团。(人民数据库资料)

<数据库>=人民日报

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337

<Date> = 1965.06.08

<Version> = 4

The head of the Kuwaiti country has met with our friendly delegation

<Author> = Xinhua News Agency

<Body> =

Xinhua News Agency, Kuwait, Kuwait Amir (Head of State) Abdullah Salim Al-Sabah met with the friendly delegation of the People's Republic of China at Severus this morning.

The delegation was led by the Standing Committee of the National People 's Congress, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and chairman of the Bank of China.

Han Chen submitted a letter to President Yu Shaoqi of Kuwait, and conveyed President Liu's greetings and best wishes to him.

They had a friendly conversation.

Kuwait's Minister of Finance, Industry and Commerce, Jaber Ahmed Jaber Al-Sabah, hosted a feast here tonight to host the Nan Han Chen and other members of the delegation.

Xinhua News Agency Kuwaiti five days by the National People's Congress Standing Committee, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, chairman of the Bank of China South Han Chen led the People's Republic of China to visit the Kuwaiti friendly delegation of four people, today arrived here by plane friendly access. Kuwait's Minister of Finance, Industry and Commerce Jaber Ahmed Jaber Al-Sabah, senior government officials and some celebrities welcome delegations at the airport.(People database data)

<Database> = people's daily newspaper

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### 2.3.3 N.304 Establishment of diplomatic relations

304

<日期>=1971.03.31

<版次>=1

<标题>=祝贺我国和科威特建交

<正文>=

我国政府和科威特国政府经过友好谈判，决定建立两国的外交关系。我们对此表示衷心的欢迎和热烈的祝贺。

中科两国建交，完全符合两国人民的根本利益和共同愿望。我们两国人民过去都遭受过帝国主义的压迫、蹂躏和掠夺，今天又同样地面临着反对帝国主义的任务。共同的遭遇和共同的斗争，把我们两国人民联系在一起。

科威特人民是勇敢的人民，勤劳的人民。为了反对帝国主义和殖民主义的统治，科威特人民曾进行了长期的斗争。一九六一年独立以后，科威特人民同阿拉伯各国人民一道，反对美以侵略者，支持巴勒斯坦人民的正义斗争。科威特政府和人民为维护国家主权，保护本国资源，最近和其他石油输出国一起，对以美国为首的帝国主义石油垄断财团进行了有力的斗争。中国人民坚决支持科威特政府和人民的正义斗争，并把这种支持看作是我们应尽的国际主义义务。

中国人民的伟大领袖毛主席在讲到亚、非、拉人民的团结时曾指出：“殖民主义者希望我们不团结，不合作，不友好。我们必须用加强团结、加强友好合作来回答它们，我们必须使殖民主义者的阴谋彻底破产。”

近几年来，中科两国曾互派代表团进行友好访问，两国的友好关系不断发展。现在，我们又决定建立外交关系，使两国关系展开了新的一页。这是符合亚、非、拉三大洲人民加强团结、加强友好、加强合作的历史潮流的。我们深信，建交以后，中科两国的关系在互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利、和平共处五项原则的基础上，经过双方共同努力，必将获得进一步的发展。

(人民数据库资料)

<数据库>=人民日报

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304

<Date> = 1971.03.31

<Edition> = 1

<Title> = congratulate my country and Kuwait established diplomatic relations

<Text> =

My Government and the Government of Kuwait through friendly negotiations, decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries. We express our heartfelt congratulations and a warm welcome.

Branch of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in full compliance with the fundamental interests and common aspirations of the two peoples. Our two peoples in the past have suffered from imperialist oppression, ravaged and plundered, and today they also faced with the task of opposing imperialism. Common experiences and common struggle, our two peoples together.

Kuwaiti people are brave people, hard-working people. In order to oppose imperialism and colonialism, the people of Kuwait have for a long struggle. Since independence in 1961, the people of Kuwait and the Arab nations to oppose US-Israeli aggressors, support the just struggle of the Palestinian people. Kuwait government and people to safeguard national sovereignty, protect their own resources, and other oil-exporting countries together recently for the US-led imperialist oil monopoly consortium a strong fight. Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of the people and the Government of Kuwait, and such support is seen as our bounden internationalist duty.

Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao talked about in Asia, Africa and Latin unity of the people when he said: "I hope we do not unite colonialists, uncooperative, unfriendly we must strengthen unity and enhance friendly cooperation to answer them. we must make a colonialist plot completely bankrupt. "

In recent years, mutual exchange of delegations between the two countries for a friendly visit, the friendly relations between the two countries continue to develop. Now, we have decided to establish diplomatic relations, bilateral relations opened a new page. This is in line with Asia, Africa and Latin people on three continents to strengthen solidarity, strengthen friendship and strengthening cooperation, the historical trend. We are convinced that, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in the Division of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence based on the joint efforts of both sides, will further development of.

(People's database information)

<Database> = People's Daily

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#### 2.3.4 N. 218

<日期>=1984.01.05

<版次>=6

<标题>=科威特首相接见我人大代表团

<作者>=新华社

新华社科威特 1 月 3 日电

科威特王储兼首相萨阿德今天上午在首相府接见以王任重副委员长为首的中国人大代表团全体成员，同他们进行了亲切友好的谈话。萨阿德代表科威特政府和人民对中国人大代表团的来访表示热烈欢迎。他说，科中两国之间的关系是良好的，两国领导人的互访必将进一步增进两国人民的相互了解和友谊。他对中国政府支持阿拉伯和巴勒斯坦事业的立场表示赞赏。王任重首先向萨阿德转达了赵紫阳总理的问候，他随后说，中国政府和人民赞赏科威特奉行的独立、中立和不结盟的政策，高度评价科威特在维护海湾地区的安全与稳定、恢复阿拉伯队伍的团结、支持巴勒斯坦人民的正义斗争等方面所作的努力，赞扬科威特对第三世界国家的慷慨援助。科威特国民议会议长穆罕默德·优素福·阿达萨尼和中国驻科威特

大使馆临时代办，接见时也在座。今天上午，中国人大代表团还旁听了科威特国民议会的每周例会，受到了阿达萨尼议长和全体议员的热烈欢迎。

<数据库>=人民日报

218

<Date>=1984.01.05

<Version>=6

<Title>=The Prime Minister of Kuwait meets with my delegation

<Author>=Xinhua News Agency

Xinhua News Agency, Kuwait, January 3

Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad met with all members of the Chinese People's Congress delegation headed by Vice Chairman Wang Renzhong at the Prime Minister's Office this morning and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. On behalf of the Kuwaiti government and people, Saad expressed warm welcome to the delegation of the Chinese People's Congress. He said that the relations between the two countries are good and the exchange of visits between the leaders of the two countries will further enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples. He expressed appreciation for the Chinese government's support for the Arab and Palestinian cause. Wang Renzhong first conveyed to Saad the greetings of Premier Zhao Ziyang. He later said that the Chinese government and people appreciate the independent, neutral and non-aligned policies pursued by Kuwait and highly value the security and stability of Kuwait in restoring the Gulf region. The efforts of the Arab team to unite and support the just struggle of the Palestinian people commended Kuwait's generous assistance to third world countries. The President of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, Mohamed Yusuf Adassani, and the Chargé d'affaires of the Chinese Embassy in Kuwait were also present at the meeting. This morning, the Chinese National People's Congress delegation also attended the weekly meeting of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, which was warmly welcomed by the Speaker of Adhasani and all the members.

<Database>=People's Daily

### 2.3.5 N. 210

<日期>=1984.04.12

<版次>=6

<标题>=吴学谦外长离突尼斯抵科威特访问科威特埃米尔接受访华邀请

<作者>=新华社

据新华社突尼斯4月10日电 中国国务委员兼外交部长吴学谦今天在结束对突尼斯3天的正式友好访问离开这里前往科威特时，在机场对报界说，他的这次访问获得成功，他对访问成果表示满意。

他说：“我同突尼斯外长和其他高级领导人就双边关系和国际上的重大问题广泛地交换了意见。双方对当前和共同关心的重大问题看法一致。”他说：“尽管我们两国地理位置相距遥远，但我们同属第三世界，我们都希望缓和国际紧张局势。”他在谈到中东问题时说“中国完全支持突尼斯和其他阿拉伯国家为公正、持久地解决中东问题所采取的立场。这就是说，必须尊重巴勒斯坦人民和阿拉伯人民的合法权利，谴责以色列的侵略、扩张。”

关于两伊战争，吴学谦说，中国“强烈希望尽快结束两个伊斯兰国家之间的这场战争，我们愿意参加阿拉伯国家或其他有关国家为推动这两个国家进行谈判的努力”。“在这方面，我们一贯采取严格的中立立场。我们从未向这两国的任何一方提供过武器”。

关于中、突双边关系，吴学谦指出，双方已研究了扩大经济和技术合作、文化交流的可能性。应科威特政府的邀请，中国国务委员兼外交部长吴学谦今天晚上从突尼斯到达这里，开始对科威特进行为期3天的正式友好访问。吴学谦在机场受到了科威特内阁事务国务大臣兼代理外交大臣阿卜杜勒·阿齐兹·侯赛因和科威特驻中国大使马哈米德等的迎接。中国驻科威特大使杨福昌和使馆其他外交官员也到机场迎接。吴学谦在机场对记者发表谈话说：“这是我第一次访问科威特。科威特是我们的友好国家，我早就想来访问，今天终于实现了我的愿望。我这次访问有两个目的：第一是会见科威特领导人，就双边关系和共同关心的国际问题交换意见；第二是看看科威特建设成就。”在谈到两伊战争时，吴学谦说：“中国政府对两伊战争的不断扩大深表关切。我们曾经先后邀请伊朗和伊拉克外

交部长访问中国，向他们表示了我们的立场。我们希望伊朗和伊拉克通过协商的方式和平解决它们之间的争端，尽早结束这场战争。”

当记者问到传说中国向伊朗提供武器的问题时，吴学谦强调说：“中国在两伊战争中严守中立立场，没有也决不向任何一方提供武器。”在谈到最近中越边境事件时，吴学谦对记者说：“越南坚持反中国立场，在中越边界集结重兵，经常在边境地区挑起事件。我们这次对越南的反击是被迫的，因为它最近又发动了武装挑衅。”新华社科威特4月11日电 科威特埃米尔贾比尔今天愉快地接受了中华人民共和国主席李先念向他发出的访华邀请。贾比尔是今天上午在海滨宫接见正在这里访问的中国国务委员兼外交部长吴学谦时接受这一邀请的。吴学谦向贾比尔递交了李先念主席的邀请信，并转达了中国领导人对他的问候。贾比尔感谢李先念主席对他发出的访华邀请，他表示，他很希望再次访华，并请吴学谦转达他对中国领导人的问候。贾比尔赞扬了中、科两国的友谊，希望双方的合作关系得到进一步发展。科威特内阁事务国务大臣兼代理外交大臣侯赛因和中国驻科威特大使杨福昌接见时在座。

<数据库>=人民日报

210

<Date>=1984.04.12

<Version>=6

<Title> = Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian from Tunisia to Kuwait to visit Kuwaiti Emir to accept an invitation to visit China

<Author>=Xinhua News Agency

According to Xinhua News Agency, Tunisia, April 10, Chinese State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian left the airport here today for a three-day official goodwill visit to Tunisia. He told the press at the airport that his visit was successful. The results of the visit were satisfactory.

He said: "I have extensively exchanged views with the Tunisian Foreign Minister and other senior leaders on bilateral relations and major international issues. The two sides agree on the current and major issues of common concern." He said: "Although our two countries' geography the distance is far apart, but we are both in the third world. We all want to ease international tensions." When talking about the Middle East issue, he said



"China fully supports the position taken by Tunisia and other Arab countries for a just and lasting solution to the Middle East issue. That is to say, we must respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab people and condemn Israel's aggression and expansion."

Regarding the Iran-Iraq war, Wu Xueqian said that China "strongly hopes to end this war between the two Islamic countries as soon as possible. We are willing to participate in the Arab countries or other relevant countries to promote the negotiations between the two countries." "In this regard, we have always adopted a strict neutral position. We have never provided weapons to any of the two countries."

Regarding the bilateral relations between China and Turkey, Wu Xueqian pointed out that the two sides have studied the possibility of expanding economic and technological cooperation and cultural exchanges. At the invitation of the Kuwaiti government, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian arrived here this evening from Tunisia and began a three-day official goodwill visit to Kuwait. At the airport, the Minister of State greeted Wu Xueqian for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Abdul Aziz Hussein, and Kuwaiti Ambassador to China Mahmoud. Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Yang Fuchang and other diplomatic officials of the Embassy also greeted the airport. Wu Xueqian said to the reporter at the airport: "This is my first visit to Kuwait. Kuwait is our friendly country. I have long wanted to visit. Today I finally realized my wish. My visit has two purposes: First, I met with the Kuwaiti leaders and exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern. The second is to look at the achievements of Kuwait's construction." When talking about the Iran-Iraq war, Wu Xueqian said: "The Chinese government's continuous expansion of the Iran-Iraq war we are deeply concerned. We have invited Iranian and Iraqi Foreign Ministers to visit China and express our position to them. We hope that Iran and Iraq will peacefully resolve their disputes through consultations and end the war as soon as possible."

When the reporter asked about the issue of China's supply of weapons to Iran, Wu Xueqian emphasized: "China strictly adheres to the neutral position in the Iran-Iraq war and has never provided weapons to any party." When talking about the recent Sino-Vietnamese border incident, Wu Xueqian The reporter said: "Vietnam adheres to the anti-China stance, gathers heavy troops on the Sino-Vietnamese border, and often provokes incidents in the border areas. Our counterattack against Vietnam is forced

because it has recently launched armed provocations." Xinhua News Agency Kuwait  
On April 11th, Kuwaiti Emir Jabir today happily accepted the invitation of Li Xiannian, President of the People's Republic of China, to visit China. Jabir accepted this invitation when he met with Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian who was visiting here at the Waterfront Palace this morning. Wu Xueqian submitted to Jabir the invitation letter of Chairman Li Xiannian and conveyed the greetings from the Chinese leaders. Jabir thanked Chairman Li Xiannian for his invitation to visit China. He said that he hoped to visit China again and asked Wu Xueqian to convey his regards to the Chinese leaders. Jabir praised the friendship between China and Kosovo and hoped that the cooperation between the two sides will be further developed. Kuwaiti Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs and Acting Foreign Secretary Hussein and Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait Yang Fuchang were present at the meeting.

### **2.3.6 N. 185 ( Parliament cooperation)**

<日期>=1984.08.25

<版次>=1

<标题>=赵紫阳会见科威特议会代表团时说 我国衷心希望两伊战争尽早结束

<作者>=新华社

新华社北京 8 月 2 4 日电

国务院总理赵紫阳今天下午在中南海紫光阁会见由穆罕默德·优素福·阿德萨尼议长率领的科威特国民议会代表团。在友好的交谈中，赵紫阳赞扬科威特政府和人民在维护国家独立，发展民族经济和改善人民生活方面取得了非常显著的成绩。他说，科威特政府在维护阿拉伯国家团结和海湾地区的安全与稳定、支持阿富汗人民和柬埔寨人民的正义事业以及在南南合作方面都获得了国际社会的赞扬。阿德萨尼在讲话中介绍了海湾地区的形势，特别是两伊战争的局势。他希望世界各国能为促使海湾地区局势的稳定作出努力。赵紫阳说，他希望有关组织和国家其中包括科威特在内调解两伊冲突的努力取得进展。他指出，海湾地区不安定的主要根源是直接或间接地来自两个超级大国的争夺。他说，“伊朗和伊拉克都是我们的友好国家。我们衷心地希望两伊战争能尽早地结束。”在谈到双边关系时，赵紫阳说，自中科建交以来，两国关系一直很好。他还说，中国实行对外开放政策。中国经济合作的大门对科威特和其他海湾国家也是敞开着。阿

德萨尼说，科威特希望进一步同中国发展经济和其他各方面的合作关系。赵紫阳请阿德萨尼转达李先念主席和其他中国领导人以及他本人对科威特艾米尔贾比尔·艾哈迈德·萨巴赫的问候。赵紫阳再次表示希望科威特王储兼首相萨阿德·阿卜杜拉·萨巴赫在他方便的时候来中国访问。人大常委会委员顾大椿，副秘书长王厚德和科威特驻华大使马哈米德等会见时在座。

赵紫阳会见科威特国民议会议长。 新华社记者摄

<数据库>=人民日报

185

<Date>=1984.08.25

<Version>=1

<Title>=Zhao Ziyang met with the Kuwaiti parliamentary delegation and said that China sincerely hopes that the Iran-Iraq war will end soon.

<Author>=Xinhua News Agency

Xinhua News Agency, Beijing, August 24th

Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council, met here this afternoon with a delegation of the Kuwaiti National Assembly led by Speaker Mohamed Yusuf Aladsani in Ziguangge, Zhongnanhai. In a friendly conversation, Zhao Ziyang praised the Kuwaiti government and people for their remarkable achievements in safeguarding national independence, developing the national economy and improving people's lives. He said that the Kuwaiti government has won praises from the international community for safeguarding Arab countries' solidarity and security and stability in the Gulf region, supporting the just cause of the Afghan people and the Cambodian people, and South-South cooperation. In his speech, Aladsani introduced the situation in the Gulf region, especially the situation in the Iran-Iraq war. He hopes that countries around the world can make efforts to promote stability in the Gulf region. Zhao Ziyang said that he hopes that the efforts of the relevant organizations and countries, including Kuwait, to mediate the Iran-Iraq conflict will make progress. He pointed out that the main source of instability in the Gulf region is the direct or indirect competition from two superpowers. He said, "Iran and Iraq are our friendly countries. We sincerely hope that the Iran-Iraq war will end soon." When talking about bilateral relations, Zhao Ziyang said that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, relations between the two countries have been very good. . He also said that China implements a

policy of opening up to the outside world. The door to China's economic cooperation is also open to Kuwait and other Gulf countries. Adsani said that Kuwait hopes to further develop economic and other cooperative relations with China. Zhao Ziyang asked Adsani to convey the greetings of Chairman Li Xiannian and other Chinese leaders and himself to Kuwaiti Amir Jabir Ahmed Al-Sabah. Zhao Ziyang once again expressed the hope that Kuwait's Crown Prince and Prime Minister Saad Abdullah Al-Sabah will visit China at his convenience. Member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Gu Dazhao, Deputy Secretary-General Wang Houde and Kuwaiti Ambassador to China Mahmoud were present at the meeting.

Zhao Ziyang met with the President of the Kuwaiti National Assembly.

Xinhua News Agency photo

<Database>=People's Daily

### 2.3.7 N. 118

<日期>=1986.05.06

<版次>=6

<标题>=中国和海湾国家加强经济合作 中国科威特投资问题讨论会开幕

<作者>=唐继赞

新华社科威特 5 月 4 日电

中国—科威特投资问题讨论会昨下午在科威特阿拉伯经济发展基金会总部开幕。以国务委员张劲夫为团长的中国代表团 和以财政和经济大臣哈拉菲为团长的科威特代表团参加了讨论会。来自中国七十家公司和企业的代表，五十六家科威特和其它海湾国家的公司代表也参加了讨论会。

张劲夫在开幕式上发表讲话说，中国和海湾国家之间的经济合作有着巨大的潜力。海湾地区丰富的石油资源为海湾国家积累了大量资金，从而可以向国外投资，而巨大的中国市场也为中国提供了吸收外国资本的好机会。

张劲夫说，在第七个五年计划期间，中国将鼓励外国商人在诸如能源开发、交通运输、港口和码头建设、新型建筑材料、邮电、电力、轻工业和农业等许多重要领域 投资。他还说：“我们特别鼓励外国投资者将资金用于高技术项目和那些产品能够出口赚取外汇的项目。”

张劲夫强调，中国和海湾国家应将各自的长处融合成一股新的更巨大的力量，以便为繁荣各自的国家，振兴第三世界，促进南南合作和国际经济作出贡献。他赞扬了中国和科威特之间的友好合作关系，并表示希望中国的企业和海湾国家的金融和商业界共同工作，使它们之间的合作成为南南合作的典范，并促进中国、科威特和海湾国家之间的友谊。

哈拉菲在讲话中赞扬了科中两国的友好合作关系。他说，这次讨论会旨在让科威特和其它海湾国家的投资者熟悉在中国的投资环境和机会，同时也为相互交换观点提供机会，以使他们能更好地了解中国的经济形势和可能的投资领域。

中国经济代表团是5月3日抵达科威特的。

<数据库>=人民日报

118

<Date>=1986.05.06

<Version>=6

<Title> = China and the Gulf States strengthen economic cooperation China Kuwait Investment Forum opens

<Author>=Tang Jizan

Xinhua News Agency, Kuwait, May 4th

The China-Kuwait Investment Symposium opened yesterday afternoon at the headquarters of the Kuwait Arab Economic Development Foundation. The Chinese delegation headed by State Councilor Zhang Jinfu and the Kuwaiti delegation headed by Finance and Economy Minister Harafi attended the seminar. Representatives from 70 companies and companies in China, and representatives from 56 companies in Kuwait and other Gulf countries also participated in the seminar.

Zhang Jinfu said at the opening ceremony that economic cooperation between China and the Gulf countries has great potential. The rich oil resources of the Gulf region have accumulated a large amount of funds for the Gulf countries, so that they can invest abroad, and the huge Chinese market provides China with a good opportunity to absorb foreign capital.

Zhang Jinfu said that during the seventh five-year plan, China will encourage foreign businessmen to invest in many important areas such as energy development, transportation, port and terminal construction, new building materials, post and

telecommunications, electricity, light industry and agriculture. He also said: "We especially encourage foreign investors to use funds for high-tech projects and those products that can be exported to earn foreign exchange."

Zhang Jinfu emphasized that China and the Gulf countries should integrate their respective strengths into a new and greater force in order to contribute to the prosperity of their respective countries, the revitalization of the third world, and the promotion of South-South cooperation and the international economy. He praised the friendly and cooperative relationship between China and Kuwait and expressed the hope that Chinese enterprises and the financial and business communities of the Gulf countries will work together to make cooperation between them a model of South-South cooperation and promote China, Kuwait and Friendship between the Gulf States.

In his speech, AlKharifi praised the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries. He said that the seminar aims to familiarize investors in Kuwait and other Gulf countries with the investment environment and opportunities in China, and also provide opportunities for exchange of views so that they can better understand China's economic situation and possible Investment area.

The Chinese economic delegation arrived in Kuwait on May 3.

<Database>=People's Daily

### **2.3.8 N. 6 ( report on Chinese president to Kuwait)**

6

<日期>=1989.12.22

<版次>=4

<标题>=科威特外交事务国务大臣对我记者说 杨主席来访是科中关系史上新的里程碑

<作者>=吴毅宏;安国章;新华社

新华社科威特 1 2 月 1 9 日电

科威特外交事务国务大臣萨乌德·阿塞米今天在这里说，科威特政府和人民正期待着中国国家主席杨尚昆对科威特进行正式友好访问。阿塞米是在接受《人民日报》、中央电视台、新华社记者采访时说这番话的。他说，科威特政府和人民

为中国主席即将访科感到高兴。科威特把杨主席的访问看作科中关系史上一个新的里程碑，它必将为科中两国关系的进一步发展起到巨大的推动作用。阿塞米认为，杨主席访科是在科中两国友好合作关系朝着更加广阔领域发展的形势下进行的。他指出，科威特是最早同中国建交的海湾国家之一。自1971年建交以来，科中两国关系一直在稳固地向前发展，政府间交流频繁，经济合作取得了令人满意的成果。他表示相信，随着科中两国领导人接触的增加，两国的友好合作关系将会得到进一步的巩固和发展。

在谈到中国同其他海湾国家关系的前景时，阿塞米指出，中国在海湾已经有了一个良好的开端，特别是中国同海湾国家的贸易往来，同10年前相比，已经有了一个很大的飞跃。他表示相信，随着中国同海湾国家在政治、经济和文化等方面的交往不断增加，中国同海湾各国的关系将会变得更加密切。

在此之前，科威特新闻大臣贾比尔·哈马德也接见了中国记者组。由《人民日报》和中央电视台一行4人组成的中国记者组应科威特新闻部的邀请于12月14日抵达科威特，开始为期6天的访问。新华社科威特12月19日电 科威特工商部次官哈马德在接见新华社记者时表示，杨尚昆主席即将进行的对科威特的访问，是一件“非常重大的事情”，它“必将促进两国关系的发展”。他对不断增长的两国贸易表示满意。1988年，两国贸易达到2.34亿美元，比1987年增长66.4%。科威特从中国主要进口食品和工业品，向中国出口化肥。哈马德说，两国在经济领域的合作也反映了两国关系的加强。1982年以来，科威特已向中国提供多笔长期、低息贷款，以支援中国13个工程的建设，其中7个工程项目已经竣工。此外，科威特向中国的3个大型项目进行了投资。这3个项目是秦皇岛化肥厂、北京一处房屋工程和南海一油田工程。

<数据库>=人民日报

6

<Date>=1989.12.22

<Version>=4

<Title>=The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait told my reporter that President Yang's visit is a new milestone in the history of Sino-Kuwaiti relations.

<Author>=Wu Yihong; An Guozhang; Xinhua News Agency

Xinhua News Agency, Kuwait, December 19th

Kuwait's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Saoud Al Osaimi, said here today that the Kuwaiti government and people are looking forward to Chinese President Yang Shangkun's official goodwill visit to Kuwait. Alosaimi made the remarks in an interview with the People's Daily, CCTV, and Xinhua News Agency. He said that the Kuwaiti government and people are happy that the Chinese president will visit the branch. Kuwait regards President Yang's visit as a new milestone in the history of Sino-Kuwaiti relations, which will surely play a huge role in promoting the further development of relations between the two countries. Alosaimi believes that Chairman Yang's visit to the country is carried out under the situation that the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries are developing in a broader field. He pointed out that Kuwait was one of the first Gulf countries to establish diplomatic relations with China. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1971, relations between the two countries have been developing steadily, exchanges between governments have been frequent, and economic cooperation has achieved satisfactory results. He expressed the belief that with the increase in contacts between the leaders of the two countries, the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries will be further consolidated and developed.

When talking about the prospects of China's relations with other Gulf countries, Alosaimi pointed out that China has already had a good start in the Gulf, especially China's trade with the Gulf countries. Compared with 10 years ago. He expressed the belief that as China's political, economic and cultural exchanges with the Gulf countries continue to increase, China's relations with the Gulf countries will become closer.

Prior to this, Kuwaiti Minister of Information Jabir Hamad also met with the Chinese Journalists Group. The Chinese Journalists Group, consisting of four people from the People's Daily and CCTV, arrived in Kuwait on December 14 at the invitation of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Information and began a six-day visit. Xinhua News Agency, Kuwait, December 19th, Kuwaiti Minister of Industry and Commerce Hamad said in a meeting with Xinhua News Agency that President Yang Shangkun's upcoming visit to Kuwait is a "very important thing" and it will "promote the two countries." The development of relationships." He is satisfied with the growing trade between the two countries. In 1988, trade between the two countries reached 234 million US dollars, an increase of 66.4% over 1987. Kuwait imports mainly food and industrial products from China and exports fertilizer to China. Hamad said that the cooperation between the two



countries in the economic field also reflects the strengthening of bilateral relations. Since 1982, Kuwait has provided China with a number of long-term, low-interest loans to support the construction of 13 projects in China, of which 7 projects have been completed. In addition, Kuwait has invested in three large projects in China. The three projects are Qinhuangdao Fertilizer Plant, a housing project in Beijing and a Nanhai Oilfield Project.

<Database>=People's Daily

### 2.3.9 Xinhua 93 ( investment and economic cooperation)

<日期>=1987.04.24

<版次>=6

<标题>=中科友好合作前景广阔——访科威特投资总局局长拉希德博士

<作者>=朱梦魁

年仅40岁的拉希德博士在科威特主管投资事务，并兼任科威特大学商学院的教授。他曾于去年随科威特财政大臣哈拉菲访问中国，对中科两国开展经济合作抱有信心。今年2月，记者就科威特的投资政策和中科经济合作等问题采访了拉希德博士。

从70年代起，科威特开始将剩余的石油资金投放到国际市场。在1982年至1983年财政年度，科威特的投资收入首次超过石油收入。目前，科威特对外投资总额约800亿美元。过去，科威特的大部分对外投资网点集中在美国、西欧和日本。近几年来，为适应国际政治经济形势的变化，科威特稳步调整对外投资政策，实行投资形式多元化。拉希德博士就此打了一个生动的比喻：“科威特将不再把鸡蛋放在一个篮子里。”为此，科威特对60多个发展中国家提供了约50亿美元的信贷。这些国家包括16个阿拉伯国家、28个非洲国家和其他一些亚洲和拉美国家。当前，科威特政府正考虑制定在中国、土耳其、印度和苏联扩大投资的新计划。拉希德博士说，“科威特向发展中国家提供资金援助，主要目的在于促进南南合作，帮助经济困难的国家兴建发展项目。”

拉希德博士兴致勃勃地对记者说，“中国的现代化建设和吸引外资的政策，无论对科威特官方机构还是私营企业都具有很大的吸引力。科威特在中国投资的宗

旨是平等互利与友好合作，我们要使投资业务能做到把握机会、有竞争力、形式多样和安全稳定。”

近两年来，科威特同中国的经济合作项目不断增加，北京丝绸厂设备更新、山东齐鲁建筑陶瓷厂、厦门机场扩建工程只是其中的几例。在合资经营方面，中科双方也在努力探索经验。中科合资建造和经营的北京花园公寓将在今年年底交付使用。这是海湾国家在中国投资最大的一个住宅建设项目。由中国、科威特和突尼斯合资兴建的秦皇岛磷酸氨化肥厂，由突尼斯供应磷酸盐原料，中国提供劳力，计划年产化肥60万吨。三个发展中国家这一多边合作的形式，被认为是第三世界经济合作的新尝试。科威特财政大臣哈拉菲对报界表示，“科威特对向中国直接投资很感兴趣。”科威特埃米尔贾比尔也说，“希望中科友好合作结出更多的硕果。”正是在这样的基础上，中科双方于去年11月商定成立“中科经济、技术和贸易混合委员会”。

拉希德博士认为，中国是科威特投资与经济合作的重要伙伴。为了双方的利益，中科两国都需要推动合作的进程，扩大合作的范围。目前，中科两国的经济合作涉及信贷、金融、劳务、直接投资与合营项目等方面，科威特在中国的投资额已达3.5亿美元左右。在谈到扩大中科投资合作领域时，拉希德博士提出了具体的建议和设想。他说，“在中科现有合作的基础上，两国可进一步发展在农业、工业以及食品等轻工业方面的经济合作。例如，科威特提供资金，由中国出人力物力，引进外国的先进设备，共同生产取代进口的商品。此外，中科双方可以利用各自传统产品的优势，以联合公司或合作机构的形式在第三国开辟合营项目。如果具备条件，今后中科还有可能在国际金融和银行业务方面携手合作。”

作为第三世界的产油国，科威特在向发展中国家提供长期优惠信贷和在这些国家开展投资活动方面作出了很大的努力。当前，中科在投资和其他经济领域中的合作形势令人鼓舞。中科双方都希望在平等、互利和有效合作的基础上，为发展南南合作而不断探索新的途径和取得新的经验。

<数据库>=人民日报

93

<Date>=1987.04.24

<Version>=6

<Title> = China-Kuwait friendly cooperation has broad prospects - Interview with Dr. Rashid, Director of the Kuwait Investment Authority

<Author>=Zhu Mengkui

Dr. Rashid, 40, is in charge of investment affairs in Kuwait and is a professor at the University of Kuwait Business School. He visited China with Kuwaiti Finance Minister Al Kharafi last year and has confidence in the economic cooperation between China and Kuwait. In February of this year, the reporter interviewed Dr. Rashid on issues such as Kuwait's investment policy and China-Kuwait economic cooperation.

Since the 1970s, Kuwait has begun to put the remaining oil funds into the international market. For the first time in the fiscal year 1982-1983, Kuwait's investment income exceeded oil revenue for the first time. At present, Kuwait's total foreign investment is about 80 billion US dollars. In the past, most of Kuwait's foreign investment outlets were concentrated in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. In recent years, in order to adapt to changes in the international political and economic situation, Kuwait has steadily adjusted its foreign investment policy and diversified its investment forms. Dr. Rashid made a vivid analogy: "Kuwait will no longer put eggs in a basket." To this end, Kuwait has provided about \$5 billion in credit to more than 60 developing countries. These countries include 16 Arab countries, 28 African countries and some other Asian and Latin American countries. Currently, the Kuwaiti government is considering new plans to expand investment in China, Turkey, India and the Soviet Union. Dr. Rashid said "Kuwait provides financial assistance to developing countries with the main purpose of promoting South-South cooperation and helping countries with economic difficulties to build development projects."

Dr. Rashid told reporters with great enthusiasm, "China's modernization and foreign investment policies are very attractive to both Kuwaiti government agencies and private companies. Kuwait's investment in China is based on equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation. We must enable the investment business to seize opportunities, be competitive, have diverse forms and be safe and stable."

In the past two years, the economic cooperation projects between Kuwait and China have been increasing. The equipment renewal of the Beijing Silk Factory, the Shandong Qilu Building Ceramics Factory and the Xiamen Airport Expansion Project are just a few examples. In terms of joint ventures, China and Kuwait are also working hard to

explore experience, Beijing Garden Apartment, which is jointly built and operated by Zhongke, will be delivered at the end of this year. This is the largest residential construction project in the Gulf countries in China. The Qinhuangdao Phosphate Ammonia Fertilizer Plant, which is jointly built by China, Kuwait and Tunisia, supplies phosphate raw materials from Tunisia. China provides labor and plans to produce 600,000 tons of fertilizer per year. The three forms of multilateral cooperation among developing countries are considered to be new attempts for third world economic cooperation. Kuwaiti Finance Minister Al kharafi told the press that "Kuwait is very interested in direct investment in China." Kuwaiti Amir Jabir also said, "I hope that China-Kuwait friendly cooperation will bear more fruits." It is in this way. On the basis of this, China and the United States agreed in November last year to establish the "China Science and Technology, Technology and Trade Mixed Commission."

Dr. Rashid believes that China is an important partner of Kuwait's investment and economic cooperation. For the benefit of both sides, both China and Kuwait need to promote the process of cooperation and expand the scope of cooperation. At present, China-Kuwait economic cooperation involves credit, finance, labor, direct investment and joint venture projects. Kuwait's investment in China has reached about 350 million US dollars. When talking about expanding the field of investment cooperation between China and the United States, Dr. Rashid made specific suggestions and ideas. He said, "On the basis of the existing cooperation between China and the United States, the two countries can further develop economic cooperation in light industry such as agriculture, industry and food. For example, Kuwait provides funds, human resources and resources from China, and the introduction of foreign advanced equipment. Co-production replaces imported goods. In addition, China and the United States can use the advantages of their traditional products to open joint venture projects in third countries in the form of joint companies or cooperative institutions. If conditions are met, it is possible that China Science and Technology may be in international finance and banking in the future. Business cooperation."

As a third-world oil producer, Kuwait has made great efforts to provide long-term preferential credit to developing countries and to invest in these countries. At present, the cooperation situation of Zhongke in investment and other economic fields is encouraging. Both China and Kebo hope to continuously explore new ways and gain new experiences for the development of South-South cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and effective cooperation.

### 2.3.10 ( Newspaper article on China's view on the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait)

中国呼吁国际社会为和平解决海湾危机继续作出努力

浙江日报/1990-12-01/ 第 4 版面/ 【 大中小 】

新华社联合国十一月二十九日消息中国外交部长钱其琛今天下午在安理会讨论海湾局势时重申中国政府要求伊拉克立即撤出科威特、恢复科威特的主权、独立、领土完整和科威特合法政府，再次呼吁国际社会为和平解决海湾危机继续作出努力。

钱外长说，伊拉克入侵和吞并科威特至今已近四个月了。国际社会为解决海湾危机进行了各种努力，安理会也连续通过了十一项决议。令人遗憾的是，伊拉克拒绝执行这些决议，甚至没有作出将其军队撤出科威特的表示。海湾局势愈加紧张，爆发战争的危险日益增加，中国政府对此深感忧虑和不安。十一月六日至十二日，为了解各方对解决海湾危机的意见，探讨和平解决危机的可能性，我本人对这个地区的一些国家进行了工作访问，并当面向伊拉克领导人严肃地转达了国际社会敦促他们从速撤出科威特的要求，阐明了中国政府的严正立场。通过访问，我深感国际社会普遍对海湾局势有两点共识，即：都反对伊拉克侵吞科威特，要求它立即撤出科威特；都希望和平解决海湾危机。今天，当安理会成员国的外交部长们再次在这里聚会的时候，我认为我们当中也存在着这种共同认识。

联合国作为一个维护和平与安全的国际组织，既要国际安全负责，也要对历史负责。联合国在授权一些成员国对另一个成员国采取军事行动这样的重大问题上应当十分慎重，避免匆忙行事。中国对过去十一个有关决议都投赞成票，是因为那十一个决议所规定的制裁措施尽管严厉，都不属于动用武力的范围。即将表决的这个决议草案采用了“使用一切必要手段”的措词，实质上是允许采取军事行动，而这一内容有悖于中国政府力主和平解决的一贯立场，因此，中国代表团难以对这决议案投赞成票；另一方面，海湾危机是由于伊拉克入侵和吞并科威特而引起的，伊拉克至今未在从科威特撤军这个关键问题上采取实际行动，我们注意到，即将表决的这个决议草案同时也要求伊拉克充分遵守安理会六百六十号决议和其他有关决议，也就是要求伊拉克立即从科威特撤军，对这一点中国是赞成的，因此中国对这个决议草案将不投反对票。

China calls on the international community to continue its efforts to solve the Gulf crisis peacefully

Zhejiang Daily / 1990-12-01 / 4th Edition / 【Large Medium Small】

Xinhua News Agency, United Nations, November 29 Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen reiterated in the Security Council's discussion of the Gulf situation this afternoon that the Chinese government demands that Iraq immediately withdraw from Kuwait and restore Kuwait's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the legitimate government of Kuwait once again. We call on the international community to continue its efforts to solve the Gulf crisis peacefully.

Foreign Minister Qian said that it has been nearly four months since Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait. The international community has made various efforts to solve the Gulf crisis. The Security Council has passed 11 successive resolutions. Regrettably, Iraq has refused to implement these resolutions and has not even said that it has withdrawn its troops from Kuwait. The tense situation in the Gulf and the increasing danger of a war broke out. The Chinese government is deeply concerned and uneasy about this. From November 6 to 12, I personally paid a working visit to some countries in the region in order to understand the parties' opinions on resolving the Gulf crisis and explore the possibility of resolving the crisis peacefully. When facing the seriousness of the Iraqi leaders Conveyed the call of the international community to urge them to withdraw from Kuwait expeditiously and clarified the solemn position of the Chinese government. Through my visit, I am deeply convinced that there are two common understandings on the part of the international community about the Gulf situation. They all oppose Iraq's embezzlement of Kuwait and its immediate withdrawal from Kuwait. Both hope for a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. Today, when the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the members of the Security Council meet here again, I think there is such a common understanding among us.

As an international organization that maintains peace and security, the United Nations is responsible for both international security and history. The United Nations should be very cautious about such major issues as authorizing some member states to take military action against another member country and refrain from hurriedly acting. China voted in favor of the 11 relevant resolutions in the past because the sanctions stipulated in the 11 resolutions, though harsh, are beyond the scope of the use of force. The draft

resolution to be voted on adopts the wording "using all necessary means" and in essence allows the military action to be taken, which is contrary to the consistent position that the Chinese government advocates for the peaceful settlement. Therefore, it is difficult for the Chinese delegation to comment on this resolution voted in favor; on the other hand, the Gulf crisis was caused by Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait and Iraq has so far not taken any concrete action on this crucial issue of withdrawal from Kuwait. We have noticed that the draft resolution to be voted on also Asking China to fully comply with Security Council resolution 660 and other relevant resolutions, that is, to require Iraq to withdraw its troops immediately from Kuwait is in favor of this point, China will not vote against this draft resolution.

### 3. Taiwanese Archives

#### 3.1 National Archives Administration National Department Council

國家發展委員會檔案管理局

Since travelling to Taiwan was not a recommended option due to the One China Policy. I asked a friend from Taiwan to access this archive personally. He sent me scans of documents he found from 1963 he couldn't access other dates, as I believe the request to access this archive two weeks to be approved. Most of the documents found in this archive are from 1963. Other than official letters and telegrams there were newspaper articles from The Daily Star Beirut, which seemed to be a source of information used by the Republic of China (Taiwan)'s foreign ministry to follow up Kuwait's domestic and regional relations. I selected a few significant documents to illustrate important issues unfortunately no other sources of information on Kuwait are found beyond 1963. All the documents are English and I have kept their original serial number and produced a table below with information. The Sample documents have selected, gives an idea of the documents found in this archive, a few important correspondence that are important Kuwait's relation with Taiwan in that period.

Date and serial number	Information	details	Source
00019 1963	Kuwait's history and background		
0020 1963	Continued	Focus on Kuwait soviet relations	
0022 3/8/1963	Kuwait decides to help Yemen with a yearly assistance of 500,000 pounds.		The daily star Beirut
0023 30/8/1963	Sabah to lead Kuwait team at the UN met	Spoke about Kuwait's priority to the Arab issues and Kuwait's financial support to Arab countries via the Kuwait Fund and Kuwait is establishing its army and naval forces.	The daily star Beirut
0027 2/10/1963	End of two-year dispute between Iraq and Kuwait	There are several related articles in the archive referring to the parliament's approval of the government's deal with Iraq. High official bilateral visits then Iraq will recognize the	The daily star Beirut



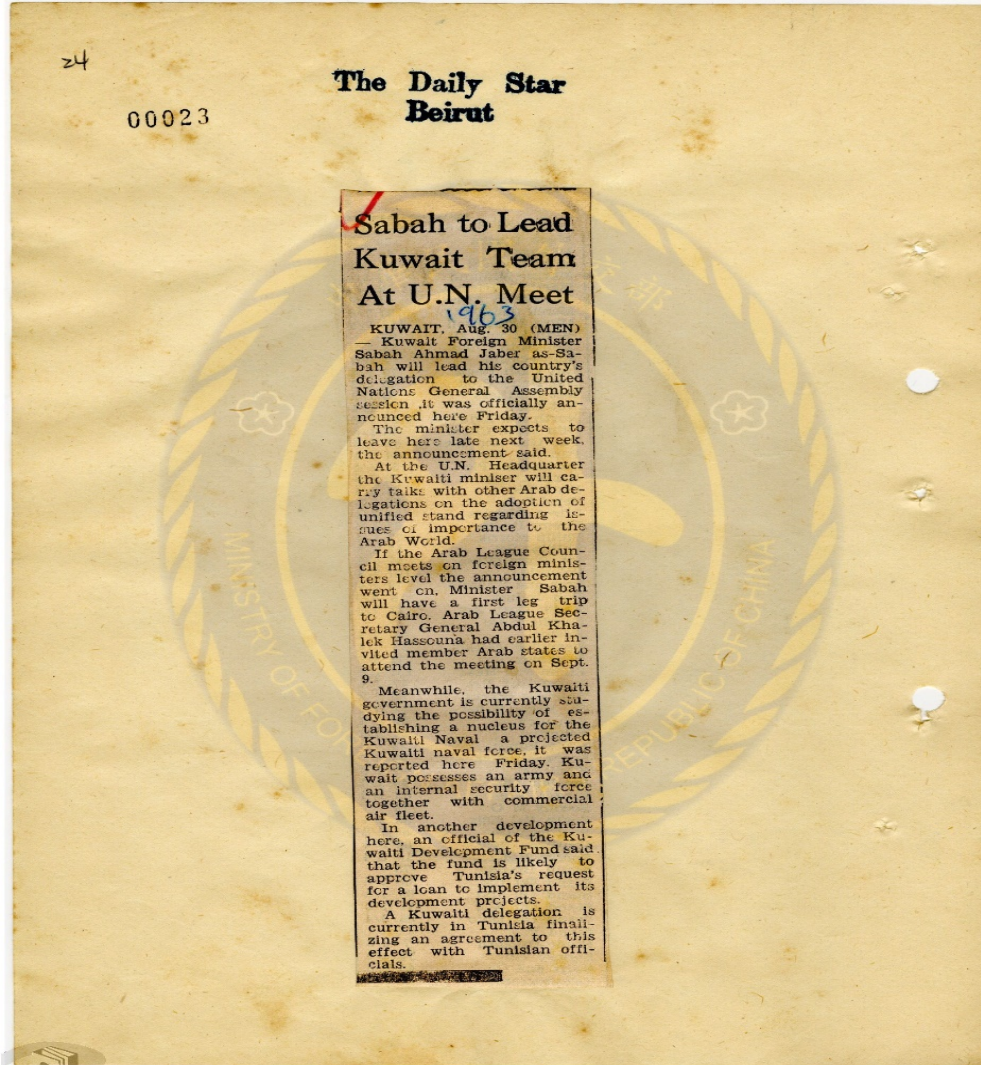
		sovereignty of Kuwait and Kuwait will pay 30 million loan to Iraq.	
0029 2/10/1963	Kuwaiti cabinet reshuffles		The daily star Beirut
0030 4/10/1963	Kuwait Saudi talks on neutral zone	Oil fields and land distribution on a 50-50 bases.	The Daily Star Beirut
0067 25/8/1963	A response letter from the Kuwaiti Ambassador to Tehran to the Taiwanese ambassador to Tehran	Discussing visit to establish formal bilateral relations	Ministry of foreign affairs
0068 19/8/1963	A letter from the Taiwanese Ambassador in Tehran to the Kuwaiti Ambassador in Tehran	It seems that the liaison was through both embassies in Iran	Ministry of foreign affairs
00100 March 1963	Kuwait may revive UN application		The Daily Star Beirut
00103 12/5/1963	Kuwait slated to be 111 <sup>th</sup> member of the UN		China post
00101	Kuwaiti delegation to the UN		Ministry of Foreign Affairs
00138 21/11/1963	Joint communique signed by the Taiwanese ambassador in Tehran and the Kuwaiti foreign minister		Ministry of Foreign Affairs
00143 2/12/1963	A letter from the Vice president to the Crown Prince of Kuwait on the formation of diplomatic relations.		Ministry of Foreign Affairs
00149 6/12/1963	A letter from the Taiwanese president to the Amir of Kuwait		Ministry of Foreign Affairs
00154 11/12/1963	A telegram in response to the	Kuwaiti Foreign minister to the	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

	Taiwanese's nomination to its first ambassador to Kuwait	Taiwanese foreign minister	
00176 10/5/1963	A response to a thank you letter from the Kuwaiti Foreign minister on Taiwan's support in Kuwait's admission to the UN and the Taiwanese foreign minister congratulates Kuwait on that occasion.	He mentions Kuwait had previously hosted a Taiwanese special delegation to Kuwait on August 1961. There is no detail on this matter maybe within the UN envoys.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
00177 9/10/1963	A gratitude letter from the Kuwaiti Foreign minister		Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Sample documents :

3.1.1 Information regarding the Kuwaiti team that attended 1963 UN General Assembly to vote on Kuwait's membership. From Daily Star Beirut.

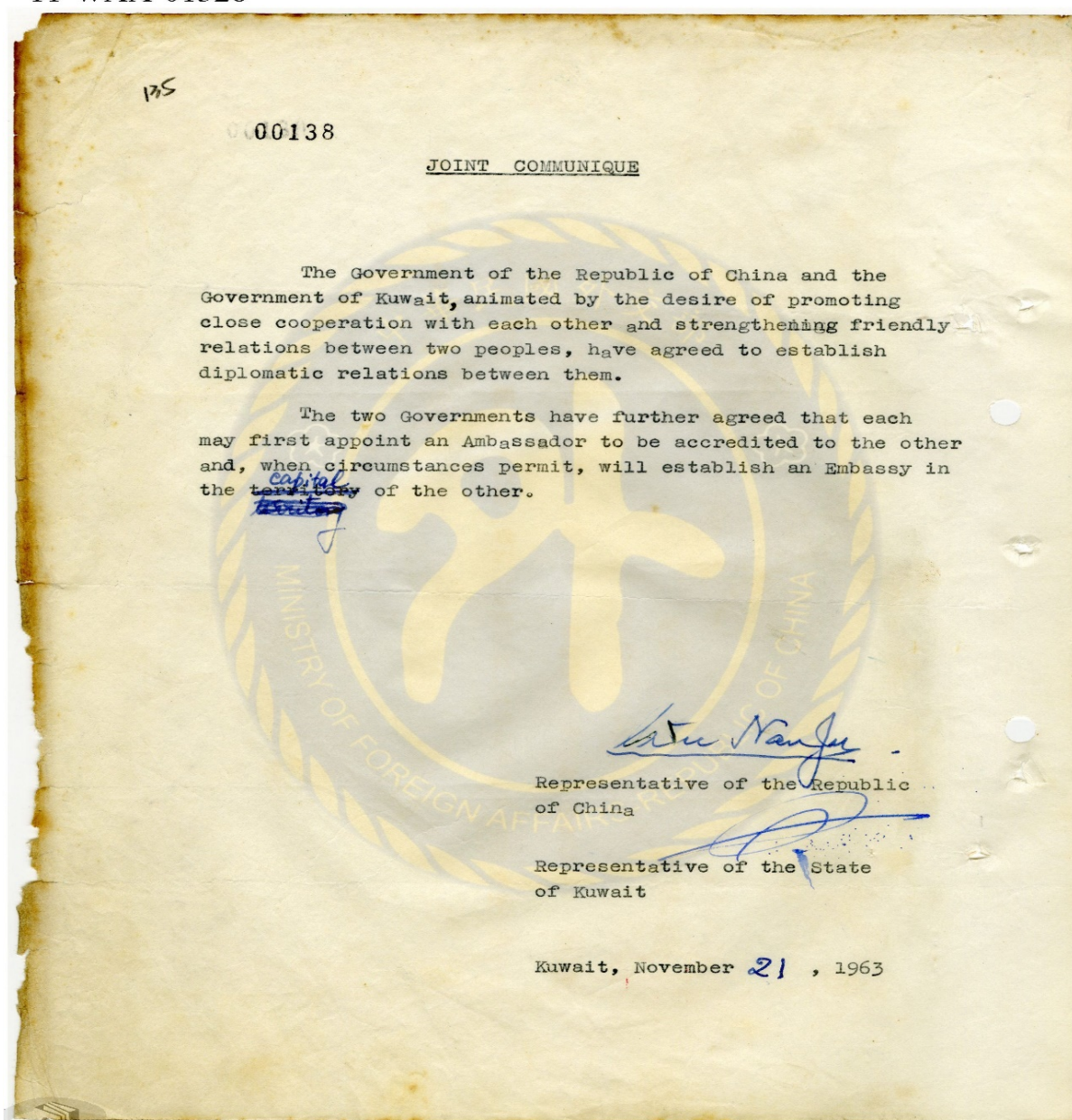
11-WAA-01328



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3.1.2 Joint Communique between Taiwan and Kuwait on the formation of diplomatic relations and ambassador exchanges.

11-WAA-01328



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3.1.3 A congratulatory letter from Chiang Kaishek to Kuwaiti Amiri Sheikh Abdullah Al salim. Dated 6/12/1963.  
11-WAA-01328

147 外交部稿 00149 事由 總統為中科院建交事

附件	送機 速關	科威掃國王	文別	電
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HIS HIGHNESS AMIR ABDULLA SALEM SABAH  
STATE OF KUWAIT  
KUWAIT

ON THE HAPPY OCCASION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS BETWEEN KUWAIT AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA CMMA I  
HAVE THE HONOUR TO CONVEY TO YOUR HIGHNESS MY SINCERE GREETINGS  
STOP I WISH ALSO TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS  
MY HEARTFELT THANKS FOR THE COURTESY AND KINDNESS SHOWN BY  
YOUR HIGHNESS TO AMBASSADOR WUNANJU WHO RECENTLY VISITED YOUR  
NOBLE COUNTRY AND FOR THE <sup>beautiful</sup> ~~THOUGHTFUL~~ GIFT WHICH I SHALL ALWAYS  
TREASURE STOP WHILE LOOKING FORWARD WITH GREAT CONFIDENCE TO  
THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE CORDIAL RELATIONS ALREADY  
EXISTING BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES CMMA I EARNESTLY <sup>hope</sup> ~~DES~~ THAT  
<sup>Proposed appointment</sup> ~~THE~~ <sup>China's</sup> ~~AGREEMENT~~ OF MR WUNANJU AS <sup>our</sup> ~~OUR~~ FIRST AMBASSADOR TO KUWAIT  
<sup>agreed</sup> ~~WILL BE GIVEN~~ BY YOUR <sup>Highness</sup> ~~GOVERNMENT~~ AT AN EARLIEST DATE STOP PLEASE  
ACCEPT CMMA YOUR HIGHNESS CMMA MY BEST WISHES FOR YOUR PERSONAL  
WELLBEING AND THE PROSPERITY OF KUWAIT

CHIANGKAISHEK  
PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*A communication to that effect has been sent to His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Kuwait stop*

西發字第 3118 號

註本電稿係經核定採據吳南批  
大使二三三號電第三項建議酌改  
裝訂線外請勿寫字

外交部機要室發電 723 號  
DEC 6 1963 年 月 日 時 分 發出

中華民國五十二年十二月五日 發文 字第 號

中研院近史所掃描

3.1.4 Gratitude letter from Kuwaiti Foreign Minister to Taiwanese Foreign Minister on Taiwanese's support for Kuwait UN membership  
11-WAA-01327

185

31886

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Page..... **INCOMING TELEGRAM**

<b>From: SABAH ALAHMAD ALSABAH KUWAIT</b>	<b>Dispatched: (local time) 21:00 5/8 1963</b>
<b>Telegram No.</b>	<b>Received: (Taipei time) 08:30 5/9 1963</b>

**HIS EXCELLENCY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TAIPEI**

EXCELLENCY IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO CONVEY TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE APPRECIATION OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF KUWAIT FOR THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY YOUR DELEGATION REGARDING MY COUNTRY'S APPLICATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS ATTITUDE NO DOUBT REFLECTS THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH SO HAPPILY EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

**SABAH ALAHMAD ALSABAH  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

亞西司

中華民國外交部

File No. 2659

Minister   
 Pol. Vice-Min.   
 Adm. Vice-Min.   
 Secretariat   
 East Asian Dep't  
 West Asian Dep't   
 European Dep't   
 American Dep't   
 Treaty Dep't   
 Information Dep't  
 Protocol Dep't   
 Gen. Affairs Dep't   
 Personnel Dep't   
 Accounts Dep't   
 Cryptography Dep't

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3.1.5 A response to the previous letter. Mentions a special envoy sent to Kuwait in 1961 which is believed to be part of the UN special envoy on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis of 1961. ( I inquired about this in the Taiwanese Business Office in Kuwait and their Foreign ministry as well but no information was found.

11-WAA-01327

183 00176  
 外交部稿 事由 部長電復科外長關於科入因事

附件	送機 達關	科威特外長	文別	電
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注意：(一)在可能範圍內請用打字機(二)請用一面

HIS HIGHNESS SABAH ALAHMAD ALSABAH  
 MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
 KUWAIT

EXCELLENCY I AM DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S  
 THOUGHTFUL CABLE OF THE EIGHTH INSTANT AND WISH TO TAKE  
 THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONGRATULATE YOUR EXCELLENCY ON THE  
 HAPPY EVENT OF THE ADMISSION OF YOUR NOBLE COUNTRY TO THE  
 UNITED NATIONS STOP WHAT THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA DID IN THE  
 SECURITY COUNCIL FAITHFULLY REFLECTS THE CONSISTENT POSITION  
 TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF  
 KUWAIT TO BE A MEMBER OF THE COMITY OF NATIONS STOP WHILE  
 RECALLING WITH THANKS THE COURTESY AND KINDNESS SHOWN BY  
 YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOM MY  
 GOVERNMENT SENT TO VISIT KUWAIT IN <sup>AUGUST</sup> 1961, I LOOK <sup>forward</sup> ~~TO THE~~  
~~GRACIOUSNESS OF YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR~~ *to the establishment of* CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN  
 OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS STOP PLEASE ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, MY BEST  
 WISHES FOR YOUR PERSONAL SUCCESS AND FOR THE PROSPERITY OF  
 THE KUWAIT NATION

SHEN CHANG-HUAN  
 MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

2310  
 外交部機要室發  
 五月八日 特一分發出  
 10 MAY 1963

西發字第 1200 號  
 裝訂線外請勿寫字

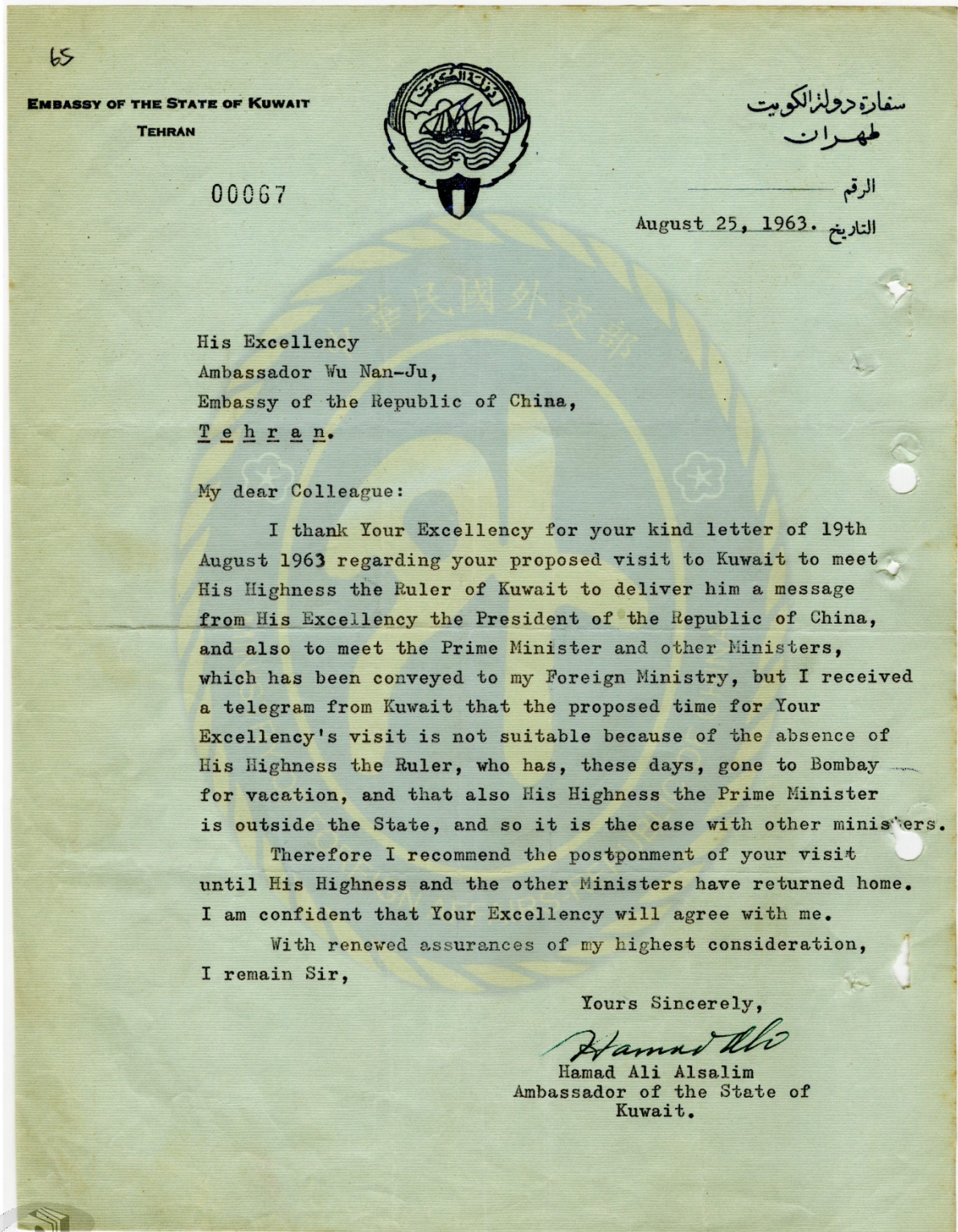
部	長	參	事	幫	辦
次	長	司	長	科	長
次	長	秘	書	擬	稿

中華民國五十二年五月十日 發文 字第 號

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3.1.6 Taiwanese Ambassador to Tehran request to visit Kuwait. The documents show that most of the communication happened between both embassies in Tehran.

11-WAA-01328



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### 3.2 Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics

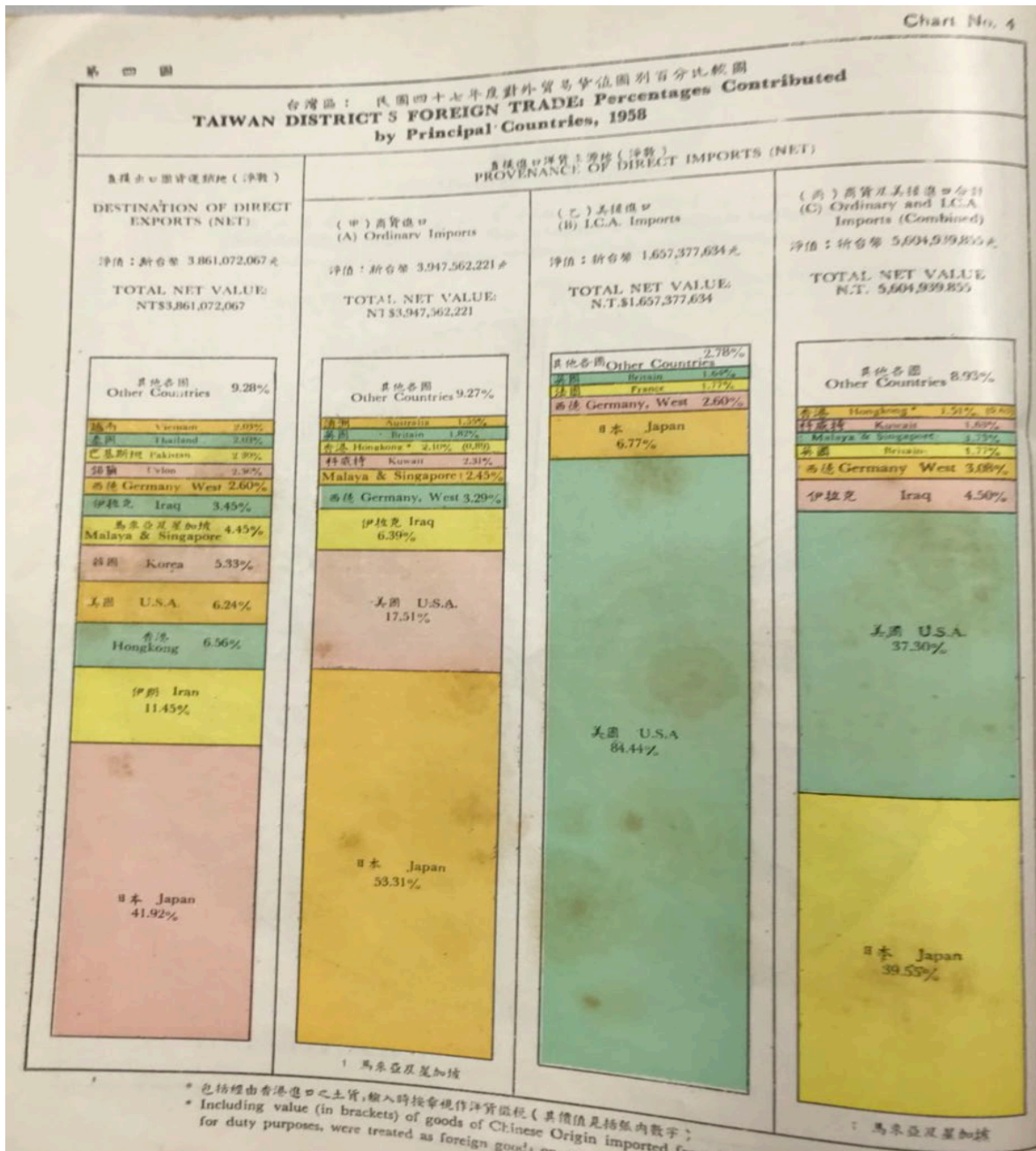
Taiwan's trade values with Kuwait in Us dollars ( 1 Taiwanese dollar is 31 US dollars)

Year	Exports	Import	Total
1958	0.077	2.94	3.01926
1959	0.778	8.83	9.616765
1960	0.722	10.22	10.93805
1961	0.689	14.67	15.36318
1962	0.009	7.726	7.735363
1963	0.0174	0.6973	0.714836
1964	1.31	3.50	4.815241
1965	1.769	N/A	1.769837
1966	1.531	15.11	16.64609
1967	1.871	11.56	13.43325
1968	4.25	11.29	15.54334
1969	4.04	24.23	28.27036
1970	5.92	58.55	64.47817
1971	57.749	7.071	64.82038
1972	17.77	124.35	142.1234
1973	29.63	73.40	103.03
1974	38.67	478.28	516.9457
1975	52.88	506.30	559.1712
1976	134.133	828.26	962.3938
1977	110.9	822.9	933.8464
1978	116.42	945.57	1061.997
1979	155.47	1344.2	1499.65
1980	228.08	2606.2	2834.271
1981	197.9	2663.6	2861.451
1982	2663.6	197.85	1983.372
1983	1604.41	378.95	1983.372
1984	1465.78	276.40	1742.176
1985	931.94	188.11	1120.054
1986	863.50	150.28	1013.777
1987	549.26	174.00	723.2636
1988	756.72	155.34	912.0615
1989	613.80	153.31	767.102
1990	368.78	117.57	486.3435

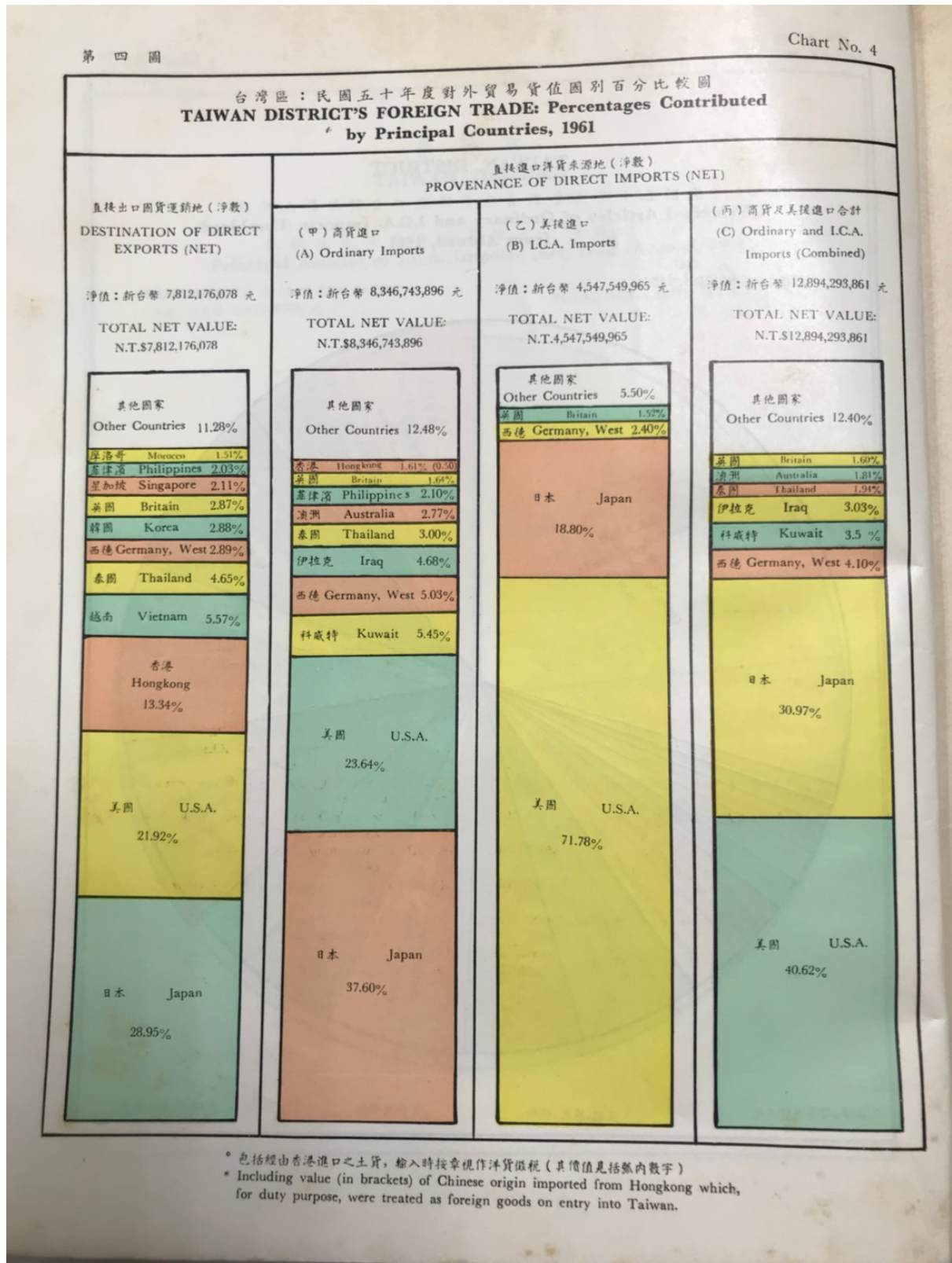
The values shown in the table above came from the documents found in this archives, collected personally and have been converted from Taiwanese dollars to USD.

Sample documents:

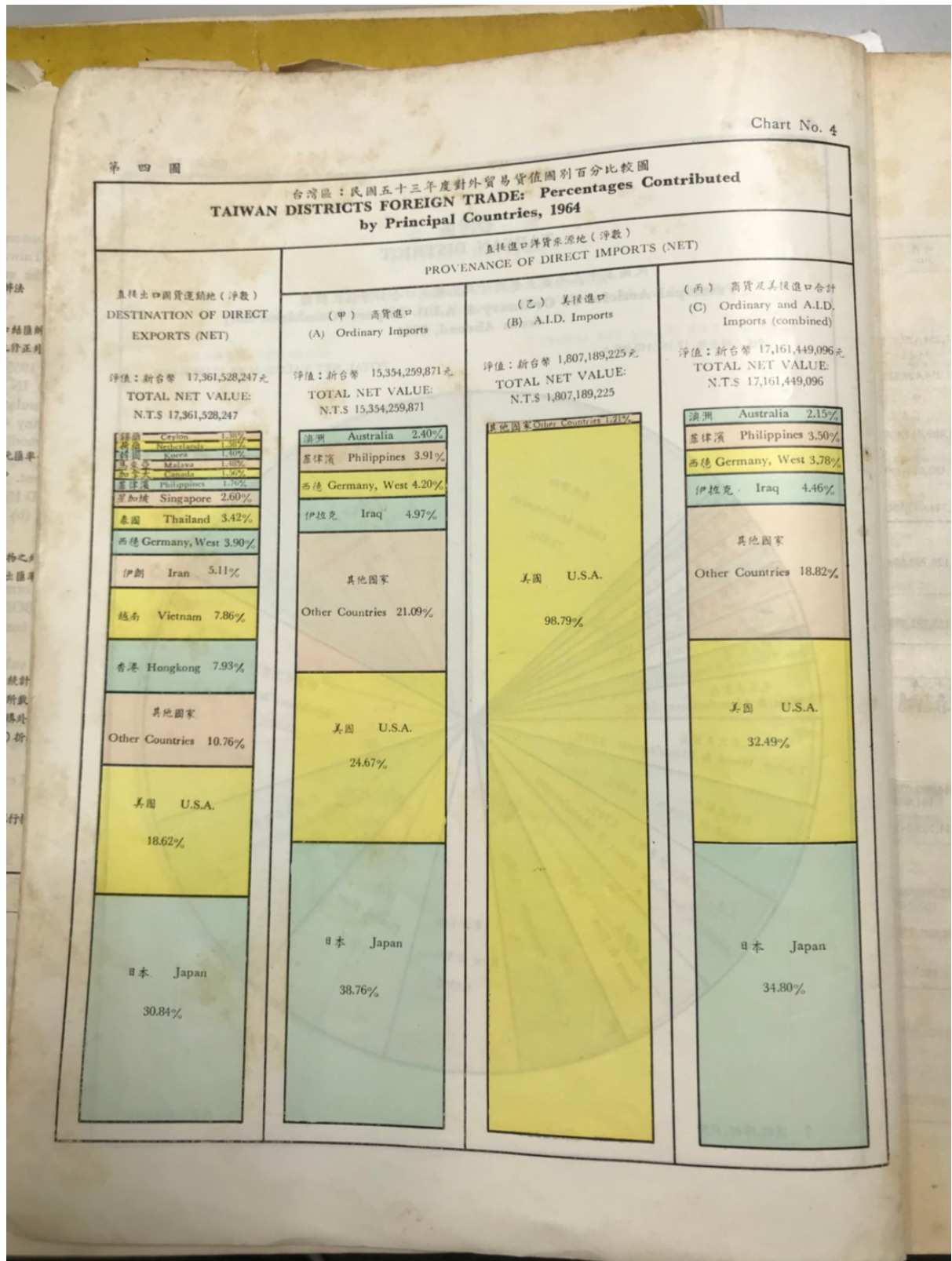
3.2.1 1958 foreign trade percentage from Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics Chart No.4 this shows that Kuwait represents around 7.31% of Taiwan's ordinary imports and 1.6 % of total imports.



3.2.1 1961 foreign trade percentage from Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics Chart No.4 this shows that Kuwait represents around 5.45% of Taiwan's ordinary imports and 3.5% of total imports.

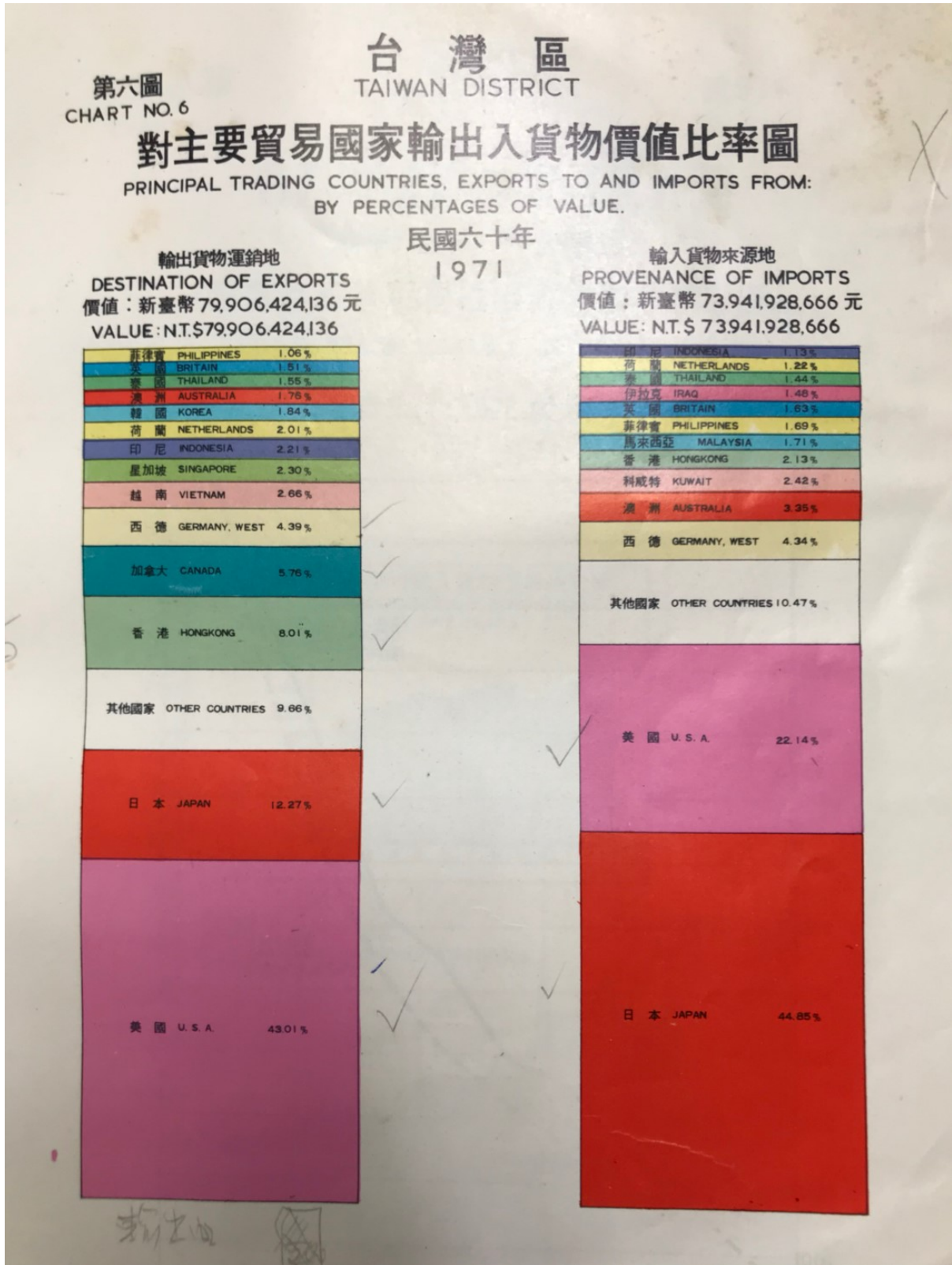


3.2.2 1964 foreign trade percentage from Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics Chart No.4 ( Kuwait did not make the list) although diplomatic relations have just started end of 1963. There was more focus on buying Iraqi oil. No information found to explain this.

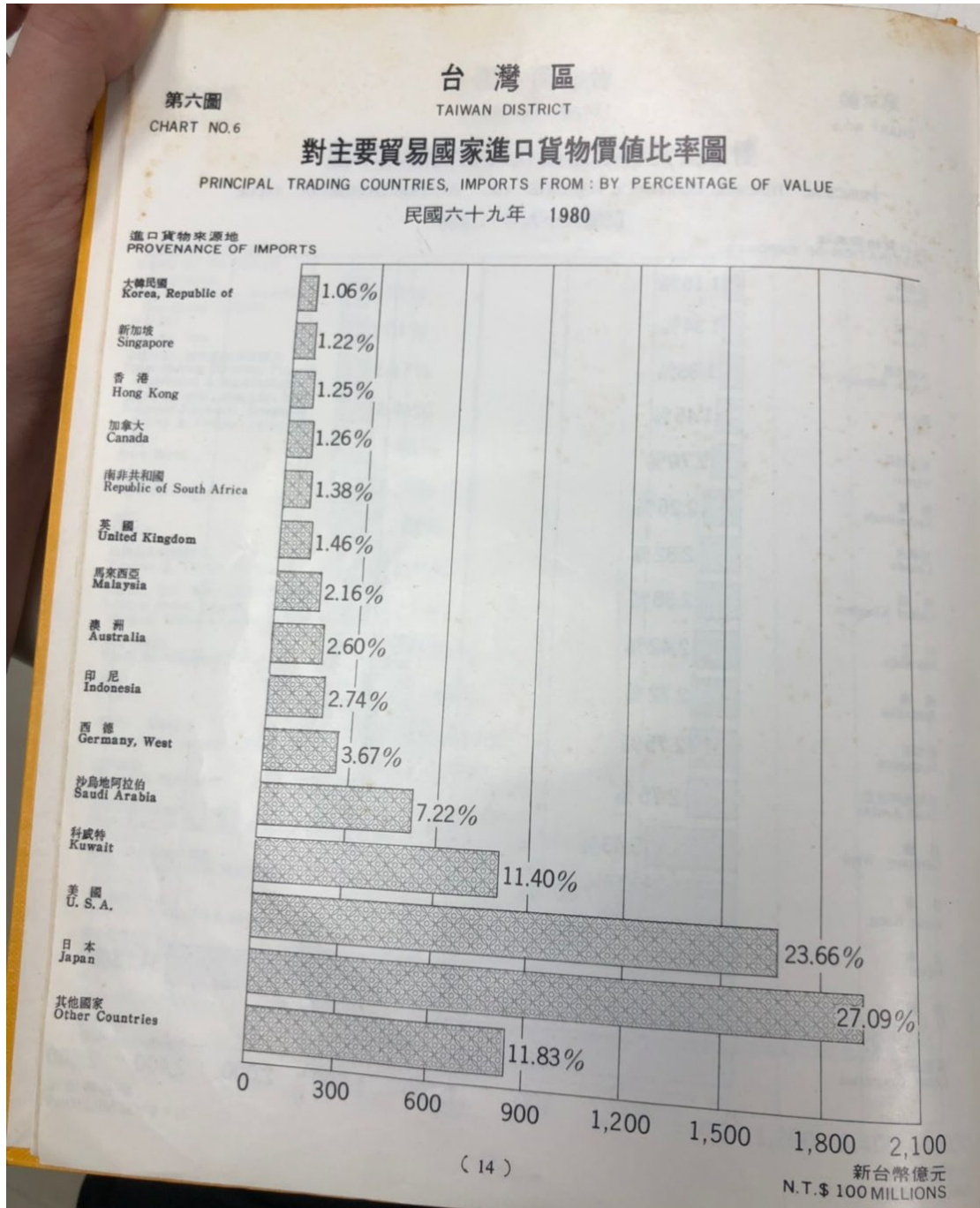


3.2.4 1971 foreign trade percentage from Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics Chart No.6

Remarks that end of diplomatic relations between Kuwait and Taiwan. Kuwait represents here 2.42% of total imports.



3.2.5 1980 foreign trade percentage from Taiwanese Maritime Custom Statistics Chart No.6 interesting enough Kuwait represented 11.40% of total imports. This could be the result of the oil agreements signed between both sides from 1976 until 1981.



#### 4- Cultural visits

The list of cultural visits was personally produced from information provided by Behbehani in his book regarding bilateral visit between China and the Arab world. I have selected some of these visits to demonstrate the importance of culture as tool to bridge both China – Kuwait and China and the Arab world. Its conduct that happens with the whole region not only Kuwait.

##### 4.1 Chinese cultural related visits to the Middle East ( source: Behbehani, 1981)

Type	Country	Date
Youth Delegation	Egypt	1956
Cultural delegation	Syria	1956
Pilgrimage	Saudi Arabia	1958
Journalist Delegation	Egypt	1957
Cultural delegation	Egypt	1957
Military Mission	UAR ( Egypt-Syria)	1958
Sports delegation	Tunisia	1958
Women delegation	UAR ( Egypt-Syria)	1961
Health delegation	Algeria	1963
Cultural delegation	Algeria	1963
Medical Delegation	Egypt	1964
Journalist delegation	Algeria	1964
Friendship delegation	Kuwait	1965
Moslem goodwill delegation	Kuwait	1966
Economic and Trade delegation	Kuwait	1967
Agriculture delegation	Kuwait	1967
Medical team	Yemen	1968
Football	Kuwait	1972
Medical delegation	Kuwait	1973
Government Official Delegation	Kuwait	1974- after establishing diplomatic relations.
Football	Kuwait	1975
Medical team	Kuwait	1976

University delegation	Kuwait	1976
Women delegation	Kuwait	1980
Football	Kuwait	1981
Journalist delegation	Kuwait	1983
Moslem delegation	Kuwait	1984
Education	Kuwait	1988



## 4.2 Arab cultural related visits to China

Type	Date
Egyptian Historical Cultural	1956
Egyptian Students Delegation	1956
Egyptian Artists Delegation	1956
Sudanese women delegation	1956
Egyptian Artist delegation	1956
Iraqi medical delegation	1959
Iraqi cultural delegation	1960
Algerian writers	1962
Yemeni journalist delegation	1964
Kuwaiti Friendship Delegation	1965
Kuwaiti Sports delegation	1971, 1972,1973
Syrian women delegation	1972
Kuwaiti medical delegation	1973
Kuwaiti Olympic delegation	1974
Egyptian sports team	1974
President of Kuwaiti football Association	1975
Kuwait university delegation	1975
Kuwaiti Health delegation	1977
Kuwaiti education minister	1977
Kuwaiti artist delegation	1981
Kuwaiti women delegation	1981
Kuwaiti Moslem delegation	1983
Kuwaiti Journalist delegation	1984
Kuwaiti journalist delegation	1988
Kuwaiti sports delegation	1989, 1990

## **5 – Interviews**

The interviews listed in this section are all conducted in Arabic upon my request. The choice of personalities: First due to their role and contribution in this relationship and second is because they were willing to share their experience and their views on China. The interviews are listed by date. Parts of these interviews are cited in the text. I tried to be as accurate as possible and reproduction and use of these interviews are welcomed without permission from the author of the thesis or the interviewee him/herself.

### **5.1 Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 2003 to 2009, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 2017. ( 7pm)**

I had the pleasure of interviewing one of the outstanding Kuwaiti Ambassadors H.E. Faisal Alghais, he was educated in the American University of Beirut in the 70's. He was the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 2003 to 2009. He is a polyglot; he speaks nine languages which includes intermediate level of Mandarin Chinese.

Q: How long did you serve as an Ambassador to China and how can you describe your experience?

A: China in the mentioned period as the “prime time” of Chinese Economic and Political rise. I enjoyed his 7 years stay in China and have established many relations in both the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communist Party. H.H. the Amir has visited China in 2004 as the Kuwaiti Prime Minister and in 2009 as the Amir of Kuwait. I was delighted to witness the development of both political, economic and energy cooperation specifically in the China –Arab League, China-GCC and bilateral contexts. Kuwait's positive role in the mentioned forum has been recognised by China.

Q: When did Kuwait's relationship with PRC really start?

A: Kuwait and China had economic relations pre 1965 and the Taiwan question impeded an early official diplomatic relations, in addition to Kuwait's late admission as a member in the UN in 1963. Kuwait had a positive image of China and voted in favour of China's reinstatement in UNSC in 1971. The Finance Minister's visit to China in 1965 was economically driven to enhance trade and economic development.

Sh. Fahad AlAhmad alSabah's<sup>37</sup> was influential since he was a prominent Kuwaiti who participated in all the Arab wars against Israel including Egypt, he explained that he had a role in unity of the Arab's view regarding the people's republic of China even earlier than 1971. He later became the President of the Asian Olympic committee, in this position he helped the PRC gain its positions in the Sports Association replacing Taiwan's chair

Q: How do you view China's role in Kuwait's economic development?

A: China had around 69 infrastructure related projects in Kuwait since 1971. From 1963, there was trade of fertilizers and petro chemicals with China. In the 70's Kuwait and china started exploring trilateral cooperation with Africa taking their cooperation Tunisia as a good example. Both countries worked together in the Energy and infrastructure sectors in a positive manner.

Q: Did China have a direct influence on the Arab Liberation movements or the communist party?

A: There was no evidence that China had supported financially or militarily any regional communist parties .However I had heard about relations between these communist parties with the Egyptian Communist Party in which had direct contact with the Chinese Embassy in Egypt. No one can find out about this movement in Kuwait today because the major leaders of the Pan Aran and communist movement have passed away already and did not document much of their work or information. ***(This relationship has only been touched up in Behbehani's book China and the Arab world and John Calabrese's books China's Changing Relations with the Middle East)***

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<sup>37</sup> Sh. Fahad AlAhmad alSabah was killed during the invasion of Kuwait until then he had a very close relationship with the Chinese Communist Party leaders. He also adds that there is no solid evidence such as journals or documents about this relation but the Chinese official s acknowledges it. Moreover, his son Sheikh Ahmad was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Oil in previous governments and is the current President of the Asian Olympic Committee also has a very strong relationship with Chinese officials; as he supported the Beijing Olympic games of 2008. He has recently met Chinese President Xi Jinping in Davos in Switzerland on a personal note which can be interpreted as many say a strong and historic friendship.

Q: How do you view Kuwait's Foreign Policy towards China? How did it help Kuwait?

A: During the invasion of Kuwait, China chose to abstain from the UNSC to liberate Kuwait by forming an international force led by the US. This abstention is positively viewed in Kuwait and played a big role in Kuwait's liberation. Kuwait is constantly providing easy loans to China until today which has contributed a lot towards that abstention and will continue to do so as a way in which it protects its sovereignty and national interest. He recommended that I meet H.E. Abdulhameed Al-Buaijan who is the first Kuwaiti Ambassador to China in 1972 and again during the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Q: In your Opinion, what are the main factors that shape the Chinese- Kuwaiti Relations?

A: Kuwait's role in the Arab League, the Gulf Cooperation Council and Organisation of Islamic Cooperation could play a big role in China's interest in strengthening bilateral relations.

Kuwait- China effective military agreement since 1995 and Kuwait only purchased arms in 2004 according to his knowledge and this commitment requires frequent training and maintenance.

Q: Can you describe Chinese Kuwaiti relations today?

A: China holds the largest Kuwaiti diplomatic and economic representation in world; an embassy in Beijing, a consulate in both Hong Kong and Guangzhou and the opening of a new consulate in Shanghai. Kuwait has the Kuwait Petroleum Company ( Beijing) and Kuwait Petroleum International ( Guangzhou) to develop energy cooperation. The Kuwait Investment Beijing Representative Office inaugurated in 2011 as the second overseas office to the Kuwaiti Investment Authority which aims to increase Kuwaiti investments in both China and East Asia and a Ministry of Defence Office that overlooks military cooperation and Arm purchases. In addition, there were shortcomings in the bilateral cooperation in fields of education, culture and technology as a result of the invasion of Kuwait and the changing policies due to region geo political and dynamic interests. ( **I believe that it could be valid that China holds the**

**largest Kuwaiti representation as the Unites States of America hold an Embassy in Washington with a military office, a consulate and cultural offices only in Los Angles and the UN mission in NYC which is not considered for American use).**

## **5.2 Interview with Kuwaiti Ambassador to China (1972-1973 &1990-1992) (13<sup>th</sup> February 2017 at 11:30 am, Kuwait City )**

Abdulhameed Albaijan was the first Kuwaiti Ambassador to China 1972-1973. He was sent by H.H. the late Amir to China again in 1990-1992 to help the Kuwait's diplomatic corps on the most important and existential issue for the country's history 'the liberation of Kuwait'. China is one of the permanent members of the UNSC and sending back an ambassador with previous connects and knowledge was crucial. His son Abdulrazzaq heads now the Kuwait Investment Authority's office in Beijing, that now moved to Shanghai, so his connection with China still remains. He is also known for his interest in Arabic Literature and Art.

Part 1:

Q: How does it feel to be appointed as the first Kuwaiti Ambassador to China?

A: It was a unique experience to be appointed as the first ambassador to China. China was a known country for us. It has a different political, economic and cultural system. I was honoured to give my credentials to Premier Zhou Enlai which was not a common conduct; this was an exception because I was the first ambassador. I don't believe it happened to my successors.

Q: Could you describe your life in China as an ambassador and as a foreigner in general?

A: we arrived at an interesting period to China; it was after US- China normalization after Nixon's visit to China. China was reinstated to its place in the UN only a year ago and just started its integration to the international community. The Kuwaiti embassy was the first embassy to open from the Arabian Gulf Countries. There were a few Arab embassies in Beijing which helped us settle in and most significantly the Egyptian embassy.

The Chinese system was very strict and communicating with the Chinese society is very difficult. We needed to ask permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to visit

areas 15 km away from the center, as well as hold any reception or gathering in which more than nationality is involved.

Mrs. Albaijan said that we did not choose our residence like in other countries; we were given a beautiful and modern house in a compound with the Chinese staff already selected. This experience was difficult because of language and culture barriers. However, the work ethics, cleanliness and honesty of the Chinese staff were impressive. In addition, going to the market was an experience in itself; people stare at us because we look different and some in amazement and others in confused looks. The antique stores and art scene are something me and my family still appreciate, I have many pieces here with me in Kuwait. We asked permission from the government to take them with us back to Kuwait, our collection comes the imperial art period of China, which was not of great value at that time.

She continues that my children's schooling was a challenge, but since we stayed only a little bit longer than a year it was not a major issue. Most of the necessary shopping was done in Hong Kong like all the foreigners in China.

Q: What was the relationship between Kuwait and China like back then?

A: Kuwait was one of the few countries that agreed to sell fertilizers to China in early 60's, Kuwait had just got its independence in 1961. During this period, Kuwait decided to emancipate itself from the rest of its neighbouring countries by establishing relations with the Soviet Union and PRC. The initial phase in the relationship included several visits to and from China to understand the political, economic and social systems of both countries. Most important visit; the parliament delegation and the Minister of Trade and Commerce to Beijing and a Chinese friendly delegation to Kuwait (sports and trade).

He mentions that "the president of the Kuwaiti parliament's visit to China in 1974 had a very important coverage in both China and Kuwait and his meeting with Premier Zhou was and still is considered historic".

Q: Did any of the Arab leaders or Kuwaiti Emirs meet with Chairman Mao?

A: to my knowledge none of the Kuwaitis did meet with Chairman Mao and regarding the Arabs I don't know.

Part 2:

Q: Why were you reappointed to become an Ambassador to China again in 1990?

A: unfortunately, there was no ambassador in China during the invasion. The previous ambassador left and a new one was supposed to be appointed right after the summer holidays. I was the Kuwaiti ambassador to Iraq until 1989. I requested to be relocated because of the situation in Baghdad was becoming unbearable for my family. I was in Kuwait during the invasion and I was a target, I had to flee my house and keep moving until I was able to leave Kuwait. I received a call from our Minister of Foreign Affairs assigning me the very difficult job. I'm on the run with no finances, no clothes and under loads of pressure. A few days later, I received my documentations and took the flight to China.

My mission in China was very difficult. First of all, there was no consensus between the Arabs in the Arab League with regards to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq another Arab nation. So, the Chinese government met with the representative of the Arab league (Sudanese) who insisted that an Arab matter should be solved by the Arab League, in other words don't not interfere in this matter. As A Kuwaiti Ambassador, I could not keep calm about because the Sudanese ambassador is taking the Iraqi side in this issue and he has no right to use his country's perspective when the Arab League with the support of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria were trying to call for the liberation of Kuwait.

After a lot of arguing, the Egyptian ambassador, Lebanese and few other ambassadors were trying to help Kuwait diplomatically in China. Iraq, Sudan and Palestine developed their own propaganda and were trying very hard with Taiwan – PRC issue claiming that Kuwait is part of Iraq and as we know it is a very sensitive issue for China. This is a very emotional period for me as an ambassador. I have been in Lebanon during the Lebanese civil war and in Iraq during the Iraqi-Iranian war. I have never thought that I will have to deal with the liberation of Kuwait in another country where my fellow Arabs pose a threat to me and my family at times. We were provided



protection from the Chinese government as things become worse between Kuwait and the Arabian countries. Kuwait's rather Arab nationalist ideology vanished as they asked help from the US to liberate its land. This was not positively viewed in many Arab countries but surprisingly Syria stood by legitimacy and sovereignty of Kuwait.

Q: How did you overcome such a sensitive issue?

A: Analysing all options, we sent a proposal to the Kuwaiti Minister of Foreign Affairs for H.H. the Amir to reciprocate a visit to China. In December 1989 the Chinese president Yang Shangkun came to Kuwait on a friendly visit. We anticipated taking this opportunity to raise the issue of liberation of Kuwait via using a coalition forces through the Security Council. The aim was to convince the Chinese government not to use the Veto on this resolution. This visit happened and it was a historical one. The Chinese government received H.H. the Amir with a friendly and high-level protocol. The talks involved sharing Kuwait's views and concerns as a sovereign country, emphasizing that in order to liberate Kuwait, it is obligatory to ask for a coalition force. The Arab forces including the GCC one were not able to protect the Kuwaiti territory and so forth. Thank god. China ended up abstaining from the vote in the UNSC on resolution 678 the liberation of Kuwait.

Q: Can you describe the relation between Kuwait and China after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991?

A: After the liberation of Kuwait, Kuwait had a challenge to convince Iraq to return the missing people of Kuwait which included many foreigners that they called POWS. They also pushed for compensation for the Kuwaiti People; they lost all their money, houses and belongings after all the looting that happened. Not to mention the environmental cost, the Iraqis set the oil fields on fire and the environmental and health costs were tremendous. H.H. the Amir visited China again in November 1991, to thank China for its abstention and its effort in supporting the Kuwaiti cause. H.H. the Amir met with the Chairman of the Communist Party Jiang Zemin. The aim of the visit was to add pressure of Iraq to give information of the people that were missing (POWS) and China had a good relation with Iraq in which they could invest in such negotiations.

Q: Is there any relevant event that happened until you left China in 1992?

A: well, as I remember more visits to and from China on investment and economic issues and the medical cooperation the both countries started. The first few years after the liberation of Kuwait, there were options for cooperation with China such as military for example.

### **5.3 - Interview with Ex-Minister of Finance and Oil ( 1978-1990) <sup>38</sup> on 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 2017 ( 6:30 pm) Kuwait City**

Sheikh Ali Khalifa AlSabah was the Kuwaiti Oil Minister and Minister of Finance from 1978 until 1991. He left his government position post liberation of Kuwait and he is considered a prominent Businessman.

Q: Can you describe our relationship with China?

A: As an employee in the oil ministry from 1968, I have been to Japan, China and Taiwan. Kuwait was interested in the Asian Markets and Economies. In the 60's, many regional countries refused to sell fertilizers to China with exception of Kuwait. Our Finance Minister at the time was H.H. the Amir of Kuwait Sheikh Jaber ( 1977-2006). He did not believe that country should be boycotted economically because of its political system. Kuwait was an open market and economy to all products including Taiwan, but the trade with the PRC started in 1955. Like our regional neighbours, we had relations with Taiwan or the republic of China. After the Bandung conference, there was an interest in regional towards the PRC. Kuwait became independent only in 1961, so only 4 years later and one year after being recognised in the UN, it took a brave step towards an independent foreign policy that was not common in that period of time. In 1965, the economic delegation's visit to China aimed to strengthen economic ties. To my knowledge, during the time that I worked in the ministry of oil China gave a fixed quota to Kuwait with regards to fertilizers trade and favoured trading with Kuwait until 1980's. Two impressions from my first Chinese trip; one although they were a communist country, they had a business driven mentality and they were very clean and Beijing as a huge city was well maintained.

Q: What did Kuwait aim for with regards to China?

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<sup>38</sup> <http://prabook.com/web/person-view.html?profileId=1311808>

[https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A\\_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%81%D8%A9\\_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B0%D8%A8%D9%8A\\_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AD](https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%81%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B0%D8%A8%D9%8A_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AD)

A: Kuwait strived for a new state, it desired to open its market to new products and also cooperate with other countries in the oil and petroleum sector. China seemed to be a promising market towards the mid 80's. Many delegations visited China and Hong Kong in this regard. In China, they were received by Deng Xiao Ping and they discussed the Santa Fe refinery that was majorly owned by Kuwait International Oil Company to produce Gas and Oil and send it off to HK and Japan just off the shore of Hainan.<sup>39</sup> This project was a joint project with China National Offshore Oil Company and the relationship between China and Hong Kong started to normalise. I would like to add that Taiwan was a major buyer of Kuwaiti oil as well even adopting the one china policy.

Q: Was Kuwait an important economic partner to Asia?

A: In 1961, we started our official relations with Japan and we signed an agreement with Japan to create the Arab oil Company in collaboration of Saudi Arabia ( neutral zone) which helped Japan survive the Arab Oil embargo in 1973. Kuwait was and still is a reliable partner to Asia.

Q: Other than oil, what did Kuwait and China achieve?

A: They opened a fertilizers company in collaboration with Tunisia with 3 equal shares, called Chinese Arab chemicals and fertilisers company in 1985. Kuwait sold its share to China in the 90's. Kuwait and China enhanced cultural and economic exchanges as well as supporting one another in the international community.

Q: Did you think Kuwait's sports diplomacy succeeded?

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/20/business/arco-is-the-first-us-oil-concern-to-win-offshore-china-contract.html>

[http://www.joc.com/chinas-search-clean-energy-centers-around-gas-development-foreign-help-will-be-needed\\_19950924.html](http://www.joc.com/chinas-search-clean-energy-centers-around-gas-development-foreign-help-will-be-needed_19950924.html)

[http://articles.latimes.com/1985-09-29/news/mn-18702\\_1\\_natural-gas-field](http://articles.latimes.com/1985-09-29/news/mn-18702_1_natural-gas-field)

A: Yes, it did especially when we speak about China. Sheikh Fahad AlAhmed AlSabah<sup>40</sup> the President of Asian Games Federation from 1979-1982. He is known to have a very good relationship with China. He helped the lobbying for PRC to replace Taiwan in the Asian Games, Olympics and FIFA. Kuwait and China both participated in several games and there were many sports related bilateral visits in the 70's. Another reason why I would mention Sheikh Fahad is because he was a strong believer of the Pan Arab politics; he participated in several battles with fellow Arab nations against Israel and imperialistic powers. We believe he made connections with China in the 60's but it would be a challenge to document or find evidence to support this information.

Q: How do you describe China's role in the liberation of Kuwait?

A: Since, we in Kuwait understood the sensitivity of the use of a coalition force to liberation Kuwait especially from a Chinese prospective. HH Sheikh Jaber AlAhmad AlSabah Amir of Kuwait visited China reciprocal visit in 1990. In 1989 the Chinese visited Kuwait which was seen a historical moment for the region. During our visit to China we tried to explain the situation of Kuwait and we could achieve an abstention in UNSC rather than a predicted veto, bearing in mind that China had a very important and strategic relationship with Iraq at that time as well. China showed support also in the liberation of Kuwait in several ways. The Kuwait Chinese relationship flourished in the mid 90's.

Q: Can you describe Kuwait's relationship with Taiwan pre 1971?

A: I can only speak about my ministry; in the oil sector we can say that Taiwan was one of the most important clients of Kuwait in 60's. Representatives from the ministry visited Taiwan annually until 1971 with the adaption of the one China policy.

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<sup>40</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fahad\\_Al-Ahmed\\_Al-Jaber\\_Al-Sabah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fahad_Al-Ahmed_Al-Jaber_Al-Sabah)  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20071008120451/http://www.kuwaitolympic.comkcommittee/Board/e\\_Details.asp?ID=12](https://web.archive.org/web/20071008120451/http://www.kuwaitolympic.comkcommittee/Board/e_Details.asp?ID=12)

#### **5.4 - Interview with Kuwaiti Ambassador to China (1975-1978) on 27th of March 2017 ( 11:00 am) Kuwait City**

Mohammed AbulHasan was the Kuwaiti Ambassador to China from 1975 until 1978. He later became the Kuwaiti Representative to the UN Mission in New York from 1981-2003. He is currently an Advisor at the Amiri Diwan.

Q: Did any of the Arab Leaders meet Chairman Mao?

A: To my knowledge, no one from the Kuwaiti side has ever met with Chairman Mao. As I remember I don't believe any of the Arab Leaders met Mao at any period of time. I remember that I gave my credentials to Zhu De standing committee of the National People's Congress.

Q: Could you describe the Kuwaiti Foreign Policy after 1961?

A: Kuwait was trying to become a member in the UN since 1961 and was always blocked by the Iraqi ally Russia. In 1963, Kuwait was granted the membership after the regime change in Iraq. Although the Russians were supporting the Arab Nationalist Movements which did not agree much with political systems in the Arabian Gulf however Kuwait decided to break the Bipolar divide and establish a relationship with Russia in 1963. It was the only country in the Arabian Gulf that was courageous enough to do so. Thus, I believe that it was just a matter of time to for China and Kuwait to officially start their relationship. Taiwan was one issue and the ideological difference could have also been an obstacle. Kuwait was and remains different from the neighbouring countries, it has a balanced foreign policy where all differences are accepted if they believe in the respect of national sovereignty and world peace and order. Kuwait did risk its relationship with the UK and the US to starting visiting China in 1965 and starting economic relations in that period.

Q: Were there any relations with Chinese people before 1961?

A: According to my knowledge, trade started in the early 50's but the most common Chinese trade came from Taiwan where most of the Kuwaiti merchant families went.

However, in that period there was a famous merchant who decided to break the rules and go to mainland China Mr. Bahman who has an important business in Kuwait in that period. I think you should meet him if you can. He still has a good memory regarding that trip. He was punished because in that period Kuwaitis were not allowed to go to a communist country without permission and his passport was confiscated for about 6 months.

Q: Can you describe your experience as an Ambassador to China?

A: I arrived in China in a very interesting period of transition. China's has just normalized its relations with the US. It became open to other diplomatic relations and more delegations were arriving in Beijing. As I remember it, almost 3 visits per week; we had to attend several banquets as it is the norms for diplomats. I felt that there was a bit of change in lifestyle but not as notable. The living and movement conditions for diplomats stayed the same.

Q: Do you think Kuwait was helpful for China its quest for international recognition?

A: I can describe it in this way; one Kuwait did play a role in China's feud with Taiwanese foreign policy as it set an example for other regional countries. Second, Kuwait presented a promising market to combat Taiwanese markets. Third, as an independent state they shared anti imperialistic values and it helped China in the UN by blocking Taiwan's aim to gain a membership in the UN as an independent state. I worked in the UN mission and I witnessed Kuwait's support for the one China Policy.

Q: How do you describe China's role in the Arabian Gulf region from 1961 until 1990?

A: China had good relations with Iraq, Iran and Yemen and it tried to apply its non-intervention policy. It always supported the Arab stances, in the Iraqi-Irani war and very much liked the idea of the formation of the GCC as a big promising market. China had hoped from Kuwait's recognition is to spread to regional countries like Saudi Arabia but it came a bit later than anticipated.

Q: Have you heard of any Kuwaitis studying or living in China at that time?

A: Interesting enough I never met with Mr. Behbehani, I heard from the diplomatic community that he is studying in the University of Beijing and that he had a good level of mandarin. Some Chinese people commented about him to me several as I was the ambassador of Kuwait at that time.



### **5.5 - Interview with Kuwaiti Ambassador to Kuwaiti Mission at the UN from 1971 to 1981 on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 2017. ( 3pm)**

Abdullah Yacoub Bishara <sup>41</sup> was the director of the office of the minister of foreign affairs in Kuwait. Then he was appointed Kuwait's permanent representative to the United Nations, and served in this post from 1971 to 1981.

Q: Can you describe Kuwait's relationship with China (PRC) within your experience as the Kuwaiti representative to the UN during the PRC's admission to both the UN and UNSC?

A: In September 1971, I was appointed as the Kuwaiti permanent representative to the United Nations, but way before them the general assembly always discusses the PRC's right to fill its seat in the UN because it signed the UN agreement in 1946. At that period in time China was enduring a civil war between the nationalists and communists, which ended up with the victory of Mao Zedong. Chang Kai-shek then moved to Taiwan and formed the republic of China and with the support of the US, they took China's seat in the UN mainly due to the Korean War. The relationship remained the same until 1971. The creation of African States and their membership in the UN helped the PRC gain its rightful place in the UN. Bearing in mind the Kuwait has voted in favour of PRC in 1971.

Also, the one China policy impeded an earlier start of bilateral relations between PRC and Kuwait, Kuwait at the time had a relationship with Taiwan as the Republic of China. Although, Kuwait has recognized only PRC, it maintained its commercial relationship with Taiwan through their business representative office in Kuwait until today.

Its interesting to note, that I was the Chairman of the Asian group in the term of PRC's admission in the UN, I hosted a dinner reception in the honour of the Vice Minister of Foreign of Affairs. (71-72)

Q: Could you describe China's role in the UN? Or your interaction with them within the UN structure?

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<sup>41</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah\\_Bishara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_Bishara)

A: I noticed that the Chinese at the time were very cautious with their interactions with members of other delegations and mission in the UN. They very attentive and cautious also with interventions and speeches. I remember the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs' speech ... it was filled with self-constraint and realism but cautious to their new entry to this international order. Their interventions were clear, concise and conservative. They would state their opinion without a lot arguments and dialogue. They were also very hesitant to socialise with other missions and diplomats in general. Their position towards the Palestinian conflict was a great example of that. I can comment that the most important observation with regards to China's participation is its conflict and tension with the USSR at that time and their argument confrontations.

Q: I read in a few books that Kuwait was asked to mediate between USSR and the PRC; as it was the only country on the Arabian Gulf that had relations with both countries... is that true?

A: According to my knowledge, that is not true, to mediate between two big countries was a matter larger than a small country like Kuwait could do specially that it just become independent in 1961.

Q: Did you have to deal with any issue or conflict in the UN or UNSC in relations to China?

A: In general, they have short opinions and abstain most of the time. The veto has been used very little and continued to be conservative. If they opposed an issue to be discussed, they approached and argued the importance of not debating or discussing such a matter (such as the case f Taiwan). At the security council, Kuwait has entered the UNSC in 1978, by the time China has spent enough time to be able to adapt to the UN political and organizational structure. We had a transparent relationship with China, they knew our opinion with regards to the Middle East and Africa affairs for example. They always inquired about the situation or any resolutions with regards to Palestine, they were very interested. They always analysed their positions in pragmatic and economic outcome manner. In general, they always voted in favour of the Arab position in the Palestinian -Israeli conflict, issues of developing countries and no aligned

movements and so forth. They avoided any arguments that dealt with acquiring nuclear power, because China was very much interested in maintaining its nuclear capability.

In addition, there was one case... I remember Kuwait held the presidency of the UNSC in February 1979, there was the Chinese Vietnamese conflict or war if you'd like to call it. The Chinese forces entered the Vietnamese territory and Vietnam filed a complaint at the UNSC, my role was to solve this issue before it became a UNSC emergency meeting matter. I called the Chinese delegation and spoke to them firmly to withdraw from Vietnam or else the UNSC will have to hold an emergency meeting to discuss this conflict and China will be in a vulnerable situation due its 5 pillars of co-existence. It did not respect the sovereignty of its neighbour as well as the non-intervention policy that it had been preaching. It took a little longer time than expected but China ended up withdrawing from Vietnam as they explained that this not an invasion but the protection of their national security.

Furthermore, China opposes the calls for UNSC structural, legal or administrative reform. They did not want to give Japan or Indian a chance to embark into this exclusive council. They don't usually veto, but rather depend on USSR's veto and they either abstain or approve just to show support for other developing nations.

Q: what other issues or topics did Kuwait and China supported or work for?

A: One very important shared interest, is supporting the development undeveloped or developing countries. They worked to protect primary resources that were abused by developed countries specially in African countries. China supported both Arab, African and other developing countries. China's foreign policy at that time was very strategic and the communist party politburo if not the chairman himself decided the policy that China would be adopting with regards to its foreign policy.

I would like to add, China was also interested in disarmament, but it did not sign the NPT non-proliferation of nuclear weapons treaty. It is important to mention that China rarely bring neighbourhood issues to the UN or UNSC. It tries to solve its issues on bilateral basis such as the Indian Chinese border issue.

It is important for China to keep supporting North Korea to protect its neighbourhood from the American expansion in Japan and South Korea or the trilateral alliance. Moreover, I have participated in the Arab China dialogue ( he didn't mention a date) and I realised that China paid a lot of attention to foreign languages and cultures.

## **5.6 Interview with President of the Kuwaiti Women Cultural and Social Society**

08/02/2018 at 4:30 at the Association's Building.

The Honorary President of the Kuwaiti Women's Society and was the prominent establishing members of the Association 1963. Mrs. Alqatami was the first French Language teacher in Kuwait. She was educated in the United Kingdom in 1950's and she is a member of a wealthy and important family in the Kuwaiti Society. Her contribution in both Kuwaiti and Arab Societies are very important specially during the invasion of Kuwait 1990. She is considered today one of the most influential female figure in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf.

Q: When was the first encounter with China or the Chinese people?

A: As far as I can remember, there was a Chinese delegation visiting Kuwait in the 1960's, I'm not sure about the date. I was requested the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to escort and host the female representative from the Chinese delegation. The details of the names and dates might be found in the Association's archive, I will try to find it out for you. A few months later, the Chinese Women's Association (All-China Women's Federation) sent us an invitation to visit China and so we did.

Q: Can you describe that experience? How did you see China in 1960's and what was their impression of the Kuwaiti Women?

A: First, there was a Chinese Lady who works in the Sports Federation in Kuwait during the 1960s and speaks Arabic she was asked to accompany the Kuwaiti delegation to China. When we arrived there, we noticed that men and women in China looked and dressed the same. It was very strange for us. I believe it was the cultural revolution or the communist system that might be the cause of the uniform look. I couldn't read their expressions; if they were happy or not and so forth. Moreover, I remember that we spoke with the head of the Chinese women's federation and I believe we were the first women delegation from the Arabian Gulf if not from entire Arab world whom have visited China. I felt that they were very interested and impressed by the role the Kuwaiti women were playing in that period post-Independent Kuwait.

I want to add that the proverb, seek knowledge even if it's in China, it is so true. I was impressed by their work ethics and precision. We visited to the Jade workshop, silk factory, museums, Mao's Memorial Hall and the Great wall. I will try to provide you with some pictures of the first trip. We returned with very good memories.

we visited also the university of Beijing .... And the view of the waves of bicycles leaving the university remains unforgettable. I remember that we agreed to visit China at least once every 10 years, and indeed we did.

Q: Interesting, so you did visit China again? When and what did you do?

A: 10 years later in the 70's. we told them, we wanted to visit new places. We went to the south, we went to rice farms and it was a beautiful experience. Women working in the farms and watching them grow rice is a wonderful experience. We also visited the Stone forest in Yunnan. ( I believe that it is the 80s according to Xinhua's information)

Q: How about the third visit? When did you go and what did you do?

A: in 1990, we went to the northern part of China, Inner Mongolia. It was extremely cold and we were not prepared for it. They provided us with jackets and gloves as we drove there from Beijing, it was 4-5 hours by car. It was snowing and we ate potato with sugar on top, it was delicious. We were received by the head / president of the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. He seemed very surprised to meet Arab women for the first time. He hosted a dinner on our honour, the food was an experience, they served us baby turtles. I had to eat it although it was challenging. This is common with Chinese food. The Mongolian houses were beautiful made from bamboo sticks. They are round tents with heating in the middle with a tea kit available. We went Camel riding and the experience was very different from the Arabian camel. These pictures will be found in my book. I will provide it for you.

Q: Although these visits are considered cultural, were there any political side talks during your trips?

A: there was an interest in China to Know and understand Kuwait, as for politics, our association always follows the guidelines of the government in terms of politics so, we focused on women issues and cultural exchanges.

## 5.7 - Interview with a Kuwaiti Businessman

05/06/2018 at 11:00 at his residence.

Sabah Al Rayes is the founder, senior partner and managing director of Pan Arab Consulting Engineers in Kuwait from 1968 to date. He is in charge of most of tall buildings designed by PACE.

He was the chairman of Education Committee of Union of Arab Engineers in Cairo, Egypt (1967-1984), and a member of Board of Trustees in (1977-1983), the vice chairman of the CTBUH, a member of the Global Advancement Council at Lehigh University and the fellow of The American Society of Civil Engineers.

Sabah Al Rayes received several honors for distinguished service most notably during the Gulf War with the US Army for the liberation of Kuwait. He authored several publications including the Code of Ethics and professional Code of Practice for the Kuwait Society of Engineers He was also the chairman of several Kuwaiti and Gulf Public companies from 1973 to 1986.<sup>42</sup>

Q: How did your story with China start?

A: As far as I can remember, in the 1980's ...I received a phone call one day from the Chinese embassy in Kuwait asking me if I know Ghazi Al Reyes who is my brother, he was the ambassador of Kuwait in London. The Chinese ambassador Yang FuChang (84-87) spoke to me and ask to send his regards to Ghazi as they were college mates in the University of Cairo where they studied a few years backs. The Chinese Ambassador has just moved to Kuwait and I went to see him at the embassy. My brother also had a good relationship with his old friend. This is how my relationship started with China. He convinced me to expand our construction and engineering to Beijing.

Q: Can you describe your experience in Beijing?

A: First of all, we were received very well, I went with a delegation from our companies and Beijing had a few cars and a lot of bicycles. There were only a few hotels because China has only opened up a few years earlier. The standards of the hotels were really

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<http://www.ctbuh.org/Information/Committees/InternationalSteering/SabahAlRayes/tabid/3386/language/en-US/Default.aspx>



bad, and I saw an opportunity to expand our business in China. We did a few small projects, but the main objective was to build a housing compound. There was difficulty finding an office to rent, as a local office could cost 1000 dollars a month which was a lot.... Scarcity of housing and buildings was very evident in Beijing.

We started a project there called Beijing Garden Villas. It was built near the highway that takes you from the airport to the city on it the right before Lido hotel and the river, 100000 m<sup>2</sup> and we built 500 villas and 1 or 2 buildings. It was one of kind project with all the facilities that it offered. However, the invasion of Kuwait impeded my role in this project ended. In July of 1990, we had a meeting with China investment and trust investment cooperation CITIC, they were our partners in China, and which were part of the rules and regulations of foreign investment of that time. We had to submit the project by the end of October 1990. Due to cash shortage we asked for an extension from CITIC industrial bank to pay sums of loans until that date and it was approved but when the invasion occurred just a few weeks later, my situation changed completely.

Q: What happened? And why?

A: From the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August the whole situation changed, the attitude of the Chinese staff and everything started to become complicated. I received a letter from the bank saying that we must pay the whole sum of the loan 26 million USD because the extension was refused. I contacted CITIC for an explanation. They said that since you cannot pay the loan we will sell your shares etc.... it was an awful situation because we made a deal and everything going smooth until then a week after the invasion. I did not really have a choice, I don't have a country, my accounts in Kuwait were frozen and it was a difficult and a confusing time for all Kuwaitis. I decided to leave to Jeddah to meet with the exiled Kuwaiti government.

Q: What happened when returned there?

A: Honestly, I felt everything was staged. When I returned to the project and I tried to find a solution in order to salvage what my company lost. Nevertheless, the construction people in charge gave me the advice to leave as soon as possible accidents might occur but they are not really accidents. You have to be careful. Then I lost my apartment due to sudden termination of the contract and the car as well... So, the experience was not

successful and I tried to work with lawyers from the US to help with the situation. After a year of consultation, they told me to let it go and so I did and I never thought to invest again in China. However, I took part in the Kuwaiti People's delegation in Malaysia, Japan and China to raise awareness on the situation in Kuwait and the crimes that were committed against them by the Iraqi regime.

Q: Do you know any Kuwaiti company that had a successful story?

A: To invest, or engage in a joint venture with China, was not common. Only trade or import and export was common between Kuwaiti and Chinese companies. I filed a complaint to the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Kuwait so, no one else would face the same circumstances.

Q: Are there any Chinese companies based in Kuwait? How many Chinese people were here?

A: construction companies were more evident, and the majority of the Chinese people are construction people.

## **6-China – Kuwait timeline**

This time line could help the reader contextualise the thesis time frame and the events that took place in both Kuwait and China from 1961-1990.

### **6.1 China**

1960 Rupture between China and the Soviet Union and Start of the Great Famine.

1962 The Movement of Socialist Education.

1966 Beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Beginning of the Third Five-Year Plan.

1968 Mao rectifies the course of the Cultural Revolution.

1969 Official end of the Cultural Revolution. Reorganization of the State, the Government and the Party.

1971 restores in UN position as Permanent Member in UNSC

1973 Rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and return of the reformists to power.

1976 Death of Mao and Zhou Enlai. Hua Guofeng, political heir of the present.

Detention of the Band of Four.

1978 The reformists take over positions of power. Deng Xiaoping was appointed for the economic transformation of China.

1989 Events of Tiananmen Square.

### **6.2 Kuwait**

1961 independence from Britain and creation of Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development

1961- Kuwait-Iraq crisis

1963- becomes a member of the UN

1973- Kuwait Iraq dispute and the formation of the OPEC

1980- Start of the Iran-Iraq war

1981- formation of the GCC

1988- end of the Iran – Iraq war

1989 – Chinese President’s visit to Kuwait

1990- Iraqi invasion

## 7- Personalities

The list of Personalities below, of both Kuwaitis and Chinese aims to facilitate to the readers the personalities mentioned throughout the text.

### 7.1 Chinese personalities

Name	Profession
Mao Zedong	Chairman of the Communist party (1943-76)
Zhou Enlai	Premier(1949-76)
Liu Shao qi	President of China (1959-68)
Fang Yi	China's foreign aid program in the Office for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries
Chen Yi	Minister of foreign affairs( 1958-72 )
Zhu De	Chairman of NPC ( 1959-1976)
Nan Han Cheng	Member of the NPC
Sun Sheng Wei	First Chinese Ambassador to Kuwait (1971-77)
Qiao Guanhua.	Minister of Foreign Affairs ( 974-76)
Hua Guofeng	Chairman of the Standing committee NPC (1976-81)
Bai Xiangguo	Minister of Foreign Trade (1970-73)
Chen Jie	Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade
Yao Yilin	Vice premier (1979-88)
Wang Yizhou	Leader of the Chinese youth football team,
Li Xiannian	Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (1977-1982) President of China (1983-88)
Qian Qichen	Foreign minister (1989-98)
Ji Pengfei	Minister of foreign Affairs (1972-74) Vice premier of the State Council state council then Secretary General of State Council (1979-1981)
Ulanhu	Vice Chairman National People's Congress Standing Committee (1976-1982)
Wang Renzhong	Vice Chairman of NPC (1983-88)
Wu Xue Qian	State Councilor and foreign minister
Li Guipan	Head of Medical team
Li Qiang	Minister of Foreign Trade (1973-81)
Huang Hua	Minister of Foreign Affairs ( 1976-82)
Zhao Ziyang	Premier (1980-87)
Zhang Jinfu	Minister of Finance (1975-79) Director of State Economic Commission(1982-87)
Li Peng	Premier (1988) Vice premier ( 1983-87)
Yang Shangkun	President (1988-1993)

## 7.2 Kuwaiti personalities

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Name	Profession
H.H Sheikh Abdullah Salem AlSabah	Amir of Kuwait (1950-65)
H.H Sheikh Sabah Salem AlSabah	Crown Prince (1962-65) Amir of Kuwait (1965-77)
Sheikh Abdullah Jaber AlSabah	Representative of H.H the Amir for several issues (1967-96) and Minister of Education.(1963-64)
H.H. Sheikh Jaber AlAhmed AlSabah	Minister of Finance (1962-64) Crown Prince and Prime Minister (1965-78) Amir of Kuwait (1977-2006)
H.H. Saad AlAbdullah Alsaleem AlSabah	Minister of Interior and Defence (1964 -78) Crown Prince and Prime Minister(1978-2006) ( prime minister until 2003) Amir of Kuwait (2006)
H.H. Sheikh Sabah Alahmed AlSabah	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1963-2003) Prime Minister (2003-2006) Current Amir of Kuwait(2006-)
Sheikh Salman Al Duaij AlSabah	Minister of Justice (1976-78)
Sheikh Ali Khalifa AlSabah	Minister of Oil and finance (1978-91)
Abbas Habib Munawer	Kuwaiti Parliamentarian
Khaled Al Ghunaim,	Kuwaiti Parliament Speaker
Ahmed AL Sadun	Deputy Speaker
AbdulAziz Hussein	Minister of Cabinet Affairs(1964-81)
Nouri Al Kazemi	Director of the Preventive Medicine Department Ministry of Public Health Kuwait (1972)
Abdulhameed Al Baijan	Ambassador to China ( 1972-73) (1990-92)
Mohammad Abu AlHassan	Ambassador to China (1975-78)
Abdul Rahman Al-Awadi	Kuwaiti Minister of Health (1975-83)
Sheikh Fahad Alahmed AlSabah	President of Asian Games Federation 1979-82 President, Olympic Council of Asia 1982-90
Yousef Al Mokhild	Deputy Speaker of the Parliament
Abdullah Al Nuri	CEO of Kuwait Petrochemical Company
Dr. Fahad AlRashed	Director of the Kuwait Investment Authority