

Kuwaiti Foreign Policy Objectives, and Its Characteristics, and Instruments

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Abstract : The objective of the study: There is no doubt that Kuwait was able to employ what it had of the ingredients, and succeeded in converting some weaknesses into strengths, in a way that enabled it to pursue an active foreign policy to serve the national goals at all levels. The State of Kuwait has drawn its foreign policy on the basis of four circles. They are: Gulf, Arab, Islamic and international. Its relations with the countries of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf are complementary politically, economically, culturally and militarily. Methodology: The research was dealt with through several points: First: a historical overview of Kuwait's foreign policy, Second: The objectives of the Kuwaiti foreign policy, Third: The principles of the State of Kuwait's foreign policy, Fourth: Kuwaiti foreign policy circles, Fifth: Tools for the implementation of Kuwaiti foreign policy, Sixth: Characteristics and features of Kuwait's foreign policy. Results: Despite the small geographical size of Kuwait, it was able, in all its historical stages, to play political roles that have an impact in the Gulf, Arab and international regions on the basis of balance and wisdom and not to rush into decision-making while maintaining the spirit of friendship, cooperation and commitment to the dictates of its internal and external role. Whether with Arab countries or friendly countries, the limited size of Kuwait compared to neighboring countries constitutes an important source of threat to the security of the state, which requires intensive work to support the home front by achieving social balance at the class and sectarian levels, and building the largest possible extent of popular political participation. Conclusion: Preserving the cohesion of the unity of Kuwait and preserving its security and the safety of its residents were the most important external goals that Kuwait sought to achieve in its overall foreign policy, and this requires its cooperation with all regional, Arab and international powers in a neutral manner, and playing a greater role at the international level than the gateway to winning friends And allies, zeroing in on problems, and staying neutral on all sides and all equations.

Keywords: Kuwait, Kuwaiti foreign policy, the Arabian Gulf, International Relations.

1 Introduction

The State of Kuwait has a distinguished history, an independent political system, and stable institutions. It is considered one of the most advanced countries in the Arab Mashreq and a consolidation of gains and democratic indicators. This political deep rootedness has given it a distinguished historical heritage. Kuwait abides by the principle of legitimacy in its international dealings and relations and respects the covenants it concludes with other countries in accordance with its national, Arab, and Islamic interests, and its relationship with friendly countries is based on mutual respect and common interests.

The State of Kuwait has drawn its foreign policy on the basis of four circles: Gulf, Arab, Islamic and international. And its relations with the countries of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf are complementary politically, economically, culturally, and militarily, and they are governed by the provisions of the statute of the Council established in 1981 AD. Kuwait also has close brotherly relations with other Arab countries, and it bears its share in Arab national issues. Kuwait joined the League of Arab States in July 1961, after Iraq gave up its opposition to this accession.

The objectives of Kuwaiti diplomacy are to preserve Kuwait's independence, security, and sovereignty, to deepen the course of the Gulf Cooperation Council as a security and policy system that meets Kuwait's Arab and international interests, and to reach an integrated Gulf partnership that implements the vision of the Gulf peoples for the required unity and based on an

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existing regional system with Arab and non-Arab neighboring countries. On the basis of dialogue and understanding, rejecting conflict and interfering in the affairs of others, which achieves the interests of the countries and peoples of the region to live in security and peace, and encourage participation in global economic institutions and sustainable development programs, as well as maintaining distinguished strategic relations with the United States and the Western world in general, with the aim of securing a secure future for the region in general, and the security of Kuwait in particular, and to prevent a repetition of the bitter experience of occupation, as well as adherence to the realities of membership in the Arab League, which is based on the fact that it includes independent countries with different interests and varying international ties according to their location and interests.

Study problem and questions:

The study is concerned with examining the foreign policy of the State of Kuwait, through several questions, namely:

- What are the objectives, characteristics, and instruments of the State of Kuwait's foreign policy?
- What are the foreign policy circles of the State of Kuwait?
- What are the issues of concern to the State of Kuwait's foreign policy?
- What are the directions of the foreign policy of the State of Kuwait?

Study hypotheses:

- Kuwait's foreign policy since independence in 1961 AD has been to work on playing an active role in the outside world.
- The State of Kuwait formulated its foreign policy on the basis of four circles: Gulf, Arab, Islamic and international.
- Kuwait's foreign policy, since the early nineties, began placing strategic considerations of great importance in international relations, and it sought to intensify its international presence all over the world.
- Kuwait's foreign policy is greatly affected by the variables and policies imposed by neighboring countries, whether they are quantitative or qualitative variables. The external environment influences the formulation of Kuwaiti foreign policy.
- One of the foundations and pillars of Kuwait's continuation as a successful political entity in maintaining its security and international entity is its possession, among many things, of liquid oil wealth that gave it the advantage of wealth and the possibility of investing its oil and financial wealth in establishing diplomatic, political and alliance relations with many regional and international powers since its independence in 1961 AD, as well as It has played the role of donor countries and political mediator, and played an intellectual and media role in the Gulf region and the Arab region in general, which has succeeded in neutralizing opponents and enemies and winning friends and allies.

Objectives of the study:

This research paper aims to:

- Definition the concept of politics in general, and the concept of foreign policy, which includes diplomacy.
- Knowing the objectives of the foreign policy of the State of Kuwait.
- Highlighting the characteristics of the State of Kuwait's foreign policy, its instruments, the institutions contributing to its industry, and the factors affecting it.
- Clarify the most important circles around which Kuwait's foreign policy revolves, namely: Gulf, Arab, Islamic, and international.
- Shedding light on the role of Kuwait in applying the concept of justice in international relations in terms of the characteristic of distributing the Kuwaiti wealth surplus to its needs in a humane manner to the Arab and Islamic countries and peoples, and then the poor and developing countries of the world.

Study Methodology:

Considering that the method is the method followed by the researcher in studying the problem to answer the research questions and to reach the truth and find realistic results; The study will depend on the descriptive and analytical approach in shedding light on the foreign policy of the State of Kuwait and highlighting the role of Kuwaiti diplomacy in maintaining its position at all levels.

2 Literature Review

- Al Duwaihees, **AHMED MAHMOUD**, (1992), Kuwait's foreign policy 1961-1991 AD, a master's thesis (unpublished), University of Jordan, Jordan, unpublished), University of Jordan, Jordan.
- **MUBARAK SAEED AWAD AL AJMI**: Economic aid is one of the instruments of Kuwaiti foreign policy 1980-2010 , unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Arts and Sciences - Department of Political Science - Middle East University, 2011.
- **MUNIRA FAISAL ABDULLAH AL SULTAN**: Mediation is one of the instruments for implementing the Kuwaiti foreign policy on the Arab and Islamic levels, unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Arts, Middle East University, 2012 .

- Center for Strategic and Diplomatic Studies: Kuwait's Foreign Policy in the Time of Emir **AL SHEIKH AL SABAH AL AHMAD**: Humanitarian Diplomacy, Political Assessment Unit at the Center for Strategic and Diplomatic Studies, 28/10/2020 , <https://www.csds-center.com/article>

First, a historical overview:

With a historical look at Kuwait's foreign policy since its inception in the mid-seventeenth century, we find that Kuwaiti diplomacy in this period was not clear due to the absence of the elements of a modern state, and foreign policy was the responsibility of the ruler who appointed his aides and envoys, and Kuwait had relations with the Ottoman Empire, and Britain , France, Germany and Russia, and this continued until 1899 , and in 1899 ; The Emir of Kuwait - **MUBARAK SABAH** - signed the protection treaty with Britain, which controlled the Gulf region and its surroundings after it signed the 1820 treaty with Ras Al Khaimah, after which Britain signed treaties with the Gulf rulers, including Kuwait, which entered into a treaty with Britain and was called the 1899 AD Treaty. Among the conditions stipulated in the treaty, the foreign and defense affairs relating to Kuwait shall be the purview of Britain. As for the internal affairs, it is the jurisdiction of the ruler of Kuwait, and Kuwait has passed through a historical and decisive stage in the formation of its international character, since 1896 when **AL SHEIKH MUBARAK AL SABAH** took power until the beginning of the twentieth century. During this period, the international conflict between the major powers - Britain, the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Germany - was reflected in their areas of influence. And the Arab Gulf, including Kuwait, was one of the sites of that political conflict, and from here Kuwait began to seek its international way through those labyrinths without prior experience on the one hand and without an area of land or population density with which it can maintain its balance against those great and great powers, however only She was able to float in these currents, and **AL SHEIKH MUBARAK** was able to make contacts with all those forces, lead rounds of negotiations and reach multiple agreements. He also refused, through negotiation, multiple offers and positions, and was achieving what he wanted according to the capabilities of Kuwait available at that time and according to the standards of that era, but from It is unfortunate to say that due to the absence of records during that period of the stages the negotiations passed through until the various agreements were approved, it is difficult for us to imagine the nature of those negotiations, the level of their content and the accompanying backgrounds. After that era crowded with multiple political positions and the sacrifices, efforts and maneuvers that it required and the goals it achieved, followed by a period of relative calm, in which the emirate set out to build itself and devote its personality internally and within its geographical surroundings until it entered the stage of economic transformation after the oil discoveries and the completion of its political personality by ending the agreement of 1899 AD and establishing The State of Kuwait in 1961 ⁽¹⁾.

During its recent history, Kuwaiti diplomacy moved from positive neutrality with regard to neighboring countries since the declaration of independence in 1961AD until 1980AD, and then stood with the states of Iraq and Saudi Arabia in the eighties of the twentieth century against Iran, and the State of Kuwait worked to protect its national security through the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) system , based on the initiative of the Emir of Kuwait, **AL SHEIKH JABER AL AHMAD AL SABAH**, and before the invasion of Iraq, Kuwait was not interested in establishing alliance relations to ensure protection, and during this stage the State of Kuwait provided aid and relief and development loans without linking them to political conditions that enhance its national security ⁽²⁾.

It is possible to talk about the geopolitical factor in the Kuwaiti foreign policy that affects and perhaps determines the directions of the Kuwaiti strategy. It is a factor that can be called the "pressure triangle." Kuwait is a small country surrounded by three major countries in the region, namely Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. This requires this country to follow a policy of zero enemies, and this requires dealing rationally and wisely with regional fluctuations and maintaining good relations with everyone during the pressure triangle, especially when the atmosphere is charged in the interrelationships of the sides of this triangle, and if we know that this pressure is mainly related to the Middle East conflict and the alliances between the poles and the international axes, which are characterized by continuity and longevity, make the foreign policy task almost impossible for Kuwaiti diplomacy to maintain a strategy of peace with everyone, a challenge that has always been a major concern in Kuwait's foreign policy and which it has succeeded in since its independence in 1961 ⁽³⁾.

Second: Kuwaiti foreign policy objectives:

The foreign policy of any country seeks to achieve goals that are at the heart of the so-called national interest, and which do

(1) Munira Faisal Abdullah Al Sultan: Mediation is one of the tools for implementing the Kuwaiti foreign policy on the Arab and Islamic levels, unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Arts, Middle East University, 2012 AD, pp. 48-50.

(2) Strategic Thought Center for Studies: Kuwaiti Diplomacy: Ingredients and Roles, April 21, 2018AD, <https://fikercenter.com/assets/uploads/Kuwait-1.pdf>

(3) Center for Strategic and Diplomatic Studies: Kuwait's Foreign Policy in the Time of Emir Sheikh Al Sabah Al Ahmad: Humanitarian Diplomacy, Political Assessment Unit at the Center for Strategic and Diplomatic Studies, 28/10/2020AD, <https://www.csds-center.com/article>

not mean more than the achievement of three things: ⁽⁴⁾ power, luxury, and status (status), and these goals never change, they are the determinant and guide of foreign policy, but What changes is the process of prioritizing according to internal and external variables.

The objectives of Kuwaiti foreign policy can be summarized in the following points:

1. Protecting Arab and Islamic interests and values and maintaining a coordinated pace of association with Arab and Islamic countries and the issues of the Islamic nation in general.
2. Applying the concept of justice in international relations in terms of the characteristic of distributing the Kuwaiti wealth surplus to its needs in a humane manner to the Arab and Islamic countries and peoples, and then the poor and developing countries of the world.
3. Investing the benefits of the policy of participation in the distribution of wealth or the assistance of other countries in the form of establishing an international network that serves Kuwait's national and regional issues first and the interests of the Arab and Islamic worlds secondly, by ensuring that the countries that Kuwait supports financially stand by their side in national issues, as well as national issues.
4. Non-interference in the internal affairs of any country, and rejection of any attempt to interfere in its internal affairs.
5. Rejection of armed aggression in international relations.
6. Ensuring the security and stability of the Arab Gulf region and preventing the region from entering a state of turmoil and instability.
7. Achieving integration among the Gulf Cooperation Council countries at various levels.
8. Rejection of armed aggression in international relations, taking the side of the aggressor and supporting him in his position to ward off injustice from him.
9. Exploiting Kuwait's foreign relations and its financial and oil wealth in order to support the just causes of the region, especially the Palestinian cause ⁽⁵⁾.

It means the total of goals in what it means, Continuing the cohesion of the state by ensuring the country's unity and security stability, and its survival outside Arab conflicts - and the preservation of the Kuwaiti self and internal harmony by accommodating local differences and contradictions.

Third: Principles of the State of Kuwait's Foreign Policy:

The State of Kuwait has a distinguished history, an independent political system, and stable institutions. It is considered one of the most advanced countries in the Arab Mashreq and a consolidation of gains and democratic indicators. This political heritage has given it a distinct historical heritage. It has a written and permanent constitution that is one of the oldest constitutions of the Arabian Peninsula and has a rich experience in general elections since 1964AD, Kuwait has experienced political participation before independence since the Consultative Council in 1921AD and 1938AD, and this made it easier for it to adapt to the new model after independence, and the system of government itself is theoretically divided into three authorities: executive, legislative, and judicial Independent and auxiliary at the same time, and this constitutional division is equivalent to the best contemporary systems of government in the region. The Kuwaiti National Assembly, its news and the deliberations that take place therein have become political institutions of outstanding importance in the Gulf region, the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab world, and Kuwait possesses a base of civil society institutions from where there are diwanis or councils, which are estimated at hundreds ⁽⁶⁾.

Kuwait abides by the principle of legitimacy in its international dealings and relations and respects the covenants it concludes with other countries in accordance with its national, Arab, and Islamic interests, and its relationship with friendly countries is based on mutual respect and common interests ⁽⁷⁾.

Kuwait deeply believes in world peace and justice as a rule in international interaction and negotiation as a basis for solving international problems. It also believes in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the importance of the United Nations, and its principles and objectives. Kuwait abides by the principle of legitimacy in its international dealings and relations and respects the pacts it has concluded with other countries in accordance with its national, Arab, and Islamic interests, and their relationship with friendly countries is based on mutual respect and common

(4) Gharbia, Mazen, (1998). The role in foreign policy: a proposed analytical framework, Jordanian Foreign Policy Symposium, University of Applied Sciences, p. 2.

(5) For more details: Al Duwaihees, Ahmed Mahmoud, (1992), Kuwait's foreign policy 1961-1991 AD, a master's thesis (unpublished), University of Jordan, Jordan, unpublished), University of Jordan, Jordan, pp. 86-106.

(6) Mohamad Hassan Al Aidarous: The Modern and Contemporary History of Kuwait, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Hadith, Kuwait, 2002, p. 228.

(7) Al Bastaki, Nasra Abdullah, (2003 AD). Gulf security from the invasion of Kuwait to the invasion of Iraq, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, p. 48.

interests ⁽⁸⁾.

Kuwait - as part of the Arab and Islamic nation - employs all its capabilities to defend Arab and Islamic issues, foremost of which is the issue of Palestine and Jerusalem - and calls for Arab unity and Islamic solidarity as the basis and pillar in restoring Arab and Islamic rights and achieving what the Arab and Islamic nation aspires to, and always condemns attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of states. It also condemns the policy of discrimination and racial discrimination.

On the other hand, the principles of Arab nationalism influenced - and still do - on Kuwait's foreign policy during the first three decades of its independence, as it was the basis of national activity in the Gulf region, and one of the first Gulf states to be affected in the case of the nationalist - Nasserist tide that swept the Arab system during the fifties and sixties. It was also a major tributary to the Palestinian national movement, which absorbed the various currents of the Palestinian struggle at the time, from which the Fatah movement was launched and formed in 1969 AD under the leadership of the late Palestinian President YASSER ARAFAT, and it contributed to attracting the afflicted Palestinian people in large numbers, as it moved at all levels and foreign circles to support the Palestinian cause. ⁽⁹⁾.

Also, in the seventies, the Islamic dimension took a new curve in the orientations of Kuwaiti foreign policy, when the Islamic law and its principles of brotherhood and solidarity among Muslims were adopted. The last of these trends is the growing official and popular feeling of the necessity of extending a helping hand to the peoples of the Gulf and the Arab world, as well as to the third or developing countries.

This was practically translated within the crucible of Kuwaiti foreign policy objectives through financial, educational and social assistance to the countries of the south and the Arab Gulf, and the establishment of soft financing institutions, such as the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, in addition to the establishment of semi-official institutions to provide aid to the poor peoples in Asia and Africa, and on the other hand ensuring a secure future means investing oil revenues on a purely scientific and economic basis through foreign investment, which is what Kuwait has directed towards by attracting capital and international and Arab companies to invest and build an economic base that transforms the Kuwaiti economy from a single-supply economy that depends on oil only, to an industrial economy. It is constantly growing and keeps pace with the major and regional countries in the region ⁽¹⁰⁾.

It can also be said that the preventive military objective has been on the agenda of Kuwaiti foreign policy since the eighties, as regional circumstances forced Kuwait to use the military objective as a means at times to protect its security and independence, although it tried as much as possible not to be a party to regional or Arab conflicts and disputes. Because of the limited resources, however, the goal of preserving existence and self requires a military goal sometimes parallel to the size of the principal goal ⁽¹¹⁾.

It is notable; The emergence of the political-military goal in Kuwaiti foreign policy, especially during the first and last Gulf War, as in 1986 AD and during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988 AD), the Kuwaiti government allowed Iraqi planes to penetrate its airspace to attack Iranian forces and allowed weapons and ammunition destined for Iraq Crossing inside Kuwait. It also sent an unknown number of different anti-tank missiles and ammunition to Iraq, thus violating the terms of selling this American materiel to Kuwait, and the military aid to Iraq during the war reached a point that made former Iraqi President SADDAM HUSSEIN assert that the Kuwaitis are our "few distinguished brothers" ⁽¹²⁾.

In the last Gulf War, which resulted in the fall of the Iraqi regime in April 2003 AD, the Kuwaiti government also provided military assistance, logistical support, land and airspace to the American-British occupation forces during the preparation for the occupation of Iraq, and its political goal was to get rid of the former Iraqi regime in any way, and the state was the only Arab that declared its support for the American forces in that war, and even reprimanded politically and tried to punish economically the other Arab countries that stood against the idea of war, as it did with Syria, Tunisia, Lebanon, Libya...etc.

Fourth: Kuwaiti foreign policy circles:

Kuwait has drawn its foreign policy based on four circles: Gulf, Arab, Islamic, and international. Its relations with the countries of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf are complementary politically, economically, culturally, and militarily and are governed by the provisions of the statute of the Council established in 1981 AD. Kuwait also has close brotherly relations with other Arab countries and bears its share in Arab national issues. Kuwait joined the League of Arab States in July 1961 AD after Iraq gave up its opposition to this accession ⁽¹³⁾.

(8) Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), State institutions and achievements: Kuwait's foreign policy, quoting from the following link

<http://www.kuna.net.kw/Kuwait/KuwaitAr5.htm#>

(9) Asiri, Abdulreda Ali, (1993 AD), Kuwait in Contemporary International Politics: Achievements, Failures, and Challenges, Al-Qabas Commercial Printing Press, Kuwait, p. 131.

(10) Al Sharrah, Ramadan Ali and Hussein Al Faqir, (1994 AD). Kuwait and Arab Development, Kuwaiti Research and Studies Center, Kuwait, p. 41.

(11) Asiri, Abdelridha Ali, The Political System in Kuwait: Principles and Practices, previous reference, p. 213.

(12) Al Abbasi, Hussein, (1994 AD), Kuwait and the Iraqi Iranian war, an unpublished study, p. 17 and beyond.

(13) ...

Kuwait - as part of the Arab and Islamic nation - employs all its capabilities to defend Arab and Islamic issues, foremost of which is the issue of Palestine and Jerusalem - and calls for Arab unity and Islamic solidarity as the basis and pillar in restoring Arab and Islamic rights and achieving what the Arab and Islamic nation aspires to, and always condemns attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of states. It also condemns the policy of discrimination and racial discrimination.

Realizing the importance of the development of other Arab countries, Kuwait established in 1961AD the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development with a capital of 50 million Kuwaiti dinars. The Fund, which is one of the instruments of Kuwaiti foreign policy since it began its activities in the beginning of 1962 and until the end of 2004AD, provided loans that exceeded (11) billion US dollars, which included, in addition to the Arab countries, about 80 other developing countries in all continents of the world ⁽¹⁴⁾.

In addition to this, the aid and direct loans provided by the state to many Arab countries, as well as its contribution to the Arab African Bank, which carries out direct investment operations in Africa and the Arab countries, and the investments of the Kuwait Investment Company, other government and private companies, and Kuwaiti individuals. Kuwaiti aid allocations for the development of Arab and other countries have exceeded for (5%) ⁽¹⁵⁾ of its total national income, exceeding what is provided by the developed world several times, and all of this confirms Kuwait's faith and keenness to help countries achieve growth as a necessity to achieve peace in the region.

Kuwait's relations with Islamic countries are no less warm than with Western countries, whether at the political or economic levels, but all of this is done away from any intolerance or hostility to other religions and their followers and within the framework of the need for peaceful coexistence between civilizations and not their clash. Kuwait has joined the membership of the Organization of the Conference the Islamic Society participated in all its activities starting with the first Islamic Summit Conference in 1969 AD. It also joined the membership of all Islamic institutions, funds, centers, committees, and unions that were established, including the Islamic Development Bank in 1975 AD, the Islamic Countries Broadcasting Organization in the same year, the Islamic Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1979 AD, the Islamic News Agency in 1973 AD and the Islamic Organization for Education and Cultural Sciences in 1982AD ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In its policy with other countries of the world, Kuwait follows the principles of peaceful coexistence, respecting the right of peoples to choose their political, economic, and social systems, renouncing resorting to force in resolving disputes and resorting to the principles and rules of international law, and supporting the role of the United Nations as an organization entrusted with maintaining international peace and security.

Kuwait joined the membership of the United Nations on May 15, 1963 and became the 111th member of the international community. Kuwait has permanently adhered to the resolutions of the United Nations and pays early every year its share of its budget, which made the international organization place Kuwait and a few other countries in its special list of honor. The Emir of the country, JABER AL AHMAD AL SABAH, addressed the United Nations General Assembly three times, the first before the 43rd session in 1988 in his capacity as Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in its fifth session, and secondly on September 27, 1990, due to the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait, and the third on September 28, 1991, to thank the international community supported Kuwait and liberated it from the clutches of occupation. In 1962, Kuwait joined the two agreements establishing the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, and its contribution to them increased in accordance with the decisions of the Board of Governors on both sides. Kuwait has been a member of the GATT since 1963 and joined under the law No. (81) for the year 1995 AD to membership in the World Trade Organization (GATT), and Kuwait supports the International Fund for Agricultural Development with aid that exceeded (131) million dollars ⁽¹⁷⁾.

The most important achievements of Kuwait in the Security Council:

Among the most important achievements that Kuwait has achieved during its non-permanent membership of the Security Council is the adoption by the Council of Resolution 2474, which Kuwait submitted its draft and relating to the missing as a result of armed conflicts. The resolution stresses the importance of allowing individuals to know the fate and whereabouts of their missing relatives and calls upon the parties to armed conflicts to take all appropriate measures to search actively on the persons reported missing, knowing their fate without negative discrimination, and enabling the return of the remains of those who died.

During the presidency of the State of Kuwait to the Security Council in February 2018, Resolution 2401 was adopted, which was submitted by Kuwait alongside Sweden, calling for a cease-fire throughout Syria and allowing a humanitarian truce for a period of 30 days to enable humanitarian aid to reach the needy and evacuate the injured. The decision was not adopted.

(14) Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), State institutions and achievements: Kuwait's foreign policy, previous reference.

(15) Ibrahim, Hassan Ali, (1982). Small states and the international system, Kuwait and the Gulf, Arab Research Institute, Beirut, p. 132.

(16) Ibid, p. 148.

(17) Asiri, AbdelRidha Ali, (1991), Kuwait's foreign policy: A reading in the past and a look to the future, Journal of Social Sciences, second issue, Kuwait University, Kuwait, p. 31 and beyond.

In December 2018, Kuwait submitted draft Resolution 2449 alongside Sweden to renew the work of the mechanism for cross-border humanitarian access to Syria, which was approved by the Council.

In September 2019, Kuwait, along with Belgium and Germany, submitted a draft resolution to renew the mechanism for the delivery of humanitarian aid to Syria across the border, but China and Russia used their veto ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Fifth: Instruments for implementing Kuwaiti foreign policy:

By foreign policy instruments, the means that are used to implement and achieve the goals and plans of foreign policy is a mechanism of international unity. The goal requires the use of many instruments necessary to implement it and translate it into tangible behavior on the ground, and the importance of foreign policy instruments stems only from their importance to achieving the goals, but also from being an influencing factor in the course of foreign policy and determining the features and parameters of that policy, because the availability and multiplicity of instruments for foreign policy It gives scope for the use of these instruments to achieve the foreign policy goals ⁽¹⁹⁾, and the means and instruments of foreign policy are divided into five instruments, namely:

1) The diplomatic instrument:

Diplomacy reflects the civilized face of the country it represents, and the diplomatic corps represents the real link between countries because it is always in direct contact under sight. Therefore, countries rely on diplomatic relations and give them special importance because they are the crossing to all aspects of the relationship and bilateral cooperation between countries. Kuwaiti diplomacy over the long decades witnessed the enemy before the friend its success in its steady steps to build bridges of communication with its brothers and with the countries of the world with different ideologies, political trends, economic conditions, and regimes.

In its diplomatic relationship, Kuwait proceeds from its positive neutrality, and from the economic abundance that God has bestowed upon it from its oil wealth. From this, the Kuwaiti diplomatic path proceeded in two parallel tracks: political action and economic support through local or regional Kuwaiti institutions in which Kuwait has a significant presence.

Since its independence, Kuwait has relied on diplomatic means to protect its security, sovereignty, and independence, and entered - as some see - a deep chapter in trusting Arab intentions and reassuring the Arab will and believing in the impossibility of returning to force in Arab relations ⁽²⁰⁾.

However, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 AD, and the consequent abolition of the sovereignty of an existing state and its complete occupation, posed a unique challenge to Kuwaiti foreign policy, as it no longer relies on the traditional diplomatic role in meeting its interests, but rather in protecting its political and sovereign security and itself. By relying on contemporary Kuwaiti diplomacy ⁽²¹⁾, taking into consideration the Kuwaiti national interest first and foremost.

Mediation in Kuwaiti foreign policy and reliance on good and commendable endeavors in all Arab and international issues was the distinguishing feature of Kuwaiti foreign policy before the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, which differed qualitatively after this harsh experience, as Kuwaiti foreign policy took on a new dimension in the mechanisms of implementing the diplomacy of rapprochement and the strategic alliance of the Arab countries supporting it and the international powers, with the aim of protecting the country's security and preserving its independence from the fluctuations in the balance of regional powers.

The Russian researcher (YELENA MELCOMIAN) comments on this by saying, "Kuwait's foreign policy is a balanced and moderate one, and it depends mainly on diplomatic means in dealing with various international issues, whether those that directly concern it or those of the Arab and Islamic countries ⁽²²⁾.

Since the early nineties, Kuwait's foreign policy began placing strategic considerations of great importance in international relations, and it sought to intensify its international presence all over the world, as the number of Kuwaiti diplomatic missions accredited abroad in 1999AD reached (66) embassies, consulates and a permanent delegation in regional and international organizations distributed among (58) countries in the world ⁽²³⁾, while the number of diplomatic and permanent

(18) United Nations News: Kuwait leaves the Security Council and Tunisia takes over in January its non-permanent seat for two years, December 24, 2019AD. <https://news.un.org/ar/story/2019/12/1045991>

(19) Suad Bardi Al Saeedi: Kuwaiti Foreign Policy from Political Survival to Renewal, Journal of Financial and Commercial Research, Vol. 22, No. 2, April 2021 AD, 429.

(20) Al Marzouq, Talal Zaid Abdullah, (2002), The Regional Influences of Kuwaiti Foreign Policy: A Case Study of the Iraqi Invasion of the State of Kuwait, Master's Thesis (unpublished), Department of Political Science, University of Jordan, Jordan, p. 21.

(21) Al Duwaihees, Ahmad Mahmoud, Kuwait's Foreign Policy 1961 - 1991 AD, previous reference, p. 120.

(22) Ibid, p. 121.

(23) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomats in the General Court and Kuwait's Accredited Missions Abroad, State of Kuwait, Report for the Year 2000 AD - 2001 AD.

consular missions and diplomatic missions referred, in addition to offices and organizations accredited to the State of Kuwait, reached 122, according to statistics for the year 2003 AD ⁽²⁴⁾.

Thus, the objectives of Kuwaiti diplomacy - as an instrument in its foreign policy - are to preserve Kuwait's independence, security and sovereignty, and to deepen the Gulf Cooperation Council's march as a security and policy system that meets Kuwait's Arab and international interests, and to reach an integrated Gulf partnership that implements the vision of the Gulf peoples for the required unity, and based on a system A regional relationship with Arab and non-Arab neighboring countries is based on dialogue and understanding, rejecting conflict and interference in the affairs of others, which achieves the interests of the countries and peoples of the region to live in peace and security, and encourages participation in global economic institutions and sustainable development programs, as well as maintaining distinguished strategic relations with the United States and the world. The West in general, with the aim of securing a future of security for the region in general, and the security of Kuwait in particular, and to prevent a recurrence of the bitter experience of occupation and to adhere to the realities of membership in the Arab League based on the fact that it includes independent states with different interests and varying international ties according to their location and interests ⁽²⁵⁾.

2) **The economic instrument:**

The State of Kuwait feels the same destiny and the common goals that unite it with the Arab and Islamic countries. It also believes in the importance of interdependence and integration of capabilities and efforts as basic Islamic and humanitarian principles. Therefore, Kuwait has always used its financial surpluses from oil revenues to participate in the Arab, Islamic and international development process, and Kuwait continued to be among the first countries Arab grants for aid even in periods of economic decline, and even during the Iraqi invasion of it.

Although the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait cost it about (6.5) billion dinars to finance its war of liberation, as it bore about (38 %) of the direct expenses of Operation Desert Storm, in addition to (2.8) billion dinars and (1365) million dinars for the expenses of the exile government, it is It has not stopped its assistance to Arab and Islamic countries or other countries ⁽²⁶⁾, in addition to paying all its financial contributions to international, Arab, regional, Islamic and other specialized organizations and bodies.

The Kuwaiti goals of providing aid and loans are radically different from those goals pursued by international financial organizations, while the aid of these organizations such as the Fund and the World Bank is used to spread and impose specific ideologies and policies on the borrowing countries, so that the loans are linked to a package of political and economic conditions under slogans such as liberalizing the economy and The "good government" Kuwaiti aid is not linked to any conditions of this kind, and it is only motivated by its ruling value framework and its desire to contribute effectively in facing the urgent problems faced by countries, especially the problems arising from natural disasters such as earthquakes, torrential rains, floods and others ⁽²⁷⁾.

Its main objective, on the level of Kuwaiti foreign policy, is to be a good instrument for improving and developing its relations with the countries of the world, especially for what is on the agenda of their foreign interests. It is not a condition that these loans and grants be offered to countries that share the same policy and orientation, but in this diplomacy, it depends on winning the affection and positions of countries that may stand with their enemies or with those who pose a threat to their interests and the interests of the Arab and Islamic worlds, including countries from the fabric of the Arab and Islamic systems.

Kuwaiti economic aid - as an instrument of foreign policy - is characterized by the multiplicity of official frameworks through which this aid and loans are agreed upon to the recipient countries, in addition to the regional and international organizations to which Kuwait contributes and are represented in the following channels ⁽²⁸⁾:

- The Ministry of Finance and most of the other ministries, and its affiliated institutions, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, the General Authority for the South and the Arabian Gulf - both subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - the Zakat House, the Kuwait Finance House, and the Kuwait Real Estate Advisory Group. Official institutions also include Kuwait's contribution to specialized international, Arab, regional, and Islamic organizations and bodies

The story of the establishment of a Kuwaiti aid institution appeared around the end of the fifties, and with the discovery of oil and the transformation of Kuwait from a very poor town to a small rich country at the beginning of the establishment of

(24) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic and Consular Corps accredited to the State of Kuwait, State of Kuwait, report for the year 2002-2003AD.

(25) Center for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies, (1999), Political Security between Sources of Threat and Controls of Deterrence: Current Events Record for the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, Kuwait University, Kuwait, p. 65.

(26) The Diplomatic Center for Strategic Studies, (2001), Kuwaiti Foreign Aid. Distinction in the goals and orientations of the Kuwaiti economy in 2001, Kuwait, Special Issue, March 24, p. 2.

(27) Ibid., p. 4.

(28) Al Sharrah, Ramadan Ali and Hussein Al Faqir, Kuwait and Arab Development, previous reference, pp. 39-43.

its infrastructure, the Minister of Finance JABER AL AHMAD AL SABAH saw the need to contribute immediately to the civil duties of the world towards poor countries, Therefore, the year of Kuwait's independence witnessed the establishment of the Kuwait Fund, with the blessing of ABDULLAH AL SALEM AL SABAH, which is the first aid institution of its kind, as it was established by a developing country. The fund is considered one of the branches of the Kuwaiti foreign policy instruments to achieve its foreign goals ⁽²⁹⁾.

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development was established in December 1961 to provide and manage financial and technical assistance to developing countries.

At first, the fund's operations were limited to Arab countries in accordance with their basic law, and in July 1974, the fund's activity was extended to include the rest of the developing countries in the world, and the capital was increased from (200) million Kuwaiti dinars to (1000) million Kuwaiti dinars.

In March 1981, the capital was doubled to become (2000) million Kuwaiti dinars, and the scope of the Fund's powers was expanded to include participation in the capital, the resources of development institutions and the capital shares of some legal persons ⁽³⁰⁾, and the main purpose of the Fund is to assist developing countries in developing their economies and providing them with loans The facilitator for the implementation of its development program, which is not without political goals for Kuwait besides the humanitarian goal.

According to the Kuwait Fund, the Prime Minister was the one who headed the fund's board of directors, and he delegated his powers in this regard to the Minister of Finance, then the law was amended in 2003 AD, and according to the transfer, this authority was transferred to the Minister of Foreign Affairs ⁽³¹⁾, which added an external political dimension to the role and importance of The Kuwait Fund supports and enhances the objectives of Kuwaiti foreign policy.

Since the inception of the Fund at the end of 1961 until the beginning of 2005, the number of loans extended by the State of Kuwait to countries of the world amounted to (675) loans to (101) countries, with a total value of (3544) million Kuwaiti dinars, or approximately (12) billion US dollars. The share of the Arab countries benefiting from the loans was (265) loans to (16) Arab countries, with a total value of (1913,593) million Kuwaiti dinars, approximately (6.5) billion US dollars, and the number of African countries benefiting from the loans reached (40) countries that granted 203) loans, with a total value of (595,724) million Kuwaiti dinars, or approximately (2.02) billion US dollars. The number of Asian and European countries benefiting with (175) loans to (34) Asian and European countries, with a total value of (945.219) million dinars. The number of countries benefiting from loans to Latin America and the Caribbean reached (32) loans, with a total value of (90,184) million Kuwaiti dinars, approximately (306.62) million dollars for (11) Country ⁽³²⁾.

It is clear from the above that the Kuwait Fund is one of the most important instruments that Kuwait uses in its foreign policy to give the image and civilized face of the State of Kuwait to the countries of the world, and the Kuwait Fund can be considered as a Kuwaiti "economic embassy" in all countries of the world, especially those in which Kuwait does not have diplomatic or consular representation Thus, it plays a supportive role for Kuwaiti diplomacy in attracting and affirming Kuwait's issues and interests in international and regional forums.

As for the General Authority for the South and the Arabian Gulf, it was established in 1966 to manage projects dedicated to economic and social development, such as building schools, hospitals, housing projects, mosques, etc. It was established to be a secondary supplementary channel for Kuwaiti aid and components, although it is directed primarily to the Gulf states and southern Arabia. Motivated by the nationalist feeling towards the peoples and sister countries of the Arab Gulf, and the authority played an active role towards the poorest countries at that time, which was explained by the former Crown Prince and Prime Minister JABER AL AHMAD AL SABAH (currently Emir of Kuwait), by saying: We did not accept for ourselves that we, in particular, benefit from the gift that God gave us on our land, we see in strengthening the economy of these countries a support for the entire Arab nation, of which we consider a part..” ⁽³³⁾.

The aid of the commission was devoid of the objectives of the Kuwaiti foreign policy, despite the criticisms leveled against it at the time, and despite the problems and objections raised by the commission between Kuwait on the one hand and some countries in the region, it caused - for example, but not limited to - Kuwaiti humanitarian, social and educational aid. Through this body, both the northern and southern Yemenis in the sixties, as well as Bahrain, Sudan, and the Emirates, faced

(29) Basic, Kuwait, p. 5.

(30) Al-Sharrah, Ramadan Ali and Hussein Al-Faqir, Kuwait and Arab Development, previous reference, p. 45.

(31) Facts about the Fund, Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development website, (2005), quoting from the following link: <http://www.kuwait-fund.org/a/about.asp>.

(32) See in this regard: Statistics of loans provided by the Fund since its inception until 2005 AD, the website of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, *ibid*.

(33) Al-Marzouq, Talal Zaid Abdullah, Regional Effects of Kuwaiti Foreign Policy, a case study of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, previous reference, p. 25.

political problems between Kuwait and Iran, as well as between Kuwait on the one hand and Oman and Saudi Arabia on the other. Considered it a political penetration with the aim of spreading national and religious ideas and beliefs through scholarships, which limits Iran's dominance over these areas, and both Saudi Arabia and Oman objected to Kuwait providing aid to the "communist" in South Yemen and strengthening its roots, as these parties claim, and Saudi Arabia was not satisfied with this aid. Although Kuwait made it clear that it is purely humanitarian aid and a national commitment to the brotherly country, regardless of the form and nature of the political system existing in these countries. d or that ⁽³⁴⁾.

This body continued its activities until 1990, when following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, this body was officially dissolved and its activities were referred to the Kuwait Fund for Development, and the reason for that is the position of Sudan and Yemen regarding the occupation of Kuwait and their neutrality and refusal to condemn Iraq⁽³⁵⁾. For the majority of Arab and Islamic countries that were receiving loans and aid from the Authority and the Kuwait Fund for Development, as they did not take positive positions - from the official and popular Kuwaiti point of view - towards Kuwait during the Iraqi invasion in 1990 AD.

It can be said that Kuwaiti financial contributions to Kuwaiti foreign policy are considered as "politicizing" means to adapt the Kuwaiti economy and financial capabilities to the Kuwaiti political interests in the outside world. As the Kuwaiti decision-maker believes that this issue is included in the calculations of future profit and loss, in order to ensure that the countries that receive this aid are aligned with the Kuwaiti political issues and meet their strategic interests in the foreseeable future, and some see economic diplomacy, or dinar diplomacy"

- so, to speak – the most successful way possible to protect Kuwait from external dangers and the ambitions of some neighboring countries ⁽³⁶⁾.

Despite the failure of this method to protect the sovereignty and security of Kuwait from Iraq in 1990, the quick, immediate, and strong response by the countries of the international coalition and the liberation of Kuwait was a successful indication of the importance of continuing this diplomacy in Kuwait's foreign policy.

3) Media instrument:

Before the Iraqi invasion, Kuwait did not have an external media strategy, as the State of Kuwait did not pay attention to the foreign media before that bitter experience and did not intensify its efforts to reach Arab and international public opinion. The reason for this is that the general Arab and international impressions of the State of Kuwait were playing a media role aimed at to clarify and explain the state's positions or Arab positions to public opinion outside Kuwait, and Kuwait contented itself with publishing media supplements on official occasions in Arab and foreign newspapers and did not make the necessary and coordinated efforts to reach Arab and foreign opinion.

After the liberation of Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry became aware of the need to strengthen the role of the Kuwaiti foreign media, which contributes to the dissemination of the Kuwaiti point of view and the official and popular stances regarding some facts that it considered an intentional falsification on the part of Iraq during and after the end of the Iraqi invasion of it.

The Kuwaiti Ministry of Information, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, began opening specialized media offices, some of which are directly affiliated with the Kuwaiti embassy abroad, and others are independent and affiliated with the Ministry of Information with integrated coordination with the embassy in that country, such as the Kuwaiti media office in the United States of America. Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, etc. ⁽³⁷⁾.

Hence the need for the external media - as an instrument of foreign policy - to explain Kuwait's position to Arab and foreign public opinion ⁽³⁸⁾, and the Kuwaiti media policy was based on a set of principles and objectives in the internal, regional, Islamic and global spheres, and in order for the researcher to identify the relationship between media work and Kuwaiti foreign policy It should quote what was stated in the government program for the year 96/1997 AD - 99/2000 AD in the eighth legislative chapter of the National Assembly to serve the media in Kuwait's foreign policy, which are ⁽³⁹⁾:

1) Belief and adherence to Islam as a religion and creed to build thought, conscience, and good values for the individual and society.

(34) Asiri, Abd Al Ridha Ali, Kuwait in Contemporary International Politics, achievements, failures, .and challenges, previous reference, p. 87.

(35) Al Marzouq, Talal Zaid Abdullah, previous reference, pg. 26.

(36) Asiri, Abdul Reda Ali, Kuwait in Contemporary International Politics, achievements, failures, and challenges, previous reference, p. 116.

(37) Al-Marzouq, Talal Zaid Abdullah, Regional Influences of Kuwaiti Foreign Policy: A Case Study of the Iraqi Invasion of the State of Kuwait, previous reference, pg. 29.

(38) Al-Fraih, Siham, (1998), Kuwait, the new media strategy, Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences, Research Projects Department, Kuwait, p. 5.

(39) The Kuwaiti National Assembly, (1998). The role of the media in serving Kuwait's foreign policy, Research and Studies Department, an unpublished report, Kuwait, p. 3.

- 2) Defending the State of Kuwait, land, people, system, values, creed, its entity, sovereignty, and security, supporting its national unity and enhancing the cohesion of the people and their leadership by all available media means.
- 3) Kuwait's affiliation with the Arab and Islamic nations, affirming its pride in this trust and deepening awareness of it. In this context, Kuwait recalls the specificity of its relationship with the Gulf Cooperation Council.
- 4) Kuwait's commitment to its duties towards the human community and the deepening of awareness of being part of this world through thick and thin.
- 5) Commitment to the principle of openness, freedom of expression, constructive dialogue, respect for all opinions, impartiality, honesty, and objectivity, and avoiding all that stirs up strife, grudges and grudges.
- 6) While preserving the principles of principles and legitimate Kuwaiti rights, the State of Kuwait will not be captive to rigid positions without responding to the latest developments, and will work to expand the front of friends, and freeze flexibility in positive dealing with constructive initiatives by diverting the course of relations with countries that have marred the relationship with them obstacles as a consequence of the Iraqi aggression on the State of Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti Council of Ministers determines the foreign media policy of the State of Kuwait, and the Ministry of Information coordinates with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in determining the method of implementing this policy.

The government attached great importance to the media and the press during the invasion, as the Gulf and international media played a major role in preparing international public opinion against Iraq, which contributed a lot to the liberation process. After the liberation, the Kuwaiti media advanced and became directing to specific policies and drawn directions through which it addresses internal and external public opinion, as Kuwait experienced a media war abroad, media centers were established in Arab and foreign countries. The aim of these centers was to introduce Kuwaiti politics, establish a joint dialogue with these countries, popularize friendship and clarify Kuwait's just issues. To achieve this end, many political, economic and media figures were invited. and scientific in 1996 AD, and 3000 journalists from the United States visited Kuwait alone ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

The Ministry of Information was keen to have complete credibility in the news broadcast by the Kuwaiti Anbar Agency "KUNA" and other media, and gives Kuwait great importance to the global media, as there are problems in Kuwait that have influential external repercussions not only in the foreign press, but in the legislative fields Existing abroad on Kuwait, such as reports heard in the US Congress or the British Parliament against Kuwait, which negatively affects Kuwait's reputation, and Kuwait opened its borders and airports to all foreign and Arab correspondents and media to come and reflect what it sees as reality, and Kuwaiti diplomacy in the field of foreign media of the state has been able to master diplomacy and employ it well to secure its rights in a world that requires constant vigilance and rapid response to events. Kuwaiti diplomacy has succeeded in convincing the world that the issue of recognizing borders by Iraq is more important than the obligations imposed on it. The world was preoccupied with destroying Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. But Kuwaiti diplomacy was able to put the issue of borders at the forefront of obligations, as it considered it the first problem that threaten the security of the region, until the Iraqi recognition was officially extracted against the borders drawn by the United Nations by UN Security Council Resolution No. (823) of 1993 ⁽⁴¹⁾.

Consequently, the researcher notes the importance of the media instrument in the Kuwaiti foreign policy since 1991 until the present time, as it seems that there is a feverish race between the Kuwaiti media in its foreign sector and the Arab media departments of the diplomatic missions accredited abroad, and notes the role and size of the importance of the Kuwaiti foreign media sector through the number of Kuwaiti media offices that are independent of the Kuwaiti diplomatic missions, this has increased their media work space and given them greater freedom to play a cultural-political role in the interest of Kuwaiti foreign policy.

Sixth: The characteristics and features of Kuwait's foreign policy:

It can be said from the previous proposition that Kuwait's foreign policy since independence in 1961 until today has been dominated by a new dynamic that is consistent with Kuwait's need, despite its apparent contradiction with Kuwait's geopolitical capacity and capabilities, which is the unbridled desire to play an active role in the outside world, especially for a regional one. But while maintaining complete impartiality with regard to the crises and fluctuations in the Gulf region due to conflict of interests and the playing of the balance of power, given that Kuwait's overall components in terms of geographical location and human, material, oil and economic strength do not parallel with the components and capabilities of other powers in the region (Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran).), and this is what drives it politically to deal impartially with conflicts and crises that it is not a party to or that does not threaten its national security and stability.

(40) Al-Fraih, Siham, Kuwait, the new media strategy, previous reference, p. 8.

(41) Smith, Alan David, (1997), the role of the media in serving Kuwaiti foreign policy, the Kuwaiti National Assembly, Research and Studies Department, unpublished report, Kuwait, p. 3.

Kuwait's capabilities to confront external challenges and threats are characterized by a degree of moral and humanitarian responsibility, even though its financial capabilities - exclusively - exceed the capabilities of many countries in size or even greater than them ⁽⁴²⁾.

The features of this policy or dynamic are highlighted in the following:

1) The Kuwaiti foreign policy is not self-propelled or self-influencing, but rather it is externally influenced and directed, that is, it depends on the reactions and repercussions of external events and the surrounding factors and variables more than it is actual or constitutes a factor of initiative in drawing foreign policy and determining positions, even if it is consistent in its orientations are based on the convictions of the Kuwaiti decision maker, as Kuwait's foreign policy is greatly affected by the changes and policies imposed by neighboring countries, whether they are quantitative or qualitative variables, the external environment is sharply influential in the formulation of Kuwaiti foreign policy.

2) The centrality of Kuwaiti foreign policy appears clearly in the executive authority represented in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or in the personality of the minister, as it is the one who defines and implements this policy, while it is clear that the role of other parallel bodies such as the legislative authority - despite its importance and its role - is secondary or lateral, and perhaps This role does not exceed the exercise of pressure, consultation, protest and opinion in most cases, despite the fact that the role of this authority in Kuwait exceeds a role in the system of other Gulf Cooperation Council countries.

Some analysts believe that the actions of the legislative authority and the role of its organs are limited in crystallizing popular pressure or creating a pressing public opinion, while some groups, such as merchants and Arab nationalists, influence from a historical perspective, as well as the fundamentalist Islamic movement in mobilizing public opinion and putting pressure on the political decision-maker.

3) The capabilities of Kuwait to defend itself against external threats are relatively limited, and perhaps non-existent. No matter how Kuwait tries to possess military technologies, the capabilities of its forces remain disproportionate to its opponents or with the capabilities of neighboring countries at least, especially those who previously feared their military forces, such as Iraq, or those who still fear that they possess weapons that exceed the capabilities of the Arab Gulf states combined, and that is exclusively Iran ⁽⁴³⁾.

As the experiences of contemporary history have proven, Kuwait is able to use its limited military power for deterrence, but through the Gulf Cooperation Council system, or by relying on the international military force represented by the United States, and perhaps the second and third Gulf Wars were the biggest example of that, in the Gulf War The second relied on direct US-international intervention to liberate Kuwait, while in the last Gulf War it relied on protecting itself and deterring Iraq through the Gulf Peninsula Shield forces ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

It can also be said that, during the Iraq-Iran war, it was not able to protect its port and its oil tankers, so it relied on Soviet and later American protection. This was the beginning of the internationalization of the war at the level of the official request by Arab countries in the Gulf to protect their fleet from Iran, which inflicted heavy damage on Kuwaiti oil tankers in 1987, which was later known as the Tanker War ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

4) One of the foundations and pillars of Kuwait's continuation as a successful political entity in maintaining its security and international entity is its possession, among many things, of liquid oil wealth that gave it the advantage of wealth and the possibility of investing its oil and financial wealth in establishing diplomatic, political and alliance relations with many regional and international powers since its independence in 1961 AD. As well as playing the role of donor countries and political mediator and played the role of intellectual and media in the Gulf region and the Arab region in general, through which it succeeded in neutralizing opponents and enemies and winning friends and allies.

5) The external challenges faced by Kuwait on the part of Iran and Iraq left their prominent imprints on Kuwait's foreign policy, as they led to the creation of a traditional radicalism in its policy on the internal and external fronts, and in order to get rid of these challenges and fears, it relied all means that prevent the return of these fears from new, so she won all the friends and allies who sympathize with her cause with Iraq in general, especially the issue of the prisoners later, and she took every path that leads to changing the behavior of the Iraqi leadership towards her, and this explains her openly participation in the overthrow of the former Iraqi regime, for her political realization that overcoming the ordeal of the Second Gulf War and the stability of the region and the establishment of normal relations with Iraq , which will only be with a new Iraq with a regime other than the one that invaded its homes and desecrated its sanctity .

(42) Abdelsattar, Labib, (1989), *The Gulf Story: Permanent Interaction and Continuous Struggle*, Dar Al-Majali, Beirut, p. 139.

(43) See in this regard: - Asiri, Abdelreda Ali, *The Political System in Kuwait: Principles and Practices*, previous reference, p. 212 and beyond. Asry, Abdelridha Ali, *Kuwait in Contemporary International Politics: Achievements, failures, and challenges*, previous reference, pp. 373-378.

(44) Al-Adwani, Abdelnasser, (2004). *Rebalancing Power in the Arab Gulf Region: New Approaches*, Master's Thesis (unpublished), Department of Political Science, University of Jordan, p. 151.

(45) *Ibid*, p. 54.

This political and psychological philosophy at the same time is justified in terms of the security obsession that haunts the Kuwaiti decision-maker since the liberation of Kuwait in 1991 AD until the fall of the Iraqi regime in 2003 AD. During this time, Kuwait rejected any moderate policy or a policy of tolerance with a regime that threatened its entity and security and he tried to erase it from the political map, and the radical fear of the future prompted it to sign dozens of military contracts and international agreements with the United States and a direct presence over its territory to deter any Iraqi attempts again⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Some believe that the time has come for Kuwait to move away from the principle of preventive diplomacy and to give priority to its national interest over national considerations that have proven to have failed in the past, and to rationalize its financial loans and its oil and material surplus to serve Kuwait, given that the expenses of fate do not guarantee the Kuwaiti first and last, especially after the dispersal of interest's Arab countries.

The national issues - such as the issue of Palestine - have become one of the national issues whose agenda is controlled by the United States of America before the League of Arab States and the regional powers in the Arab region.

3 Conclusion

The study concluded several results, including:

- Kuwait has succeeded in interacting with its territory and in using its papers, despite being classified as a small country in international relations according to the criteria of area and population.
- Kuwait was able to utilize its available assets, and succeeded in transforming some weaknesses into strengths, in a way that enabled it to pursue an active foreign policy to serve the national goals at the local, regional, and international levels.
- Kuwait sought to follow a balanced and moderate foreign policy with all parties regionally and globally, away from clashes while avoiding confrontations.
- Kuwait has succeeded in using its oil resources to reduce external threats.
- Kuwait enjoys a reasonable level of military power, which has allowed it to participate effectively in foreign policy.
- Kuwait is a distinguished model among regional countries.
- Kuwait is an acceptable mediator in resolving disputes.

Recommendations:

- The limited size of Kuwait compared to neighboring countries constitutes an important source of threat to the security of states, which requires extensive work to support the home front by achieving social balance at the class and sectarian levels and building the largest possible extent of popular political participation.
- Most of Kuwait's resources are depleted, which requires extensive work to diversify the national product and build balances for future generations, hence the importance of planning for the future.
- Kuwait should choose the goals that are realistically achievable, and not the maximum goals that may not be achievable.
- In achieving these goals, Kuwait must follow the gradual method, not the method of boom or general rush.
- In achieving Kuwait's goals, the instruments that bring less risks must be chosen, as political risks that are not calculated in foreign policy may expose countries to grave dangers.
- The optimal strategy in foreign policy is the strategy of deterrence, not the strategy of attack.
- Excluding the use of military force, except in the case of self-defense.
- Building alliances with friendly major powers is an important instrument for achieving national security.
- Kuwait has a specific role in international relations, which is the role of helping developing countries economically.
- The main field of Kuwait's foreign policy is the Gulf and Arab fields.

Refernces

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