GRADUATE SCHOOL
ISTANBUL MEDENIYET UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

THE TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL AWARENESS IN KUWAIT

(1938-1971)

PhD Thesis

Reham Amro

February 2024

GRADUATE SCHOOL
ISTANBUL MEDENIYET UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

THE TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL AWARENESS IN KUWAIT

(1938-1971)

PhD Thesis

Reham Amro

Supervisor
Assoc. Prof. M. Talha Çiçek

February 2024

THESIS JURY APPROVAL

This PhD thesis titled THE TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL AWARENESS IN KUWAIT (1938-1971)." written by Reham Amro at the Department of History was accepted by our jury.

JURY MEMBERS **SIGNATURE**

Supervisor:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Talha Çiçek

Istanbul Medeniyet University

Other Jury Members:

Prof. Dr. Tufan Buzpınar

Medipol University

Prof. Dr. Cengiz Tomar

Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatih Bayram

Istanbul Medeniyet University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serhan Afacan

Marmara University

Date of Defense: 28/ 02/ 2024

STATEMENTS

Style and Reference Manual Statement

Having reviewed this thesis written under my supervision, I confirm that it has been written in accordance with Chicago Manual of Style and used its footnote reference format consistently throughout the entire text.

Assoc. Prof. M. Talha Çiçek

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that all information in this dissertation has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conducts, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Reham Amro

To those whose awareness was a threat, their freedom was a battle.

To the engaged intellectuals, martyred in the Holy Land.

Your light still shines, guiding us to what's right.

R. Amro

ABSTRACT

The Transformation of Political Awareness in Kuwait

(1938-1971)

Reham Amro

Supervisor: Associate Professor M. Talha Çiçek

History, Ph.D. Dissertation

2023

This dissertation delves into the evolution of political awareness in Kuwait from 1938 to 1971. It offers a nuanced examination of the political transformations that transpired during this critical period, with a specific focus on unraveling the complex interplay between social and political forces within Kuwaiti society. Furthermore, it challenges the dominant narrative that solely attributes political influence to the ruling dynasty and merchant class.

The dissertation identifies key factors shaping the diverse levels of political awareness in Kuwait. These include the rise of a modern educated elite fostered by the education movement, geography, and maritime trade, both in pre-oil and oil-reliant societies. It also provides a detailed analysis of the most influential social groups, including the merchant elite, students, maritime and oil workers, parliamentarians, and members of various clubs, parties, and public benefit associations. Furthermore, the dissertation posits five distinct stages in the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait. The first stage witnessed the emergence of the merchant elite as a dominant political force, with most adhering to the Shaykh's authority. The second stage, in the 1950s and 1960s, saw the rise of political awareness among students, marked by the emergence of opposition based on Arab nationalist ideals. The third stage coincided with the economic shift from a maritime-based, semi-feudal system to an oil-driven one, and witnessed the growing political awareness among maritime and oil workers. The fourth stage saw the increasing engagement of National Assembly members (Majlis al-‘Umma) in the political landscape, directly contributing to decision-making processes. Finally, the last stage marked the formalization of political organization through the proliferation of clubs, parties, and associations, significantly impacting awareness across various societal segments.

The research utilizes primary sources, including historical documents, Arabic newspapers, and magazines, as well as secondary sources to analyse the political history of Kuwait during this

period. It concludes that it is crucial to understand the role and impact of each segment of Kuwaiti society in the country's political history to have a more comprehensive understanding of the political awareness transformations that took place in Kuwait from 1938 to 1971.

Keywords: Political awareness, Kuwait, the Gulf Region, Nationalism, Arabism, political participation, Democracy, Socio-political History.

Özet

Kuveyt'teki Siyasi Farkındalığın Dönüşümleri (1938-1971)

Reham Amro

Doç. Dr. M. Talha Çiçek

Tarih, Doktora Tezi

Bu tez, Kuveyt'teki siyasi farkındalığın 1938'den 1971'e kadar olan dönemdeki dönüşümlerini incelemektedir. Araştırma, Kuveyt'teki sosyal ve siyasi güçler arasındaki ilişkilerin gelişimini anlamaya odaklanarak, bu dönemde meydana gelen siyasi dönüşümün kapsamlı bir analizini sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Kuveyt'in siyasi tarihinde sadece yönetici aile ve tüccar sınıfının iki etkin güç olduğu yönündeki hakim anlatıya itiraz etmektedir.

Araştırma, Kuveyt'te farklı düzeylerde siyasi bilincin yükselmesine yol açan birkaç temel faktörü incelemektedir. Modern eğitim hareketi, coğrafya ve deniz ticareti gibi faktörler, petrol öncesi ve sonrası toplumda yeni eğitimli bir elitin ortaya çıkmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Çalışma ayrıca, tüccar seçkinler, öğrenciler, denizcilik işçileri, petrol işçileri, parlamenterler ve partizanlar da dahil olmak üzere Kuveyt toplumundaki en önemli sosyal gruplar hakkında ayrıntılı bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, Kuveyt'te siyasi farkındalığın dönüşümlerinde beş aşama olduğunu savunmaktadır. İlk aşama, tüccar seçkinlerin siyasi bir güç olarak ortaya çıkması ve nüfusun çoğunluğunun ana güç olan tüccarları takip etmesiyle karakterize edilen tüccar seçkinlerin oluşum aşamasıdır. İkinci aşama, 1950'ler ve 1960'larda gerçekleşen ve Kuveytli öğrenciler arasında Arap milliyetçiliği fikirlerine dayalı muhalefetin çıkışına tanıklık eden öğrenci aşamasıdır. Üçüncü aşama, Kuveyt ekonomisinin ticari, ilgili, yarı feodal, denizcilik ekonomisinden petrole dayalı bir ekonomiye geçişi sırasında meydana gelen denizcilik işçileri ve petrol işçileri aşamasıdır. Dördüncü aşama, Millet Meclisi (Meclisu'l-Umme) ya da Parlamenterin farkındalığının oluştuğu, Millet Meclisi üyelerinin siyasi ortama doğrudan katkıda bulunduğu ve karar alma sürecinde doğrudan rol oynadığı aşamadır. Son aşama ise toplumun siyasi farkındalığı üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olan çeşitli kulüplerin, partilerin ve derneklerin ortaya çıktığını ve kamu yararına çalışan derneklerin örgütsel farkındalık aşamasıdır.

Bu araştırma, Kuveyt'in bu dönemdeki siyasi tarihini analiz etmek için tarihi belgeler, Arapça gazeteler ve dergiler gibi birincil kaynakların yanı sıra akademik literatürdek iikincil

kaynaklardan yararlanmaktadır. Çalışma, 1938'den 1971'e kadar Kuveyt'te meydana gelen siyasi bilinç dönüşümlerini daha kapsamlı bir şekilde anlayabilmek için Kuveyt toplumunun her bir bileşeninin ülkenin siyasi tarihindeki rolünü ve etkisini anlamanın çok önemli olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasi farkındalık, Kuveyt, Körfez Bölgesi, Milliyetçilik, Arapçılık, siyasi katılım, Demokrasi, Sosyo-politik Tarih.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor M. Talha Çiçek, for his guidance, feedback, and support throughout my doctoral experience. Sincere thanks also extend to the committee, Prof. Dr. Tufan Buzpınar, Prof. Dr. Cengiz Tomar, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatih Bayram, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serhan Afacan, for dedicating their time to reading my dissertation and providing invaluable feedback that ultimately improved the overall clarity of my dissertation.

Special appreciation goes to YTB for awarding me a scholarship for the first five years, enabling me to embark on my doctoral path. I want to express my sincere gratitude to Professor İsmail Hakkı Kadi, who has always been a source of support and readily available to help his students whenever needed.

I extend a heartfelt acknowledgement to colleagues and connections in Qatar and Kuwait who provided irreplaceable assistance. Their insightful discussions and willingness to share resources enriched my research. My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Khaled Turki, Mr. Hasan Jaber Anizah, Mr. Osamah Al-Fulih, Mr. Ali Al-Nbhany, Mr. Mosaaed Al-Dribe, Mr. Abdulaziz Al Saif, Professor Ali Al Sanad, and Mr. Abdullah Al Rafdi.

Special appreciation to Professor Hani Awad and Professor Omar al-Shehabi for their willingness to review and provide feedback on my proposal in the early stages of choosing my research topic. Their expertise and insights were greatly appreciated.

Gratitude is due to the staff and librarians of the National Library of Kuwait, ISAM, the University of Jordan Library, the Shoman Library, Qatar Digital Library, and the staff of the Memory of Kuwait project. Their assistance in accessing resources was extremely useful.

Words cannot express my deep gratitude to my wonderful family. My parents, my sister Bayan, and my brothers Yaman and Yazeed provided me with unyielding love, encouragement, and support. Their constant belief in me fueled my motivation and helped me overcome challenges. A special mention also goes to my "Teta," Dr Rajaa Hattab, and her family for their warm support and love.

I feel blessed to have a network of supportive friends who believed in me and cheered me on. Special thanks to Sana, Bayan, Asmaa, Sara, and Naseem for their unwavering encouragement and companionship throughout this 8-year journey. I also extend my gratitude to many other friends and family members who offered support in various ways. I am particularly grateful to

APSN for their understanding and flexibility in allowing me to dedicate the necessary time and attention to finalizing my dissertation.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my three beloved cities: Al-Quds, Amman, and Istanbul. Each city has played a unique role in shaping me personally and academically.

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT……..……...vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS……...……...x

TABLE OF CONTENT……...……...xii

MAP OF THE STATE OF KUWAIT……..…….…….....xvii

TRANSLITERATION…….……...xviii

INTRODUCTION: RE-EXAMINING THE GULF THROUGH DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES……..2

Kuwait and the Gulf: A detailed survey of the literature …….... 5

The Research Questions and the Main Argument……..19

Dissertation Outline……21

The Approach/Methodology of the Study……..23

CHAPTER I……...30

CONCEPTUAL PREMISES AND GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITIONS…….30

1.1. The Major Concepts……30

1.1.1. Political Awareness……30

1.1.1.1. Political Awareness and Democracy ……...33

1.1.1.2. Political Awareness and Political Participation ……..35

1.1.2. Nationalism ……39

1.1.3. Patriotism ……...42

1.1.4. The Arab Nationalism and the Arabism……..44

1.1.5. Tribe and Tribalism…….48

1.2. Socio-Geo-Historical Introduction of the Gulf Region …….……... 50

1.2.1. Spatial Analysis……...50

1.2.2. The Western Presence ……..……...51

1.2.3. A Brief Note on Nomenclature "The Gulf"……....59

1.2.4. Kuwait: An Overview of its Geography and History……..61

1.2.5. The House of Al-Sabah and the Establishment of the Political System in Kuwait…….66

1.2.6. Characteristics of Arab and Gulf society……...76

1.2.7. The demographic change in the Gulf……. 81

1.3. The Components of the Identity in the Gulf…….. 86

1.3.1 Definition of Identity……...86

1.3.2. Definition of Arab Identity……..……...88

1.3.3. Definition of Khalījī Identity…….…….89

CHAPTER II……...96

THE INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL, POLIITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE AND THE POLITICAL AWARENESS IN THE GULF…….……...96

2.1. Introduction……96

2.1.1 Intellectual Life in the Gulf and the Political Awareness…..……..97

2.1.2. The Libraries……114

2.2. Social Classes and Political Awareness……..117

2.3. The Nature of the Political System .....…….124

2.4. Economic Circumstances: Beyond Nomadic Life: The Socio-Economic Fabric of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula…….……..134

2.5. The Influence of External and Internal Factors on the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait …….145

2.5.1. Introduction …….……..145

2.5.2. External Forces and the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait…146

2.5.2.1. The Influence of the British Presence……..…..146

2.5.2.2. Regional Threats and the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait.149

2.5.2.3. Saudi (Wahhabism) and Political Awareness in Kuwait…….…..150

2.5.2.4. The role of Economic, Political, and Cultural Ties between Iraq and Kuwait on the development of the political awareness…….……..152

2.5.3. The Influence of Kuwait's Strategic Geographical Location on the Development of Political Awareness……..156

2.5.4. The Arab Uprisings and Armed Resistance Movements in North Africa: Their Impact on the Development of Political Awareness in Kuwait…..…….…….…….…….…….…….…161

2.5.5. The Modern Education the Development of Political Awareness…164

CHAPTER III……...178

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS IN KUWAIT: MERCHANTS AND STUDENTS…….……...178

3.1. Political Awareness Among Merchants ……..…….……178

3.1.1. Historical Background…….…….179

3.1.2. The Amir and the Merchants: From Opposition to Reconciliation...181

3.1.3. The Wider Regional Developments and the Political Awareness among the Merchants…….…….…….…….…..184

3.1.4. Great Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 and the Kuwaiti Merchants……186

3.1.5. Democracy, Kuwaiti Patriotism, and the Merchants……188

3.1.6. Arab Nationalism and the Kuwaiti Merchants…….194

3.1.7. The 1938 Kuwaiti Council: The Reform and Dissolution……198

3.1.8. Suppression of the Political Opposition……205

3.1.9. In the Aftermath of the Legislative Council…….211

3.2. Political Awareness Among Students …….218

3.2.1. The Kuwaiti Schools, Palestinian Teachers, and the Political Awareness in Kuwait…….…….…218

3.2.2. Student Movements in Kuwait……..…….……..221

3.2.3. The Kuwaiti Students Abroad……...224

3.2.4. The Influence of Nasserism on Kuwaiti Students……227

3.2.5. The Role of Student Organizations in Supporting Nationalist and Arab Struggles…….…….…….…….…….…….…228

CHAPTER IV……..……..236

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG LABOR: MARITIME AND OIL WORKERS……...236

4.1. Introduction……...236

4.2. Early Labor Activism in Pre-Oil Kuwait: The Case of the Divers' Strike……238

4.3. Labor and Politics: The Intertwined Rise of Skilled Labor, Leftism, and Nationalism……..241

CHAPTER V……258

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG THE PARLIAMENT MEMBERS (Majlis al-‘Umma)……258

5.1. Introduction…….. 258

5.2. The Initial Experiences in the Gulf and Kuwait: The Legislative Councils….258

5.3. The Emergence of Councils and Parliaments in Kuwait…….. 260

5.4. The Constituent Assembly and the Elections……..……..263

5.5. The Parliament and the Political Opposition…….……266

5.6. Political Awareness, Democratic Development, and Social Change: Understanding Electoral Dynamics in Kuwait……..…….……272

5.7. Key Issues and Political Awareness in the Kuwaiti Parliament……276

CHAPTER VI……..283

POLITICAL AWARENESS WITHIN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: CLUBS, PARTIES, AND ASSOCIATIONS FOR PUBLIC BENEFIT MEMBERS……..283

6.1. Introduction……..…….……283

6.2. Press, Parties, and Publications……..…….…..284

6.3. Parties and Secret Groups……..…….…..294

6.4. The Arab Socialist Baʿath Party……299

6.5. The Islamic Orientation…….…….…...302

6.6. The Arab Nationalist Trend……...……305

CHAPTER VII…….318

POLITICAL AWARENESS AND NATIONALIST AND PATRIOTIC POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN KUWAIT…… 318

7.1. Shuwaikh Secondary School Incident……318

7.2. The Independence Crisis of 1961: Qasim's Declaration of Sovereignty over Kuwait…….…….…….…….…….…….324

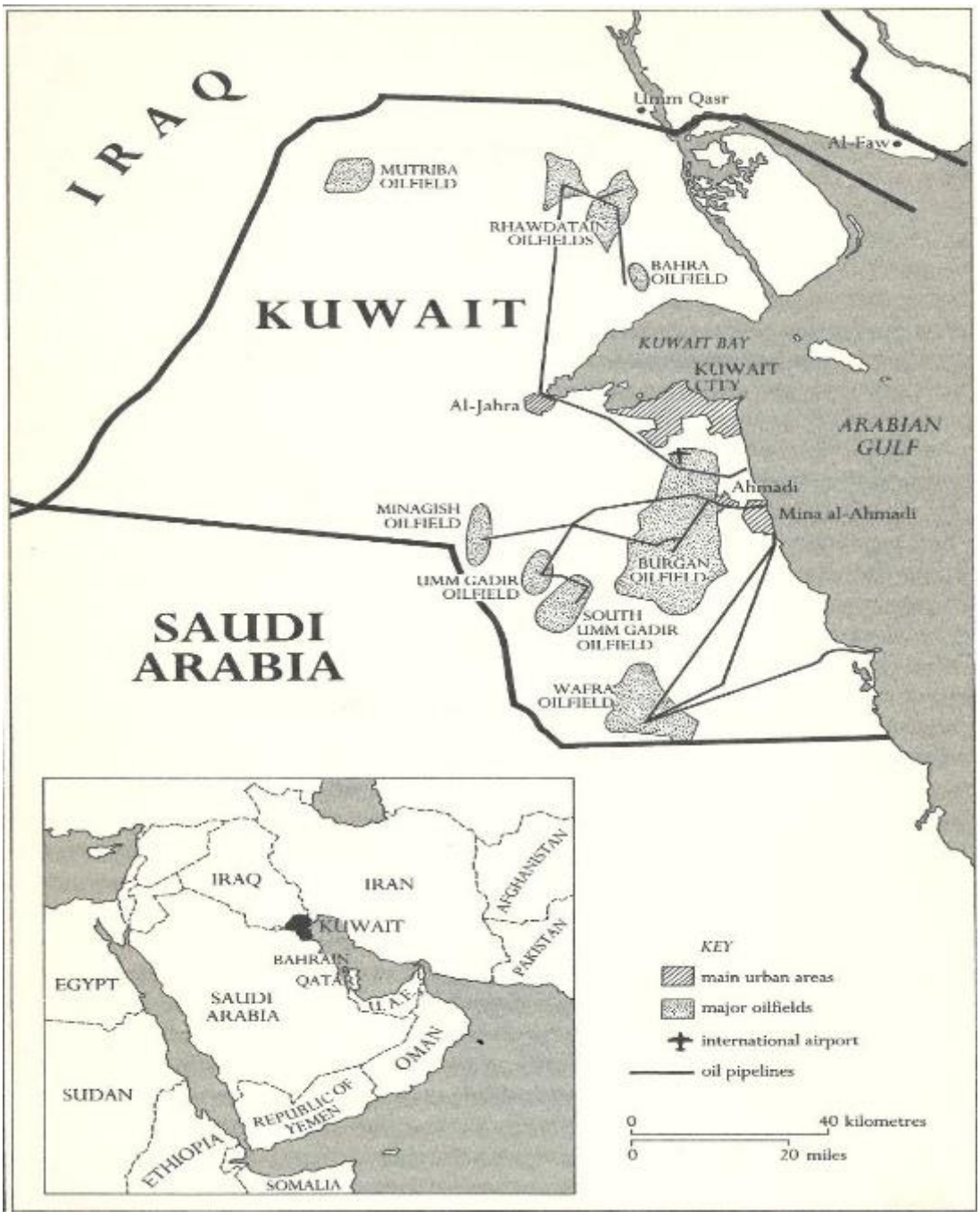
7.3. The Question of Palestine and the Political Awareness in Kuwait after 1967..325

CONCLUSION ……...….333

BIBLIOGRAPH…….....341

APPENDICES ……..417

Map of the State of Kuwait



The source: Mansfield, Peter, *Kuwait Vanguard of the Gulf* (London: Hutchinson Publishing Co Ltd., 1990), p. 1.

TRANSLITERATION

The process of transliterating Arabic-English text adheres to the guidelines established by the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES). It is noteworthy that the English language is employed specifically for the transliteration of notable individuals or locations.

INTRODUCTION: RE-EXAMINING THE GULF THROUGH DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES

Arabian/Persian Gulf history – and particularly the period of post-World War II – has occupied a significant space in many academic studies. This period represents a landmark in Middle East history because of the importance of the former colonies of the British Empire and the sources of energy in the Middle East.[1] The complexity of the relations in the region has attracted a great deal of media attention and became an important subject of international relation for decades. This is due to a variety of reasons, the most notable of which include the region's privileged location, control of the world's most important shipping lanes, and a massive stock of petroleum -the primary source of energy-. Additionally, the region's proximity to the former Soviet Union, which was known to be ideologically hostile to the Western world, and its proximity to "Israel," the top-tier ally of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Western Europe in the Middle East, make it a strategically important region. Considering these factors, it is impossible to understand the history of the region without tracking economic, political, ideological, and social transformations.

The political, social, and economic systems of the Gulf region witnessed considerable changes/ transformations throughout the 20th century. Several factors affected these alterations, with oil considered to be the most important by earlier investigations. Historically, in dealing with the political experience in the region, it is clear that the ordinary citizen was not fully aware of the events and transformations that occurred.

[1] From the beginning of the twentieth century until the end of World War I, Western thought had three terms: Near East, which referred to the Ottoman Empire; Far East, which referred to China; and Middle East, which referred to the region between the two. During the post-War period, the meaning of this term started to change when it was used to refer to a part of the Near East's geographical area. In March 1921, Winston Churchill, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, established what was known as the "Middle East Administration" to manage the affairs of Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq. Later, the term came to refer to the flat zone found at the meeting points of Africa, Europe, and Asia, stretching from Egypt to the Gulf and from Turkey to the Indian Ocean. For more detailed information, see: Bonine, Michael E., Abbas Amanat, and Michael Ezekiel Gasper, eds. *Is There a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 23

However, several groups, such as merchants, intellectuals, students, oil workers, parliament members, and political partisans, played a significant role in shaping the political landscape of the region and deserve to be studied closely to understand the level of political awareness. Paradoxically, the Gulf political scene witnessed the emergence of political awareness in the early 20th century, which declined following the abundance of oil in the early 1970s. In other words, political awareness peaked between the 1930s and 1960s for a variety of reasons, including education, oil workers, leftist and nationalist movements, and Western presence.

The introduction of public schools and the subsequent emergence of formal education by the end of the 1920s facilitated the emergence of early forms of political awareness among the local populace in the Gulf. Notably, British colonial policies, through their arbitrary application in economic and political spheres, served as a catalyst for this transformation. These policies prompted the educated classes to react by forming clandestine political organizations/groups and embarking on national liberation struggles. The movements that arose in 1938 across various Gulf states like Bahrain, Dubai, and Kuwait exemplify the complex interplay between British colonial policies, the spread of education, and the burgeoning influence of oil resources in shaping early political awareness in the region.

Traditionally, studies of Gulf history have been dominated by the actions and perspectives of ruling families and Western powers, overlooking the experiences and voices of ordinary people. This approach has resulted in an incomplete understanding of the region's political, social, and economic transformations, and the role of various social forces in shaping them. Moreover, the dominant narratives presented in the region often construct an identity that accepts the absolute authority of these families and legitimizes their monopoly on power and wealth, based on their claimed prerogative as the "makers of national history" as promoted by the official historiography. Dr. Ahmad Al-Khatib's work in "Kuwait: From Emirate to State" exemplifies this phenomenon by demonstrating how Kuwaiti history was subject to manipulation, erasing the agency of the Kuwaiti people and turning it into the exclusive chronicle of the ruling Al-Sabah family. Therefore, incorporating the perspectives and experiences of ordinary people and diverse social forces is crucial for

a more comprehensive understanding of the Gulf's complex transformations and a challenge to the dominant narratives that perpetuate their marginalization. [2]

This dissertation fills a significant gap in the literature on the socio-political history of the Gulf region by providing a comprehensive analysis of the evolution of political awareness from the late 1930s to the early 1970s. The research focuses on Kuwait and the broader region, particularly on understanding the changing dynamics between social and political forces. By exploring the history of ordinary people, their transformations, and their role in the region's formation and development, this study aims to expand the field of Gulf studies and provide a more nuanced understanding of the region's political landscape. For example, while Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb's book includes a chapter on Saudi Arabia, it only offers a limited scope regarding the region's political awareness developments. Similarly, Muhammad Al-Rumaihi's dissertation provides a broad overview of political awareness growth in 1930s Bahrain, but it lacks the in-depth investigation this study offers. No comprehensive study has previously examined the specific transformation of political awareness in Kuwait or the broader Gulf region, highlighting the significance of this research and the need for further exploration of this subject matter. While existing literature on regional democratization processes is substantial, an emphasis on political awareness presents a unique viewpoint that can offer valuable insights into the intricate social, cultural, and historical elements that shape political advancement in Kuwait and beyond.

This study challenges the historical underestimation of political and social awareness in the Gulf region by offering a detailed analysis of local resistance movements and popular responses to events, with a particular focus on Kuwait. It seeks to document indigenous political activism and contribute to a more complete and nuanced understanding of the region's history, decentering the traditional focus on oil, regional security, and Western interests that dominate postcolonial narratives. Instead of relying solely on official historiography, the study centers on the history and culture of the people, examining their reactions and perspectives on local and regional movements and events. This approach aims to provide a critical reinterpretation of the

[2] Al-Khaṭīb, Aḥmad. *Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah*. (Casablanca: Al markaz al thaqafi al ’arabi, 2007), p16.

region's political and social trajectory over time, moving beyond its treatment as a monolithic entity and highlighting the agency and awareness of its inhabitants.

In addition, the study challenges the dominant historical narratives promoted by local authorities, which have focused on the history of ruling families, wealthy merchants, and religious and political elites, and exclude important segments of society such as sailors, oil workers, students, and political partisans. This approach to national history is narrow, and this study aims to highlight the impact of these groups on the region's political scene and their role in shaping the history of the Gulf's people.

Certain historians have challenged the dominant narrative of Gulf socio-political history, which focuses solely on the elite, by emphasizing the agency and role in shaping political reforms played by marginalized groups like divers, sailors, tribes, women, and laborers. Scholars have addressed this gap by researching these previously understudied social actors and exploring their contributions to the region's political landscape. Abdulrahman Alebrahim's 2019 book, "Kuwait's Politics Before Independence: The Role of the Balancing Powers," exemplifies this shift in focus by analyzing the intricate interplay between elite factions and non-elite groups during a crucial period in Kuwaiti history. As previously stated, the purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive examination of political awareness, as well as the political, social, and ideological orientations in the region, along with an overview of the political climate and historical events during the specified time period.

Kuwait and the Gulf: A detailed survey of the literature

The socio-political history of the Arabian Gulf region, specifically Kuwait, between 1938 and the 1970s, presents a complex tapestry of transformative events, changing power dynamics, and evolving social and political awareness. Despite the abundance of historical works on the region, there remains a need for further exploration and analysis to gain a deeper understanding of Kuwait's evolution over time. This dissertation aims to bridge the gap in the literature by examining Kuwait's socio-political history from various angles, with a particular focus on the emergence and transformation of political awareness during the specified period.

Traditionally, studies of Kuwait's history have centered on topics such as the role and impact of the British, Ottomans, sheikhs, merchants, and oil on the country's political events. However, this dissertation challenges these narratives by highlighting the significance of previously neglected societal groups, such as students, sea and oil workers, parliament members, and political partisans, in shaping Kuwait's socio-political history. Additionally, this study aims to integrate Western archival sources with indigenous Arabic language material to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the socio-political landscape in Kuwait during the 20th century.

It is worth noting that the history of Ottoman presence in the Gulf region is a topic that is less studied compared to the British presence, even though the Ottoman Empire had a longer period of presence in the Gulf region compared to the British. However, the available literature on this subject offers valuable insights into the historical, political, and economic developments that occurred during the Ottoman period, specifically on the emergence of the Ottoman Empire in the Gulf region, their eventual domination over Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar, as well as the Ottomans' response to European expansion, including the Portuguese-Ottoman Rivalry and Anglo-Ottoman confrontation.[3]

One of the most significant works on late Ottoman history in the Arabian Gulf is Frederick Anscombe's book titled "The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar." Anscombe's monograph is based primarily on the Ottoman archives and provides an extensive account of the administrative history of Ottoman attempts to rule Kuwait, Hasa, Qatar, and Najd in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He also offers a compelling explanation of why Kuwait and other Gulf Arab states sought independence from the Ottoman Empire and developed ties with the British in the early twentieth century.[4]

[3] As an example, see: Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517–1683*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994); Casale, Giancarlo, "The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-century Red Sea and Persian Gulf", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, (2, 2006), p. 170-198; Farah, Caesar E. "Anglo-Ottoman Confrontation in the Persian Gulf in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 33*, (2003), p. 117–32.

[4] Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

Other scholars in this field include Salih Özbaran, who utilized both foreign and Ottoman archival documents in his works, such as "The Ottoman Response to European Expansion," [5] and Zekeriya Kurşun, who provides valuable insights into the Ottoman presence in the Red Sea and Gulf, their response to European expansion, and their administration in the Arab lands. [6] Overall, these works provide a comprehensive overview of the region's history, highlighting different dynamics, and the Ottomans' attempts to gain control over the region and shape its development.

In another aspect, previous studies of political change in Arab societies, including Kuwait, have often relied on a binary framework of democracy versus dictatorship or authoritarianism. This approach, however, proves inadequate, particularly when applied solely through the lens of democratic transition. It fails to capture the nuanced dynamics and specific transformations that have reshaped these societies, ultimately offering an incomplete picture of the nature of politics in Kuwait.

One of the issues with this approach is that scholars who have written about democracy, for example, have tended to impose the Western democratic context onto Kuwaiti society. While this approach has shown that Kuwait lags behind democratically when compared to the West, it also suggests that Kuwait is more advanced in this regard when compared to other Arab Gulf countries. The concept of "political awareness" offers a fresh perspective on Kuwaiti history as it explores the role of previously neglected segments of society in influencing the country's political developments. By focusing on political awareness transformations, this dissertation seeks to provide a more nuanced and multifaceted understanding of Kuwait's past, which can, in turn, inform its present and prospects. It is worth noting that discussions about democracy and political participation in the Middle East and other regions often rely on problematic assumptions. This assumption is that there is no clear distinction between "awareness" and "democracy." However, this overlooks the fact that democracy is not a monolithic concept, and different societies have unique ways of

[5] Özbaran, Salih, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century*, (İstanbul: Analecta Isisiana XII, 1994).
[6] Kurşun, Zekeriya, *Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanli Hakimiyeti: Vehhabi Hareketi ve Suud Devleti'nin Ortaya Çıkışı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basie, 1998); Zekeriya Kurşun, *Katar'da Osmanlılar 1871-1916: Basra Körferzi'nde Osmanlı – İngiliz Çekişmesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004).

organizing their political systems. Moreover, it ignores the fact that political awareness and democratic practices can manifest in various forms. Imposing a specific form of democracy on a society can result in misconceptions about the society and its history.

For example, Ghanim Alnajjar's article "The Challenges Facing Kuwaiti Democracy" examines the structural and political challenges facing the Kuwaiti political system. He provides a historical survey and explains how early Kuwaitis established the "joint governing" system, which chose Sabah the First as the ruler. They agreed that he would look after the daily affairs of Kuwaiti society while they would support him financially. Alnajjar asserts that despite its imperfections, Kuwaiti democracy is the earliest experience of the parliamentary process in the Gulf region.[7]

Mary Ann Tetreault's book, "Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait," offers an "insider's guide" to the struggles over communal power pursued by the government, the parliament, and the people of Kuwait. Tetreault acknowledges the reflexive nature of what democracy means at different periods in history (before oil, after oil, under Iraqi occupation, in post-Liberation Kuwait) and for different people in Kuwait (women, merchants, government officials, tribal leaders, service politicians, opposition leaders), arguing that "democracy" is a concept that varies depending on one's assumptions.[8]

Focusing specifically on the democratic experience in Kuwait, Najla Adnan Hussein and Fadel Jassem's study, "The First Democratic Movement in the Arabian Gulf: Kuwait as a Model 1920-1940," sheds light on the nascent democratic aspirations in the region and the unique circumstances of the time.[9] However, a persistent flaw within scholarship on this subject lies in applying Western analytical frameworks to a region with starkly distinct cultural and political realities. Several scholars have fallen prey to this, attempting to generalize the political landscape based on a simplistic assumption of uniform levels of political awareness across the Gulf states. This overlooks the stark disparities in political engagement observed within the region,

[7] Alnajjar, Ghanim, "The Challenges Facing Kuwaiti Democracy." *Middle East Journal 54*, no. 2, (2000), p. 242–258.
[8] Tétreault, Mary Ann, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
[9] Ḥusayn, Najlā' 'Adnān, Fāḍl Jāsim, Al-Ḥarakah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-ūlá fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī : al-Kuwayt namūdhajan 1920-1940, *Kullīyat al-Tarbiyah al-asāsīyah Magazine*, Al-Mustansiriya University, No. 96, (2016).

where notable activism flourishes in some areas while others remain demonstrably disengaged.

A notable gap in the vast scholarly landscape on the Arab region's political history is the persistent neglect of social forces' transformations. Instead of delving into these crucial dynamics, existing studies often prioritize perspectives such as the oil-security nexus, the legacy of British influence in Kuwait, or Al-Sabah family's narrative. This overemphasis on specific lenses, particularly the political economy approach, overlooks the rich fabric of social realities that have shaped the region's history. Notably, existing scholarship tends to frame analysis through pre-oil and post-oil dichotomies or compartmentalize history based on the reigns of individual Al-Sabah rulers. Such framing inadvertently marginalizes the dynamic interplay between social forces and other significant historical markers.

The literature on the history of Kuwait from an oil perspective is extensive, and scholars have explored various themes, including the role of the government in managing oil resources, the impact of oil revenues on development, the transition towards the rentier state, and the relationship between oil and political power. The discovery of oil in Kuwait has decisively impacted the political, economic, social, cultural, and built landscape. Literature regarding these changes signifies the numerous attempts of scholars across various disciplines to theorize such major societal and environmental transformations. These narratives tend to periodize timeframes affected by oil into pre-oil, on the one hand, and post-oil on the other. [10] The dichotomous approach used in some literature, which divides time into pre-oil and post-oil, can be criticized for oversimplifying the complex interstitial linkages that allowed for the transformative impact of oil in the region. This approach also risks reducing the region's history to just the history of oil, thus ignoring other important social, economic, and political factors that have shaped the region's development.

One of the earliest scholarly works that focuses on the impact of the oil industry on the Arab Gulf and its effect on population and distribution patterns is by Ian Seccombe

[10] Ismael, Jacqueline S., *Kuwait: Dependency and Class in a Rentier State*, (USA: University of Florida Press, 1993); Jill Crystal, *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State, (*Boulder: Westview Press, 1992); Joyce, Miriam, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective, (*New York: Routledge, 2013); Gardiner, Stephen, *Kuwait: The Making of a City*, (Essex, England: Longman Group Limited, 1983).

and Richard Lawless. [11] A majority of the literature concerned with the oil-fueled development of the Gulf States primarily relies on the paradigm of rentier state theory. The theory describes a state that receives money from leasing or renting its land to oil companies, which generates income independent of the productive activities of the national economy. Hazem Beblawi's "The Rentier State in the Arab World" explores the economic foundation and impact of the state in Arab countries, with a focus on the peculiar nature of state revenue and the extraordinary importance of rentier income in Arab economies.[12] Among the works that can be categorized as applying specialized rentier state theory is Jill Crystal's "Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar," which focuses on the relationship between Kuwaiti rulers and merchants in the transition towards the rentier state. It analyzes the historical transformations of state-business relations in the two Gulf countries and their pre-oil and post-oil political developments. However, through the comparison of pre-oil ruler-merchant relations in Kuwait and Qatar and their different post-oil political developments, Jill also introduces the idea that the pre-existing domestic social structures and alliances affected the patterns of politics and the balance of power that were established after the onset of the rentier economy. The book is based on standard sources such as Lorimer's Gazetteer, The India Office Records, and some Arabic secondary sources.[13]

In his book, "Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia," Toby Craig Jones explores the relationship between the government and Al-Hasa, the eastern province of Saudi Arabia, which is the center of oil wealth and agriculture in the region. Although the title suggests a focus on oil and water, the book examines the historical connections in the Eastern Province between natural resources (particularly agriculture and land, rather than water) and the region's people's attitudes towards the state. However, our concern here is the perspective that Jones adopts to describe how access to oil, water, and land was a primary source of tension in the Eastern Province.

[11] Ian J. Seccombe, Richard I. Lawless, *Work Camps and Company Towns: Settlement Patterns and the Gulf Oil Industry*, (England: University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, 1987).
[12] Beblawi, Hazem, The Rentier State in the Arab World. in Giacomo Luciani, *The Arab State*, (London: Routledge, 1990).
[13] Jill Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 2, 10.

This perspective is different from our focus on the relationship between the sea (not water) and political awareness in the entire Gulf region, which Jones's work does not explore. Moreover, Jones highlights the history of discontent and political activism that characterized al-Hasa's Shia population from the 1930s to 1979.[14]

In the context of studies related to civil society and its relationship with the state, the works of Khaldoun Hasan Al-Naqeeb stand out as particularly prominent. His book, "State and Society in the Gulf and Arab Peninsula: A Different Perspective" (In Arabic), focuses on analyzing the structures of Gulf society and its development, aiming to provide "an analytical understanding of the relation of the state to society in the Gulf and the Arab Peninsula."[15] Al-Naqeeb delves into the phenomenon of oil and its impact on regional societies, arguing that the oil era truly began in the 1930s. Within two decades, the emergence of the rentier state became apparent, driven by factors such as rapid oil production, escalating prices, the accumulation of petrodollar wealth controlled by ruling families, and the complex interplay between these families and oil companies. This resulted in a unique economic model where the national economy "does not depend directly upon petroleum but in an indirect way, namely state or public expenditures, which become a conduit for pumping in oil revenue." Consequently, "the prominence of the traditional ruling families, which the colonialist protectorate treaties had 'frozen' in a position of authority," was solidified. These families effectively became political institutions with “a perceived proprietary right to the state itself.”[16] Interestingly, Al-Naqeeb argues that the rentier state, while playing a role in resisting imperialist plunder and pursuing independence, can also paradoxically perpetuate these very issues. He asserts that it has ultimately empowered the elite while marginalizing the masses.[17] However, it's important to note that Al-Naqeeb's focus remains primarily historical rather than social. His approach utilizes a social lens as a starting point for understanding the political-historical dynamics of the region. He argues that the Gulf states are not primarily defined by the political actions of formal

[14] Jones, Toby Craig, *Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
[15] Al-Naqīb Khaldūn Ḥasan, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah : min manẓūr mukhtalif, Mashrū‘ istishrāf Mustaqbal al-waṭan al-‘Arabī, miḥwar al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah*, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987), p.5.
[16] Ibid. p.82-83
[17] Ibid. p. 117, 119-124

institutions, but rather by the agency and actions of various social actors. Therefore, the study focuses on the role of social and political forces in shaping awareness and identity.

Beyond the aforementioned scholars, several others have enriched our understanding of the Gulf region's socio-political complexity. Mohammad Jawad Rida's "The Struggle of the State and the Tribe in the Gulf" delves into the social and political realities of the Arabian Gulf, exploring the transformative impact of oil wealth on new realities, the persistence of tribal traditions, and the intricate dynamics between tribes and the state. Halim Barakat's extensive works on Arab society, built on sociological and anthropological studies, offer a comprehensive lens through which to examine its contemporary landscape. While Barakat's primary focus lies beyond the Arabian Gulf, his insights into the region's intersecting ethnic, sectarian, and religious relations prove invaluable in understanding the forces shaping Arab society's cohesion and potential divides. [18]

The history of social powers, or what is sometimes referred to as the role of non-state actors, in Kuwaiti history has often been overlooked. This neglect has resulted in a limited understanding of the contributions of these critical social forces to Kuwait's political development. Recent scholarship has attempted to address these gaps by investigating the impact of oil wealth on Kuwaiti society and the role of the merchant class in political participation during the early 20th century.[19] Notably, Shaul Yanai's "The Political Transformation of Gulf Tribal States: Elitism and the Social Contract in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai, 1918- the 1970s," examines the power dynamics between

[18] Barakāt, Ḥalīm, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir : baḥth istiṭlā‘ī ijtimā‘ī,* (Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1984); *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt, (*Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2000).

[19]As an example, see: Field, Michael. *The Merchants: The Big Business Families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*. (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1985); Segal, Eran. “Merchants’ Networks in Kuwait: The Story of Yusuf al-Marzuk.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (September 2009): 709–719; Nosova, Anastasia, The Merchant Elite and Parliamentary Politics in Kuwait: The Dynamics of Business Political Participation in a Rentier State, Ph.D. Dissertation, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2016.

ruling families, ruling sheiks, and merchant classes during the 1938 Majlis Movement in Kuwait, Dubai, and Bahrain.[20]

When it comes to economic and social issues, the works of Mohammed Al Rumaihi, such as "The Gulf is Not Only Oil," "Oil and Social Change in the Arab Gulf," and "The Social Roots of Democracy in the Contemporary Arabian Gulf Societies" (all in Arabic) are essential. Al Rumaihi argues that British policy towards the Arabian Gulf hampered the growth of society and stopped its intellectual development. However, Al Rumaihi's writings are not considered historical references but rather a sociological approach, with an analysis focused largely on liberalism and not on all intellectual currents and political ideas that formed the political awareness of the region.[21]

Some historical works dealt with the history of left-wing and Arab nationalist movements in the region. These works often offer a straightforward account of local sources, unpublished party documents, and interviews, providing a wealth of information and an indigenous perspective that may be lacking in Western scholarship. These scholars include Abd al-Nabi al-Akkari and Falah Al-Mdairis, who a key author in this genre, having produced numerous concise studies on the Gulf's political movements, particularly in Kuwait. One of his notable works is "The Baathists in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula" (Arabic). [22] Furthermore, studies dedicated to

---

[20] Yanai, Shaul, *The Political Transformation of Gulf Tribal States: Elitism and the Social Contract in Kuwait, Bahrain and Dubai, 1918-1970s*. (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), p. 11.

[21] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, *Al-Khalīj laysa nifṭā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah*, (Kuwait :Kāẓimah Company, 1987); Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad , *Al-judhūr al-ijtimā'īyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣirah, (*Kuwait: Kāẓimah press, 1977); Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad , *Al-Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimā'ī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*. (Beirut: Dar Al-jadīd, 1995).

[22] Al-Mudayris, Falāḥ 'Abd Allāh, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-'ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt, *Social issues (Shu'ūn ijtimā'īyah),* Vol. 11, No. 44, (1994), p.27-74; *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash'at al-tajammu'āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975),* (Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1994); Jamā'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt : al-nash'ah wa al-taṭawwur 1947-1992, *Al- Bāḥith Journal*, Beirut, Issue No. 63, (October-December, 1994); al-Nādī al-Thaqāfī al-Qawmī wa-Tanmiyat al-Thaqāfah al-siyāsīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, *'Ālam al-Fikr*, Issue 4, (April 1996), p. 49-75; al-Jamā'ah al-Salafīyah fī al-Kuwayt, *social affairs (al-Shu'ūn al-ijtimā'īyah),* No. 58, (Summer 1998), p. 57-89; al-mu'āraḍah al-siyāsīyah wa-al-tajārib al-wiḥdawīyah fī minṭaqat al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Khalīj al-'Arabī (muqaddimah awwalīyah, *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī,* Vol. 22, No. 245, (July 1999); *Jamā'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt, (*Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 1999); *al-Ḥarakah al-Shī'īyah fī al-Kuwayt,* (Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 1999); Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, *the journal of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula studies*, Kuwait, No 96, (February 2000), p.55-82; *Al-mujtama' al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2000); *Al-Ḥarakah al-dustūrīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (*Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2002); al-Tayyār al-fikrī li-Ḥizb al-Ba'th wa-al-mujtama' al-Khalījī ḥattá 'ām

nationalism in Kuwait, such as Talal Al-Rashoud's insightful Ph.D. thesis "Modern Education and Arab Nationalism in Kuwait, 1911-1961," offer valuable insights into the factors shaping its development and diverse influences.[23] Notably, this period witnessed a shift in the Gulf's historiographical landscape, with Indigenous scholars taking center stage. These pioneers published some of the earliest in-depth analyses of Arab nationalist movements in the region, both in Arabic and English, enriching our understanding of this crucial historical period.[24]

Rosemarie Said Zahlan, a Palestinian-American scholar, is known for highlighting Arab nationalist tendencies in the Gulf and their support for the Palestinian cause. Her history of the Gulf states is also notable, consisting of a collection of country studies without an overarching theoretical argument. Zahlan's work focuses on Arab nationalist movements, political participation, and opposition, particularly highlighting Kuwait's 1938 Majlis Movement and the 1950s opposition in Bahrain.[25]

Among the Kuwaiti scholars, Abdelrahman al-Ibrahim stands out for his nuanced approach to non-state actors, particularly tribes, as "balancing powers." By publishing in English, al-Ibrahim offers an alternative to Western-centric narratives and critiques the applicability of Eurocentric concepts like feudalism and bourgeoisie to the Arabian Peninsula's distinct context. This study therefore prioritizes Arabic-language sources, both established and emerging, to ensure accurate and fair representation of the states under consideration. Al-Ibrahim's work significantly diverges from the typical trajectory of Kuwaiti societal studies by introducing a novel analytical framework called the "Balancing Powers," applied to social groups that have shaped the country's political, social, and economic history. These groups, often relegated to fleeting

---

1975, *Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Kuwait University, year 28, Issue No. 106, (July 2002); *alb'thywn fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah, (* Kuwait : Dār Qirṭās, 2002); *al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah al-Kuwaytīyah , (*Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2003); Al-'Akarī, 'Abd al-Nabī, *al-munazẓamāt al-yasārīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīya,* (Beirut: Dār al-Kunūz al-adabīyah, 2003).

[23] Al-Rashoud, Talal, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961),* (Ph.D. Thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2017).

[24] As an example, see: Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, *Qaḍāyā al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā'ī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970,* (Kuwait: Al Wehdah Publications of the Publishing and Distribution,1976); Al-Jāsim, Najāt 'Abd-al-Qādir, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn (*Cairo: Modern Technical Press, 1973); Al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Jābir, *Lamaḥāt min al-Khalīj al-'Arabī* , (Bahrain: Arab Company for distribution agencies, 1970).

[25] Zahlan, Rosemarie Said, "The Gulf States and the Palestine Problem, 1936-48." Arab Studies Quarterly 3, no. 1 (1981): 1–21; Zahlan, R. Said. *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States*. (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1978).

mentions by historians, are now examined for their roles and interactions with other societal segments. This thesis not only offers a fresh perspective beyond the conventional historical framework but also prompts crucial questions about the marginalization of non-elite social groups in Kuwait's political history. However, a potential limitation of al-Ibrahim's work lies in its reliance on the chronological order of events focused on the ruling family, a traditional division in Kuwaiti historiography. This adherence to established structures may inadvertently perpetuate the neglect of other social groups whose contributions deserve recognition.[26]

Omar Hesham Alshehabi, a Bahraini professor, emerges as another significant contributor to the field through his work on Bahrain's complex social and political landscape. His book, "Contested Modernity: Nationalism, Sectarianism, and Colonialism in Bahrain," delves into the region's narrative during British colonial rule. Alshehabi argues that the current ethnosectarian-based political mobilization in Bahrain arose from contestations during the early 20th century intensifying British colonial involvement. He asserts that drawing upon their experience in the Indian Princely states, British colonialists deliberately fostered this mobilization in Bahrain during the 1920s, setting a regional precedent. According to Al-Shehabi, there are two emergent forms of political mobilization. The first mobilize based on ethno-sectarian identity-specific demands and grievances. The second takes an overtly leftist, nationalist, and Islamist approach. Notably, he traces the lineages of 1950s-70s movements in Bahrain and the broader Gulf back to the 19th-century "al-Nahda" Renaissance, often through direct family connections. [27] Ultimately, Alshehabi's work seeks to establish a historical link between colonialism, absolutism, ethnosectarianism, and the emergence of nationalism in the region.[28]

---

[26] Alebrahim, Abdulrahman. *Kuwait's Politics Before Independence: The Role of the Balancing Powers*. Vol. 2. (Exeter Critical Gulf Ser. Gerlach Press, 2019); Abdulrahman Alebrahim, 'Problematising the Eurocentric Terminology in the Social History of the Gulf States', LSE Middle East Centre Blog, (12 October 2020) https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2020/10/12/problematising-the-eurocentricterminology-in-the-social-history-of-the-gulf-states/ (Access in October 2023)

[27] Omar H. AlShehbi, *Contested Modernity. Sectarianism, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Bahrain*, (London: One World Academic, 2019); Omar AlShehabi, 'Histories of Migration to the Gulf,' in Abdulhadi Khalaf, Omar AlShehabi, and Adam Hanieh (eds.), *Transit States: Labour, Migration & Citizenship in the Gulf*, (London: Pluto Press, 2015), P. 25.

[28] Similar ideas about the close connection between the Gulf and global capitalism and class-formation are developed in Adam Hanieh's work. Hanieh, Adam, *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

In a similar vein, Toby Matthiesen's work traces the politics of the Shia in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, highlighting their roles in the labor movement, secular opposition groups, and political awareness in general. His article entitled "Migration, Minorities, and Radical Networks: Labour Movements and Opposition Groups in Saudi Arabia, 1950-1975" claims to show how ideas of Arab nationalism, socialism, and communism spread to the Arabian Gulf states. However, the article primarily focuses on the role which the members of the Shia Muslim minority played in the labor movement and secular opposition groups in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Matthiesen examines the influences that have affected the political scene in the region and focuses on socio-economic factors, arguing that the economic factor played a very important role in the Shiite movements since the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia, along with the importance of migrating workers, teachers, students, and the "radical transnational networks." [29]

Returning to the subject of Kuwait's history from the perspective of the ruling Al-Sabah family, it is worth noting that the family has been the ruling dynasty in Kuwait since the 18th century. Their role in shaping the country's modern history has piqued the interest of scholars, with the literature covering various themes such as the family's rise to power, their relationship with other Gulf states, and their response to the challenges of modernization and democratization.[30] Several historians have written about Al Sabah family's rise to power, their relationship with other Gulf states, and their interactions with the British. In his work "All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies", Michael Herb provides insightful analysis of the importance of monarchism in the region and argues that ruling families played a crucial role in creating monarchical regimes. Herb also discusses the issue of democratization in Middle Eastern monarchies and suggests that

[29] Matthiesen, Toby, The Other Saudis: Shiism , Dissent and Sectarianism. Vol. Series Number 46. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, 2014); Matthiesen, Toby. “Migration, Minorities, and Radical Networks: Labour Movements and Opposition Groups in Saudi Arabia, 1950–1975.” *International Review of Social History* 59, no. 3 (2014): 473–504.

[30] Alan de Lacy Rush, *Al-Sabah: History & Genealogy of Kuwait’s Ruling Family 1752-1987*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1987); Al-Ghanem, Salwa, *The Reign of Mubarak Al-Sabah: Sheikh of Kuwait, 1896- 1915*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Slot, B.J., *Mubarak Al-Sabah: Founder of Modern Kuwait, 1896-1915*, (2005); Al-Sabah, Souad M., *Abdullah Mubarak Al-Sabah: The Transformation of Kuwait*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); Azoulay, Rivka, *Kuwait and Al-Sabah: Tribal politics and power in an oil state*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2020).

the prospects for the gradual emergence of constitutional monarchy are better than previously thought. [31] Scholars have also examined the impact of oil on Kuwait's survival and Al Sabah family's response to modernization and democratization. Peter Mansfield's "Kuwait: Vanguard of the Gulf" explores the subject of oil's effect on Kuwait and offers a wealth of information on Al Sabah family's role in transforming the country into a center of learning, research, and expertise. [32]

The final perspective through which the history of the region and Kuwait has been studied is the Anglo-Kuwaiti relations or the history of Kuwait from the foreign power perspective. That covers a broad range of topics related to Kuwait's history and development from the British viewpoint. Scholars have explored the protectorate system, the relationship between Kuwait and other British-protected states in the region, and the role of British officials in shaping Kuwait's political and economic development.

Several scholars, prominently Richard Schofield and David Finnie, have laid the groundwork for the study of Anglo-Kuwaiti relations through meticulous investigations using British public records and traditional diplomatic methodology. Mary Tetreault's work, however, has enriched the field by introducing a more theoretical lens to the analysis of events in Kuwait.[33]

Miriam Joyce's book on Kuwait stands out for its meticulously researched perspective, drawing upon extensive British public records and American documents from the National Archives and various Presidential Libraries. Focusing on the early twentieth century through World War II, Joyce analyzes events through an "Anglo-American lens," exploring the collaborative efforts of Britain and Al-Sabah family in establishing an independent Kuwait. However, it's important to note that the book's perspective

[31] Herb, Michael, All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).
[32] Mansfield, Peter, *Kuwait Vanguard of the Gulf*, (London: Hutchinson Publishing Co Ltd., 1990).
[33] Richard N. Schofield, Kuwait and Iraq: Historical Claims and Territorial Disputes (London: RIIA, 1991); Iraq-Kuwait Dispute vI. : Evolution of the Iraq-Kuwait International Boundary on Land and Sea, Pt. 1: 1830-1994 (London: Archive Edns, 1994); Territorial Foundations of the Gulf States (London: SOAS, GRC Geopolitics Series, 1994); David H. Finnie, Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq (London: Tauris, 1992); Mary Ann Tetreault, "Autonomy, Necessity and the small state: Ruling Kuwait in the Twentieth Century" , International Organisation 45 (Autumn 1991),565-591.

reflects the British colonial lens through which much of this period's history was documented and interpreted.[34]

In a similar context, John Kelly, a professional British historian on the Gulf and the Middle East, discusses in his book "Arabia, The Gulf and the West," the activities of opposition forces, the position of British authorities on internal developments, foreign relations between Britain and the Emirates of the Arabian Gulf, and the political regimes. Kelly had some influence during the 1950s-1960s over British strategies and policies in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf.[35]

James Onley's in-depth study, "The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj", provides a historical overview of how Britain established its influence over the Persian Gulf, highlighting the similarities between the management of protected states in India and those of the Arabian coast.[36] S. Sato's "Britain and the Formation of the Gulf States" examines the relationship between Britain and the Gulf rulers and its impact on the structure of international society. It frames the Gulf in the context of an informal empire, making a valid contribution to the literature on decolonization. [37]

Finally, Simon C. Smith's "Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, Al-Sabah, and Oil" provides a diplomatic history of a crucial period in Anglo-Kuwaiti relations, taking the story from the Suez crisis of 1956 through the declaration of Kuwaiti independence in June 1961, Iraq's threat to annex Kuwait a week later, and into the beginnings of Kuwait's attempts to carve out a unique role for itself within the Arab world. The book shows that Britain's moment in the Middle East did not quite come to an end in 1956, especially in the part of the region that became most important to its interests.[38] In general, the scholarly examination of the British presence in Kuwait furnishes valuable

---

[34] Joyce, Miriam. *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*. (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[35] J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Kelly, John B. *Arabia, the Gulf, and the West: A Critical View of Arabs and Their Oil Policy*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).
[36] Also see: Onley, James. "Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820-–1971." *Journal of Social Affairs 22*, no. 87 (Fall 2005): 29–44; Onley, James, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth Century Gulf*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Onley, James, *Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection*, (Qatar: Center for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, 2009).
[37] Sato, S., *Britain and the formation of the Gulf States.* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2017).
[38] Smith, Simon C. *Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*. (Oxford, 1999).

insights into the historical and developmental trajectory of Kuwait, from a British perspective that largely disregarded the indigenous and regional perspectives. The examination relied heavily on Western archives to the exclusion of Arabic and local sources.

This literature review aims to provide an overview of various works that shed light on the Arabian Gulf region and Kuwait's history. The analysis of political awareness in transitional societies has proven to be a complex task due to the absence of a general theory to guide research, resulting in divergent views on political life in changing societies. However, by adopting a multi-dimensional approach that integrates diverse perspectives, sources, and theoretical frameworks, this dissertation aims to expand upon the existing literature and provide a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of Kuwait's socio-political history between 1938 and the 1970s. Overall, the literature review emphasizes the importance of examining multiple perspectives and sources to gain a more nuanced understanding of complex socio-political phenomena. The works reviewed offer valuable insights into Arab nationalist movements, political participation, and opposition. This study contributes to the ongoing academic discourse on the region's socio-political history and serves as a foundation for future research on the topic.

The Research Questions and the Main Argument

This dissertation delves into the intricate tapestry of political awareness in Kuwait from 1938 to 1971, challenging conventional narratives and illuminating the diverse societal forces that shaped its evolution. It seeks to answer crucial questions and reveal the complexities that lie beneath the surface of political development in a region often simplified to singular narratives.

First and foremost, the study seeks to understand the metamorphosis of political awareness in Kuwait during this pivotal period. What intricate interplay of social, economic, and political forces fueled this transformation? This investigation delves beyond simplistic explanations centered solely on the ruling dynasty and merchant class, revealing the dynamic interplay of various actors and influences in shaping political awareness.

Secondly, it interrogates the possibility of deliberate British manipulation of the region's demographic composition. To what extent did altering the racial and ethnic makeup of Kuwait serve a strategic agenda for British interests? This inquiry challenges assumptions about passive demographic shifts and sheds light on the potential for external actors to influence the social fabric.

Thirdly, the study comprehensively explores the confluence of direct and indirect factors that shaped political awareness in Kuwait. It examines the roles of geography, the Western presence, economic and cultural ties with Iraq, the modern education movement, and regional intellectual and political exchanges. By weaving together these diverse elements, the research provides a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted forces at play.

Fourthly, it investigates the potential correlation between the rise of political awareness in coastal areas of the Gulf and external threats, particularly the Iraqi threat to Kuwaiti sovereignty. To what extent did external pressures act as catalysts for heightened political awareness within the region? This exploration seeks to understand the interplay between internal and external forces in shaping political awareness.

Finally, the study examines the roles played by various societal segments in Kuwait's socio-political transformations, focusing on their impact on Gulf society's political awareness. This includes merchant families and business elites: their active and pragmatic approach to fostering awareness while navigating relations with external powers like the British; students educated abroad: their heightened political awareness as beneficiaries of the modern education movement initiated by the merchant class; and oil workers: their contribution to political awareness alongside the rise of the labor class, regional labor movements, and Arab nationalism. The Kuwaiti National Assembly is also examined for its role in addressing Arab issues and the evolution of its relationship with the Bedouin community. Each stage of the analysis focuses on a specific segment of Kuwaiti society, illuminating their distinct impact on political developments within their corresponding chronological periods.

The study unveils a nuanced evolution of political awareness in Kuwait during distinct chronological periods. In its initial stage, the merchant elite engaged in an active and pragmatic balancing act, simultaneously challenging the ruler's autonomy while maintaining diplomatic relations with external powers. Subsequently, the second stage

witnessed heightened awareness among students, beneficiaries of the modern education movement initiated by the merchant class. The third stage was characterized by the rise of the labor class post-oil boom, accompanied by the influence of regional labor movements and the ascent of Arab nationalism. As Kuwait's political landscape continued to transform, the fourth stage saw the return of parliamentary life and the emergence of a new politically active segment, marked by the significant influence of large tribes forming electoral blocs. The final stage witnessed the establishment of organized political parties and ideologies within unions and associations, contributing to a diverse spectrum of ideological orientations that significantly impacted political life. This sequential analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted forces that shaped political awareness in Kuwait over the studied period. However, the 1970s oil boom marked a turning point. With economic prosperity, Al Sabah family reduced its dependence on merchants and prioritized economic welfare over political openness, leading to a decline in political awareness. This study underscores the significant influence of direct and indirect factors, including geographical features, the Western presence, economic ties with Iraq, and the modern education movement, in shaping the trajectory of political awareness in Kuwait. It highlights the unique experiences of coastal areas, characterized by frequent interactions and trade, which fostered distinct cultural and political movements compared to other Gulf states. By deconstructing prevailing narratives and offering a multifaceted analysis of diverse societal influences, this dissertation aims to shed new light on the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait and provide a richer understanding of the region's complex political landscape.

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation delves into the intricate tapestry of political awareness in Kuwait, weaving together rich historical threads from 1938 to 1971. Comprised of seven detailed chapters, it establishes a firm foundation with a thorough review of existing literature. This meticulously lays the groundwork for the research questions and central argument: the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait.

Chapter One lays the essential groundwork. Key concepts like political awareness, nationalism, patriotism, Arab nationalism, Arabism, and tribalism are meticulously defined, equipping the reader with a nuanced understanding of the terminology employed throughout the study. A comprehensive socio-geo-historical introduction to the Gulf region sets the stage, encompassing spatial analysis, the Western presence, and even a discussion on the nomenclature of "The Gulf." This comprehensive backdrop then narrows its focus to Kuwait, exploring its unique geography, history, and the establishment of its political system. The chapter concludes by delving into the evolving demographics and the multifaceted definition of Arab Khalījī identity.

Chapter Two moves beyond these definitions, exploring the intricate interplay between various aspects of life and political awareness. It examines intellectual life through libraries, social classes, the nature of the political system, and economic circumstances, weaving a multifaceted picture of the factors shaping political awareness. Notably, the study meticulously explores the influence of external and internal forces on Kuwait's political awakening, from the British presence and regional threats to the impact of modern education and strategic location.

The journey then becomes more specific in Chapter Three, focusing on two crucial pillars of political awareness in Kuwait: merchants and students. This is due to the merchants' support for Kuwait's modern education movement and the fact that most students were sons of merchants, making them the driving forces behind these two phases. Their historical involvement, ideological stances, and contributions to movements like Arab nationalism and the 1938 Kuwaiti Council are all brought to light. This detailed analysis showcases their distinct roles in shaping and advocating for political change.

Chapters Four and Five continue to unveil the diverse expressions of political awareness. Chapter Four explores the rise of labor activism amongst maritime and oil workers, highlighting the unique intertwining of skilled labor, leftist ideologies, and nationalist sentiments that fueled their movements. Chapter Five then shifts to the political arena, examining the emergence of councils and parliaments in Kuwait, the role of parliamentarians in voicing dissent, and the key issues that shaped political awareness within this institutional framework.

The final two chapters venture beyond formal institutions, delving into the public sphere where clubs, parties, and associations play a vital role in fostering political awareness. Press, publications, and various political orientations – Arab socialist, Islamic, and Arab nationalist – are all meticulously analyzed, revealing the vibrant public discourse that contributed to the transformation of political awareness. A dedicated chapter on political awareness and nationalist and patriotic political activism in Kuwait further expands the scope, examining notable events like the Shuwaikh Secondary School Incident, the 1961 Independence Crisis, and the impact of the Palestinian question on political awareness after 1967.

The Approach/Methodology of the Study

This study delves into the socio-political history of Kuwait within a defined temporal and conceptual framework. It seeks to offer a distinctive perspective on the topic by analyzing the variables and factors that shaped politics, mainstream popular trends, and transformations of political awareness in Kuwait and the broader Gulf region. To achieve this objective, the study employs a descriptive and analytical historical method, leveraging a narrative approach to highlight key events and demonstrate continuities and/or changes in political awareness. This approach enables the study to paint a comprehensive picture of the region's political landscape during the chosen period and offer a profound understanding of the factors that influenced it. Data is gathered through various research methods, including the historical method and a thorough literature review. A diverse range of sources is consulted to gain insights into the modern history of the Gulf region, including British documents,[39] Arabic newspapers and magazines, and other relevant historical records.

While the Gulf region boasts a wealth of primary sources for historical research, accessing materials specifically related to political movements and mobility presents

[39] The main files from the British Archive are as follows: Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864; 'File 45/23 I (D 140) Kuwait Reforms' British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/468; File 2/1 II IRAQ PROPAGANDA; ‘File 4/20 I Koweit Situation ‘, British Library: India Office records and private papers, IOR/R/15/5/205, in Qatar Digital Library. (The Majlis Movement); File 2/9 Anti-British propaganda; Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, edited by A. de. L. Rush, Archive editions, 1989, Volume 2, Internal affairs 1921-1950.

a significant challenge. Numerous documents, such as reports, correspondence, party meeting minutes, bulletins, and program outlines, from the 1930s to the 1970s, remain under the confidential control of government agencies. Despite this obstacle, this study leverages predominantly Arabic primary sources to glean insights into the region's internal events, political forces, and social movements. The focus extends beyond national borders, encompassing the activities of workers in oil installations, the Gulf's inter-regional relationships, and its intellectual and political influence on the evolution of national and regional political awareness.

The focus is on Arabic-language local documents and journalistic archives that have been largely overlooked. Through an analysis of reader behavior and political awareness during this period, the study seeks to shed light on the role of language and communication in shaping the national community's collective imagination, as well as its impact on political culture and solidarity. Despite the availability of Arabic-language local documents and journalistic archives, scholars have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect of Gulf history.

The present study proposes a novel methodological framework for analyzing the Gulf region, one that departs from conventional Western-centric approaches often critiqued for their colonialist underpinnings and limited understanding of local contexts. Instead, the focus shifts to the historical evolution of events and phenomena, moving beyond interpretations heavily influenced by the dominant lens of oil in Gulf history. This approach aims to deliver a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of social transformations by excavating their historical roots and examining their organic development over time. Furthermore, this study challenges the conventional narrative by arguing that political awareness has been a long-standing feature of the Gulf, dating back to at least the early 20th century. However, it should be noted that the findings of this study cannot be generalized or compared across all Gulf states, as the level of political awareness, participation, and adoption of new identities varies from state to state.

To gain a thorough understanding of important events and developments in the Mashreq countries, with a particular emphasis on the Palestinian issue, this study relied on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources for this study included the

Palestine Yearbook “al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah,” a series of comprehensive yearly volumes that chronicle the history of the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Israeli conflict at all levels and in all domains, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies. Additionally, the study consulted the record of the Arab world, “Sijill al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī wathā’iq, aḥdāth, Ārā’ siyāsīyah,” specifically the section that pertains to the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. In addition to primary sources, this study also utilizes secondary sources, including books, newspaper articles, journal articles, reports from published and unpublished research papers presented at conferences, and Ph.D. theses that cover similar areas of interest.

This study investigates how Kuwaiti intellectuals during the early 20th century imagined their national communities through the lens of Arabic-language newspapers and magazines. This approach draws upon the influential theoretical framework of Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities,[40] positing that reading and engagement with media in one's native language significantly shape national awareness, particularly among colonized peoples. The study aims to illuminate the impact of language and communication on the development of a cohesive Kuwaiti national identity, as well as its influence on political culture and solidarity. To achieve this, it analyzes a curated selection of articles from diverse publications, examining reader behavior and political awareness within a specific timeframe. Notably, the study heavily relies on Arabic magazines from the 1940s and 1960s as primary sources, a valuable but often overlooked resource in Western scholarship. Among these periodicals:

Majallat Kāẓimah (مجلة الكاظمة) is a monthly magazine published by Abdulhameed Al-Sane, Abdulsamad Turki, and Ahmed Zain Al-Saqqaf from 1948 to 1949.

Al-Rā’id, (الرائد) is a magazine published by the Kuwait Teachers Club that covers economic and social affairs. It was published from 1952 to 1954.

[40] The Theory of Imagined Communities describes how the formation of an imagined identity was influenced by three institutions: the census, the map, and the museum. These institutions played a crucial role in shaping the colonial state's understanding of its dominion, including the nature of the people it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry. Anderson, Benedict, *Census, Map, Museum, Excerpt from: Imagined Communities*. (Verso: London, 1991). p. 5–7.

Al-Īmān (الإيمان) is a magazine published by the National Culture Club that focuses on political and social affairs. It was published from 1953 to 1955.

Al-Ba‘thah (البعثة) is a monthly bulletin that focuses on the history of Kuwait and the Arab world. These magazines provide a wealth of information on a variety of topics.

Al-Ṭalī‘ah newspaper (الطليعة) is a weekly publication from Kuwait and was one of the earliest opposition media outlets in the Gulf. It was first released on July 13, 1962, initially as a magazine, but later transformed into a weekly newspaper.[41]

This study adopts a dual methodological approach, employing both descriptive and analytical methods to examine the characteristics of political awareness and its transformations in Kuwait. The descriptive approach provides a comprehensive foundation for understanding these key aspects, while the analytical approach delves deeper, unraveling the intricate interplay between three distinct environments: the immediate local environment within Kuwait, the broader regional environment encompassing the entire Gulf, and the larger geopolitical context of the Arab world. This multi-layered analysis affords a profound understanding of the intricate factors shaping the political landscape in Kuwait.

It is worth pointing out that the Gulf region is widely studied but also widely misunderstood, with many contemporary studies using analytical tools derived from other societies without taking into account the social and historical background of the Gulf or the psychological characteristics of its people. As a result, Western theories, methods, and modes of writing cannot be applied to Gulf society or to the Arab region in general. Studies on political awareness and identity in the Gulf have been limited, possibly due to negative stereotypes and distorted perceptions of Gulf people held by Arab intellectuals and writers. These perceptions may be fueled by the Gulf people's way of life, welfare, lack of inclusion in decision-making processes, and the abundance of oil in the region. This highlights the importance of using appropriate methodologies and approaches when studying the Gulf region to gain a more accurate and nuanced understanding of its history and society.

[41] Appendix 1

This study aims to demonstrate that political awareness and the values of political engagement were deeply rooted in the traditional structures of Gulf societies and could have enabled the development of their own democracy, based on historical and cultural developments, before the Gulf region was influenced by Western hegemony and oil wealth, which changed the nature of society. These factors hindered the normal development of Gulf societies and led to the loss of motivation and awareness, resulting in a fragile and volatile society with an uncertain national and cultural identity.

Despite the challenges associated with conducting socio-political research on Kuwait, such as the limited availability of primary sources and biases in existing materials, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the political and social changes that occurred in the region and their impact on the people living in the Gulf. This research is expected to contribute to the understanding of political awareness development and social-political mobility in the region, as well as the role of the people in the construction and establishment of the Gulf region.

Analyzing political awareness in Gulf societies presented inherent challenges, particularly following the closure of the Kuwaiti newspapers' online archive (http://news.cait.gov.kw/) in February 2020. To navigate these limitations, the study leveraged a diverse corpus of sources. First, it utilized available online archives of relevant publications. Second, it incorporated a selection of print newspapers, including Al‘alam al-Miṣrī (1939) and al-Shabāb (1937-1939), and various Palestinian daily/weekly newspapers such as Filasṭīn, al-Difā‘, al-Ittiḥād, al-Jihād, and al-Kifāḥ. Finally, the study drew upon a collection of autobiographies, notably those of

prominent figures like Khalid Sulayman al-Adsani,[42] Hamad al-Rajib,[43] Ahmad Al-Khatib,[44] and Badr Khalid Al-Bader Al-Qenaei.[45]

This dissertation's historical research approach emphasizes the continuity of historical processes, acknowledging significant turning points without resorting to artificial chronological divisions. History unfolds as a complex web of interconnected events, and regional transitions often lack clear-cut beginnings and endings. Recognizing this, I have chosen the 1938-1971 period as the focal point of my analysis. This timeframe encompasses a crucial era of transformation in the Gulf states, marked by the rise of anti-colonial movements and the emergence of oil wealth in the late 1920s. The movements that arose in 1938 across many Gulf states like Bahrain, Dubai, and Kuwait exemplify this complex interplay of factors. It culminates in the significant geopolitical shifts of the early 1970s, including the independence of Bahrain and Qatar, the formation of the newly formed United Arab Emirates (UAE) following the withdrawal of British forces in 1971, and Iran's occupation of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs. By extending the research to include events from the late 1920s and the immediate aftermath of 1971, this study captures the essential context and consequences that shaped the political landscape of the region during this critical period.

Conducting this study on political awareness in Kuwait between 1938 and 1971 presented several crucial research limitations. Firstly, the researcher's physical absence from the Gulf region due to unforeseen circumstances restricted access to valuable firsthand data and potential interview opportunities. Secondly, security and

[42] Al-Adasani's memoirs are one of the few local sources that provide a detailed account of the 1938 council movement, which is what makes them highly significant. Not only was Al-Adasani a council secretary and actively involved in political events, but he was also one of the decision-makers according to his memoirs. In his introduction, Al-Adasani states, "When the second Legislative Council of the nation was dissolved, I realized that the authorities would pursue me for arrest. They would not detain me in my capacity as the secretary of the first and second legislative councils, but because they knew that I was the only person who had organized, created, and documented every aspect of the legislature's impact." See: Al- ‘Adasani, Khalid. *‘Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-‘Adsānī sikritīr majlis al-‘umma at-tashrī‘ī al-awwal wa ath-thānī’,* n.d. electronic copy of manuscript. https://archive.org/details/3488p.d.f2745/page/n5/mode/2up. ; Al- ‘Adasani, Khalid,. *Nisf ’Am Li al-Hukm al-Niyabi Fi al-Kuwayt,* (1947).

[43] Rajib, Hamad al-. *Mothakarat Hamad Al-Rajib Musafir Fy Sharayin al-Watan,* (Kuwait, 1994).

[44] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah.*

[45] Al-Qenaei, Badr Khalid Al-Bader . *Rihlatun Ma’a Qafilat Alhayat,* in Three Parts., (n.d.)

strategic considerations unfortunately limited access to certain confidential information that could have enriched the analysis. Thirdly, reliance on older research publications, although offering historical context, often lacked data on more recent developments and events, necessitating alternative data collection strategies. These limitations warrant careful consideration when interpreting the study's results, particularly within the context of its socio-political focus. Acknowledging these constraints enables readers to critically evaluate the findings and engage in a nuanced understanding of Kuwaiti political awareness during this specific period.

Overall, this study strives to illuminate the complexities of socio-political transformations in the region, offering a nuanced counterpoint to dominant orientalist narratives. It challenges the reductive portrayals of the region as solely defined by tribalism, oil wealth, and an absence of modern political or popular movements. Instead, the study delves into the intricate interplay of social, civic, and popular forces that have driven social and political change, shaping both political awareness and identity transformations.[46]

[46] Identity refers to the social, cultural, or political attributes with which an individual identifies, such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, and class. Identity and political awareness are often linked, as an individual's identity can shape and inform their political awareness, and vice versa.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL PREMISES AND GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITIONS

1.1. The Major Concepts

1.1.1. Political Awareness

The concept of political awareness, “waai” in Arabic, has been defined using a variety of terms, including political sophistication, political information, political knowledge, and political expertise. However, there is a broad consensus that political awareness is primarily concerned with the acquisition of knowledge about politics. In recent years, the term "political awareness" has gained increasing prominence, reflecting its central role in understanding the dynamics of political phenomena. While John Zaller officially coined the term in 1990,[47] its usage predates that, evident in studies such as Mohammed Ghanim Al Rumaihi's 1973 PhD thesis, where he delves into "The Growth of Political Awareness (1930's)" in Bahrain. Al Rumaihi's work asserts that the "seeds of future political awareness were present" during that period. [48] Additionally, Rosemarie Zahlan (1989) employed the term in her introduction to the Gulf region, contributing to the broader discourse on political awareness. [49] These studies collectively affirm the legitimacy and relevance of the term "political awareness" in analyzing political activity.

The attempt to understand the concept of political awareness is a continuous process, as it plays a vital role in the field of political sociology. However, the concept is not static due to the diversity of its definitions and the influence of different theorists, who may have their ideologies and perspectives. For example, the constructivist theory has had a significant influence on Anglo-American sociological thought. This theory argues that social reality is constructed by people's shared beliefs and interpretations,

[47] Zaller, John. “Political Awareness, Elite Opinion Leadership, and the Mass Survey Response.” *Social Cognition* 8, no. 1 (March 1990): 125–53 https://guilfordjournals.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1521/soco.1990.8.1.125

[48] Al Rumaihi, Mohammed Ghanim, Social and political change in Bahrain since the First World War, (Doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1973), p. 327-348 http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7942/1/7942_4940.PDF

[49] Zahlan, Rosemarie Said, *The Making of the Modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, The United Arab Emirates and Oman*. (London: Unwin Hyman inc., 1989), Introduction p. vii-xi

rather than reflecting objective truths. However, the constructivist theory does not directly address the concept of political awareness, as it views the term as being of Marxist origin. Marxism, on the other hand, does address the concept of political awareness, but with a broader focus on social awareness in general.[50] According to this theory, social existence determines awareness, and political awareness is seen as essential for the continuous functioning of a social class to change the social construct (structure). However, Marxism has not given much importance to the levels of awareness or the factors that affect it.[51]

More recently, contemporary Marxists such as philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre have sought to formulate a theory of awareness based on historical materialism, the Marxist sociological theory.[52] MacIntyre argues that the social construct exists exclusively in the minds of its members, meaning that awareness determines the structure. However, for this awareness to accurately express the social construct, objective constructivist circumstances must also be present[53]. Essentially, the relationship between the social construct and awareness is dialectical: no awareness arises in a vacuum but is shaped by its social and contextual bases, and similarly, no social construct remains static in the face of awareness but is influenced and can change when other conditions are present. [54]

[50]The concept of social consciousness has been used in various ways throughout the development phases of human societies. Many thinkers and sociologists have tackled this concept from different perspectives. Among the definitions, one can find what the sociology lexicon states: "A rational orientation that enables the individual to recognize oneself and one's surroundings at different degrees of clarity and complexity. This includes the individual's consciousness of mental and physical functions, as well as their consciousness of things and the external world, and their recognition of oneself individually or as a member of a group." Ghayth, Muḥammad ʻĀṭif . *Qāmūs ʻilm Al-Ijtimāʻ,* (Alexandria: Dar Al-Marefa, 1997) p. 88

[51]ʻAbd al-Muʻṭī , ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ . *Al-Waʻy al-Tanmawī al-ʻArabī, (*Beirut: Maʻhad al-Inmāʼ al-ʻArabī, 1989). Vol. 02, p. 12.

[52] Cavell, Colin S. *A Marxist Critique of Alasdair MacIntyre's After Virtue*. Theses and Dissertations 2397 (Louisiana: University of New Orleans, 1987), https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/2397 ; MacIntyre, Alasdair Chalmers. *The Unconscious: A Conceptual Analysis*. (Routledge, 2004).

[53] For more details see: Riddell, Carol, and Margaret A. Coulson. *Approaching Sociology: A Critical Introduction*. Students Library of Sociology. (Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1970).

[54] Petras, James F., and Mark Selden. "Social Classes, the State and the World System in the Transition to Socialism." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 11, no. 2 (January 1981): 189–207.

In their work, Marx and Engels argued that the class structure of society influences the formation of consciousness, with the consciousness of the ruling class dominating in a class society. This suggests that political awareness is closely linked to an individual's or group's social class. In other words, the formation of consciousness is immensely influenced by the class structure of society. [55] And the awareness and understanding by members or groups of a particular layer of society belonging to a distinct social class. [56]

However, it is important to distinguish between political awareness and political knowledge. Political knowledge typically involves understanding information on the current political process. On the other hand, political awareness, a concept most intimately linked with John Zaller and his work entitled "The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion", is often defined as the extent to which an individual pays attention to current political events and understands what they have encountered. In other words, it refers to an individual's intellectual or cognitive engagement with public affairs. This can include an understanding of major political figures and their policy positions, as well as an understanding of the norms that govern the political system.[57] It is also defined as knowledge about political events, campaigns, parties, elections, and salient issues, and is the simplest measure of political sophistication. as well as it is the awareness that an effective means for achieving their rights is through group action, particularly through sustained movement, agitation, confrontation, strike, or rebellion against appropriate agencies.[58]

---

[55] Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engles. *Marx and Engels Collected Works: Marx and Engels 1845-47.* Vol. 5. (Lawrence & Wishart Electric Book, 2010), p. 36-37 http://www.hekmatist.com/Marx%20Engles/Marx%20&%20Engels%20Collected%20Works%20Volume%205_%20Ma%20-%20Karl%20Marx.pdf

[56]Wilczynski, J. *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Marxism, Socialism and Communism: Economic, Philosophical, Political and Sociological Theories, Concepts, Institutions and Practices - Classical and Modern, East-West Relations Included.* (The Macmillan Press Ltd London and Basingstoke, 1981). P. 78

[57] Zaller, John R. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology Ser., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Zaller, John. "Political Awareness, Elite Opinion Leadership, and the Mass Survey Response." *Social Cognition* 8, no. 1 (March 1990): 125–53 https://guilfordjournals.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1521/soco.1990.8.1.125

[58] Bartle, John. "Political Awareness, Opinion Constraint and the Stability of Ideological Positions." *Political Studies* 48, no. 3 (June 2000): 467–84; Berinsky, A. J. "American Public Opinion in the 1930s and 1940s: The Analysis of Quota-Controlled Sample Survey Data." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 499–529.

Political awareness can also be linked to the propensity to participate in politics. Without a sufficient level of political awareness, individuals are unlikely to be effective civic participants. In addition, political awareness may also involve an understanding that group action, such as sustained movements, strikes, or rebellions, can be an effective means for achieving rights and resolving grievances. [59] Overall, while there is some consensus about how political awareness should be understood, there are a variety of conceptualizations of this concept. [60]

Thus, it can be said that political awareness refers to an individual's or group's recognition of the reality of their society and its regional and international environment, as well as their understanding of the political, social, and economic circumstances that shape it. This includes knowledge of the various issues facing the society, as well as an understanding of the forces and actors that influence decision making at the national and international level.

Political awareness can take two forms: self-political awareness, which refers to an individual's understanding of their own rights and duties within a particular political system, and collective political awareness, which refers to the shared understanding of a group or community regarding their rights and duties within a particular political system. Both self-political awareness and collective political awareness are essential for effective political participation, which is defined as the legal activities of private citizens aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions they take. Such activities can include voting, campaigning, lobbying, protesting, and running for office.

1.1.1.1. Political Awareness and Democracy

Political awareness is closely related to democracy, which refers to a form of government where power is held by the people, either directly or through elected representatives. Democracy is characterized by the protection of individual rights, the

[59] Galston, William A. "Civic Education and Political Participation." *PS: Political Science & Politics 37*, no. 2 (April 2004): 263–66; Abdo-Katsipis, Carla B. "Women, Political Participation, and the Arab Spring: Political Awarensess and Participation in Democratizing Tunisia." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 38, no. 4 (February 16, 2017): 413–29.
[60] Solhaug, T., T. Denk, M. Olson, and N. N. Kristensen, *Political Awareness, Concept and Measurement*. (Hamborg, Germany: Paper presented at ECPR General Conference, 2018).

rule of law, and the ability to hold the government accountable through free and fair elections. Political awareness is essential for the functioning of a democratic system, as it enables individuals (or groups such as merchants, students, parliament members, and nomads) to understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens in all democratic or totalitarian regimes and to participate in the political process in meaningful ways. This includes direct and indirect participation in different levels of political activities in civil society, especially opposing and not pro-regime behaviors (such as demonstrations, political movements, poetry and articles, public meetings, rallies, and public strikes).[61] Identity crisis is one aspect of weak political awareness, in which individuals or groups do not fully understand the nature or identity of their political system. This can lead to confusion or conflict over values and goals and can hinder effective political participation. Ultimately, political awareness is an essential component of political entities, as it enables individuals and groups to understand and engage with the political world around them.

The experience of democracy in some societies confirms that the transition from totalitarian regimes to democratic ones requires a sufficient level of political awareness to have a clear intellectual imagination about the conception of reality. This was not the case in the " Khalījī" Kuwaiti society, which experienced a significant shift in the twentieth century because of a mature awareness of socio-political and crucial political issues. Political awareness is one of the most important topics in contemporary political thought because it determines the nature of society's orientation towards a specific case and draws theorists' attention as well as their intellectual and political handling of the issue. The emergence of human awareness and the search for a way to manage and organize society began with man's awareness of his existence and living environment, as well as raising big questions that haunted his mind.[62]

Concerning the Gulf, political awareness may be suppressed or manipulated by the ruling regime, leading to what is known as "oriented political awareness" or "absent

[61] Rupavath, Ramdas. *Democracy of the Oppressed: Adivasi Poverty and Hunger*. (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), p. 153; Nag, Moni. "Political Awareness as a Factor in Accessibility of Health Services: A Case Study of Rural Kerala and West Bengal." *Economic and Political Weekly 24*, no. 8 (1989): 417–26.
[62] Roberts, Peri, and Peter Sutch. *An Introduction to Political Thought: A Conceptual Toolkit*. (UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p.35-36

political awareness." This can occur when the state directs political awareness towards its own interests, or when the rise of consumerism and rentier states leads to a shift away from political engagement. The Gulf region has experienced both forms of political awareness, and it is an important topic for contemporary political thought as it shapes the way societies understand and engage with their reality. This is what the study discusses in the last chapters.

Thus, the political awareness under question here does not mean the intellectual theories and concepts that appeared in the Gulf during the study period, but the level of political awareness of the groups that are the subject of the study and prevailed during a period of time. Also, it examines the changes that happened to them as a result of the impact of some internal and external factors that played a crucial role in their formation through a particular elite that later formed an opposition movement, a party, or even a movement against the local governments.

The study follows the political events and the factors that led to the rise of political awareness in order to understand the relationship between political awareness and the movement of society. This means that the study comprises two sections: section one is the recognition of these events, and section two is the reaction towards them. It includes the factors such as knowledge and learning that come from education and newspapers (journalism), and the reaction that comes in the form of protests, political movements, poems, articles, and strikes.

1.1.1.2. Political Awareness and Political Participation

When examining political awareness and political participation in the Gulf, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations of comparing it to other societies or applying the same criteria used for Arab societies. This is particularly relevant when studying the various stages of political awareness and its development. Only a few Arab states have successfully established a modernized political system that fosters public participation rooted in political awareness. Moreover, the term "democracy" cannot be directly applied, as it carries specific and converging meanings based on well-established principles, such as citizens' freedom to choose their representatives through organized parties at regular intervals. These representatives, among other responsibilities, hold

the power to enact appropriate regulations for society without predetermined limits. While the elements of modern democracy are not fully present in Arab states, "participation" can be observed as a form that combines and merges the concept of general democracy with the social, cultural, and political characteristics of the region.[63]

With these observations in mind, this study employs a historical analysis approach to examine the roots of political awareness in Kuwait, its developmental stages, and the general features of events related to political participation. Additionally, the systems analysis method is utilized, focusing on the participation and roles of individuals and socio-economic categories, such as merchants, students, ideologists, partisans, parliamentarians, workers, and even the Bedouins. These roles play a crucial part in the development of political awareness. Furthermore, the study aims to explore the relationship between these categories and the authorities.

One of the key studies directly relevant to the subject of this inquiry is that of the Kuwaiti scholar Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb. In his work, he demonstrates that oppressive regimes in the Arab Mashreq are founded on the bureaucratic control of society by expanding the state's ability to coordinate infrastructure, enabling it to permeate the entire civil society and transform it into an extension of its power. As a result, the state effectively monopolizes power and authority in society. This authoritarianism is rooted in the monopolization of power sources under the guise of the economy by expanding the public sector and establishing a firm grip through laws and regulations. The regime legitimizes its existence through oppression by perpetuating organized terrorism against its citizens. These measures are not intended to promote development; rather, they aim to establish a permanent regime. Al-Naqeeb posits that the authoritarian state may have been a transitional phase in the Arab Orient because, during the 1980s and 1990s of the last century, the world witnessed a democratic movement in more than one Arab country (in addition to the later Arab Spring). Furthermore, supporting the democratic shift and preventing the resurgence of authoritarian regimes necessitate the formation of a new internationalism based on the Human Rights Charter and the human needs determined by the political, social, and democratic powers of any

[63] See: Ghubāsh, Ḥusayn, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shu'ūb al-ṣaghīrah,* (Beirut: Dar al-Fārābī, 2010), p. 11

country. In addition, they require the adoption of the principle of socialism in the economy, which encompasses market freedom, efficiency, and equality, i.e., the fair distribution of income under the law and democracy. However, this has yet to be achieved. [64]

According to Naqeeb in his book "Society and State in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula," since the discovery of oil until the mid-1960s of the last century, the rent-based regime (rentier state) – in which the economic system relies heavily on external rents to finance government expenditures – paved the way for the authoritarian state. Such an economic and political system impeded comprehensive development and led the societies of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf into a deadlock. [65]

Shafeeq Al-Ghabra views Kuwait as a transitional society where rapid socio-economic changes and socio-economic groupings are crucial, impacting participation. Disharmony and coexistence, strength and weakness, all revolve around the identities of these groups. Examples of overlapping identities that emerged since the 1950s include students, merchants, Shiites, Bedouins, women, naturalized Kuwaitis, and Bedoon (stateless individuals), which played a role in shaping Kuwaiti policies and the relationship of these "intellectual" categories with authorities. This development also exemplifies political awareness in Kuwaiti society. [66]

The classification of modern Arab intellectual categories is dominated by three concepts. The first is revolutionary intellectuals, according to Lenin, [67] who ally with social forces that are historically prepared to bring about major changes in society. The second is traditional and organic intellectuals, according to Gramsci. [68] These categories are not considered intellectual unless they engage in political or social

[64] Al-Naqīb, Khaldūn, *Al-dawlah al-tasalluṭīyah fī al-Mashriq al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir, dirāsah binā'īyah muqāranah*, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999).
[65] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah,* p. 166-168
[66] Ghabra, Shafeeq. "Kuwait and the Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change." *Middle East Journal 51*, no. 3 (1997): 358–72.
[67] Vladimir Lenin was a Russian revolutionary, communist politician, and head of the Soviet Union from 1917 until his death in 1924. Lenin was a prominent figure in the development of Marxist theory, and his ideas and policies became known as Leninism.
[68] Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist philosopher, journalist, and politician who is best known for his theory of cultural hegemony, which describes how dominant ideas and values are spread through society and serve to maintain the power of ruling classes.

actions that make them part of the public opinion that guides political authority. These three classifications obligate intellectuals to play a role in their society, influenced by the Marxist thought that believes the mission of thought is not only to interpret the world but also to change it. [69]

In this context, Khalil Ahmed Khalil states that the revolutionary intellectual opposes authority and teams up with a group seeking change, such as movements, parties, and organizations that aim to change society and authority. The governed intellectual, on the other hand, seeks to defend their intellect but ends up confined within the boundaries of their job or exiled inside or outside their country. [70] Hisham Sharabi, one of the twentieth century's most renowned Arab American intellectuals, categorizes intellectuals into various groups, one of which is "committed" intellectuals who possess a deep understanding of societal issues and are actively involved in effecting social change. They belong to the educated elite and cannot be confined to a single category, but rather, are united by their awareness of issues and their commitment to common practice. [71] This definition is relevant to the third stage of intellectuals, which includes ideologists such as workers, partisans, and parliamentarians who share a full awareness of societal issues.

The importance of Kuwait lies in the fact that, since 1961, it is the only Gulf state to have experienced serious political participation in the rule, following an increasing political awareness since the Majlis Movements of 1938. Additionally, it is the only country that can be considered a microcosm of many common features between the Gulf states, the Arabian Peninsula, and some other countries of the Arab Orient (Mashreq). The historical roots of this experience can be traced back to the early stages of the emergence of Kuwait when the rule was based on consultation since its establishment. Kuwaitis chose the first ruler, Sabah Ibin Jaber, through a consensual manner based on consultation. This choice was like an unwritten social contract between “the ruler and the ruled”, as it was based on the notion of swearing allegiance

[69] Ḥusayn, Rahbah Asūdī, *Al-Muthaqqaf wa al-Sulṭah fī al-ʻIrāq 1921-1958: dirāsah ijtimāʻīyah siyāsīyah, (*Baghdad: Iraqi Ministry of Culture, 2013), p. 44-46.
[70] Khalīl, Aḥmad Khalīl, Al-Kibsī, Muḥammad ʻAlī, *Mustaqbal al-ʻalāqah bayna al-muthaqqaf wa al-Sulṭah, (*Damascus: Dar Al-Fikr, 2001), Vol. 1, p. 53-56.
[71] Ḥusayn, *Al-Muthaqqaf wa al-Sulṭah fī al-ʻIrāq 1921-1958,* p. 46; Sharābī, Hishām, *Muqaddimāt li-Dirāsat al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī, (*Beirut: Al-Ahlīyah for publication and distribution, 1977), p. 101-102

in return for consultation. At the beginning of the last century, the first attempts at what can be called “regularization” or “institutionalization” of public participation in the rule appeared in Kuwait with the founding of the advisory council in 1921. The experience of public participation in the rule evolved through the establishment of the “Legislative Council” in 1938. This experience gained solid ground after the independence of Kuwait in 1961 and the issuing of the 1962 Constitution, which is still applicable today [72].

This study aims to explore the history of the people, rather than the official history, by focusing on the traditional national political culture rather than the culture that emerged during the colonial period, as described by Hussein Ghobash in his book "The Cultural Roots of Democracy in the Gulf". Ghobash argues that traditional culture is based on the principles of delegation and participation, which cannot result in oppressive regimes. However, the entry of the colonial factor into the Gulf region led to a historical discontinuity and the emergence of a new historical mode, which is the official history that facilitated the development of authoritarian and oppressive regimes. Therefore, the oppressive culture was introduced to the national culture of the Gulf region. [73]

1.1.2. Nationalism

Nationalism is a complex and multifaceted concept that can be understood in different ways depending on context and perspective. Generally, it is defined as a political,

[72] For further information on these characteristics of family-based rule systems, the dominance of tribes over social class, unique demographics, rentier state syndrome (dependence on oil income as external rent), the stateless phenomenon, and the fusion of religious fundamentalism and modern consumerism in the concept of Petro-Islam, as coined by Fouad Zakaria, please refer to the following sources: Zakarīyā, Fu’ād, *Al-ḥaqīqah wa al-wahm fī al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah al-mu‘āṣirah, (*Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr, 1986); Al-Naqīb, Khaldūn, *ṣirā‘ al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah : ḥālat al-Kuwayt,* (Beirut: Dar al-Sāqī House, 1996), p. 8; Ghubāsh, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shu‘ūb al-ṣaghīrah, p.12*

[73] Ghubāsh, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shu‘ūb al-ṣaghīrah,* p. 12-14; For further information on Kuwait's historical sources, please refer to:
Al-Hājirī, ‘Abd Allāh, Ishkālīyat Lajnat kitābat Tārīkh al-Kuwayt 1959-1967, Mashrū‘ tārīkhī lam yaktamil, (*Annals Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, Ain Shams University, Issue No. 4, (October/December, Volume - 44, 2015), p. 9.

economic, and sociological concept that refers to the recognition and expression of the collective unity and identity of a group of people known as a nation.[74] Nationalism, on the other hand, can also evolve into a social-psychological phenomenon as people form opinions and attachments to their own nation based on factors such as gender, ethnicity, or place of origin. In his 1882 definition, Ernest Renan, contends that the formation of a modern nation is not a happenstance, but an outcome shaped by "a series of convergent historical facts". Whether brought about by a ruling dynasty, the direct will of provinces, or "a shared general consciousness", the establishment of a nation goes beyond simplistic determinants such as race, language, material interests, religious affinities, geography, and military necessity. Renan argues that at its core, "a nation is a spiritual principle—a soul" composed of two intertwined elements, one rooted in the past and the other in the present. The past contributes a shared "legacy of memories", a collective repository of endeavors, sacrifices, and devotion, while the present is characterized by a collective consent, a shared desire to live together, and a collective will to perpetuate inherited values in an undivided form.[75]

Renan underscores the intangible aspects of nationhood, asserting that the essence of a nation lies not in physical borders or strategic considerations but in the mutual experiences of a heroic past, great individuals, and genuine glory. He emphasizes the importance of shared sentiments, collective memories, and a united vision for the future as the true pillars of national identity. According to Renan, the cohesion of a nation is built on "a large-scale solidarity", a moral conscience arising from a profound understanding of "past sacrifices" and a collective commitment to endure future challenges. In this light, he articulates that a nation is more than a political entity; it is a profound and enduring moral bond that transcends differences in race and language.[76]

In his book "Nationalism: A Religion", Carlton Hayes argues that nationalism behaves in ways similar to religion, which in the past was used to assimilate, organize, control, and modernize society from its primitive ways. However, unlike religion, Hayes

[74] For more information: Hutchinson, John, -Smith, Anthony D, *Nationalism*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 29
[75] Renan, Ernest. "What Is a Nation?" In *Nation and Narration*, edited by K. Bhabha Homi, 8–22. (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 19-20
[76] Renan, Ernest. "What Is a Nation?", p. 20s

contends that modern nationalism does not prioritize tolerance, human connections, or even peace.[77] In his book "Nation and Nationalism," Ernest Gellner presents an alternative perspective, positing that modern nationalism constitutes a break from history and denies any association with ethnic nationalism. [78]

Finally, Benedict Anderson's book "Imagined Communities" revolutionizes the study of nations and nationalism by offering a new perspective that broke away from traditional European-centric approaches and false dichotomies surrounding the existence of nations. The book focuses on the role of socially and culturally organized imagination in shaping political culture, self-understanding, and solidarity. Anderson's approach had an impact beyond just the study of nationalism, as it became a major innovation in understanding "social imaginaries." Additionally, his approach highlighted the importance of material conditions and institutions in shaping and reproducing culture, such as newspapers, novels, censuses, maps, and museums.[79] He rejected the idea that nationalism had the same origins in all countries and argued that it should be studied in the same way as religious constructs of identity and community. He also focused on understanding the explanatory reasons why communist countries might fight against each other in nationalist terms, rather than comparing nationalism to other political ideologies. He introduced the idea of "print capitalism" to explain how a specific type of capitalist enterprise supported the development of national languages and communication within them. He also explained how newspapers played a vital role in producing vernacular print languages that distinguished bourgeois national solidarities from older aristocratic elites.[80]

In synthesizing the perspectives of Ernest Renan, Carlton Hayes, Ernest Gellner, and Benedict Anderson on nationalism, a common thread emerges in their recognition of the complexity inherent in this concept. Renan's assertion that a nation is a spiritual principle, rooted in a shared past and collective consent in the present, resonates with Hayes's likening of nationalism to religion, emphasizing its assimilative and

[77] H. Hayes, Carlton J. *Nationalism: A Religion*. (New York, Chicago: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p.101, 94-112.
[78] Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).
[79] Calhoun, Craig. "The Importance of Imagined Communities – and Benedict Anderson." *Annual Review. Debats. Revista de Cultura, Poder i Societat 1* (December 15, 2016): 11–16.
[80] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (London, New York: Verso, 2006), p. 7, 37-38

organizing functions. Gellner's perspective introduces a distinct angle, considering modern nationalism as a break from history and dismissing associations with ethnic nationalism. Anderson's groundbreaking idea of "imagined communities" challenges Eurocentric views, spotlighting the role of socially and culturally organized imagination in shaping political culture and solidarity. Collectively, these theorists emphasize the intangible and imaginative elements that contribute to the formation of nations, steering away from simplistic determinants.

In the case of Kuwait, the study reveals that nationalism was a pervasive force, deeply ingrained in the awareness of various societal groups, including merchants, students, parliament members, workers, and partisans. As explored in the following chapters, high levels of nationalism were evident at each stage, reflecting Renan's notion of a nation as a spiritual principle. The political life of these groups demonstrated a tangible commitment to past sacrifices and a collective determination to confront future challenges, aligning with Renan's criteria for measuring the essence of a nation.

Moreover, to gauge their political awareness, Anderson's theory becomes pertinent, emphasizing the crucial role of reading newspapers in one's native language in the development of national awareness. The investigation seeks to uncover how language influences political culture and solidarity within the context of nationalism. Therefore, the study posits that nationalism and political awareness are interconnected, sharing a symbiotic relationship in shaping the collective identity and political awareness of the Kuwaiti people across various societal segments.

1.1.3. Patriotism

Patriotism is a concept that refers to a strong attachment to one's own country, with a focus on its principles and ideals. In our study, patriotism refers to the loyalty of the Kuwaitis to Kuwait. It is characterized by a sense of love and dedication to one's land and a focus on the well-being and success of one's country. As exclusively understood in the Arab countries patriotism refers to one’s “love and strong ties” to its country while nationalism emphasizes unity through cultural traits such as language and tradition. Patriotism is often understood as generating strong bonds and dedication to one's group without commensurate antagonism towards other groups, while

nationalism is seen as fostering an orientation that favors one's group while despising certain other groups.[81]

In Arabic, the concept of patriotism is referred to as "waṭaniyya." Historically, it was an empire-wide power ideology that provided a tactical lexicon for Arabic-speaking elites to negotiate cooperation among themselves and with the Ottoman system. It served the purpose of establishing a tacit agreement with the semi-independent governor of the Egyptian province. Moreover, it was also a collective feeling, a bodily sensation of oneness formed in and through public events. This feeling was enabled by new public behaviors, institutions, and technologies such as Arabic journalism, theater, and musical theatre, which helped to build a fragile public sphere.[82] According to Bernard Lewis, the concept of patriotism, characterized by a sense of calm loyalty to one's country of birth, had less appeal to Arabs than nationalism. This can be seen in the way that the terms Waṭaniyya and Qawmīyah have been used interchangeably in spoken Arabic.[83] Eliezer Tauber also points out that the distinction between nationalism and patriotism is a European concept and cannot be applied to Arabic thought before World War I. He further notes that this distinction, based on European examples, is not well understood in casual historical parlance.[84]

Adam Mestyan offers an excellent explanation of the difference between nationalism and patriotism. He summarizes the distinction between nationalism and patriotism as follows: Nationalism is a belief in the solidarity and importance of a particular nation, often centered around the concept of "the nation" (natio). On the other hand, patriotism is a belief in the solidarity and importance of one's homeland and does not necessarily imply a desire for a sovereign government. Both are ideologies that are often articulated by intellectuals and political leaders, and their behaviors may be similar. However, patriotism is generally viewed positively, while nationalism is often viewed negatively. Additionally, patriotism can be seen as a type of nationalism, which can

---

[81] Duri, A. A. *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation: A Study in Identity and Consciousness.* Translated by Lawrence I. Conrad. (London: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Croom Helm, 1987), p. 157; Druckman, Daniel. “Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective.” *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, no. 1 (April 1994): 43–68.
[82] Mestyan, Adam. *Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt.* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 1-3.
[83] Lewis, Bernard, *Patriotism and Nationalism, In the Middle East and the West*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 71– 98
[84] Tauber, Eliezer, *The Emergence of Arab Movements*, (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 245

manifest in various forms, particularly in imperial contexts. Nation-ness is a narrative aspect of identification that is associated with the political usage of the term "homeland."[85]

1.1.4. The Arab Nationalism and The Arabism

Darwaza's conceptualization of a nation encompasses a cohesive group characterized by elements of harmony, unity, and interaction, with a focus on its objective and material reality. [86] Within the realm of Gulf studies, the lack of theoretical frameworks addressing nationalism mirrors broader deficiencies in the scholarship on nationalism within the Arab world. Contemporaneous European observers perceived the pre-World War I Middle East through the lens of nationalism, portraying it as a significant, if not the primary, political force in the late Ottoman Empire. Despite the lack of resonance for the concept of belonging to a nation or nation-state among most Muslims at the time.

The discourse surrounding the origins of early Arab nationalism before World War I revolves around a dual-pronged thesis. The first facet, wielding significant influence, posits a social explanation, framing it as “a traditional intra-Arab elite conflict”. This conflict delineates those with vested interests in the Ottoman state as Ottomanists and those without such stakes as Arabists.[87] The second facet rejects the idea that Arab nationalism originated from European political doctrines, instead attributing its roots to Islamic modernism—a 19th-century school of thought expressing the Muslim Arab desire to assimilate modern European concepts. This thesis diminishes the significance of the specific agenda of Arab nationalists during the Young Turk era before World War I, contending that accusations of Turkification policies by the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) lacked grounds before their ascendancy to power in

[85] Mestyan, *Arab Patriotism*, p. 1-3
[86] Darwaza , Al-Hakam. *Fi Al-Tathqif al-Qawmi.* (n.d.: n.d., 1960), p. 12, 26
[87] C. Ernest Dawn, The Rise of Arabism in Syria. *Middle East Journal*, 16(2), (1962) 145–168.

1908. A critique of this thesis posits that the intellectual debate transcends its immediate context and should not be dismissed lightly. [88]

Ernest Dawn's interpretation of the social basis of Arabism contends that it primarily served as a vehicle for a minority faction within the upper-class elite until the aftermath of World War I. He elaborates, stating: " Associated with such upper-class elements were men of middle-class origin who were slightly more important among the Arab nationalists than among the pro-Ottomans. The conflict, then, was essentially of the type that was traditional in Near Eastern society. The new element was the ideological definition of the conflict." Despite encountering challenges, Dawn's analysis contributes significantly to illuminating a crucial aspect of Arab nationalism. Investigating the relationship between ideas and society, particularly the transition from Ottomanism to Arabism in the early 20th century, Dawn observes the pre-1914 conflict between Arab nationalists and Ottomanists as an intra-elite struggle involving the highest echelons of Syrian society. This traditional conflict evolved with the introduction of ideological definitions, focusing on the "problem of the West" and defending the Islamic East against the Christian West. Despite events like the Arab Revolt and the Turkish collapse in World War I, Dawn notes that the Arab elite's allegiance to Ottomanism persisted until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, culminating in the emergence of Arab nationalism within the dissident faction. Dawn contends that Arab nationalism achieved its first substantial success with the Ottoman Empire's failure in World War I, establishing Arabism as the prevailing ideology. [89] Hourani posits that "there were no lines of exclusion that kept the Arabs out" of the Ottoman state and society throughout history. Hourani investigates the connections between the Arab provinces and the Ottoman center, Istanbul, utilizing the concept of the "politics of notables." He concludes that "under the Young Turks and then the

[88] See Khalidi, Rashid: “Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria Before 1914: A Reassessment,” in Rashid Khalidi, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 3-30, 50-69; Dawn, Ernest, From Ottomanism to Arabism, in: C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism, Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 173; Albert Hourani, *The Arab Awakening: Forty Years After, The Emergence of The Modem Middle East*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), p. 205; Rashid Khalidi, Social Factors in the Rise of the Arab Movement in Syria, in Said Arjomand (ed.) *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), p. 54.
[89] Dawn, Ernest, From Ottomanism to Arabism, in: C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism, Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1973) p. 173-174

Mandatory governments, the idea of Arab nationalism provided them with a new instrument of resistance." This interpretation suggests that the Young Turks' overthrow of the Hamidian government caused Arab alienation, which, combined with the CUP's nationalistic policies, led to the politicization of Arabism.[90] Hourani discusses how Arab nationalism, as a movement with political aims and significance, did not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century, with the political interests and activities of Ottoman Arabs channeled into the general movements of the empire throughout the reign of Abdulhamid.[91] Rashid Khalidi contends that this early form of Arabism is not synonymous with the pan-Arab idea of a giant Arab state but does not elaborate on its nature.[92]

In his earlier works, Hourani delves into the ideas of Islamic modernist intellectuals in the late 19th century, arguing that their ideas encouraged Arab ethnic awareness among Muslim youth in the Arab provinces. The focus on the glory of early Islam by these Islamic modernists contributed to the romanticization of Arabs as the custodians of the Islamic faith. Islamic modernism emerged as a response to imperialistic encroachments and emphasized the need for Islamic unity against Europe. While Islamic modernist ideas did contribute to increased Arab awareness, this awareness did not manifest as a political agenda questioning the legitimacy of the Ottoman state.[93] Hourani's last work, A History of the Arab Peoples, reflects a shift in his perspective. Here, he emphasizes the possibility of analyzing the societies and periods covered within an "Arab" framework, distinct from a solely Islamic or Muslim one. This suggests a growing recognition of a distinct Arab identity separate from religion. This shift aligns with the development of a more secular Arab nationalism during the period 1914-1939, as Hourani acknowledges. This nationalism emphasized a broader

[90] Hourani, Albert. “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables.” In *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), p. 62
[91] Hourani, Albert H. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 262
[92] Khalidi, Rashid. “Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature.” *The American Historical Review 96*, no. 5 (December 1991): p. 1363–1373.
[93] Hourani, Albert H. *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), p. 193–215; Hourani, Ara*bic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, 106.

national identity encompassing people of different faiths, focused on the interests of the state and society, and advocated for constitutionalism with elected governments.[94]

Culturally, Arabism involved the revitalization of the Arabic language and literature, while its political manifestation focused on calls for increased autonomy for the Ottoman Empire's Arab provinces. [95] Adeed Dawisha, in his book "Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair," distinguishes between Arabism and nationalism, which he defines as Arabism combined with the factor of a strong and organized desire to establish political unity within a specific geographical area. He adds that "this definition goes beyond the linguistic, religious, historical, and emotional bonds that tie Arabic-speaking people to each other. For the purpose of conceptual precision, this cultural uniformity would be termed Arabism. But Arabism with the added element of a strong desire (and preferably articulated demands) for political unity in a specified demarcated territory—that is what will be termed Arab nationalism."[96] Scholars such as Hisham Sharabi have argued that language is a fundamental aspect of national identity. Sharabi, for instance, emphasizes this point by stating that " To them, language, and the cultural heritage in which it was embedded, constituted the basis of national identity." It's important to note that initially, Arab nationalism did not necessarily necessitate separation from the Ottoman Empire. However, the pivotal events of World War I ignited a desire among some Arabs for complete disengagement from Ottoman rule.[97]

In the 20th century, some Gulf merchant families embraced the concept of a distinct "Arab nation," viewing it as a means to break free from the perceived artificiality of colonial-era state boundaries. However, Arab nationalism did not resonate as strongly with Gulf merchant elites compared to their counterparts in the Mashreq or Egypt. This influence was evident in various merchant movements in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai

---

[94] Hourani, Albert, *A History of the Arab Peoples: with a new afterword by Malise Ruthven*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), p.343

[95] Choueiri, Youssef M. *Arab Nationalism: A History Nation and State in the Arab World*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), p. 56-59, 65-66; Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), p. 8-10

[96] Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 12-13.

[97] Sharabi, Hisham Bashir. *Arab Intellectuals and the West: The Formative Years, 1875-1914*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970), p. 115-116.

during the 1930s, and in the political stances adopted by merchants and some nationalist-inclined members of ruling families in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia during the 1950s and 1960s. These positions often advocated for political reforms, distancing from Britain, and forging closer ties with Egypt. [98] The coming chapters will delve into the role of Arab nationalism as an ideology that impacted the political awareness of various social groups in Kuwaiti society, including merchants, students, parliament members, and political partisans. The analysis will demonstrate how Arab nationalism inspired these groups to adopt its principles and actively engage in the political sphere.

1.1.5. Tribe and Tribalism

The Gulf leaderships are dominated by the ruling families of tribes that emerged victorious in the pre-independence power struggles. Tribalism and tribes have been central features in social anthropology for a long time, with Arab peoples in North Africa and Arabia have making a significant contribution to our understanding of these concepts. Originally, tribes were seen as a form of social organization that predated the state and fit into social evolutionary theories. However, scholars later argued that tribalism is an adaptive mechanism that allows humans, specifically pastoral nomads, to organize themselves in the large geographical areas required for their mode of production. The segmentary lineage system, which was developed by scholars such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Meyer Fortes, and Ernst Gellner, is central to this understanding of tribes.[99] It consists of a hierarchy that starts with the nuclear and extended family, which is part of a lineage tracing back four or five generations. Four to six or more lineages are grouped into clans, and a similar number of clans make up a tribe. Although there is general agreement on the structure of this system, different terms are sometimes used to describe its components. However, some social scientists have

[98] Partrick, Neil, *Nationalism in the Gulf States*, Research Paper, Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, (October 2009, Number 5). https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/55257/1/Patrick_2009.pdf

[99] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., and M. Fortes . "The Nuer of the Southern Sudan." In *African Political Systems*, edited by E. E. Evans-Prichard. (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 272–296; Fortes, Meyer. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1945); Fortes, Meyer. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups." *American Anthropologist 55*, no. 1 (1953): 17–41; Gellner, Ernest. "Political and Religious Organization of the Berbers of the Central High Atlas'." In *Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa*., edited by Kevin A. Avruch and Charles Micaud, 25–58. (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 25–58.

criticized the concept of tribes as being too broad and imprecise and argue that it should be more accurately referred to as an ethnic group, culture, or society. Donald Cole's definition of tribes as "groupings of people who use the idiom of kinship to explain their solidarity, recognizing, however, that they are integrally part of a wider society and culture not based on kinship" is meaningful in the context of our study.[100]

In the Arab region, the term "tribalism" refers to the social division between two main components: the Hadar, or settled communities, and the Bedouins, or nomadic tribes. However, this division is not always clear-cut, as the Bedouins include a range of tribal groups, including purely migrant nomads, mixed nomads/semi-settled tribes, and settled tribes, which differ in terms of their lifestyles, modes of subsistence, and relations with the state. According to Çiçek, pure nomads constitute the most mobile form of nomadism and can rapidly move between settled regions and the desert, while mixed nomads, also known as agricultural transhumant, engage in agriculture and are unable to escape into the desert. A final type of the tribal groups are the settled groups who did not conduct long distance migration and similar to the ordinary peasants. It is important to note that this social division has often been imposed by the Hadar, who have exhibited anti-Bedouin tendencies, and that it is therefore problematic and not always easy to sustain.[101]

Kuwaiti sociologist Khaldoun al-Naqeeb has introduced the concept of "political tribalism" to describe the basis of political legitimacy for rulers in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region. He argues that the use of kinship nomenclature helps to bolster primordial attachments and serves as a means of motivating and mobilizing individuals and social groups. Additionally, al-Naqeeb suggests that political tribalism reflects the tribal identity and allows for group cohesion, serves as an organizing principle, and embodies a prevalent mentality that shapes all political relationships in rentier states. This concept can be used to understand political, economic, and social behavior in these states. [102]

---

[100] Cole, D., “Tribal and Non-Tribal Structures among the Bedouin of Saudi Arabia.” *Al-Abhath*, no. 30 (1982): 77–93; Gardner, Andrew. “The New Calculus of Bedouin Pastoralism in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.” *Human Organization* 62, no. 3 (2003): 267–76.
[101] Çiçek, M. Talha. *Negotiating Empire in the Middle East: Ottomans and Arab Nomads in the Modern Era*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 14
[102] Al-Naqeeb, Khaldoun. "*Political Tribalism and Legitimacy in the Arab Peninsula*". Paper presented to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, (January 1992), p. 2-3

Political tribalism in the Arabian Peninsula is closely intertwined with religion, which grants it an additional source of legitimacy. In these states, concepts of citizenship and state responsibilities are largely absent due to the strength of the central government, and tribal rulers instead rely on the principles of shūrā and the Qurʾan. although Kuwait is an exception due to its active parliament, al-Naqeeb's concept of the tribal rentier state remains relevant. Political tribalism, supported by Islamic legitimacy, seems to sustain strong states, as predicted by Ibn Khaldun's theory.[103]

Sulayman Khalaf and Hassan Hammoud also recognize the ability of tribal connections to support the strong governments of the region. They describe the underlying political structure in these states as a coalition of ruling families, merchants, and tribal leaders. According to Khalaf and Hammoud, the process of coordinating and balancing the interests of these social and political groups is supported by a combination of tribal sentiments and religious Islamic ideology. They identify tribalism, Islam, and, in the post-oil era, oil welfarism as the three pillars of state legitimacy. Tribalism is particularly important due to its ability to personalize and informalize politics in small states through the use of political language.[104]

1.2.Socio-Geo-Historical Introduction of the Gulf Region

1.2.1. Spatial Analysis:

Throughout modern history, the "Arabian/Persian" Gulf has emerged as the focal point of the Middle East's strategic importance. The region has a vital position, both geographically and strategically. It is a closed sea from the north; its only route towards the south is through the Strait of Hormuz. It is considered an aquatic extension of the Indian Ocean, limited between the Zagros Mountains on the Iranian side and the Central Highlands (Najd, meaning highland in Arabic) on the Saudi side, and runs from the estuary of Shatt al-Arab in the north to the Strait of Hormuz in the south. It is bordered to the south by the Oman Gulf and the Arabian Sea, and to the north by Iraq. The Gulf is located between longitudes 48◦ and 57◦ east and latitudes 24◦ and 29◦

[103] Ibid., p. 4-7
[104] Khalaf, Sulayman, and Hassan Hammoud. “The Emergence of the Oil Welfare State: The Case of Kuwait.” *Dialectical Anthropology 12*, no. 3 (1987), p. 349-353.

north. As for the surface of the region, there was no broad consensus; some estimate it to be 250,000 km^2. Iran limits the Gulf with 1300 kilometers of coast, while seven Arab countries occupy two-thirds of its coast with approximately 2200 kilometers on its north-western, western, and southern sides.[105]

What matters is the Western Arab coast, which is the focus of this study, and where we find Kuwait with an independent united geography at the Gulf's head. Bahrain is an archipelago made up of Bahrain Island and around 32 smaller islands off its Western coast, closer to Qatar and the Saudi Eastern region. Qatar is a tiny peninsula in the Gulf, that shares its only land border with Saudi Arabia. While the other seven united emirates have political divisions that do not correspond to geographical origins, the colonization of this region has deteriorated and divided it in order to achieve its economic and strategic interests. In terms of Oman, is located in the Gulf of Oman and is regarded as an extension of the coast.[106]

1.2.2. The Western Presence

Since the 16th century, the Gulf witnessed the arrival of European colonizers. The Portuguese occupied Hormuz and Masqat in 1515, followed by the Dutch, French, British, and the Americans.[107] At first, the competition was purely commercial, but with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, the struggle among the colonizers began

[105]Nawfal, Sayyid . *Al-Khalīj al-'Arabī Aw al-Ḥudūd al-Sharqīyah Lil-Waṭan al-'Arabī (*Beirut: Dar al-Ṭalī'ah for publication and distribution, 1969), p. 17; Al-Tikrītī, brzān . *Al-Ṣirā' al-Dawlī Fī Miṇṭaqat al-Khalīj al-'Arabī Wa-al-Muḥīṭ al-Hindī Wa-Ta'thīruhu 'alá Aqṭār al-Khalīj al-'Arabī, (*Baghdad, 1982), p. 13; Ramaḍānī, R. K., *al-maḍāyiq al-Dawlīyah fī al-'ālam: al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wmḍyq Hurmuz,* Translated by: 'Abd al-Ṣāḥib al-Shaykh, (Basra: Publications of the Center for Arab Gulf Studies, University of Basra, 1984), p. 16; Anṭwān Mattá, *al-Khalīj al-'Arabī: min al-isti'mār al-Barīṭānī ḥattá al-thawrah al-Īrānīyah 1798-1978,* (Beirut: Dar al-Jīl,1993), p. 1; Khan, Mohd Naseem. "The U.S Policy Towards the Persian Gulf: Continuity and Change." *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* XXXV, no. 2 (May 2001). https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/sa/sa_may01khm01.html.

[106] For more detailed information see: Nawfal, Sayyid, *al-Awḍā' al-siyāsīyah li-Imārāt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* (Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifah, 1961), p. 37

[107] For more details, see: Buderi, Charles L.O., and Luciana T. Ricart. "Chapter 5 The Kingdom of Hormuz, Its Conquest by Portugal in 1515 and Portugal's Defeat at the Hands of Persia and Britain in 1622". In *The Iran-UAE Gulf Islands Dispute*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Nijhoff, 2018); J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); The Persian Gulf in History, ed. by Lawrence G. Potter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

to gain areas of influence. Even though the region was part of the Ottoman Empire, Britain considered the region's security to be one of its foreign policy principles because it controlled the direct route to India as part of the security belt imposed by Britain around its colonies to protect the routes leading to them.[108] In the first half of 1820, Britain signed protection conventions (protective treaties or truces) with the local ruling sheikhs, granting these families international legitimacy. However, these conventions with the region's prominent sheikhs and chiefs were similar to peace conditions (terms of surrender); as per the articles of these treaties, they ceased Arab resistance to the British presence in the region, or what Britain called "looting and piracy". As a result, the entire region came under British control, particularly in terms of navigation and trade in the Gulf's waters. It is worth noting that these treaties gave the name "The Trucial States, also known as the Trucial Coast," to what the British called the "Pirate Coast" before and allowed Britain to play the role of protector of the region. Later in 1835, another treaty was issued allowing the British government to intervene in all the internal conflicts as mediators or arbitrators. Many other unequal treaties had been made later, such as those imposed by Britain on the region in 1835, 1841, 1856, and 1862. The British control of the region went on relying on the protection conventions for up to 150 years, during which it dealt with internal security issues and also controlled the region's foreign policies until its withdrawal in 1971.[109]

---

[108] Mehran Kamrava, *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, Published Association With the Center for International and regional studies, Georgetown, School of Foreign Service in Qatar, (New York: Syracuse University Press University, 2011), p. 1-6 (Note: This notion did not appear until the beginning of the 1830s when the English introduced modifications to the idea of defending India). For more detailed information see: Tomanovic Natalia Nikolaevna, *al-Duwal al-Ūrūbbīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī min al-qarn al-sādis 'ashar ilá al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*, translated by Samir Najm al-Dīn sṭās, (Dubai: Jum'ah al-Mājid center for culture and heritage, 2006), p. 259.

[109] for more details see: Amin, Abd al-Amir Muhammad, *British Interests in the Persian Gulf*, (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1967); Al-'Aqqād Ṣalāḥ, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khālīj al-'Arabī : min bidāyat al-'uṣūr al-ḥadīthah ḥattá azmat 1990-1991* (Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1983); Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*; Nikolaevna, al-Duwal al-Ūrūbbīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī min al-qarn al-sādis 'ashar ilá al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar, p. 241-243, 273, 293; Kamrava, Mehran, *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2011), p. 1-6 ; Sirriyeh, Hussein. *U. S. Policy in the Gulf, 1968-1977: Aftermath of British Withdrawal*. Vol. No. 24. (London: Ithaca Press, 1984) p. 1, 5-6

The US trade in the Indian Ocean grew extensively in the first quarter of the 19th century.[110] During Andrew Jackson's presidency (1829–1837), official trade relations had been established with the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in the region through the US and Oman's treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation in 1833 with Oman and East Africa's ruler, Saeed bin Sultan. The treaty allowed US merchants to enter Muscat and its subsidiaries, and the USA appointed consuls in the ports that were under Oman's rule. In addition to signing a trade treaty between the USA and Iran in 1851, i.e., under the US president Millard Fillmore (1850–1853), British diplomats convinced Shah Naser al-Din Shah Qajar's court (1848–1896) to invalidate it due to the menaces triggered by this treaty on the British hegemony in the region, after London recognized the value of Iran as a powerful source of strength in the region in its competition with Russia to gain control over Central Asia. At the end of 1856, Iran re-established its commercial and political relations with the USA after signing a treaty that was like the previous one. [111]

The discovery of oil in the region was the main catalyst for the British existence there. Through the eternal treaties, Britain guaranteed its interests.[112] However, the political map of the world changed after World War II. The offshoots of the war had an impact on changing the status of the great powers in the world. It affected the course of international life through the decline of European influence on the world in general (and of the French and the British in particular), the transfer of power to both the USA and the USSR, and the collapse of the colonial system (powers) on which the European countries relied and built their glory and influence, especially after the emergence of anti-colonial movements and the national liberation movements in the colonies (Asia

[110] For more details on the first contacts that the U.S. had with the Middle East and the Gulf, see: DeNovo, John A. *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963); Field, James A. *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882*. (N.J: Princeton University Press, 1969); Palmer, Michael A., *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1893-1992*, (New York: Macmillan, 1992).
[111] Fain, *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) p. 17; Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf*, p.6-7.
[112] The discovery of oil in Iran in 1908 marked a pivotal moment in the region's history and triggered a series of political and military interventions fueled by the strategic and economic importance of Persian oil, particularly by British and American interests. Capitalizing on this discovery, Burmah Oil established the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) in 1909. Ala, Michael, and Rasoul Sorkhabi. "The Modern Oil Industry in Iran: A Historical Perspective and Review", *Journal of Petroleum Geology*, (December 29, 2023).

and Africa) and the loss of influence by the colonizers after the independence of the colonized.[113] And so, if oil is at the forefront of the factors that highlight the importance of this region, the region's strategic location comes in second place as the factor that gives it its importance. As a result, successive powers of colonization quarrelled over its land throughout the ages, and many people swelled among its inhabitants, influencing its demographic fabric (composition).

Although Britain regarded the Gulf as a closed lake over its influence, the subsequent rise increases in the importance of oil led the United States to compete economically with Britain. This was seen in the US administration's resolute intention to oblige Britain to accept the "open door" policy during 1920's, a principle promoted by US policy in Middle Eastern oil regions between the two world wars. This principle provided for abolishing the monopoly of one state over a certain concession that might be prejudicial to another state. It also established the right of access to the Gulf. Using this principle, the US government was able to guarantee certain US companies the right to exploit oil in both Bahrain and Kuwait, while other US companies exploited (monopolized) oil in Saudi Arabia.[114]

The United States' oil interests in the Gulf extend back to the second and third decades of the twentieth century when American companies obtained significant oil privileges either independently or in conjunction with British oil monopolies. This resulted in widespread American penetration in the area and signalled the beginning of a genuine oil conflict between US and British companies. Following the failure of its oil companies in Saudi Arabia, Britain tried to prevent American companies from entering the Coast region. However, the British were unable to do so after these companies had got privileges (received concessions) in Iraq in 1925, Bahrain in 1930,[115] and Saudi Arabia in 1932–1933 for 66 years through Standard Oil of California (SOCAL), which

---

[113] Qāsim, Jamāl Zakarīyā*, Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir* (5 volumes), (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-ʻArabī, 1996), Vol.3, p.47; Al-Ṣamad, Riyāḍ, *al-ʻAlāqāt al-Dawlīyah fī al-qarn al-ʻishrīn (fatrat mā baʻda al-ḥarb al-ʻĀlamīyah al-thāniyah), (*Beirut: University Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, 1983), vol. 2, p. 60.

[114] Qāsim, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir*, vol. 4, p. 262

[115] Murād, Khalīl ʻAlī, al-Wilāyāt al-Muttaḥidah: al-nafṭ, wa-amn al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-sabʻīnāt, *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī Magazine*, Volume 14, No. 1, (1982), p. 13.

was later called Aramco. and Kuwait in 1933–1934 for 75 years shared with a British company, in the Trucial States during 1935–1938, and then in Iran.

Gulf governments have backed the US oil companies in their competition with other foreign companies.[116] When the British diplomats in the Gulf felt that Qatar's ruler, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Jassim Al Thani (1913-1940/1948-1949), who had signed the 1913 and 1922 oil agreements, might be tempted to satisfy Saudi Arabia by giving the concession right of oil exploitation to the US company operating in Saudi Arabia (Standard of California), the British National Security and Imperial Defence Council held a meeting in London on February 23, 1934, to discuss this "serious matter" and came out with a recommendation that offered guarantees to the Emir of Qatar to protect him from any attacks in return for granting oil concessions to a British company. In this war, Britain was able to prevent US companies from entering Qatar. It later got concessions in Qatar in 1935 for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.[117] This British-American competition for oil went on until the outbreak of WWII, which prompted Washington to pay more importance and attention to the region, especially after knowing the strategic importance of the Gulf, represented in oil, which turned to be a national security issue for the USA rather than just a commercial commodity.[118]

Following the German attacks in July 1941, the United States used the Gulf as an important transit area to transport US supplies to the Red Army and the Soviet Union via Iran, which necessitated a US military presence in the Gulf as part of the Lend-

[116] Murād, Khalīl ʻAlī, *Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1941-1947*, (Basra: University of Basra, 1980), p. 18 ؛ Robert J. Pauly, JR, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf: safeguarding American Interests Through Selective Multilateralism*, (UK: Routledge, 2005), p.33

[117] Ibrāhīm, Ibrāhīm Athar al-nafṭ ʻalá qiyām Dawlat al-Imārāt. In: *al-tajārib al-waḥdawīyah al-ʻArabīyah al-muʻāṣirah: tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah al-Muttaḥidah*, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999), p. 183.

[118] For more details see: Field, *The Merchants: The Big Business Families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*, p. 204-209; Murād, Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1941-1947, p. 196.

Lease policy. Thus, the USA realized the strategic location enjoyed by the Gulf and its effect on the security of the USSR and the world as a whole.[119]

The American administration established a military airbase at Dhahran (Saudi Arabia) in the late 1940s.[120] In relation to the British conventional posture, the US requested approval from the British authorities in the Gulf. However, as time passed, ties worsened and disputes arose, such as the Buraimi dispute in 1945, which was exacerbated by oil company rivalry.[121] Despite the Saudis' refusal to acknowledge the

[119] Luti, William J. "Ends Versus Means: A Critical Analysis of The Persian Gulf Crisis (1987-1988)," PhD dissertation, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1990, p. 13-15; Muḥammad, Jāsim Muḥammad, *man yhdd Amn al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, (*Basra: Arab Gulf studies center, University of Basra, 1982), p.6; Murād, Khalīl ʻAlī, *Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1941-1947*, p. 161-163; Qāsim, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir*, vol.3, p. 47

[120] Prior to the establishment of the Dhahran Air Base in 1943, the US government did not hesitate to extend loans to the Saudi government during the war in response to SOCAL's demand. This was because Saudi Arabia was facing a financial crisis at the time due to a decrease in Saudi oil production on the one hand, and a decrease in the number of pilgrims during the Hajj season on the other. The US government delegated Britain to grant loans to Saudi Arabia in 1941 and 1942 after the formation of what was called "the Persian Gulf Command." Therefore, the US sent an envoy to Jeddah in 1941 and then established its embassy in Riyadh, making it the first complete diplomatic envoy to the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. This pre-existing relationship culminated in the pivotal meeting between King Abdul Aziz Al Saud and President Franklin D. Roosevelt aboard the U.S.S. Quincy in February 1945. This wartime summit, the first between a US President and a Saudi Arabian monarch, solidified the budding US-Saudi relationship. While discussions reportedly covered a range of topics, including the future of Palestine and regional security, a key outcome was the tacit understanding of guaranteed US access to Saudi oil reserves in exchange for American support for the Kingdom's security. For more information see: Halliday, Fred. *Arabia Without Sultans*. (England: Penguin Books, 1974), p.50; Al-ʻAqqād Ṣalāḥ, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khālīj al-ʻArabī*, p.376; Al-Shalaq, Aḥmad Zakarīyā wa ʻaqyl, Muṣṭafá wa shahdād, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad wa al-ʻabdāllh Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī li-Duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabīyah al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir, (*Doha: Renauld modern printing press, 2005), p. 119; Ḥāmid, Raʾūf ʻAbbās, "Amrīkā wa-al-ʻArab : Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī- al-ḥarb al-ʻĀlamīyah al-thāniyah", *Al- Mustakbal Al-Arabi magazine*, Issue 29, (1981), p. 64; Qāsim, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir,* p. 362-363; Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945, The Near East and Africa, Volume VIII Document 2, Memorandum of Conversation Between the King of Saudi Arabia (Abdul Aziz Al Saud) and President Roosevelt, February 14, 1945, Aboard the U.S.S. “Quincy”, February 14, 1945.

[121]The major local disputes were settled in the first four years after "the British Withdrawal from the Persian Gulf." The Buraimi Oasis conflict was resolved between Saudi Arabia and Oman, and later between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi, in July 1974. The Buraimi Oasis had been a disputed area among tribes in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula for many years. In 1952, Saudi Arabia claimed it and sent troops through Abu Dhabi to take control. However, Saudi Arabia withdrew due to international pressure, blockade, and military operations by local forces after establishing a police station there. In 1955, Abu Dhabi and Oman removed the Saudi police with British political and military assistance. After that, Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi both claimed Buraimi, which comprised eight small villages distributed between the Abu Dhabi sheikhdom (six villages) and Oman (two villages). These villages were under British protection. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976 Volume XXIV Middle East Region and Arabian Peninsula, 1969–1972; Jordan, September 1970, Document72, March 11, 1969,72. Memorandum of Conversation, Afternoon Session

links between its demands and oil interests, Aramco was the driving force behind Saudi Arabia's regional claims. The United States Administration backed Saudi Arabia in this issue and justified its position that Saudi Arabia is a big state whose presence helps to bring stability to the region better than the sheikhdoms, especially in the case of the Soviets creeping into the region. On the other hand, Britain supported Muscat and the other sheikhs owing to its big shares in the Iraqi Oil Company, which had the right to prospect for oil in those emirates. [122]

After the United States' dependence on Gulf oil increased, it became important for the United States to maintain a diplomatic presence in the region. [123] In 1933, the Americans established diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia. In 1944, the United States set up an embassy in Jeddah and a consulate in Dhahran. Furthermore, the USA and UK shared concerns about regional security, oil exports and imports, sustainable development, and the two sides' long-term economic and security relations; the United States dispatched a training military mission to Dhahran in 1953. In terms of US-Kuwaiti diplomatic relations, the US consulate in Kuwait was inaugurated in October 1951; it later was upgraded to an embassy after Kuwait's independence from Britain in 1961.[124]

World War II significantly weakened Britain's dominance in the Middle East. This created an opening for the United States, which gradually became more involved in the region after the war.[125] However, despite this increased US presence, the US

Washington, March 11, 1969, p. 232; Holden, David. "The Persian Gulf: After the British Raj." *Foreign Affairs* 49, no. 4 (July 1971), p. 726-727; Sirriyeh, *U. S. Policy in the Gulf, 1968-1977*, p.11

[122] Al-'Aqqād Ṣalāḥ, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khālīj al-'Arabī*, p. 410.

[123] Securing the vital interests of the US was no longer the mission of US companies alone. These companies exerted pressure on the US administration, represented by the US State Department, to intervene in oil affairs. Consequently, an agency called "The Strategic Petroleum Reserve" was established to secure US control over oil reserves worldwide, in quantities that would ensure future needs. The USA became the main player in oil production, exploitation, extraction, and commercialization in the region. The US government's investments in the region's oil industry account for two-thirds (2/3) of its direct and special investments in the Middle East. See: Shukr, Zuhayr, *al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī "Mabda' Carter*,(Beirut: The Arab Development Institute,1982), p.19-21

[124] "Kuwait: Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy." Congressional Research Service, May 12, 2021. https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RS21513.pdf

[125] Al-'Aqqād Ṣalāḥ, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khālīj al-'Arabī*, p. 407.

government initially viewed much of the Middle East, with some exceptions like Palestine and Saudi Arabia, as an area where Britain held the primary political and strategic responsibilities.[126] Additionally, their decision to halt aid to Greece and Turkey further highlighted their diminishing power. As a result, Britain turned its attention inward to addressing domestic issues. This created a vacuum that the United States eventually filled, emerging as the dominant Western power in the strategically important Gulf region.[127]

In examining Western presence and oil discoveries in the Gulf, this section aims to examine their impact, particularly in the later period linked to oil, on political awareness in the region. It offers a new perspective that views historical events previously seen as spontaneous as expressions of political awareness. This perspective analyzes, for example, "looting and piracy" in the Gulf as a form of political resistance, drawing on the work of Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb. He argues that British sources labelled local resistance against European imperialism and economic hegemony as "piracy." This deliberate conflation served to legitimize British imperial objectives by providing a pretext for quelling local Arabic resistance.[128]

Moreover, after the discovery of oil, politically aware labor movements actively mobilized against Western oil companies in the region. At the same time, Marxist ideologies gained traction among the workers in these oil companies, adding a dimension of ideological resistance to the broader socio-political landscape.

Therefore, tracing the Western presence and its associated oil history becomes crucial in attempting to explain the transformation of political awareness in the region, with a specific focus on Kuwait. This narrative aligns with broader global trends, such as the emergence of anti-colonial and national liberation movements in Asian and African colonies, leading to a decline in influence by colonizers following the independence of these territories.

---

[126] Al-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd, *al-ahammīyah al-Istirātījīyah lil-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1988), p. 71-98

[127] Pauly, *JR, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf*, p. 3

[128] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtamaʻ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah*, p. 48-89

1.2.3. A Brief Note on Nomenclature "The Gulf"

As for the nomenclature of the Gulf, which has a long controversy, Professor Rouhollah K. Ramazani believes that only from the beginning of the 1960s, the Arabs started using the term "Arabian Gulf" rather than "the Persian Gulf"; [129] in line with the national Arab flux in that era,[130] though the Gulf had historically had various names such as "the land of the sea," "the lower sea," or "the bitter sea," as in the ancient ages, as indicated by the Akkadian engravings. Seemingly, it was Alexander the Great who gave it the name "Persian Gulf," because the fleet that was sent by the Macedonian emperor did not reach the east coast of the Gulf; thus, the Arab coast remained unknown to him. In the first century C.E., the Romanian historian "Pliny" called the Gulf "the Arabian Gulf."[131]

The Gulf's names have changed throughout history, ranging from the Gulf of Bahrain, the Gulf of Oman, and the Gulf of Qatif to the Gulf of Basra, which dates back to the "Islamic conquest" period until the Ottoman Era.[132] However, even in modern history, the names have varied between Arabian and Persian, with some historians calling it the Arabian Gulf and others the Persian Gulf. Since 1507, the British have used the term "Persian Gulf" in their correspondence, as have the Arabs in their communication with the British.[133] Until the twentieth century, when the English historian Roderic

---

[129] Ramaḍānī, R. K., *al-maḍāyiq al-Dawlīyah fī al-ʻālam*, p. 15.

[130] Qāsim, Jamāl, *al-ʻAlāqāt bayna Īrān wa-duwal Majlis al-Taʻāwun,* Nadwat Naḥwa Āfāq jadīdah lil-ʻalāqāt bayna duwal Majlis al-Taʻāwun al-Khalījī wa-Īrān : al-mustajaddāt al-iqlīmīyah wa-al-dawlīyah wa-mutaṭallabāt al-taghyīr, 15-17 May 1999, 02 volumes, (Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Islands studies center, Kuwait University, 2000), p. 253

[131] See: Qalʻajī, Qadrī, *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī Baḥr al-asāṭīr,* (Beirut: Publications Company for distribution and publication, 1992), p. 7-24

[132] For more information on the Ottoman Empire in the Gulf region, see: Casale, Giancarlo, "The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-century Red Sea and Persian Gulf", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, (2, 2006), p. 170-198; Farah, Caesar E. "Anglo-Ottoman Confrontation in the Persian Gulf in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 33*, (2003), p. 117–32; Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf;* Salih Özbaran, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion*; Kurşun, Zekeriya, *Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanli Hakimiyeti: Vehhabi Hareketi ve Suud Devleti'nin Ortaya Çıkışı*; Zekeriya Kurşun, *Katar'da Osmanlılar 1871-1916: Basra Körferzi'nde Osmanlı – İngiliz Çekişmesi*.

[133] Al-ʻAjamī, Ẓāfir Muḥammad, *Amn al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, taṭawwuruh wa-ishkālīyātuh min manẓūr al-ʻAlāqāt al-iqlīmīyah wa-al-dawlīyah, (*Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2006), p. 46-47.

Owen visited the Gulf and authored a book on it called "The Golden Bubble: The Arabian Gulf Documentary" in 1957, [134] he mistook it for the Persian Gulf because only the term "Persian Gulf" appeared on maps. This led him to assume that maps needed to be updated, prompting him to refer to the Gulf in his book as "The Arabian, not the Persian." [135].

In contemporary times, Arab-Iranian relations are highly related to the toponymy of the Persian Gulf, reflecting the symbolism of this confrontation. Since the 1960s, some Arab countries have disputed the 600-mile-long body of water located between Iran and the Arabian Peninsula, resulting in the terms Arabian Gulf (الخليج العربي) or Arab Gulf to refer to this inland sea. The first initiator in renaming this region was Charles Belgrave.[136] He was the first westerner to use and advocate the name "Arabian Gulf" and was the one who suggested to the British parliament and Arab rulers that the geographical name of the " Persian Gulf" be changed to "Arabian Gulf."[137]

According to the viewpoint of the Arabs, "Arabian Gulf" gets its name from the fact that more Arab countries are surrounding it (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates); the name "Persian Gulf" is linked to the Persian Empire, which does not exist anymore; the people who live around the gulf are mostly Arabs, so by virtue of demography it should be called the Arabian Gulf.[138]

The ongoing debate regarding the Arabness of the Gulf is intricately linked to the transformation of political awareness in the region. Sultan Al-Qasimi's work illuminates the historical evolution of the Gulf's nomenclature, highlighting that Arabs traditionally used "Persian Gulf" until the 1950s. Notably, Iran's insistence on this term was perceived by Arabs as a tool for legitimizing its regional power aspirations, ultimately triggering a shift in nomenclature. Notably, an article in al-Īmān magazine in 1953 expressed early opposition to some Arab authors using "Persian Gulf," arguing

[134] For more details see: Owen, Roderic, *The Golden Bubble: Arabian Gulf Documentary*, (London: Collins, 1957).

[135] Qal'ajī, *al-Khalīj al-'Arabī Baḥr al-asāṭīr*, p. 7-24

[136]A British adviser to the rulers of Bahrain from 1926 until 1957.

[137] Levinson, Martin H. "Mapping the Persian Gulf Naming Dispute." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 68, no. 3 (2011): 279–87.

[138] Ibid

for "Arabian Gulf" based on the longer Arabic coastline and predominantly Arab inhabitants, including those on the eastern coast.[139] This point predates the full influence of Nasserism in the region. While some sources attribute the shift to the rise of Nasserism in the Arab world, the post-World War II era already witnessed the emergence of pan-Arabism and heightened political tensions between Iran and Arab states, intensifying the contest over the Gulf's name. President Gamal Abdel Nasser's prominent pan-Arab campaign in the 1950s further fueled the shift, advocating for the "Arabian Gulf" or "Arab Gulf" to counter Iranian influence. By 1968, all Arab states, including the nascent Gulf entities, solidified this transition by enacting laws mandating the use of "Arabian Gulf" in official communications.[140]

This linguistic and political transformation reflects a deepening political awareness in the Gulf region. The debates on the naming of the Gulf became a manifestation of broader geopolitical dynamics and nationalistic sentiments. The insistence on specific terminology is a symbolic expression of regional rivalry, and it underscores the complexities that political awareness introduces into identity and geopolitical discourse in the Gulf.

1.2.4. Kuwait: An Overview of its Geography and History

Kuwait is located in western Asia. It is located at the tip of the Gulf on the northern edge of Eastern Arabia, between longitudes 46° and 49° E. and latitudes 28° and 30° N. With an approximate total land area of 17.818 Km2.[141] Kuwait shares a 495 km border with Saudi Arabia to the south and 195 km with Iraq to the north and west. It has a hyper-arid desert climate with hot and dry desert lands. As for the city of Kuwait, its

[139] Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April 1953, year 1. P. 283
[140] Al-Qasimi, Sultan bin Muhammad, *Power struggles and trade in the Gulf 1620-1820*, (Durham theses, Durham University, 1999). Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9521/, p. 17; Bosworth, C. Edmund. "The Nomenclature of the Persian Gulf." *Iranian Studies* 30, no. 1/2 (1997): 77–94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311029; Potter, Lawrence G. "Introduction", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, ed. Lawrence G. Potter, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 15-16.
[141] Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, *min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1986), p. 85.

establishment date is unknown. However, it was historically part of the Bani Khalid tribal territory in Al-Ahsa region, and many sources disagreed on its origin date.[142]

As to the reason for its name, Al Rashid points out that it is the diminutive form of the Arabic word "Kut," meaning "fortress built near water," [143] which was explained by Al-Ab Anastas Mari Al-Karmali [144] in an article in a Beirut magazine named Al Mashriq in 1904 by saying that Kuwait is the diminutive of Kut, which is in the southern Iraqi dialect, and it is the house built as a citadel with a weak fortification that can be used as a shelter in need; it is not called so unless it is near water.[145]

Abu-Hakima went on to say that the old name of Kuwait, especially in Western sources, is associated with the name "Al-Qurain," meaning "the hill" or "highland." He used old maps as a reference, such as Niebuhr's (1733-1815), the Danish cartographer, who drew the map of the region and placed the name "Al-Qurain" in its northwest corner of the Gulf associated with "Kuwait" in 1765 after he had passed through the region on his way back from his journey from Bombay to Europe passing through Muscat, Bushehr, and Basra. However, he recognized that a navigational map made by a Dutch traveler whose map was older than Niebuhr's, dating back to the mid-seventeenth century, also included the name "Al-Qurain." Thus, he states that Kuwait

---

[142] For more information on the conflicting views regarding setting a fixed date for Kuwait's establishment, please see: Abū Ḥākimah, Muṣṭafá Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965)*, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1984), p. 17-18; al-Shaykh Khaz'al, Ḥusayn. *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī,* part 01, vol. 05. (Beirut: Dar al-Hilāl, 1962), p. 37; Al-Qinā'ī, Yūsuf ibn 'Īsá. *Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt,* vol. 05. (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1987), p. 15-16; al-Ḥātim, 'Abd Allāh. *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, (*Lebanon: The Modern Printing House, n.d.), p. 362-364.

[143]"Al-Kut" is a well-known term in Iraq, Najd, and the surrounding Arab and some non-Arab regions. It has spread so widely that it has many derivatives from the original Arabic word, such as the diminutive form "Kuwait," the plural form "Akwat," and others. The diminutive form was given to a city on the shores of the Arabian Gulf. In their culture, the term refers to a square house that is built for a specific purpose, such as a fort or citadel. Small houses are then built around it to allow ships to dock and receive coal, food supplies, and anything else they may need for their journeys. The term is only given to what is built near the water, whether it be a sea, river, or swamp. The term may also be given to a little river. In addition to this, Kuwait has been referred to as Al Qarin and Kazma (Kadhima or Kāẓimah). Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965),* p. 18; Al-Shamlān, *min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 85; Al-Rashīd, 'Abd-al-'Azīz. *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*. Edited by Ya'qūb 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Rashīd. (Beirut: Maktabat al-ḥayāh house, n.d), p. 32-37.

[144]Al-Ab Anastas Mari Al-Karmali, Anastas the Carmelite, (1866 –1947). Haywood, John A., *Arabic lexicography*, (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 91

[145]Al Mashriq Magazine, 7th year, 10th issue, May 15, 1904, pp. 449-450. https://archive.alsharekh.org/MagazinePages/MagazineBook/AL_Machriq/AL_Machriq_7/Issue_10/index.html

had been known since the early seventeenth century, not the eighteenth century, as determined by the documents of The English East India Company. He adds that after that period, the name Kuwait prevailed and had been used instead of "Al-Qurain."[146]

In the same context, Husain Khalaf Al Shaikh Khazal says that the fortress or citadel from which the name came had been established near the coast in the seventeenth century by Mohammed Bin Arier, the Emir of Bani Khaled, as a depot for supplies and ammunition, and was later gifted to Al Sabah when they came to Kuwait.[147]

As for the Kuwaiti mainland, it is made up of sand plains with some hills, [148] in addition to the existence of the Kuwaiti highlands such as Jal Az-Zor, which are made of limestone and sandstone and extend from northeast to southwest near Al Jahra village.[149] Then there are the Jal al Liyah ridges, which are longer and larger than Jal Az-Zor. Furthermore, there are nine islands,[150] with the largest being Bubiyan Island, which is separated from the Kuwait mainland and located on the northwest side of the Gulf. It controls the route to the port of Umm Qasr in Iraqi territory.[151]

Despite its strategic location, which made it an area of great importance, Kuwait lacked the economic resources to sustain life in the pre-oil era. This was due to the scarcity of water and soil saturated with salts, the hot and dry climate, and the infrequency of rainfall, which did not support agriculture and limited grazing to a small scale, primarily practiced by nomads. There was nothing to attract residents except the significance of their excellent marine location. Therefore, Kuwaitis relied on the sea

---

[146] Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965),* p. 17-18.
[147] Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 32.
[148]Maḥmūd Shākir. *Shibh Jazīrat al-'Arab al-iḥsā'- al-Kuwayt - ālbaḥryn- qaṭar,* (Beirut: The Islamic Office, 1981), p. 129.
[149]Al-Jahrā' is a large village located 18 miles away from Kuwait City. It is the most important agricultural area in Kuwait, with fresh wells providing water for irrigation. Before the advent of Islam, it was inhabited and known for its flourishing trade. During the Mubarak Al-Sabah era (1896-1915), it had almost 200 houses and a population estimated at 800 inhabitants, who primarily worked in farming. Al-Shaykh Khaz'al. *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī*, p. 25
[150]The most important of these islands are Faylakā, Bubiyan, Warbah, Miskan, Umm an Namil, Umm al Maradim, and Qaruh. John Gordon Lorimer. *Al-Kuwayt fī Dalīl al-Khalīj*. Vol. 2 of Al-Safar Al-Jughrāfī. (Kuwait: Al-Rubay'ān Company for Publication and Distribution, 1981), vol. 2, p. 33
[151]Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Ghunaym. *Dawlat al-Kuwayt al-Amākin wa-al-Ma'ālim*. (Kuwait: Kuwaiti Research and Studies Center, 2004), p.13

as a source of livelihood through pearl diving, fishing, maritime trade, shipbuilding, and fishing net production.[152] Pearl diving was the most crucial activity in Kuwait before the discovery of oil. The diving season lasted for four months from June to September each year. Prior to the season, the divers had to provide the necessary food and supplies for their families before leaving, resulting in a recession until the end of the diving season.[153] Thus, the trade movement used to flourish during that period. After the discovery of artificial pearls in Japan in the early 1930s and the emergence of oil, natural pearls in Kuwait became recessive, and most of the divers moved to the oil industry, resulting in a diminished role of pearl diving as a major commercial source in Kuwait.[154]

Due to its location, Kuwait became a route to the northern edge of Eastern Arabia and the southern gate of Iraq. Moreover, its strategic importance made it an aquatic entity linked to the outside world because of its navigational location on the one hand, and its climate, flat surface, and oil availability on the other.[155] Furthermore, it is characterized by a continental desert climate; summers are very hot, with temperatures reaching 48°C during the day, and it is moderate in winter.[156]

During the era of Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah (1896-1915), trade flourished as he secured commercial routes and imposed law, security, and stability in the chiefdom/ Sheikhdom. This encouraged traders from Persia, Najd, and Iraq to migrate to Kuwait,

---

[152] al-Rumayḥī. *Al-Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimā'ī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī* p. 49; (Majallat al-Kuwayt) Kuwait Magazine, issue 323, 1 July 1977, p. 16

[153] Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, *Tārīkh al-ghawṣ 'alá al-Lu'lu' fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-'Arabī (*Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1978); John Gordon Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī,* trans. Office of the Emir of Qatar, vol. 6, (Doha, 1967), p. 3198; Abdul Rahman, L. "The Influence of Oil on the Kuwaiti Economic Development (1967-1972)." *Journal Of Historical and Cultural Studies* 7, no. 22 (2019): 337–267.

[154] Sir Robert Hay. *Duwal Al-Khalīj al-Fārisī.* Translated by Yūsuf al-Shārūnī. (Cairo: Supreme Council of Culture, 2004), p. 114; Shalaby, Marwa. "Women's Political Representation, in *Kuwait: An Untold Story."* A Report by the Women's Rights in the Middle East Program. (Houston: James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, 2015), p. 4 (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327945530_Women's_Political_Representation_in_Kuwait_An_Untold_Story)

[155] For more on Kuwait's geography see: al-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd, *Al-jughrāfīyah al-tārīkhīyah lil-Kuwayt, (*Kuwait,1972), p. 135-136.

[156]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá dhahabīyah*, jughrāfīyat al-waṭan al-'Arabī,* (Amman: Arab society Library for Publishing & Distribution, 2010), p. 134.

which led to a commercial boom and more attention to the shipping industry.[157] In addition to trade, Kuwait emerged as a highly thriving shipbuilding industry. Kuwaitis used to import timber from India and East Africa, and the vessels produced were of different sizes. Some worked in Kuwait's regional territorial waters, particularly in pearl diving and fishing, [158] while others were traded far out to sea. Among the most prominent types of vessels were Al-baghlah, Al-boum, Shu'ai, and Sanbuk. In addition to shipbuilding, other crafts such as carpentry, sewing, welding, copper utensil manufacturing, gold and silver manufacturing, soap manufacturing, and other traditional crafts were crucial for the locals, despite their simplicity.[159]

Due to Kuwait's desert location, agriculture was very limited. The arable area was small, and wells were scarce and subject to drought. Agriculture was limited to a few places, with only a 0.03% contribution to the domestic product.[160] Al Jahra and Faylakā Island [161] were among the main agricultural places supplying Kuwait with some kinds of vegetables, wheat, barley, and dates. Farmers did not own the land; rather, they used it and owned the crops, of which some were given as a tax to the landowner.[162] Moreover, cattle ranching was limited to nomads due to the nature of the desert, the lack of rainfall, and the lack of cultivated land. As a result, Bedouins had to work in diving until the rainy season to return to herding and cattle ranching to feed their animals.[163]

The geographical characteristics of Kuwait mentioned in this section, including its strategic location, its history of pearl diving and shipbuilding, and its proximity to major maritime trade routes, have played a significant role in shaping the region's

---

[157] Al-Jāsim, Najāt ʻAbd-al-Qādir. *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn,* (Kuwait, 1997), p. 193.
[158] Al-Tamīmī , ʻAbd āl-Mālik Khalaf, *Abḥāth fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt,* (Kuwait: Qirṭās house for publication, 1998,) p. 94.
[159] Al-Jāsim, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn,* p. 194
[160] A-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd, *al-tanmiyah al-zirāʻīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* Scientific series published by the Research and Translation Unit, (Geography Department, Kuwait University, 1983), p. 188.
[161] Faylakā Island is a sparsely populated island located approximately 18 miles from Kuwait. It is almost 7 miles long and 3 miles wide and features farms and gardens. The island's inhabitants work in fishing and farming, and many vegetables are planted there. See: Muṣṭafá, ʻUmar Dhīb. *Jazīrat Filkā: Dirāsah iqlīmīyah.* (Kuwait: The Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences. 1988), p. 33.
[162] Al-Tamīmī , *Abḥāth fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 96
[163] Al-Jāsim, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbay, p.*194

political landscape and contributing to the transformation of political awareness. Kuwait's maritime location and reliance on maritime trade fostered interactions with diverse populations and cultures, exposing its inhabitants to new ideas and perspectives. As Kuwait transitioned from a traditional pearl-diving economy to an oil-based economy, its political awareness was further heightened by the influx of foreign workers and the resulting exposure to new ideas and cultures.

The next chapter will examine specific factors, including geographical location, that have contributed to the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait, providing a nuanced understanding of the region's political development.

1.2.5. The House of Al-Sabah and the Establishment of the Political System in Kuwait

This section focuses on the history of Al-Sabah family and the establishment of the political system in Kuwait due to its importance in understanding the transformation of political awareness in the region. The inception of the political system in Kuwait dates back to an early period, and investigating this matter is deemed imperative for understanding how these events shaped the current political structure. The historical accounts used in this section illustrate how Kuwait pioneered in establishing a relatively stable political system, significantly contributing to the unique contours of political awareness. This analysis constitutes a crucial stride in comprehending the authentic essence of the political system and authoritarian governments in the region, along with their impact on political awareness and movements. This critical examination sets the stage for an in-depth exploration of these themes in the upcoming chapter entitled "The Nature of the Political System."

Kuwait emerged as a prominent commercial hub in the northwestern Gulf region during the seventeenth century, coinciding with the migration of a tribal confederation known as the "Utub" or the Bani Utbah from Najd to the oasis region of Hasa in Eastern Arabia. [164] From Hasa, they proceeded to the Qatar Peninsula and established

[164] Al Sabah family is widely regarded as the founder of the modern ruling system in Kuwait. The rulers of this dynasty belong to the Anza Arabic tribe, which is descended from the Adnanites tribe Rabi'ah. The Anza tribe, like many other Arabic tribes, is divided into several branches, one of which

themselves near a fortress called "Kut," which was under the control of the Bani Khaled tribe.[165] Some Utub settled in Khor Al-Sabiyah,[166] while others chose Abadan as their abode, and some were exiled near Basra. The Sabah family, along with Al Khalifa and Al Jalahma families, initially established themselves in Umm Qasr near Shatt Al Arab. However, they were eventually expelled from the area by the Ottoman authorities. They then embarked on a southward journey until they arrived in Kuwait and sought permission from the Bani Khaled rulers of Al-Hasa to settle there in 1715-1716, which was granted.[167] The Utub agreed to a joint management system for their affairs, sharing the profits accordingly, with Al-Sabah entrusted with governance, Khalifa overseeing finance and trade, and Jalahma managing maritime activities.[168] Upon settling in Kuwait, the Utub families engaged in diverse economic pursuits, including commerce, pearl diving, and maritime trade, leading to a flourishing

---

is the Utub alliance. Originally located in Najd in the center of the Arabian Peninsula, they moved to the Arabian Gulf Coasts at the beginning of the 18th century, eventually settling in Al Qarin (South Kuwait) before dispersing in 1714. There are several versions of the story behind their migration. Some believe that it was due to a drought that struck their region, forcing them to leave their lands and seek a better life elsewhere. Others believe that a conflict between the Utub members and their Anazzah cousins, who sought the support of the Dawasir tribe, resulted in the Utub leaving Najd. Still others maintain that they left due to their strong desire to settle down independently. John Gordon Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj : al-qism al-jughrāfī,* trans. (Office of the Emir of Qatar, vol. 1, Doha, 1975), p. 107; Al-Ṣāliḥ, Nūrīyah Muḥammad Nāṣir, *ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah bi-Sharq al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-ʻIrāq al-ʻUthmānī 1866-1902,* (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1977), p. 15; Al-Najjār, Muṣṭafá ʻAbd-al-Qādir , *Al-tārīkh al-siyāsī li-ʻalāqāt al-ʻIrāq al-Dawlīyah bi-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī dirāsah wathā'iqīyah fī al-tārīkh al-dawlī (*Basra: University of Basra Press, 1975), p. 21

[165] Bani Khalid is an Arab tribal confederation whose ancestry comes from the "The Adnanites" Arabs of the North and Adan coasts. It is one of the oldest and strongest Arab tribes that took over Al Ahsa, Al-Qatif, and neighboring regions. They had a significant influence in the Arabian Peninsula from the mid-seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth century when the Wahhabis overthrew their rule. See: Al-Khālidī, Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Qabīlat Banī Khālid fī al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, (*Beirut: Al-Dar Al-Arabia for encyclopedias, 2010).

[166] Subiya (Al-Subiyah) is located in the northeast, next to the southwestern side of Bubiyan Island. Sheikh Youssef Al Ibrahim built a palace there, and it thrived on palm tree cultivation during Sheikh Abdullah II Sabah's rule. Some accounts suggest that Utub were expelled from the region in response to the orders of the Ottoman governor (متسلم) of Basra, after they had looted the incoming caravans to Basra and in Shatt-Al-Arab. However, Ahmad Mustafa Abu-Hakima disagrees with this information and considers it to be an exaggeration, as Utub did not come to Kuwait in one block. Some families came first before the others joined, and Al-Sabah and Al-Khalifa had not yet emerged as leaders of their groups. Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965),* p. 24

[167] Ahmad Mustafa Abu-Hakima disagrees with this information and considers it to be a sort of exaggeration, as Utub did not come to Kuwait in one block. Some families came first before the others joined, and Al-Sabah and Al-Khalifa had not yet emerged as leaders of their groups. Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965),* p. 25; Al-Anṣārī, Jalāl Khālid al-Hārūn, *Tārīkh ʻArab al-Huwalah wāl'twb, (*Beirut: Al-Dar Al-Arabia for encyclopedias), p. 294.

[168] Yāghī, Ismāʻīl Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir, (*Kuwait: al-ʻabikān Bookshop, 2000), p. 94; Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn Shams al-Dīn Najm, *Tārīkh al-ʻArab al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir,* (Amman: Dar al-Masīrah house, 2011), p. 359

economy and a surge in the local population.[169] They later dispatched an envoy to the Ottoman authority in Basra to clarify that their migration from Najd was driven solely by economic motives.[170]

Kuwait's defining feature was its robust economic structure, which spurred the migration of various groups to the countryside (Badia) and neighboring regions. The country's coastline transformed the sea into a vital economic resource, ensuring production through activities such as pearl diving and maritime trade. The reliance on these activities for sustenance gave rise to crucial professions within society, including sailing, shipbuilding, and pearl trading. This economic hierarchy led to the formation of social strata, determining an individual's status based on their wealth and occupation. This played a pivotal role in shaping the economic and political elite, who actively participated in governance and public affairs. This served as the primary principle for the ruler after the local society chose "Sabah I bin Jaber Al Sabah" (1752-1762) as their leader.[171] Furthermore, this elite provided the ruler with the necessary funds to manage societal affairs in exchange for consultation, a concept termed the "corporate governance formula" by Ghanim Al-Najjar.[172] The prevailing system was anchored in consultation (Shura) between the ruler and representatives of the people (the notables). It possessed a familial character, as the ruler sought counsel from these representatives in all matters concerning his town.[173]

Sheikh Sabah bin Jaber was selected to assume leadership in accordance with Arab tribal traditions, which were deeply embedded in Kuwaiti culture. His choice was primarily driven by his constant presence in and around Kuwait, attributable to his engagement in land-based activities, while most of the population was engaged in maritime pursuits, often leading to prolonged absences.[174] This circumstance enabled the Sabah family to establish sole control over Kuwait following the departure of Al

[169] Al-Ghanīm, Ya'qūb Yūsuf , *al-Kuwayt 'abra al-qurūn*, (al-Amal library, 2001), p. 48
[170] Aḥmad Shaḥādhah Muḥammad 'Alī, Al-tajribah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt dirāsah fī ḍaw' al-azamāt al-dustūrīyah, *Journal of International Politics*, Cairo, Issue 30, (March 2016), p. 80
[171] Barrāk, Wāthiq Muḥammad, *Ṣun' al-qarār al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt, (*Mosul: Regional Studies Center, University of Mosul, 2010), p. 247
[172] Al-Najjār, Ghānim, *madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, Vol. 01, (Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1995), p.9; Alnajjar, "The Challenges Facing Kuwaiti Democracy." p. 242–258.
[173] Muḥammad 'Alī, Al-tajribah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt dirāsah fī ḍaw' al-azamāt al-dustūrīyah, p. 80.
[174] Al-Qinā'ī, *Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Kuway*, p. 8

Khalifa and Jalahma families to Bahrain and Qatar, respectively.[175] The preoccupation of regional powers with addressing internal instability provided a conducive environment for the Sabah family and their allies to establish a firm foothold in Kuwait. Additionally, the withdrawal of Portuguese from the Gulf in the mid-seventeenth century, accompanied by a decline in their influence, paved the way for Al-Sabah to consolidate their rule and establish stability. The turmoil that engulfed the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the eighteenth century, coupled with the disunity among its constituent states, further facilitated Kuwait's ability to maintain its autonomy. Furthermore, the outbreak of a devastating plague in Basra, which led to widespread death and destruction, prompted a wave of immigration to Kuwait, further bolstering its population.[176] Finally, the weakening of the Bani Khaled tribe, resulting from internal power struggles, provided an opportunity for Al-Sabah to assert their dominance.[177] With the establishment of stability and the consolidation of their position, Kuwait embarked on a period of flourishing in various aspects. Its strategic location and the predominance of pearl diving and maritime trade between India and the Arabian Peninsula transformed Kuwait into a vital trading hub in the northern Gulf region. As a consequence, Kuwait emerged as a prominent port for both the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq.[178]

Recognizing the mutual benefits, the ruler forged an alliance with the merchant class, fostering a symbiotic relationship that served the interests of both parties. During this era, the ruler sought counsel from the merchants prior to making any significant decisions, effectively limiting his absolute authority. This collaborative approach was exemplified by Sheikh Abdullah I bin Sabah Al-Sabah (1776-1814), the second Kuwaiti ruler, who steadfastly adhered to the principle of consultation, never making

[175] Al-Ḥamadī Ṣabrī Fāliḥ, Al-quwá al-qabalīyah fī Qaṭar wa-atharuhā fī nushū' al-Imārah 1700-1868, *The Journal of the Faculty of Basic Education*, Mustansiriyah university, vol. 19, issue 81, (2015), p. 94.
[176] Al-Qaḥṭānī, 'Abd-al-Qādir Ḥammūd, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir*, (Qatar: National Council for Culture, Arts & Heritage, 2008), p. 73
[177] Al-Ṣabāḥ, Maymūnah al-Khalīfah, Al-istiqrār Ẓāhira siyāsīyah hāmmah fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth, *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, issue 17, (May 1992), p. 140
[178] al-'Aydarūs, Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir*, (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ḥadīth, 2002), p. 11

decisions without the consent of his merchant advisors.[179] Sheikh Abdullah I's reign was marked by external threats, particularly the looming danger of an attack by the Banu Ka'b tribe. In response to this impending threat, he undertook the construction of the first wall around his chiefdom, safeguarding its security. Britain, recognizing Kuwait's strategic importance, made repeated attempts to establish a protectorate over the territory, proposing to extend its protection to Kuwait in exchange for various concessions. However, both Sheikh Abdullah I and his successor, Sheikh Jaber bin Abdullah (1814-1859), firmly rejected these overtures.[180] Sheikh Jaber's unwavering stance was encapsulated in his declaration, "The Ottomans are our neighbors and all that we need comes from Basra, which has the command and control."[181] Despite Britain's persistent efforts, which included offering to allow Kuwaiti ships to transport goods from Indian ports, Sheikh Jaber remained steadfast in his refusal. When Britain's attempts to impose protection proved fruitless, they sought permission to supply their ships anchored in Kuwaiti ports. Again, Sheikh Jaber refused, and in a final attempt, Britain requested that the ruler prevent any other party from establishing a foothold in Kuwait. While the ruler agreed to this request, he refrained from providing any written commitment. [182]

During the reign of Sheikh Sabah II bin Jaber Al-Sabah (1859-1866), Kuwait's trade experienced a period of remarkable growth, further cementing the influence of merchants on the ruler's decision-making process. When the ruler proposed the introduction of taxes on transit goods, the merchant class vehemently opposed the decision, declaring, "We will not accept the imposition of levies on our goods, a practice that neither your father nor your grandfather pursued. If you require financial assistance, we are prepared to provide it." Consequently, the ruler heeded their objections and rescinded the proposed tax.[183] This period marked the genesis of what

[179] Ḥabīb, ʻAzīz Muḥammad, *al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī min al-Khalīj ilá al-muḥīṭ,* (Cairo: Anglo- Egyptian Bookshop, 1971), p. 150
[180] Al-Turkī, Yūsuf ʻAbd al-Muḥsin, *Lamaḥāt min Māḍī al-Kuwayt,* (n.d. 1979), p. 17-18; Al-Shihāb Yūsuf , *al-Kuwayt ʻabra al-tārīkh,* (n.d., 1992), p. 28-29
[181] Al-Farḥān, Rāshid ʻAbd Allāh, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kuwayt wa-ʻalāqatuhā bi-al-ḥukūmah al-Barīṭānīyah wa al-duwal al-ʻArabīyah,* revised by: ʻAbd Allāh Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, (Kuwait: Dar al-ʻUrūbah Bookstore, 1960), p. 66
[182] Al-Shihāb, *al-Kuwayt ʻabra al-tārīkh*, p. 31
[183] Maḥmūd, Ḥasan Sulaymān, *Al-Kuwayt māḍīhā wa ḥāḍiruhā, (*Publications of the National Library, n.d.), p. 166

could be termed a nascent political awareness among the merchant class, leading to their active involvement in Kuwait's political life. This emerging awareness would manifest more prominently in the years to come, thereby shaping the trajectory of political development in Kuwait. The following chapters will delve into this transformation, exploring the factors that fueled this awakening and its far-reaching implications.

In 1867, Kuwait experienced a devastating famine that lasted for three years under the rule of Sheikh Abdullah II Sabah II Al-Jabir I Al-Sabah (1866-1892). His era was characterized by intense competition between the British and the Ottomans, and in an attempt to secure stability and protection, Sheikh Abdullah officially accepted the position of Kaymakam (Ottoman district governor) offered by the Ottoman Empire. This decision resulted in Kuwait becoming an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, gaining exemption from customs duties and immunity from the military draft for its youth. In return, the Ottomans refrained from confiscating Al-Sabah's possessions in Basra, but required that foreign flags on Kuwaiti ships be replaced with Ottoman flags.[184] Following Sheikh Abdullah's reign, Sheikh Muhammad Al-Sabah Al-Sabah (1892-1896) assumed control, followed by Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah (1896-1915). Mubarak's leadership marked a turning point in the development of Kuwait's political system due to a confluence of factors. Firstly, his rise to power was marred by the unprecedented and controversial act of killing his two brothers, a stark deviation from the established ruling traditions of Kuwait since the Sabah dynasty's establishment. Secondly, his rule witnessed a transformation towards oppression and dictatorship, characterized by the dissolution of the advisory council (the Shura), a body composed of merchants and representatives of the people.[185] In an effort to bolster his position, Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah sought British protection in September 1897. However, his

[184] Al-Kayyālī ʻAbd-al-Wahhāb, *al-Mawsūʻah al-siyāsīyah,* Vol. 03, (Beirut: Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1979), p. 846; Al-Mawṣilī, Mundhir, *Al-usrah wa-al-dawlah: Dawr al-Kuwayt wa Āl al-Ṣabāḥ fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, (London: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis Books and Publishing, 1999), p. 133

[185] Al-Shaykh Khazʻal. *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī*, vol 2, p. 148-153; Al-Lawghānī, Bāsim ʻĪsá ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Al-Shaykh Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ 1896-1951: majmūʻah min al-wathāʼiq wa-al-Rasāʼil*, (Kuwait: Dār Suʻād al-Ṣabāḥ lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2015), p. 27; Jawdah, Aḥmad Ḥasan (1979), *Al-maṣāliḥ al-Barīṭānīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (*Basra: Arab Gulf Studies Centre publications, Basrah University, 1979), p. 46-47

request was met with rejection, as Britain had no strategic interest in intervening in Kuwait's affairs, fearing it might provoke a negative reaction from the Ottoman Empire. [186]

In 1897, the Ottoman Empire formally recognized Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah as the Kaymakam of Kuwait. However, their relationship remained characterized by underlying tensions due to Mubarak's persistent refusal to grant permission for the stationing of Ottoman troops within Kuwait, the establishment of Ottoman customs headquarters, or the appointment of an Ottoman supervisor to oversee Kuwait's port.[187]

As geopolitical dynamics in the region evolved, Britain's stance towards Kuwait underwent a significant transformation, influenced by several critical factors. In 1898, Germany's success in securing a preliminary agreement with the Ottoman Empire to extend the Berlin-Baghdad railway to Kuwait raised concerns among British policymakers, who perceived this development as a potential threat to their strategic interests in the Gulf region. [188] Simultaneously, Russia, driven by its own strategic ambitions, sought to establish a coal station in Kuwait, further fueling British anxieties about the growing influence of rival powers in the area. Moreover, Russian diplomatic efforts, spearheaded by Count Kapnist, [189] aimed to secure a concession to extend the Tripoli-Levant railway from the Mediterranean to Kuwait, creating a direct link between the Gulf and the Mediterranean, traversing Syria and the northern Arabian Peninsula. In all these scenarios, Kuwait emerged as a crucial strategic hub, with its

[186]The circumstances surrounding his accession to power created a major conflict between him and the Ottoman Empire, laying the groundwork for a subsequent imperial conflict with the empire. For more details on this topic see: Talahma, Asil A. A. "Inter-imperial Rivalry in the Gulf at the Turn of the 20th Century: The Case of Kuwait." Master's thesis, (İstanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi, 2021); "Al-Kuwayt, Wa-Barīṭāniyā Ṣadāqah Tārīkhīyah" (Kuwait: *The Centre for Research and Studies on Kuwait*, 2007), p. 17; Al-Khatrash, Fattūḥ, al-Kuwayt bayna al-ṣirāʿāt al-Dawlīyah wtwāznāthā mundhu muntaṣaf al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar ilá maṭlaʿ qarn al-ʿishrīn, in: *Al-ghazw al-ʿIrāqī*, Research Symposium, (Kuwait: ʿĀlam al-Maʿrifah, 1995), p. 17-18; Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī* , vol 3, p. 1527; Slot, B. J., *Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ mu'assis al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīthah 1896-1915*, translated by: ʿĪsá Ayyūb, (Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies, 2008), p. 129-130

[187] Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī*, vol 3, p. 1527; Slot, *Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ mu'assis al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīthah 1896-1915*, p. 129-130

[188] Al-Jubūrī, Khālid Yaḥyá, *Al-Kuwayt wa-muḥāwalāt istiʿādtihā fī al-tārīkh al-muʿāṣir, (*Baghdad: publications of Dar al-Kalimah for publication, 1993), p 19.

[189] Al-Ghunaym, ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf, *al-Kuwayt wa-Rūsīyā fī ʿahd al-Shaykh Mubārak al- al-Ṣabāḥ,* (Kuwait: Center for Research And studies On Kuwait, 2011), p. 7-8

control holding immense significance for the expansionist ambitions of competing these powers.[190]

Britain harbored concerns that Germany's expansionist ambitions in the region, particularly its plans to extend the Berlin-Baghdad railway to Kuwait, would grant it control over the Gulf and Mesopotamia, jeopardizing British interests in the area. Additionally, Britain perceived Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah's close ties with the Ottomans as a potential threat to its influence in Kuwait. Consequently, in January 1899, Britain sought to secure its interests by entering into an exclusive agreement with Sheikh Mubarak. [191] The Ottoman government, alarmed by Britain's encroachment upon its sphere of influence, issued warnings to Sheikh Mubarak, urging him to sever ties with Britain and adhere to Ottoman authority. Sheikh Mubarak, however, remained steadfast in his allegiance to Britain. In response, the Ottomans threatened military action to compel Sheikh Mubarak's obedience. This brinkmanship prompted Britain to consider defending Kuwait from any military threat to its interests. British warships conducted show maneuvers in the region, effectively deterring any Ottoman military intervention. The crisis, confined to these maneuvers, ultimately de-escalated without a direct military confrontation between the two powers.[192]

In 1904, the Indian government proposed the establishment of a British political representation in Kuwait to safeguard British interests in the region. This proposal materialized with the appointment of Captain S.G. Knox as Britain's first political representative in Kuwait. Knox's primary responsibilities included fostering stronger relations with the Kuwaiti ruler, safeguarding the interests of the British government, monitoring Ottoman activities along Kuwait's borders, and thwarting any attempts by

---

[190] Muhannā, Muḥammad Naṣr, *Dalīl al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī dirāsah fī Tārīkh al-ʻAlāqāt al-Dawlīyah wa-al-iqlīmīyah, (*Alexandria: The modern university office, n.d.), p. 288

[191] The document mentions the Anglo-Kuwaiti Agreement of 1899, which provided for British protection for Kuwait on January 23rd of that year. This agreement was part of a series of treaties and undertakings in force between the British Government and the Rulers of Kuwait from 1841 to 1913. [4r] (14/90), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/739, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023403539.0x00000f> [accessed 30 September 2021] (Appendix 16)

[192] Slot, B. J., The Origins of Kuwait, (Nash'at al-Kuwayt), (Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2003), p. 129-130; Al-Ṣabāḥ, Maymūnah Khalīfah, Rudūd al-fiʻl al-Turkīyah ʻalá Ittifāqīyat al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah lil-Kuwayt : dirāsah muqāranah bayna al-wathā'iq alānklyzyh wa-al-ʻUthmānīyah, *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Kuwait, issue 59, (July 1989), p. 207.

the Ottomans or other European powers to gain economic or political advantages in Kuwait. The Ottoman government perceived this move as a blatant violation of its authority and demanded Knox's immediate departure from Kuwait. However, Britain firmly refused to comply. [193] Constrained by the prevailing international circumstances, the Ottomans were unable to confront Britain directly and were forced to accept the 1899 agreement as a de facto policy. This pragmatic approach culminated in the signing of an agreement with Britain on July 29, 1913. The agreement formally recognized the validity of the 1899 convention and acknowledged Kuwait's chiefdom/sheikhdom as an independent entity under British protection. While an Ottoman representative was appointed, his authority was strictly limited, and he was prohibited from interfering in Kuwait's internal affairs.[194]

It is important to note that Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah employed a combination of gifts and financial incentives to attract the support of tribal groups. He also established a consultative council that convened daily in public markets to address the concerns of the populace. In a strategic move, he entrusted the management of internal affairs to his son, Jaber II Al-Mubarak Al-Sabah (1915-1917), while he focused on foreign policy matters. Following his demise in 1915 and the brief reign of Jaber II, who passed away in 1917, Salim Al-Mubarak Al-Sabah (1917-1921) ascended to power. Salim Al-Sabah's tenure was characterized by strained relations with Britain due to his adherence to religious values and his reluctance to cooperate with British authorities. He secretly provided aid to the Ottomans, prompting Britain to impose a blockade on his chiefdom, further exacerbating Kuwaiti-British relations. Additionally, Salim Al-Sabah's relations with Abdulaziz bin Saud were fraught with tension stemming from a border dispute. In an attempt to delineate the boundaries between Kuwait and Al-Ahsa, where nomadic tribes grazed their livestock, Salim Al-Sabah's actions provoked the

[193] Al-Shamlān*, Tārīkh al-ghawṣ ʻalá al-Luʼluʼ fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 324; al-Wāʼilī, Shadhá Munʻim Khalaf, *Al-ṣirāʻ alʻothmāny-al-Barīṭānī fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1871-1914,* (master's thesis, Al-Mustansiriyah University, 2011), p. 135

[194] For more on the 1913 Agreement see: Al-Ṣabāḥ, Maymūnah Khalīfah al-ʻAdhabī, *Al-Kuwayt fī al-Ittifāqīyah al-Injilīzīyah-āltrkyh li-ʻām 1913,* (Kuwait: Institute for Arab Research and Studies, 1992); Al-Rashīd, Yaʻqūb ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, Al-Kuwayt fī mīzān al-ḥaqīqah wa-al-tārīkh (Kuwait: n.d., 1963), p. 44

ire of Ibn Saud, who dispatched troops of Al Ikhwan [195] to besiege Al-Jahra. The ensuing conflict proved costly for both sides and ultimately required British intervention under the terms of the 1899 protection agreement. Amidst these tumultuous events, Sheikh Salim Al-Sabah passed away on February 23, 1921. In a gesture of conciliation, Abdulaziz bin Saud declared that there was no animosity between him and Kuwait and that the establishment of borders between the two entities was unnecessary. [196]

By the outbreak of World War I, Britain had asserted its protection over Kuwait and embarked on a military campaign from the Gulf to Basra and Baghdad in 1917. [197]

The discovery of oil in Kuwait in 1938 marked a pivotal turning point, transforming the country's economy from port-based trade to one fueled by oil revenues. This shift propelled a remarkable surge in exports, from $5.6 million in 1948 to $169 million in 1953, with a steady upward trend thereafter. [198] These events underscore the intricate political dynamics that shaped Kuwait's early trajectory and the delicate balance of power among tribal leaders, the Ottoman Empire, and Britain. Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah's pragmatic leadership and diplomatic endeavors laid the groundwork for Kuwait's subsequent development and its emergence as an independent state.

---

[195] Al-Ikhwan is an Arab nomadic tribal army under Ibn Saud and a Salafi religious movement that appeared in the Arabian Peninsula led by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The movement claims to call for practicing Islam based on the Quran and Sunnah according to the Hanbali school of Islamic law, while considering other Islamic schools as disbelievers. After the emergence of Al-Saud dynasty in the region of Diriyah in 1744, the name Al-Ikhwan was given to the irregular army of Ibn Saud. They were called so because they united to fight for the spread of Wahhabism. Habib, John S., *Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of The Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 47-87

[196] Al-Khatrash Fattūḥ ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, *Tārīkh al-ʿAlāqāt al-siyāsīyah albryṭānya-ālkowaytyah 1890-1921*, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications,1974), p. 120; Al-Zaydī, Mufīd, *Al-tārīkh al-ʿArabī bayna al-ḥadāthah wa-al-muʿāṣarah*, (Amman: Dar Usāmah, 2010), p. 118

[197] Al-Wasmī, Khālid, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī fī al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʿāṣir: dirāsah ʿan al-Tanāfus al-Ūrūbbī fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī wa-al-ʿalāqāt al-Ūrūbbīyah al-ʿUmānīyah, (*Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2006), p. 43 ; For more on the Ottoman-British conflict over Kuwait see: Al-Kuwayt wa-al-ṣirāʿ al-ʿUthmānī-ālbryṭāny (1896-1915), prepared by Markaz Dirāsāt al-Muʾassasah, (Beirut: Dār al-Mawsūʿah al-ʿArabīyah, 2008).

[198] AL-Nakib F, "Towards an Urban Alternative for Kuwait: Protests and Public Participation." *Built Environment (1978-)* 40, no. 1 (2014): 101–17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43296874.

1.2.6. Characteristics of Arab and Gulf society

The Gulf region constitutes a socio-economic and geopolitical unit, often referred to as a bloc, characterized by strong social and ethnonationalistic ties. This shared identity forms a defining feature of the Gulf people. Tribal and familial structures remain deeply entrenched, and political movements often echo those of neighboring regions, driven by similar demands and shaped by shared social and economic transformations. It is essential to note that Kuwait, situated within this regional context, bears striking similarities to its Gulf counterparts in terms of its social, economic, and political landscape. Despite the passage of time, tribes continue to serve as one of the most influential political pillars in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. Consequently, traditional relationships between sheikhs, chiefs of large tribes, and merchant families persist, albeit with varying degrees of influence.

Moving forward, several general characteristics distinguish Arab society in the region, particularly in the Gulf. Numerous studies have explored these characteristics, but from a Western perspective, Arab society has often been perceived as a mosaic of competing and feuding groups, viewed as backward, religious, and Salafi in its principles and orientations, and characterized by tribal structures and oppressive patriarchal norms. On the other hand, other research highlights the tensions between "tribal" and "urban" populations (following Ibn Khaldun's theory), social classes, ruling families, and ethnic, sectarian, tribal, local, and regional groups. These intermediate groups between individuals and society, as described by Halim Barakat in his book "Arab Society in the Twentieth Century: Research into Changing Conditions and Relationships," contribute to the diversity of the society. Arab society in this region is often characterized by family-centered agricultural production, often supplemented by a rent-based system in oil-producing countries and suffers from dependence due to its integration into the global capitalist system. Moreover, Arab society is predominantly patriarchal, characterized by authoritarianism at various levels.[199]

[199] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt*, p. 19.

Drawing upon Eric Wolf's anthropological exploration of "the kinship mode of production," Kuwaiti sociologist Khaldoun Hasan Al-Naqeeb delved into the complexities of Arab society in his seminal work. He elaborated on the notion that kinship systems transcended the boundaries of family and community, extending their influence to the political sphere. In the Gulf region, the chiefdom form of kinship production was instrumental in mobilizing tribal members for collaborative endeavors. Al-Naqeeb further examined the dynamic interplay between the primary social groups and active forces within Arab society, encompassing the city, village, and desert. [200]

In a separate work focusing on the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf, Al-Naqeeb presented a compelling thesis anchored in three central pillars. He asserted that until the early 17th century, the region was characterized by a predominant mercantile production system, intertwined with political tribalism and a fluid pattern of elite power transitions. This system gradually succumbed to the forces of Western imperialism, propelling the region into the global capitalist economy. The region specialized in the exchange of pearls, coffee, leather, horses, frankincense, facilitating the hajj pilgrimage, and engaging in smuggling activities. The demarcation of borders through the 1922 Uqair Protocol [201] effectively partitioned the Gulf states, paving the way for the emergence of oppressive state structures. Secondly, the discovery of oil ushered in the rise of rentier states, where national incomes were solely derived from rental payments by foreign entities, individuals, or governments. This era of rentier states coincided with the establishment of oppressive political regimes. Finally, the

[200] Al-Naqīb, Khaldūn Ḥasan, Binā' al-mujtama' al-'Arabī: ba'ḍ al-furūḍ al-baḥthīyah, *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, vol 8, issue 79, (1985), p. 4-41.

[201] The Uqair Protocol on December 2, 1922: This agreement delineated the territorial boundaries between Mandatory Iraq, the Sultanate of Nejd, and the Sheikhdom of Kuwait. It was spearheaded by Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner to Iraq, in response to incursions by Ikhwan raiders from Nejd under the leadership of Ibn Saud. Cox convened with ibn Saud and Major John More, the British Political Agent to Kuwait. The Uqair Protocol demarcated two neutral zones: a Saudi-Iraqi neutral zone and a Saudi-Kuwaiti neutral zone. As a consequence of this agreement, Kuwait forfeited more than two-thirds of its territory, including its second-largest city, the port of Manifa. The loss of this significant portion of land fueled anti-British sentiment within Kuwait. 'Treaty and Undertakings in force between the Government of Iraq and H. H. the Sultan of Najd' [5v] (10/16), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/389, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/get-highlighted-words/81055/vdc_100048833297.0x00000b> [accessed 20 November 2023]

prevailing political and economic systems of the region hindered comprehensive development, culminating in societal stagnation. [202]

Despite the disunity caused by the kinship production system in Arab society up to the present time, it is apparent that the basic economic activity in Kuwait is based on crafts and commerce, rather than agriculture and cattle ranching (pastoralism). This is evident in the coming chapters when discussing the role of merchants in the development of political awareness in the region. It is noted that trading activities played an important role in consolidating the urban nature that characterized the society. It was not limited to internal trade only, as foreign trade was also included. Therefore, it is concluded that Arab Islamic Mercantilism played a major role in uniting Arab society and achieving cultural homogeneity and ideological regularity through the dominance of a common culture.[203] However, the changes that occurred in Arab society resulted in the emergence of dynastic rule and regional division, beginning in the 19th century in a political sense. Despite these changes, society maintained its unity and harmony in a clear cultural continuity until the beginning of the modern era when divisive factors began to emerge under the pressure of Western colonialism and dependency. [204]

Hisham Sharabi asserts that dependency has given rise to a "neo-patriarchal" society characterized by modernity, albeit a distorted and compromised form of modernity. Sharabi contends that “the Arab awakening, or renaissance, of the 19th century, rather than eradicating the patriarchal system, paved the way for a hybrid society and culture that perpetuated traditional power structures.” [205] Galal Amin further emphasizes that dependency extends beyond the economic and political spheres to encompass culture, which he deems the most perilous dimension. Amin argues that the later a developing society adopts Westernization, the greater the risk of internal fragmentation, the less

[202] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah,* p. 166-168
[203] Ibid, 30
[204] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p. 21-22; Al-Naqīb, Binā’ al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī: ba‘ḍ al-furūḍ al-baḥthīyah, p. 28
[205] Sharābī, Hishām *Al-binyah alboṭrokyah: baḥth fī al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir,* politics and society series, (Beirut: Dar Al-Ṭalī‘ah, 1987), p. 20

significant the gains in welfare for even its wealthier segments, and the more acute the threat to its cultural identity. [206]

According to Sharabi, the patriarchal Arab society is characterized by the dominance of the father, who serves as the axis of the family in both its natural and national forms. The relationship between the father and his children, and between the ruler and the ruled, is hierarchical, with the father's will being absolute in both contexts. This absolute authority is enforced through a "silent coercive consensus" based on obedience and oppression. [207] This concept implies that Arab society as a whole is patriarchal and has a distinct social and economic organization that predates capitalism and modernism. The patriarchal system's beliefs, as compared to those of modernism, include a reliance on myth (faith versus thought/reason), a preference for religious/didactic truth over scientific/critical truth, a preference for figurative language over analytical language, a preference for sultanate regimes/bureaucracies over democracies/socialism, and an emphasis on familial, social, tribal, and sectarian structures over social class. [208]

Returning to the Western perspective on Arab society, it emphasizes the region's social pluralism, characterized by extreme diversity in tribal, sectarian, ethnic, regional, and local affiliations, shaped by environmental, regional, and lifestyle factors. Orientalists focused on this social pluralism, exaggerating its significance through their own perspectives, societal norms, interests, and civilizational values. They portrayed Arab society and other Middle Eastern societies as mosaic-like in terms of their structure and identity. While highlighting these social divisions, Orientalists neglected class divisions and downplayed the importance of class analysis in understanding Arab society. Some even rejected class analysis altogether, arguing that it was an unsuitable framework for comprehending the unique characteristics of Arab society. [209] Carleton

[206] Amin, Galal A. "Dependent development." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 2,* no. 4 (1976): 379-403.
[207] Sharābī, Hishām, *Al-Niẓām al-abawī wa-ishkālīyat takhalluf al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī,* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1993), p. 53
[208] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p. 34
[209] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p. 24

S. Coon was a prominent figure who depicted these societies as mosaics. In his 1961 book "Caravan," he emphasized ethnic, tribal, local, sectarian, and village divisions, disregarding the social strata or structure. [210]

Sharabi further elaborates on the patriarchal nature of Arab society, asserting that the father holds the central position within both the family and the broader national context. He highlights the hierarchical nature of these relationships, emphasizing that the father's will reigns supreme in both spheres. This absolute authority is manifested in the family through a "silent coercive consensus" based on obedience and suppression. [211] This concept underscores the pervasiveness of patriarchy in Arab society, which has shaped its unique social and economic organization, predating the rise of capitalism and modernism. The patriarchal system stands in stark contrast to modernism, upholding a set of beliefs that prioritize myth over critical thought (faith versus thought/reason), religious teachings over scientific inquiry, figurative language over analytical discourse, authoritarian rule over democratic principles, and familial and tribal structures over social class distinctions. [212]

In summary, this exploration has illuminated the multifaceted characteristics inherent in Arab and Gulf society, spanning historical transitions, economic shifts, and intricate societal dynamics. As we transition from this broader understanding to a more focused lens, we turn our attention to the nuanced landscape of political awareness in Kuwait. The insights garnered from our examination of the region's social, economic, and political intricacies provide a solid foundation for understanding the unique factors shaping political awareness within the specific context of Kuwait in the following chapter.

[210] Coon, Carleton Stevens. *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East*. (New York: Holt, 1961).
[211] Sharābī, *Al-Niẓām al-abawī wa-ishkālīyat takhalluf al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī*, p. 53
[212] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p. 34

1.2.7. The demographic change in the Gulf

In the context of examining the characteristics of Arab and Gulf society, it is imperative to scrutinize the transformative ramifications of this societal evolution, particularly within the realm of demographic alterations concerning sectarianism within the Gulf region. This transformative evolution exerted significant influence over Gulf society and, at a critical juncture, played a pivotal role in shaping the political awareness of Kuwait. Specifically, it is essential to examine the stance of the "Ajam" (Kuwaitis of Persian/Iranian origin) during the 1938 council, and to delve into how the Council members responded with a resolute emphasis on "the Arab identity of Kuwait (Arabness)." Their concerted efforts were directed towards the preservation of the country's Arab national character, steadfastly guarding it from the influence of Iran. This aspect will be further elucidated in the subsequent chapters.

The demographic composition of Gulf societies raises critical questions about the extent to which Britain's colonial policies intentionally altered the region's ethnic and racial makeup. Was this demographic shift, particularly in Bahrain, part of a deliberate strategy to advance British strategic interests? Moreover, the displacement of Sunni Arab tribes in Bahrain, who opposed British rule, raises the question of whether this served as a broader pattern in Britain's colonial approach to the region.

In this context, some people in the Gulf believed that Britain pursued a policy of changing the demographic character of the region by opening the door to the immigration of Shiites (Ajam) from Iran to Bahrain and Kuwait, and Indian workers to the coasts of Oman and the Arab Emirates. In Kuwait, this policy was reportedly implemented by “the British government in response to national opposition against its colonial presence”. As mentioned in some local sources, Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah (1921-1950) reportedly “opened the door to immigration for Iranian Shiites, which led to a change in Kuwait's demographic makeup”. The French historian Jean-Jacques Berreby states in "The Arab Peninsula" that "the indigenous Kuwaitis are all Arabs and Sunni Muslims." [213] Khalid Al-Adasany, secretary of the First Legislative Council in 1937-1938, spoke in his memoir about "the British role in shaping the

[213] Jean-jacques Berreby, Jazīrat al-‘Arab, (The commercial office, n.d.), p. 254

demographic composition of Kuwait." [214] The Kuwaiti sociologist Muhammad Al-Rumaihi emphasizes that "British interference in specific social groups and their preferential recognition of land ownership rights for some groups over others created new problems and conflicts that persisted for a long time."[215] Abdul-Malek Al-Tamimi describes the foreign population in the Gulf as a "result of British policies that facilitated the immigration of foreign residents to the region."[216]

According to Omar AlShehabi, a Bahraini scholar of Gulf history and political economy, the British constructed the label of "foreign" versus "local" primarily based on an ethno-sectarian gaze. This systematic approach viewed ethno-sectarian cleavages as the underlying epistemic codes that shaped local political power, practice, and discourse. As a result, ethno-sectarian divisions were considered the most important markers of the local political map from the British perspective, while other socio-economic-political factors such as class, geography, and profession were relegated to playing a secondary role to these "primordial" forces. According to their censuses, the British identified the local society as consisting of 60% Sunni and 40% Shiite. Ethnic divisions such as "Baharna," "Persian," "Tribes," "Huwala," and "Najdi" then became markers that defined the groups to which each individual should belong. These groups determined who was "foreign" or "local" and, therefore, entitled to British or local jurisdiction. Al Shehabi adds that: "The labels of 'foreigner' vs. 'local,' and under them 'Shiʿa,' 'Sunni,' 'Baharna,' 'Persian,' etc., became apparatuses with a strategic function, as the formation of institutions, discourses, and practices emerged around these new systems of knowledge and categorization, in response to an urgency created by the new situation on the ground."[217]

However, the migration from southwestern Iran had a lasting impact on the region and its culture. People migrated from their areas of origin due to political upheaval caused

[214] Al-'Adasani, K., '*Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* electronic copy of manuscript.
[215] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, Al-'awāmil al-tārīkhīyah wa-al-Ijtimā'īyah al-muʾaththirah fī al-Takāmul al-iqtiṣādī li-aqṭār al-Khalīj al-'Arabī, *Majallat al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* vol 12, Issue 1, (1980), Basra, p. 100-105
[216] Al-Tamīmī, 'Abd al-Mālik Khalaf, *Al-Istīṭān al-ajnabī fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī : al-Maghrib al-'Arabī-Filasṭīn-al-Khalīj al-'Arabī dirāsah tārīkhīyah muqāranah,* (Kuwait: 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah, 1983), p.187
[217] AlShehabi, Omar Hesham. "Contested Modernity: Divided Rule and the Birth of Sectarianism, Nationalism, and Absolutism in Bahrain." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 3 (2016): 1–32.

by the Wahhabi movement and economic hardship induced by Qajar Iran, respectively. Regional networks among the ancient Arab and Ajam merchants of Arab nations promoted the migration of their friends, relatives, and family members, enabling them to leave their place of origin and seek employment opportunities in new regions. [218]

Kuwaiti researcher Falah al-Mdairis addresses the Shi'a presence in Kuwait from a political standpoint. Al-Mdairis categorizes Kuwaiti Shi'a based on their ancestral ethnic background (Arab and Ajam) and religious ideology (Madhhab), such as Uṣūlī, Shaykhalī, and Ikhbāry. However, he ignores the subsequent waves of Ajam, which is a deceptive assumption. Furthermore, his argument that the emergence of the Ajam community in Kuwait was a result of "British imperialism" or part of its political agenda in the Gulf is factually inaccurate. This is because the British presence in the Gulf, including Kuwait, was not well established until the end of the nineteenth century. [219] While the British had signed political treaties with Bahrain in 1880 and 1892, the Trucial States in 1888 and 1892, and Kuwait in 1899, it was not until later that they officially consolidated their position in southwestern Iran and Najd and al-Hasa in 1915, and finally Qatar in 1916.[220]

In Kuwait, the term "Ajam" has a distinct meaning from its original Arabic definition.[221] The socio-political environment of Kuwaiti society has given rise to the concept of Ajam in Kuwaiti culture, and different segments of Kuwaiti society use the term in different ways. Most Kuwaiti Sunnis use it to refer specifically to Kuwaiti Shias of Iranian origin, even though there are Sunni Kuwaiti families whose grandparents also migrated from southwestern Iran. Some Kuwaiti Sunni families, such as al-Kandiri, al-Awadi, al-Bastaki, al-Gabandi, al-Khashti, al-Langawi,

---

[218] Fuccaro, Nelida. “Pear Towns and Early Oil Cities: Migration and Integration in the Arab Coast of the Persian Gulf.” In *Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity in the Ottoman Empire and Beyond*, edited by Ulrike Freitage. (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 99-116.
[219] Al-Mudayris, *al-Ḥarakah al-Shīʿīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 6-7.
[220] Peterson, John. “Britain and the Gulf: At the Periphery of Empire.” In *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence Potter. (London: Macmillan, 2008), p. 277-293
[221] In contrast to Bahrain and al-Hasa, it is difficult to view the history of Shi'ism in Kuwait through a sectarian lens, especially during the period under study. The Shia community has been an integral part of Kuwaiti society for generations, and their influence on Kuwaiti culture, language, and religion cannot be overstated. Shiites are known for their strong sense of community and commitment to preserving ancient traditions, which have left an enduring imprint on Kuwaiti identity. Moreover, Kuwaiti Shiites have long played a prominent role in Kuwaiti politics, making significant contributions to the country's prosperity.

Kankuni, and many more, had ancestors who migrated from the region of Fars (bar Faris), and their surnames match the names of the villages and towns from which their ancestors came. However, Kuwaiti Arab Sunnis do not refer to them as "Ajam" because they are Sunni believers. [222]

Foreign migration into the Gulf has sparked significant public discourse, with the Kuwaiti press highlighting its potential political, economic, and social implications. The local press has often portrayed the influx of foreign workers as a "frightening immigration" that triggers worries and concerns among “native Gulf residents” due to certain behaviors that are perceived as inappropriate such as listening to Iranian radio broadcasts or hanging their leaders' posters on walls. These concerns have been fueled by specific examples reported in local press. For instance, an article titled "Tasheghil El Ajanib" (Foreign Labor) published in the fourth issue of Al-Īmān magazine discussed the issue of foreign workers in Kuwait and the concerns among native Kuwaitis regarding their presence. Similarly, reports on new policies facilitating the recruitment of Indian workers have added to the anxiety of Kuwaiti citizens regarding the impact of foreign migration on their society.[223]

According to reports, Kuwaitis have expressed concerns about the availability of local skilled labor and the potential hiring of Arab workers from neighboring countries. These concerns were reportedly driven by “a shared cultural and linguistic heritage”.[224] Another article discussing the population census in Kuwait highlights the changing population structure in the country, noting that it has become more “international in nature, with an increasing number of foreign speakers relative to the local population”. The article also mentions concerns about the potential future challenges associated with large-scale immigration without adequate precautions. The article suggests conducting a census and implementing measures to regulate the immigration of foreign nationals, particularly those “who may pose potential risks as reportedly seen in Bahrain and other Gulf Emirates”. It also calls for safeguarding the

[222]Al-Habib, Mohammad. "The Formation of the Shi'a Communities in Kuwait: Migration, Settlement and Contribution between 1880 and 1938." (PhD dissertation, University of London, 2016), p. 36
[223] Al-Īmān magazine, 1st year, 4th issue (April 1953), titled "Tasheghil El Ajanib" , p. 255.
[224] Al-Īmān magazine, 1st year, 4th issue (April 1953), 255.

unique identity and character of Kuwait while serving as a model for other nations in addressing the complexities of large-scale immigration. [225]

The large influx of foreign workers in Kuwait has had a multifaceted impact on the political awareness of the Kuwaiti people. On the one hand, it has heightened the sense of nationalism among some Kuwaitis, who perceive the growing foreign presence as a threat to their cultural identity and way of life. This is evident in the concerns raised in the Kuwaiti press about the perceived inappropriate behaviors of foreign workers, such as listening to foreign radio broadcasts or displaying political posters. On the other hand, the influx of foreign workers has also introduced new ideas and political perspectives to Kuwaiti society, potentially broadening the spectrum of political discourse. Additionally, it has raised awareness among Kuwaitis about the broader implications of foreign labor migration, as highlighted in Al-Īmān magazine articles that discuss the potential security threats posed by foreign workers in other Gulf emirates.

On April 14, 1938, some Kuwaitis submitted a petition to the Amir of Kuwait outlining specific proposals regarding immigration policies. The petition advocated for "the implementation of stricter immigration controls for foreign nationals lacking significant ties to Kuwait, who are perceived as contributing to overcrowding and straining public resources." Additionally, the request called for facilitating the entry and employment of Arab nationals in Kuwait and "addressing any misconceptions or prejudices that hinder the acceptance of Arab nationals in Kuwait." [226] In a telegram sent by the British ambassador in Baghdad to the office of foreign affairs in London, it was reported that "King Ghazi claimed that the Kuwaiti Sheikh used Persians as a police force and encouraged Iranian immigration in an effort to maintain control over his people." [227]

---

[225] Al-Īmān magazine, 1st year, 4th issue, April 1953, " al-Taʿdād al-ʿāmm lil-sukkān" (Population Census) by Abdullah Al-Sayed Abdul-Mohsin Al-Refaii, Cairo University, Faculty of Commerce, pp. 238-240.

[226] Filasṭīn Newspaper, "al-Kuwayt al-ʿArabīyah trfḍ Hijrat al-ajnabīyah : shaʿb ʿArabī yṭṭlʿ llmjd", April 14, 1938.

[227] Telegram From H. M. Ambassador, Baghdad To Foreign Office, London Date: 25th March, 1939 , No. 91, 'File 53/99 II (D 149) Kuwait Reforms' [185v] (381/444), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/549, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100024192326.0x0000b5> [accessed 30 September 2021];

Historically, Shias have maintained a positive relationship with the ruling Al Sabah family in Kuwait. Their support for the ruling family stems from several factors, including the historical context of their settlement in Kuwait and the persistent tensions between the ruling family and other societal segments such as the Sunni merchant oligarchy and Sunni Islamists allied with or emanating from tribal segments of society. As a result, Shias have historically demonstrated support for the ruling family, consistently serving as a dependable support base for the government during periods of political strife. The ruling family, in turn, has utilized the Shia community's support to advance its political agenda, including employing them to counter political adversaries. For instance, in 1938, when the legislature sought to challenge the ruler's authority, the ruling family, with the popular support of the Shias and other traditional allies, dissolved the council. [228]

1.3. The Components of the Identity in the Gulf

1.3.1. Definition of Identity

In the context of apolitical awareness, it is crucial to first establish a clear understanding of the concept of identity and the broader Arab identity before diving into the specifics of Khalījī Identity. While political awareness involves an understanding of broader political dynamics, identity focuses on the personal and collective affiliations that contribute to an individual's sense of belonging. These concepts often intersect, as political events and ideologies can influence and shape one's identity, and conversely, identity can impact political perspectives and affiliations.

Many scholars contend that defining identity is a challenging task due to its complex, abstract, and multifaceted nature, making it a subject of ongoing philosophical and

'File 2/9 Anti-British propaganda' [329r] (662/748), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/162, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100045730365.0x00003f> [accessed 30 September 2021]

[228] For more information see: Laurence Louër, The Transformation of Shia Politics in the Gulf Monarchies, POMEPS, *Studies 28: New Analysis of Shia Politics*, (December 2017), p. 39-42 https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/POMEPS_Studies_28_NewAnalysis_Web.pdf; Azoulay, R., The politics of Shai'I Merchants in Kuwait, In: *Business Politics In the Middle East,* Steffen Hertog, Giacomo Luciani Merc Valeri, (Ed.) (London: Hurts and Company, 2013), p. 67-99

theoretical discussions. [229] According to Alex Mucchielli, identity is a complex concept encompassing material, moral, and social aspects, along with a set of complementary operations. It is characterized by its unity, embodied in an internal spirit that includes a sense of continuity, distinctness, eternity, and a central effort. This unity of internal feelings comprises historical, psycho-cultural, psychosocial, physical, and manufactured elements. Overall, identity is a combination of various elements that help define and distinguish an individual. [230]

Despite its complexity and abstraction, identity is not fixed or static. It is a dynamic and constantly evolving state that is influenced by the surrounding social, cultural, and political environment. Identity is subject to change and may include elements that are sometimes excluded and later reintroduced. Therefore, identity is a changeable component influenced by social, cultural, and political factors. [231]

Language, religion, and social groups play essential roles in preserving identity and can influence how it evolves over time. Identity also reflects an individual's or group's spatiotemporal state, shaping not only their moods, values, and orientations, but also their imagination and sense of self. It encompasses a range of elements, from the personal to the collective, that grant its members a sense of belonging and distinctiveness within a larger whole. Components such as location are also essential elements of identity, which may include district, village, countryside (al-Badia), tribe, clan, community, family, sect, traditions, customs, history, and profession, all contributing to its uniqueness and complexity. [232]

---

[229] Waṭfah, ʻAlī Saʻd, Ishkālīyat al-huwīyah wa-al-intimāʾ fī al-mujtamaʻāt al-ʻArabīyah al-muʻāṣirah, In : Aḥmad Baʻlabakkī et el., al-huwīyah wa-qaḍāyāhā fī al-Waʻy al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir, The Arab Future (68) series, (Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2014), p. 153-172

[230] Mikchellim Alex, A*l-huwīyah,* translated by: ʻAlī Waṭfah, (Damascus: Dar al-wasīm, 1993), p. 129

[231] Marshall Gordon, *Mawsūʻat ʻilm al-ijtimāʻ,* translated by : Muḥammad al-Jawharī and others, (Cairo: Supreme Council of Culture, 2012), vol 3, p. 71-76

[232] Al-Najjār, Muḥammad Bāqir, al-ʻAmālah al-ajnabīyah wa-qaḍāyā al-huwīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, ʻUmrān, (Foreign Labor and Questions of Identity in the Arabian Gulf), *OMRAN*, the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), N.3, (Winter 2013), p. 109-123

1.3.2. Definition of Arab Identity

The relationship between identity and the state in the Middle East is intricate and multifaceted. Historically, identification with territorial states has been weak, with popular identification gravitating towards sub-state units such as cities, tribes, and religious sects, or the broader Islamic ummah. This partial disconnect stems from the region's history of being shaped by external conquerors and the influx of imported slave-soldiers who lacked local roots. Additionally, the arid environment fostered a culture of trading cities and nomadic tribes, where peoples, particularly the Arabs, developed a less defined sense of territorial identity and attachment to the land, unlike the strong land-based identities found in peasant societies. However, notable exceptions to this trend exist, such as Turkey, Iran, and Egypt, where contemporary states more closely resemble national states. Despite these exceptions, all states in the region face challenges from sub-state identities, including ethnic minorities such as the Kurds and Berbers, as well as religious pluralism.[233]

During the early 20th century, Arab states under colonial rule embarked on a quest to establish a national identity in the wake of the Ottoman Empire's decline. To overcome internal divisions and disputes, they sought to solidify their language and their perception of themselves and their relations with "the other" by defining and promoting Arab identity. According to Halim Barakat, identity encompasses the awareness of oneself and one's shared historical destiny; it is the awareness of the self and the sense of belonging to a society, nation, group, or class within the broader context of human belonging. [234] Many Arab nationalism theorists emphasize language as a crucial element in determining identity. Abd Al-Aziz Al-Duri, for instance, asserts that language serves as the common denominator that has historically fostered Arab awareness, even preceding the advent of Islam. He views Arab identity as a cultural

[233] Ayoob, Mohammed. The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1995), p. 47-70; Hinnebusch, R., "Identity and sovereignty in the regional system". In The international politics of the Middle East, Manchester, (England: Manchester University Press, 2018), https://www.manchesteropenhive.com/view/9781526137760/978152613776

[234] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p. 62

and civilizational issue rather than a racial, regional, or religious one. [235] Similarly, in his book "Nationalism and the Arabic Language: A Historical Overview," Yasir Suleiman contends that language is the very essence, the "air" or "breath," of Arab nationalist identity.[236]

Perspectives on the key events that have shaped the Arab national movement vary. Nationalist memory and historiography often consider the Great Arab Revolt, initiated in 1916 by the Sharif of Mecca, Hussein bin Ali, as a pivotal moment in the development of Arab nationalism and identity. The revolt was viewed as a patriotic spark that would ignite the Arab nationalist movement, secure Arab independence, and unify the Arabs under a single state and government. However, Adeed Dawisha challenges this view, arguing that the revolt's significance has been exaggerated and misinterpreted. He claims that the revolt was proclaimed in the name of preserving Islam, not Arabism or the Arab nation. Furthermore, he asserts that it was not an Arab revolution in the true sense, except in the ethnic sense, and its organizers did not adopt Arabism until after the Ottomans rejected the Sharif's demands for hereditary control over the Hijaz. Dawisha instead regards the Palestinian Revolution of 1936–1939 as the most significant catalyst for the Arab national movement. He contends that the Palestinian events of 1936–1939 not only contributed to the growth of Arab nationalist sentiment among the Arab people but also to a burgeoning solidarity among Arab regions, further solidifying the concept of a unified Arab identity. [237]

1.3.3. Definition of Khalījī Identity

According to Kuwaiti political sociologist Muhammad Rumaihi, in his book "The Gulf Is Not Oil Alone," the Gulf region is an integral part of the broader Arab world, sharing many historical and social characteristics with other Arab regions. However, it also

[235] Al-Dūrī, ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz, Hawla al-taṭawwur al-tārīkhī lil-ummah al-ʿArabīyah, A paper presented to: al-Qawmīyah al-ʿArabīyah fī al-Fikr wa-al-mumārasah : Buḥūth wa-munāqashāt al-nadwah al-fikrīyah, (Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1980).
[236] Suleiman, Yasir, "Nationalism and the Arabic language: A historical overview," in Yasir Suleiman, ed., *Arabic sociolinguistics: Issues and perspectives.* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1994), p. 3. For more information see: Khalidi, Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature." *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991): 1363-1373
[237] Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, P. 34-36, 108, 117

possesses unique features, including a significant economic characteristic. Additionally, tribal relationships remain a fundamental aspect of the region's social, political, and cultural structure.[238] On the other hand, Abdulkhaleq Abdulla, Emirati academic and political science professor, notes in his article "The Arab-Gulf Relations" that the connection between the Gulf and the Arab world is "organic and fundamental," and that Arab identity serves as the bedrock for the Gulf's culture, humanity, and strategic depth. [239] Despite this strong connection, the Gulf has a distinct history, including the development of a unique governance style, aptly described by Mohammed Al Rumaihi as "nomadic management." This style seamlessly integrates traditional nomadic concepts into modern administration, highlighting the region's distinctive approach to governance. Moreover, tribal structures continue to play a pivotal role in Gulf societies, forming one of the region's most fundamental pillars of social organization and governance. [240] This is why Mohammed Al Rumaihi characterizes Gulf state governance as "nomadic management بدوقراطية," a term that captures the incorporation of traditional nomadic principles into modern political systems. [241] Adel al-Sharjabi has similarly referred to Gulf states as "pastoral states الـدولـة الرعويـة," a term that underscores the enduring influence of pastoralism and patronage systems in these societies. [242] The hands-off approach to colonial rule adopted by Britain, which prioritized economic interests and stability over radical social and political transformation, had a profound impact on the development of Gulf society and politics. In the Gulf, for instance, Britain, as the region's protector, sought to preserve the existing social structures rather than dismantle them, a decision with lasting consequences for the region's trajectory [243]. This approach, while maintaining

[238] Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-Khalīj laysa nifṭā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah*, p. 46
[239] ʻAbd Allāh, ʻAbd āl- Khāliq, Al-ʻAlāqāt alʻarbyah-ālkhalyjyah, *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, issue 18, no. 205, (March 1996), p. 5-4
[240] Barakāt, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī fī al-qarn al-ʻishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-ʻalāqāt,* p. 93; Rumayḥī , Muḥammad Ghānim al-. *Muʻawwiqāt Al-Tanmiyah al-Ijtimāʻīyah Wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah Fī Mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-Muʻāṣir, (*Kuwait: Dār al-siyāsah, 1977), p. 13
[241] Al-Rumayḥī, *Muʻawwiqāt al-tanmiyah al-ijtimāʻīyah wa-al-iqtiṣādīyah fī mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir,* p13
[242] Baʻlabakkī, Aḥmad et al., *Jadalīyāt al-indimāj al-ijtimāʻī wa-binā' al-dawlah wa-al-ummah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī, (*Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2014), p. 576-577
[243] Al-Sharjabī, ʻĀdil, binā' al-dawlah al-raʻawīyah fī al-Yaman : Tawḥīd al-nukhbah wa-tafkīk al-ummah (the building of the pastoral state in Yemen: unite the elite and dismantle the nation), in:

stability, in certain respects hindered the growth of political awareness among the general populace.

There is a longstanding debate among scholars about the role of tribalism in Gulf societies and political landscapes. Some scholars, like Anh Nga Longva, interpret it as a form of nationalism that preceded the modern state. [244] Others, such as Shafeeq Ghabra, view the tribe as both a stabilizing force and a potential source of instability in the Gulf. On one hand, tribal loyalty and commitment have been instrumental in supporting the legitimacy of ruling families and establishing modern states. [245] On the other hand, tribal identities have also been a factor in conflict and division in the region, which can potentially threaten the stability of the modern state. [246]

In the Gulf Petro-monarchies, identity and community are often constructed through the prism of genealogy and tribal or religious affiliations. However, official narratives frequently elevate rulers and their families to the status of embodiments of the nation. [247] With that in mind, this section seeks to illuminate the distinction between identity and citizenship in the Gulf region. During the formative period of the Gulf states, a traditional concept of citizenship emerged, rooted in "governmental inducements." In a bid to foster allegiance and a sense of belonging to the nascent political entities, authorities bestowed privileges such as education, healthcare, housing, and overseas medical care upon citizens and nationals. These incentives aimed to solidify loyalty to the state rather than to tribes.[248]

Ba'labakkī, *Jadalīyāt al-indimāj al-ijtimā'ī wa-binā' al-dawlah wa-al-ummah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī,* p. 571-613

[244] Longva, Anh Nga. "Nationalism in Pre-Modern Guise: The Discourse on Hadhar and Badu in Kuwait." *International Journal of Middle East Studies 38*, no. 02 (May 2006): 171–87.

[245] Ghabra, Shafeeq, *Kuwait: At the Crossroads of Change or Political Stagnation*, Middle East Institute , (May 20, 2014), https://www.mei.edu/publications/kuwait-crossroads-change-or-political-stagnation

[246] Al-Kuwari, Maryam, *Tribal Revival in the Gulf: A Trojan Horse or a Threat to National Identities?,* the LSE Middle East Centre, (August 31st, 2018), https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/08/31/tribal-revival-in-the-gulf-a-trojan-horse-or-a-threat-to-national-identities/

[247] Lowi, Miriam R. "Identity, Community and Belonging in GCC States: Reflections on the Foreigner." *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 4 (December 2018): 401–28. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333436715_Identity_Community_and_Belonging_in_gcc_States

[248] Ba'labakkī, *Jadalīyāt al-indimāj al-ijtimā'ī wa-binā' al-dawlah wa-al-ummah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī*, p. 432

The Gulf identity has been characterized by Mohammed Matar, Executive Chairman of the Gulf House for Studies and Publishing, as a "Western Imagined" identity, shaped by British colonialism and the demarcation of post-colonial frontiers.[249] This perspective aligns with prevailing theories of nationalism, such as Benedict Anderson's concept of "Imagined Communities"[250] and Ernest Gellner's assertion that nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon that emerged with the modern nation-state.[251] Consequently, regional identities and group affiliations, such as tribal, ethnic, sectarian, and local loyalties, can be viewed as factors that fragment national identity. Western colonialism and Arab regimes have often exploited these traditional loyalties to counter Arab affinity, thus hindering national unity. Ali Al Wardi, an Iraqi sociologist, delves into the ongoing struggle between nomadic and urban (sedentary) life in Arab society, which he terms a "tidal phenomenon." He categorizes Arab regions into three types based on the prevalence of one lifestyle over the other: regions where urbanism coexists alongside nomadic life, as in Iraq; regions where nomadic life predominates over civilization, as in the Arabian Peninsula; and regions where civilization is far more prevalent than nomadic life, as in Egypt.[252]

It is noteworthy that political movements and organizations in the Gulf region often draw their foundation from kinship, race, ethnicity, or sect. This has had a profound impact on the political landscape of these societies, where many political parties have been established within traditional frameworks rather than modern ones. For instance, the Communist Party held greater sway among Sunnis in Bahrain than among Shiites. In Kuwait, the Arab Nationalist Movement was exclusively Sunni, with no participation from Shiites. Conversely, Shiite families in Bahrain held prominent positions within the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party.[253] However, the identity of the Gulf

[249] Maṭar, Muḥammad, Ishkālīyat al-huwīyah wa-al-qiyam fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabīyah, The 5th session of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies Forum, 1-2 December 2018, (Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy studies)
[250] Anderson, *Census, Map, Museum, Excerpt from: Imagined Communities*, p. 5–7.
[251] Gellner, Ernest, *Nationalism*, Washington Square, (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1997), p.3
[252] Al-Wardī, ʻAlī, *Dirāsah fī ṭabīʻat al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻIrāqī : muḥāwalah tamhīdīyah li-Dirāsat al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī al-akbar fī ḍaw' 'ilm al-ijtimāʻ al-ḥadīth*, (Bagdad: al-ʻānī Press, 1960s), p. 18-19
[253] SingerMan, Diane, Civil Society in the Shadow of the Egyptian State: The Role of informal Networks in the Construction of public life. In: Norton, Augustus Richard, Roger Owen, Diane Singerman, and James Gelvin, *The Civil Society Debate in Middle Eastern Studies*, (Los Angeles:

region is constantly evolving, fluctuating between "identity creation" and "identity transformations," with the emergence of "politicized identity" amidst an "identity dilemma" or "identity crisis." This is evident in the conflicting sub-identities within the region, such as the divide between nomadic and sedentary (Hadar – Badu) communities in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia, or between citizens and stateless or displaced tribes. [254] Consequently, the policies of Gulf states and ruling regimes have fostered a society with a political identity shaped to align with the regime's needs rather than a conscious transition from sub-identity to Arab or regional identity.

Halim Barakat posits that in the 1960s, Kuwaiti authorities deliberately exploited tribal divisions and granted citizenship to nomadic tribes as a means of suppressing nationalist dissent among the urban elite, comprising intellectuals and merchants. This strategy enabled the government to garner the support of Bedouin deputies aligned with its interests. Subsequently, tribes such as Al-Awazem, Mutayr, Rashaida, Ajman, and Anazzah emerged as influential players in political alliances. To circumvent the influence of political parties in selecting tribal candidates, sub-elections (الفرعيـات), restricted to tribe members, became a customary practice in Kuwaiti elections.[255]

Government efforts to utilize nomadic or Bedouin tribes as a counterbalance to opposition from urban or sedentary populations resulted in the naturalization of these tribes, a practice that spread to neighboring countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Syria. This process inadvertently triggered the emergence of a stateless population, known as the Bidun, who, unlike their naturalized relatives, were denied citizenship despite sharing tribal affiliations. Primarily comprising members of tribes that migrated to Kuwait from neighboring countries subsequent to the naturalization of their kin, the Bidun arrived too late to be granted citizenship. This delay often left them without identification documents or resulted in the expiration of their original

UCLA Near East Center Colloquium Series, 1996), p. 73; Al-Naqīb Khaldūn, *Taṭawwur al-Wa'y al-ijtimā'ī wa-al-siyāsī fī al-mujtama' al-madanī,* A paper presented to the 5th Social and Cultural Forum of Social Associations and Associations in the GCC States, (21-23 November 1998, Kuwait).

[254] Ḥuṭayṭ, Nasīb*, Ta'thīr al-huwīyah wa-al-intimā' 'alá furaṣ al-taghyīr al-siyāsī fī duwal Majlis al-Ta'āwun al-Khalījī,, Hammurabi Studies,* ، AlNnasib For Studies, (2014)

[255] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama' al-'Arabī fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-'alāqāt,* p.552

passports or national identity cards. The plight of the Bidun, defined as "individuals without legal documentation," became a pressing issue in the ensuing decades. [256]

Al-Naqeeb contends that authoritarian ruling families in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf strategically employ solidarities, [257] or solidarity groups, to maintain their dominance over civil society and suppress political awareness. He defines solidarities as groups such as tribes that "express their collective identity through recognized leaders sanctioned by the state." These solidarities function as extensions of state agencies and instruments of social control, fostering internal hierarchies that perpetuate inequities between ruling sheikhs, their extended families, affluent tribal members, and ordinary tribal members. Al-Naqeeb discerns six primary types of solidarities: tribal institutions, senior merchants and business leaders, sectarian institutions, religious institutions (encompassing Sunni and Shi'a Islam, Ibadism, and Zaidism), professional organizations, and trade unions. He further highlights the significance of tribal solidarities as a primary source for recruiting soldiers, police officers, and national guards based on explicit tribal affiliations. Consequently, these solidary tribal forces effectively transform into modern state institutions, supplanting the constitutional democratic institutions of civil society. [258]

In contrast to democratic systems, the ruling dynasties in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf do not rely on political parties, elections, or a representative government to maintain their power (except for Kuwait). Instead, they exercise comprehensive control over the public sector and leverage the entrenched social structures rooted in sectarian and tribal affiliations and identities. [259] Furthermore, they have secured

---

[256] Ghabra, *Kuwait: At the Crossroads of Change or Political Stagnation*, p. 5

[257] Solidarities are a mechanism for influencing social dynamics in contemporary political landscapes. The term encompasses social forces that manifest within the governmental structure through state-approved appointed leaders. According to Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb, six primary unofficial solidarity groups exist: tribal institutions, merchant associations, sectarian organizations, religious institutions, middle-class groups, and labor unions in countries where citizens form trade unions. Al-Naqeeb observes that the Kuwaiti political system has traditionally interacted with Kuwaiti society through the lens of solidarities, perceiving society as an aggregation of diverse social groups such as Bedouin and Hadar communities, Shiites, Sunnis, and others. The relationships between these groups and the system have evolved over time, shaped by the prevailing circumstances of each era. See: Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 143-144, 149.

[258] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 149-151, 173-175

[259] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama' al-'Arabī fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-'alāqāt,* p.562

external protection from powers such as Britain and the United States. The region's substantial oil production and the resulting revenue have fostered the emergence of a rentier state, characterized by the state's pervasive influence in all facets of life and an expanding public sector that primarily employs foreign labor. This focus on consumption within the public sector has led to the perception of the ruling families as political entities that effectively own the state. [260]

The formation of Khaleeji identity (al-Huwīyah al-Khalījīyah), also known as Gulf identity or Eastern Arabian identity, is characterized by its fluidity and remains a concept that is not universally recognized. Three primary tenets could be used to summarize the identity: Firstly, Arabism serves to distinguish it from Iran, albeit not to the extent that it aligns with the Arab nationalism espoused by Egypt and Iraq. Concurrently, its Sunni orientation differentiates it from Iran's Shiite perspective. Lastly, an economic dimension distinguishes it from neighboring countries that do not possess the same level of oil wealth. While rooted in the cultural, social, historical, and political homogeneity of the Arabian Gulf nations (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), it can be employed to emphasize either the similarities or differences between these countries depending on the context. [261] This identity manifests at two levels: a general collective level encompassing political awareness and self-awareness, or "identity," defined as an individual's perception of their belonging to a society, nation, group, or class within the broader context of human belonging.[262]

[260] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah,* p. 125
[261] Karolak, Magdalena, *Gulf Countries: The Struggle for a Common Identity in a Divided GCC,* ISPA Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Commentary, (16 May 2019) https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/commentary_karolak_16.05.2019.pdf
[262] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt,* p.62

CHAPTER II

THE INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL, POLIITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE AND THE POLITICAL AWARENESS IN THE GULF

2.1.Introduction

This chapter aims to study the political awareness in Kuwait by providing an understanding of the political and economic circumstances, social forces, and actors that have shaped the spread of political concepts and ideas in the Kuwaiti society. The chapter aims to present a comprehensive overview of the foundations upon which political awareness and its transformations have developed, as well as the various stages of development in the contemporary history of the Gulf region. It begins with an outline, which focuses on the intellectual, social, political, and economic life of the Gulf region. It then delves into the historical context of the region, examining the social forces and actors that have shaped the spread of political concepts and ideas.

Understanding the political, social, intellectual, and economic circumstances of the Gulf region is essential to grasping the social movements that have emerged in Kuwait, our territorial focus in this dissertation. The Gulf region has a long history of political instability, including trade blockades, economic depressions, and authoritarian rule. Kuwait is no exception. In the early 20th century, Kuwait experienced a sharp decline in regional economic importance due to a trade blockade imposed by the British Empire because its ruler supported the Ottoman Empire. Following the Kuwait-Najd War of 1919–20, Ibn Saud imposed a tight trade blockade against Kuwait that lasted for over a decade. Similarly, other Gulf countries have also faced political instability due to economic depressions and authoritarian rule. The discovery of oil and gas reserves in the region in the mid-twentieth century brought significant wealth to many of the Gulf states, but it also had the effect of entrenching authoritarian rule, as the wealth generated by the oil and gas industry was used to maintain control over the population.

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the intellectual, social, political, and economic life of the Gulf region in order to fully comprehend the political awareness and nationalist movements in the Kuwaiti society.

By examining the historical context, social forces, and actors that have shaped the spread of political concepts and ideas, the chapter aims to present a balanced and thorough perspective on the social, intellectual and economic foundations of political awareness and its evolution.

2.1.1. Intellectual Life in the Gulf and the Political Awareness

Despite being geographically distant from the Arab intellectual and cultural movements, the Gulf region was not completely isolated from their influence. The harsh living conditions and focus on the livelihoods of the tribal society did not prevent individuals from becoming familiar with the intellectual and cultural trends prevalent in other Arab states, including Kuwait. However, significant transformation and openness in the Gulf did not occur until scholars, thinkers, and literary figures from other Arab countries began visiting the region. The educated youth in the Gulf were particularly influenced by these individuals and their ideas, as well as the nationalist and political movements they represented. As a result, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was increased interaction and exchange between the Gulf region and the broader Arab world through lectures, discussions, and other forms of dialogue.[263] According to Abdul Malik Khalaf Al Tamimi, a strong connection exists between the history of the Gulf, particularly since the 20th century, and the broader Arab region. This means that major political or social developments in the Arab world can have a direct impact on the people of the Gulf, including Kuwait.[264]

The emergence of liberal and nationalist ideas in the Arab world coincided with significant historical events such as the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which created a power vacuum in the region, the colonization of the Arab Mashreq, and modernization movements in Egypt, Iraq, and “the Levant” (Greater Syria). This convergence of events and ideas led to the formation of a diverse intellectual and ideological landscape in the Arab world, marked by overlapping trends. One of the

[263] Al-Khuṣūṣī, Badr al-Dīn, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ijtimā‘ī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-‘aṣr al-ḥadīth (*Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1983), p. 76-79; Al-Zaydī, Mufīd, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-‘ishrīn*, Issue15, (Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies Research, 1998), p. 22-23

[264] Al-Tamīmī, ‘Abd al-Mālik Khalaf, "ba‘ḍ Qaḍāyā al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī”, *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Year 6, Issue 61, (March 1984), p. 17

most prominent of these trends emphasized the need for reform in Islamic thought and Arab culture, advocating for the replacement of traditional values with more modern ones, modernization of economic, political and religious institutions, and the search for a system of intellectual reforms. Another trend emphasized the importance of constitutional parliamentary democracy, the formation of political parties, the participation of intellectuals and experts in decision making, openness to the West as a model for development and modernization, and a focus on education, knowledge, and the development of the mind.[265]

The emergence of liberal thought during this period witnessed a surge in popularity, advocating for the establishment of a modern society. This envisioned a society increasingly engaged with the global sphere while selectively retaining some traditional elements. Such ideas resonated particularly with social groups experiencing economic transformation and integration into capitalist markets. These groups included the national bourgeoisie, merchants, the educated elite, and skilled artisans.[266]

At the beginning of the 20th century, communication with media outlets intensified. This led to the emergence of a group of Kuwaitis who opposed the 1899 agreement [267] between the British and the Emir of Kuwait,[268] along with the close relationship between this group and the two sheikhs, Muhammad Jarrah and Yusuf Ibrahim. They published articles in the Egyptian newspaper "Al-Liwaa" in 1901 and various Arab

[265] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir : baḥth istiṭlā‘ī ijtimā‘ī,* p. 286-289
[266] ‘Abd al-Mālik, Anwar, *Al-Fikr al-‘Arabī fī Ma‘rakat al-Nahḍah,* translated by: Badr al-Dīn ‘Arodky, (Beirut: Dar al-Ādāb, 1964), p. 48.
[267] The Exclusive Agreement, Dated January 23, 1899. Between Colonel Malcolm John Meade, I. S. C., the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and Sheikh Mubarak bin Sheikh Subah, 23 of January, 1899, p. 15, 'A Collection of Treaties and Engagements relating to the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in force up to the End of 1953' [9r] (17/92), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/738, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023550810.0x000012> [accessed 21 January 2022]
[268] According to the Kuwaiti Constitution, Kuwait is a hereditary Emirate, the succession to which shall be in the descendants of the late Mubarak al-Sabah. The Emir is the Head of the State. Prior to this law, the title "Sheikh" was given to the Emir of Kuwait. Issued at the Seif Palace on the: 11th of November 1962
https://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-library-files/Kuwait_Constitution_1962_en.pdf

newspapers, expressing their opposition to the agreement and later supporting the demands of Kuwaiti reformists.[269]

The British archive offers valuable insight into the political and religious movements that occurred in Kuwait and the surrounding region during the early 20th century. It specifically delves into the subject of pan-Islamism, which was a movement advocating for the recognition of "the Sultan of Turkey as the leader of the faith", as well as the actions of Kuwaiti reformists who opposed the 1899 agreement with the British. The article in the archive characterizes the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement as a "shameful act" and asserts that the Shaikh of Kuwait and Sheikh of Mahommerah Khaz'al's acceptance of the agreement with the British showed a lack of loyalty to their nations. Furthermore, the author of the article, who seems to be a resident of the region residing in Basra, expresses apprehension that the agreement with England will lead to difficulties in Mesopotamia via Kuwait and Mahommerah and that it will ultimately result in the destruction of these regions as England imports firearms through these two places. In February 1904, the ruler of Kuwait wrote to the political resident complaining about both Yusuf al-Ibrahim[270] and al-Rashid, who were sending critical articles about him to an anti-British Egyptian newspaper named Al-Liwa'a. The document states that: "The 'Liwa', 'Muaiyid' and other newspapers published in Egypt made it their mission in 1904-05 to disseminate false accounts of British actions in the Persian Gulf and North-Eastern Arabia, and their impact, as they had some

[269] Al-Waqayyān, Khalīfah, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt, (*Kuwait, n.d., 2010), p. 56; 'File 53/7 C (D 6) Koweit [Kuwait] Affairs, 1903-1904' [66r] (146/611), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/476, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023576129.0x000093> (Appendix 15)

[270]Sheikh Yusuf aimed to expose Sheikh Mubarak's rapprochement with the British and fuel official Ottoman positions and popular sentiment against him through media pressure. He corresponded with newspapers, particularly the Egyptian publication "Al-Liwa," emphasizing his national and Islamic identity and loyalty to the Caliph of the Muslims in Istanbul. Sheikh Yusuf aimed to expose his opponent's tactics, reveal corruption and bribery among Ottoman Empire employees, and focus on arms smuggling being carried out by Sheikh Mubarak through Kuwait, which was contributing to the spread of chaos and insecurity. These correspondences had a significant impact on the Ottoman position and found support among Arab regions under Ottoman rule. Examples of these correspondences can be found in the article "Complaint to the Commanders of the Faithful," published in Al-Liwaa Magazine on March 15, 1901, and in another article entitled "Conditions in the Land of Arabia: The Hopes of the Aspirants to Divide It," written by a senior man from Basra on December 16, 1903. Al-Shammarī, Khalaf ibn Ṣaghīr, *almstwd' wālmstḥḍr fī asbāb al-nizā' bayna Mubārak Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-Yūsuf Āl Ibrāhīm 1896-1906* (n.d., 2006), p. 192-193; 'File 53/7 C (D 6) Koweit [Kuwait] Affairs, 1903-1904' [67r] (147/611), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/476, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023576129.0x000094> [accessed 27 December 2022]

influence, was unfortunate. These papers were believed to have been largely responsible for the strongly anti-British attitude exhibited by most of the Turkish officials in the Basrah Wilayat in 1905; and, on the other hand, it was suspected that the Egyptian journals were themselves directly inspired by Constantinople." It also highlights the role of Egyptian newspapers such as "Al-Liwa" in spreading anti-British sentiment and influencing public opinion in the region. It is important to note that the text is from the British archive and therefore may present a biased perspective on the events and movements mentioned. However, it does suggest that there were Kuwaitis who opposed the agreement with the British and who supported pan-Islamic ideals, and that communication and media outlets played a significant role in shaping political opinions and movements in the region during this time. [271]

Khalid bin Muhammad al-Faraj emerged as a prominent figure among Kuwaiti individuals who staunchly opposed the 1899 Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement and ardently championed pan-Islamic ideals. His unwavering activism and prolific writings are well-documented in various correspondences, including a noteworthy letter from Muhammad 'Ali al-Ṭāhir, the editor of the influential newspaper "Al-Shura." This letter reveals that al-Faraj's essays were indeed received by al-Ṭāhir but had to undergo meticulous moderation due to the British government's unrelenting disapproval of any criticism directed towards their actions.

Al-Faraj's writings extended beyond the confines of Kuwait, reaching a wider audience through their publication in Egyptian and Syrian newspapers. In these publications, he fearlessly voiced his criticisms of the ruling Āl Ṣabāḥ dynasty of Kuwait and the British government. His bold activism, however, came at a significant cost, as he faced deportation from Kuwait and, subsequently, from Bahrain in 1927. Despite these setbacks, al-Faraj demonstrated unwavering resilience, eventually returning to Bahrain in 1929. [272] Al-Faraj's contributions to the literary landscape of Bahrain and Kuwait

[271] 'Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf. Vol I. Historical. Part IA & IB. J G Lorimer. 1915' [349] (492/1782), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/20/C91/1, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023575943.0x00005d> [accessed 28 December 2022]

[272] 'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [11r] (21/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library (This file contains correspondence between the British Political Agent at Bahrain; the British Political Agent at Kuwait; Charles Belgrave, Adviser to the Bahrain Government; Muḥammad ʻAlī al-Ṭāhir, Editor of the Cairo-based al-Shūrá newspaper; and Khālid bin Muḥammad al-Faraj) (Appendix 14)

are evident in an article he penned for the "Al-Shura" newspaper on April 28, 1927. In this insightful piece, he eloquently compared the two countries to twin sisters, highlighting their shared linguistic heritage, cultural practices, and national identity, while acknowledging their intertwined historical trajectories. Al-Faraj astutely observed that Kuwait's literary tradition had flourished due to its extensive interactions with Iraq and India.[273]

Similarly, on May 17, 1930, the British Political Agent in Bahrain sent a correspondence to the Political Agent in Kuwait, requesting that Khalid Al Faraj, “a Kuwaiti national who had previously served as the Rais Baladiya in Qatif and had been deported from Bahrain by the British Political Agent there”, not be granted a visa to Bahrain due to his previous actions of writing seditious articles in Egyptian newspapers against the British authorities. The British government had received multiple reports of Khalid Al-Faraj's writings, all of which agreed that his articles were intended to incite anger against the rulers of Kuwait and the British government.[274]

The 1920s witnessed a remarkable surge in literary contributions by Kuwaiti writers, who actively engaged with Arab newspapers through their journalistic endeavors. Among these notable figures were al-Sayyid ʻAbd-al-Wahhāb al-Ṭabaṭabāʾī, al-Sayyid Hāshim al-Rifāʻī, ʻbdālʻzyz al-Rashīd, Khālid Sulaymān al-ʻAdasānī, ʻAbdāllh aljwʻān, Muḥammad al-Sayyid Yūsuf al-Rifāʻī, Aḥmad al-Sayyid ʻUmar, and Aḥmad Mūsá al-Fāris. Additionally, several writers employed pseudonyms to express their views. These Kuwaiti writers found a prominent platform for their literary works in the "Al-Shura" newspaper, which enjoyed a continuous presence from 1926 to 1928.

---

[273] Al-Shūrá, 28 April 1927, Cairo, Issue Number 128
https://eltaher.org/publications/newspapers/pdfs/ashoura/Ashoura_1927-04-28.pdf

[274] 'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [9r] (17/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100022842087.0x000012> [accessed 27 December 2022]
This file contains correspondence between the British Political Agent at Bahrain; the British Political Agent at Kuwait; Charles Belgrave, Adviser to the Bahrain Government; Muḥammad ʻAlī al-Ṭāhir, Editor of the Cairo-based al-Shūrá newspaper; and Khālid bin Muḥammad al-Faraj.
These correspondence concern personality and activities of Khālid bin Muḥammad al-Faraj and include details relating to his deportation from Kuwait, his time spent working in the Customs House at Dammām and his work as a school teacher in Bahrain and as a clerk in the Municipality of Manamah (al-Baladiyyah); his writings in Egyptian and Syrian newspapers against the ruling Āl Ṣabāḥ of Kuwait and the British; and his deportation from Bahrain in 1927 and eventual return in 1929.

[275] The newspaper served as a vibrant hub for poetry, showcasing the talents of poets such as ‘Abdāllh al-zā’id, Latif al-niṣf, and Khālid Muḥammad al-Faraj. These poets delved into intellectual issues, enriching the literary landscape of Kuwait. Alongside poetry, the "Al-Shura" newspaper also featured thought-provoking political articles that addressed contemporary concepts and reform-related issues. Abdullah bin Ali Al-Sane, in his article on Kuwaiti history, eloquently emphasized the importance of Kuwaiti identity, declaring with conviction, "We are Kuwaitis." He also directed criticism at the conservative religious movement, questioning their opposition to the publication of Abdulaziz Al-Rasheed's book, "*The History of Kuwait*."[276]

Kuwaiti poets consistently championed the liberation of Palestine, the unification of the Arabian Peninsula, the dismantling of British presence, and a unified nationalistic political role that would ensure the unification of colonized countries under the banner of the United Arab nation. Political poetry served as a chronicle of events in the political history of the Arab world under Western colonization, with the Palestine Issue holding the foremost position. [277] Poet Khalid al Faraj, pioneering the address of the Palestine Issue before the Nakbah in 1929, harbored a profound interest in liberation struggles and the broader unity of the Arab nation. Saqer al-Shabib, a leading figure in nationalist poetry, focused on issues plaguing the Arab world, including the plight of Palestinians in the 1936 revolution and the Algerian revolution. Abdullah al-Nuri, in his 1931 poem "No Pride for the Ashamed," forcefully condemned Italian atrocities in Libya, demonstrating solidarity with other colonized Arab nations. Moreover, the Kuwaiti poets criticized internal challenges such as political and economic corruption, and urban underdevelopment stemming from colonization and its betrayal of the region's countries.[278]

---

[275] Al-Shāyijī, Hilāl, al-Ṣiḥāfah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn mundhu nash’atuhā ḥattá ‘ahd al-istiqlāl (Bahrain: Maṭbū‘āt Bānūrāmā al-Khalīj, 1989), p. 76.
[276] Al-Shūrá, Issue No. 96, Cairo, 9 September 1926; Al-Shūrá, Cairo, 21 May 1926.
Al-Shūrá, 6 January 1927; Al-Shūrá, 28 October 1926 Issue No. 103; Al-Shūrá, 30 December 1926
https://eltaher.org/publications/newspapers/english/newspaper_ashoura_en.html
[277] Al-Rūmī Nūrīyah Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Ḥarakah al-shi‘rīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī bayna al-taqlīd wa-al-taṭawwur*, (Kuwait, n.d., 1976), p. 82, 92.
[278] Al-Waqayyān, Khalīfah, *Al-qaḍīyah al-‘Arabīyah fī al-shi‘r al-Kuwaytī,* (Kuwait, n.d., 1977), p. 77-86, 112, 116; Al-Rūmī, *Al-Ḥarakah al-shi‘rīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī bayna al-taqlīd wa-al-taṭawwur*, p. 88-89

On the other hand, when some Kuwaiti merchants began subscribing to Arab newspapers and magazines, some scholars who opposed liberalization viewed these publications as heretical. Shaykh Ahmad al-Farsi, a particularly vocal critic on the subject, published a poem denouncing the editor of the modernist magazine Al-Manār, Muhammad Rashid Rida, and issued a fatwa against reading such publications. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Rushayd also stated that Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Aliji, a traditionalist scholar from Al-Ahsa who had significant influence in Kuwait, issued a fatwa calling for the execution of three Kuwaiti modernists who disagreed with him. According to al-Rushayd, al-'Aliji stated that "the execution of three Kuwaitis, Yusuf bin 'Isa al-Qina'i, Shaykh Saqr bin Salim al-Shabib, and ('Abd al-'Aziz al-Rushayd), is the price for entering heaven unconditionally." [279]

Despite the opposition faced by some, traditional media, namely newspapers and radio, played a significant role in fostering political awareness in the Gulf. Initially, educated and affluent segments of society in Dubai, Kuwait, Manama, and Muscat relied on publications from Arab countries like Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon. However, local populations soon began issuing their own newspapers, aiming to spread cultural, political, and social ideas within their communities. These newspapers and magazines represented a source of concern for colonial authorities due to their dissemination of anti-British sentiment and their encouragement of calls for political rights. [280] Furthermore, merchants and students played a critical role in transferring external experiences and modern ideas from Arab countries experiencing a renaissance into the region. They acted as conduits, bringing in newspapers, magazines, books, and contemporary perspectives that enriched the cultural landscape and introduced young people to new ways of thinking. [281]

One noteworthy example is the arrival of newspapers like Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqá and Al-Muqtaṭaf in Bahrain by traders from Bombay. These publications significantly influenced the region’s intellectuals, exposing them to the works of prominent Arab

[279] Alebrahim, Abdulrahman, Kuwaiti-Zubayri Intellectual Relations until the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Rushayd as an Example, in: Marc Owen Jones, Ross Porter and Marc Valeri, *Gulfization of the Arab World*, (Berlin: Gerlach Press, 2018) p. 140
[280] Al-khāṭir, Mubārak, *al-kitābāt al-ūlá al-ḥadīthah limothaqafy al-Baḥrayn*, (Manama, n.d.), p. 9-10
[281] next chapter highlights the significant role of first-class merchants in promoting political awareness in Kuwait. They achieved this by demanding political reform, establishing schools, sending their children to study abroad, and importing new ideologies from abroad.

writers of the modern era in literature, thought, and politics. [282] Furthermore, frequent travels of Gulf merchants to Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria allowed them to observe advancements in education and other societal arenas. Upon returning home, they shared their observations and experiences in private gatherings and Dywānyāt, often distributing newspapers, magazines, and books they had acquired during their travels. This practice enriched the cultural life of the Gulf region and introduced new perspectives to young people. [283]

The interwar stage witnessed the entrance of the Arabs into the nationalist fight and struggle against colonization and division, the independence of many Arab countries, many radical changes in the Arab Orient, and the appearance of thinkers (intellectuals) who brought back the notion of Arabic nationalism.[284] They founded political parties and associations, unions that called for unity, democracy, parliamentary life, individual rights, the importance of knowledge and freedom, constitutional reforms, national independence, justice, equality, party life, and civil liberties.[285]

As for the region of the Gulf, the rise of the Liberal movement (liberalism) in the Arab Mashreq in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had a slight impact on the neighboring regions through many outlets that contributed to the growth of the "liberal awareness" especially in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai – on a smaller scale - which witnessed the beginning of reform movements that were considered Liberal in the region of the Gulf in the 30s of the 20th century. In Kuwait and Bahrain, there appeared intellectuals and writers who had contacts with the Influential figures of the modern Arabic renaissance and participated in establishing clubs, intellectual associations

[282] Al-khāṭir, *al-kitābāt al-ūlá al-ḥadīthah limothaqafy al-Baḥrayn*, p. 16-17
[283] Al-Baṣīr, ʻAbd-al-Razzāq "Nashʼat al-Ḥarakah al-Thaqāfīyah al-adabīyah fī al-Kuwayt, *al-Qalam*, issue 7, (July 1975), p. 36-38 https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/163/15494/345239
[284] Al-Dajānī, Aḥmad Ṣidqī, Al-Fikr al-ʻArabī wa-al-taghyīr fī al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī, In*: al-Sayyid Yāsīn el al. (Al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-ʻaṣr fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī : al-aṣālah wa-al-muʻāṣarah,* Research and discussion at the intellectual symposium, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985), p. 328-329
[285] Barakāt, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir : baḥth istiṭlāʻī ijtimāʻī,* p. 418; Ibrāhīm, Saʻd al-Dīn, Al-Masʼalah al-ijtimāʻīyah bayna al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-ʻaṣr, In: al-Sayyid Yāsīn el al. (*Al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-ʻaṣr fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī : al-aṣālah wa-al-muʻāṣarah,* Research and discussion at the intellectual symposium, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985) p. 473-524

(cultural societies), press, libraries, schools, and educational curricula. Their participation boosted "intellectual awareness" in the region.[286]

According to Field's work, "The Merchants: The Big Business Families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States", Kuwait and Bahrain share a similarity in their early discovery of oil and trading backgrounds, as well as their well-educated and sophisticated populations. Field notes that Bahrain, in particular, opened its first modern school in 1919 and began offering education for girls ten years later. This expansion of education was reportedly supported by Mohammad Ali Alireza, a pearl dealer and founder of the Fallah schools, who worked to overcome opposition from religious leaders and more conservative individuals.[287]

Kuwait emerged as a pioneer of reformist movements and social transformations within the region. Kuwaiti writers and intellectuals, through their interactions and communication with Arab thinkers and reformers, gained exposure to their ideas and premises regarding the necessity of reforming traditional society, disseminating education and culture, and embracing modernity to meet the evolving demands of life. This intellectual exchange coincided with the arrival of Arab teachers, employees, and workers who actively contributed to raising political and cultural awareness within Kuwaiti society.[288] Consequently, a burgeoning Liberal movement emerged among Kuwaiti intellectuals, advocating for reforms, rejecting foreign dominance, promoting education, eradicating illiteracy, combating superstitions and fads, and embracing a modern interpretation of Islam.[289] However, the inhabitants of the region remained hesitant to adopt the religious reforms that were gaining traction in the Arab Mashreq.

In front of this new trend that the region witnessed, there was another trend that refused the reforms, openness, and renewal ideas, especially on the Arab thought in the Arab

---

[286] Al-Zayyānī, Amal Ibrāhīm, *Al-Baḥrayn bayna al-istiqlāl al-siyāsī wa-al-inṭilāq al-dawlī, (*Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub, 1977), p. 33; Al-Najjār, Bāqir Sulaymān " Antljnsyā am Muthaqqafūn : qirā'ah fī al-uṣūl al-ijtimā'īyah llmthqfyn fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī (Intelligentsia or intellectuals: Reading on the social origins of intellectuals in the Arabian Gulf), *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, Issue 14, No. 150, (August 1991), p. 75-77

[287] Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States,* p. 55

[288] Ismā'īl Fahd Ismā'īl, 'an al-qiṣṣah fī al-Kuwayt, Al-Bayān magazine, (Kuwait), Issue 106, (January 1975), p. 10-12, https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/219/17394/392171

[289] Al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Jābir, Adab al-iṣlāḥ al-ijtimā'ī fī al-Khalīj, 1920-1950, In: *Malāmiḥ al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, (Basra: The centre for Arabian Gulf studies of the University of Basra, 1980), p. 37

Mashreq and Maghreb led by Sheikh Abdul Aziz Al Alji who declared his strong opposition to the liberation ideas and showed a big reservation thinking that their outcomes would tarnish the correct values and feared the spread of Arab journalism among the Gulf peoples especially Al- Akhbār Newspaper of Amin Al Refai, Al Manār of Muhamed Rashid Rida, and Al-Manhaj of the Algerian Sheikh Abu Ishaq Atefish. He had hoped that the region would stay away from the reformist trend; however, his stance had been opposed by the reformists such as Abdulaziz Al Rasheed,[290] Abdullah Al Zayed, and Musaid Bin Sayyid Abdullah Al-Rifai. There was a hot debate between the innovators (revisionist, reformist) and conservatives in the literary and cultural arena.[291] Despite this, the intellectual and cultural visits and meetings were fruitful in the sense that they spread political and cultural awareness and helped the appearance of the first writings of the Gulf intellectuals that called for reforms and change in the society and resistance to colonialism, poverty, ignorance, collective diseases, and called for spreading education and for the unity of the Arab and Islamic nation. Many Kuwaiti and Bahraini youth wrote to Arabic magazines in the first third of the 20th century such as Al-Hilāl, Al-Muqtaṭaf, and Al Manār.[292]

With the expansion of broader awareness among the elite of Gulf society and their engagement with local and global developments, social and literary assemblies and forums flourished throughout the region, alongside social, cultural, and sports associations. These were the manifestations of the influence of modern Arab intellectual trends that prevailed in the Arab region at the beginning of the 20th century. These individuals became increasingly vocal in all matters, discussing social

[290] Sheikh Abdulaziz Al Rasheed first began his career in education, teaching Islamic religious education and Arabic language at Al-Mubarakiya School. He was later appointed as the director of the school, although only for a brief period. He then moved on to teach at Al-Ahmadiya School before becoming a distinguished lecturer at the Kuwaiti Literary Club. Following this, he relocated to Bahrain, where he published his magazine "Al Kuwait". Later, he traveled to Java (Jawa), where he collaborated with the Iraqi traveler Younis Bahri to publish his magazine "Al Kuwait and the Iraqi". He is also known for his famous book, "Kuwait's History," which spans two large volumes and is considered to be one of the primary local references for Kuwaiti history written in Arabic. Al-ʻAdasānī, Khālid Sulaymān, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt, In *Sijill al-Kuwayt al-yawm,* publications organization, Kuwait, (January 1956), p. 16

[291] ʻAlī, ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Khāliq, Al-Ittijāh al-wijdānī fī shiʻr Khālid al-Faraj wa-atharuhu fī Baʻth al-rūḥ al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-tarbiyah (1898-1954), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Yearbook, issue 4, (Doha: Qatar University, 1981), p. 166; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 29-30

[292] Al-khāṭir, *al-kitābāt al-ūlá al-ḥadīthah limothaqafy al-Baḥrayn,* p. 57-58,

and political issues and monitoring the development of external Arab events. [293] Al Dīwānīyah (a place where people meet) served as the epicentre of these literary and social gatherings, as well as a forum for cultural and political discourse. It exerted a significant impact on Gulf society and represented an extension of nomadic and tribal traditions, characterized by the presence of a majlis or Al Dīwānīyah in every household, especially that of the tribe's sheikh. Within Al Dīwānīyah, men would gather at community gatherings to discuss local affairs, commercial matters, and current affairs, in addition to engaging with newspapers and magazines. [294] Furthermore, Al Dīwānīyah played an economic role, serving as a meeting place for merchants to discuss their professions.[295]

According to Al-Zaidi, the assemblies known as Dywānyāt (plural of Dīwānīyah) in the Gulf were initially encouraged by ruling regimes in the region. These gatherings were viewed as a form of controlled democratic expression, allowing people to voice their opinions under the watchful eye of the authorities. The authorities perceived these assemblies as a manifestation of democracy, a concept that intellectuals and the opposition had long advocated for. Over time, these Dywānyāt transformed into vibrant cultural, political, and social forums that attracted the social elite. Their popularity surged with the rise of local opposition and the emergence of indirect criticism of the policies of the local authorities. These gatherings often featured lectures aimed at promoting cultural and political awareness. This phenomenon was particularly evident in Kuwait, where the Dywānyāt played a pivotal role in the lives of society members.[296]

Political activities in the Gulf primarily revolved around parapolitical (or quasi-political) institutions, such as literary and cultural clubs, rather than formal political

[293] Al-Rumayḥī Muḥammad Ghānim, wāqi‘ al-Thaqāfah wa-mustaqbaluhā fī aqṭār al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, the, *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī,* Beirut, No, 49, (March 1983), p. 48
[294] Ḥusayn, ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, *Muḥāḍarāt ‘an al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-Kuwayt,* (Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1994), p. 124-125; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-‘ishrīn,* p. 32
[295] Al-Anṣārī, *Lamaḥāt min al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī,* p. 116-117.
[296] Al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad,and al-Mudayris, flāḥ, "dirāsah taḥlīlīyah li-ittijāhāt al-ra’y al-‘āmm al-Kuwaytī ḥawla mukhtalaf al-qaḍāyā al-siyāsīyah al-Maḥallīyah" *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī,* Beirut, issue 169, (March 1993), p. 90-92; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-‘ishrīn,* p. 32; For more details see: Maghāmis, Khālid Muḥammad, *Al-Dīwānīyah al-Kuwaytīyah ta’thyruhā al-siyāsī wa al- ijtimā’i‘ wa al-thaqāfī,* (Kuwait: Dār al-siyāsah, 1992).

parties or banned unions. The term "para-political" designates activities that pursue political objectives without explicitly engaging in overt political discourse. Consequently, clubs and associations in Kuwait and Bahrain served as veiled political platforms, complementing their traditional cultural and social roles. Their proliferation can be attributed to the suppression of overt political activities, such as organized parties and unions.[297]

The concept of literary and intellectual clubs and associations in the Gulf originated with the Dywānyāt. The establishment of the "Charitable Association" (al-Jamʻīyah al-Khayrīyah) on March 9, 1913, near the Ahmadiya (al-Aḥmadīyah) School on the Sea Coast by Farhan Bin Fahd Al Khaled Al Khudair marked the inception of formal clubs and associations in Kuwait.[298] The association's primary objective was to facilitate the education of religious science students in Islamic universities across the Arab world, including Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, by funding their expenses from the association's resources. Additionally, the association invited Sheikh Muhammad al-Shanqiti to deliver sermons in mosques and encouraged individuals to contribute to the advancement of civilization. Furthermore, it provided medical care to the underprivileged through a doctor and pharmacist, distributed water to those in need, arranged for coffins for foreign and impoverished deceased individuals, covered funeral expenses, and established a library for the association. Some scholars perceive this association as a response to the growing influence of missionaries in Kuwait and the Gulf states. Consequently, its activities extended beyond cultural, educational, and social services to encompass a political dimension, as its members exhibited a leaning towards the Ottoman Empire,[299] a stance that diverged from the policies of Sheikh

[297] Al-Khūrī, Fu'ād Isḥāq, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā, (*Beirut: Arab development center, 1983), p. 241

[298] Farhan Al Khaled (1878-1913) A key figure in the early history of Kuwait, who used to attend the Majlis of Said Khalaf Pasha al-Naqib. Al Khaled established the Charitable Association (al-Jamʻīyah al-Khayrīyah) in 1913. The association provided healthcare, education, water, and reconciliation services for people. He passed away in the same year at the young age of 33, and he was buried in Bandar Abbas. Al-zuwayr, Badr ʻAbd Allāh Ḥamad, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah,* (Kuwait, n.d., 2016), p. 39; Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, *Aʻlām al-Kuwayt, Farḥān ibn Fahd al-khālid,* Vol. 01, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1985), p. 27-30

[299] The Ottoman influence held sway over the region for an extended period. Throughout the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire maintained control over this coast of the Arabian Gulf, both directly and nominally. The practice of raising the Ottoman "Turkish" flag continued until the outbreak of World War I, when a British warship fired upon a Kuwaiti yacht (a medium-sized sailing boat) bearing the Turkish flag. Kuwait subsequently replaced its flag with a red spot on a white background,

Mubarak Al-Sabah. [300] These clubs appeared to be a manifestation of the modern Arabic trends that emerged in the Arab world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They served as hubs for young intellectuals to engage in discussions, exchange ideas, and foster dialogue.[301]

In Bahrain, the "Iqbal Awal" club was established in 1913, attracting numerous young writers, including Mohamed Salih Yusuf, Nasser Al Khairi, Mohamed Al Arid, Khalil Al Moayed, Mohamed Ali Al-Tajer, Ali Ibrahim Kanu, Salman Al-Tajer, Saad Al-Shamlan, and others. [302] These individuals had previously frequented the missionary library to access books. However, they eventually decided to disassociate themselves from the library due to its promotion of Christian missionary ideologies. In 1923, they founded a library for their association called "Awāl Library" on Sheikh Abdullah Street, which later transformed into the Nādī (Club) Iqbāl Awāl al-laylī. Their activities centred on discussions of Islamic reformist thought, with Jamal al-Din al-Afghani serving as a role model in their fight against missionary endeavours. Unfortunately, the club's existence was short-lived, lasting only a year, due to religious controversies. The club's members were accused of disregarding Islamic traditions, prompting Bahraini judge Qassem Al-Muhazaa to threaten punishment if they did not cease promoting anti-Islamic principles. [303] Despite this setback, the library considered the first to be established in Bahrain, remained a sanctuary for intellectual youth and literary enthusiasts to engage with newspapers, magazines, books, and recent publications, fostering discussions on ideas, political events, and social issues. The

---

emblazoned with the word "Kuwait" in the center. In Kuwaiti poetry, there exists evidence of public support for the Ottomans. Kuwaiti poet Abdul Jalil Al-Tabatabai, for instance, wrote poems extolling the Ottomans, reflecting the prevailing Kuwaiti sentiment that the Ottomans would safeguard their religion and defend its principles. One such poem praises Sultan Abdul Majid, glorifying his severity, patience, and triumphs over his adversaries:
Vigilant as the fair king whom.... the kings obey for his determination
Our Sultan Abdul Majid has a severe force and all the glory"
For an extensive discussion, see: Alsajāry, Mashārī ʿAbd Allāh, *Al-shiʿr al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt ilá sanat 1950,* Vol. 01, (Beirut: al-Aʿlamī institution for publications, 1978), p. 177.

[300] Al-Nūrī, ʿAbd Allāh, *qiṣṣat al-Taʿlīm fī al-Kuwayt fī niṣf qarn min sanat 1300-1360,* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 57; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt,* p. 119-120; Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 284; for more details on Kuwait's first cultural institutions, see: Al-khāṭir, Mubārak Rāshid, *al-muʾassasāt al-Thaqāfiyah al-ūlá fī al-Kuwayt (The first cultural institutions in Kuwait),* (Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1997).

[301] Al-Rumayḥī, wāqiʿ al-Thaqāfah wa-mustaqbaluhā fī aqṭār al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī, p. 48

[302] Al-Anṣārī, *Lamaḥāt min al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī,* p. 11-12.

[303] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfiyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʿishrīn*, p. 34

library aimed to provide an alternative to the missionary library, which the youth had boycotted due to its propagation of Western anti-Islamic and Arab ideologies.[304]

In 1920, the Arab Club (al-Nādī al-ʻArabī) was founded in the city of Muharraq, Bahrain. Its members advocated for political reforms, which triggered the anger of the British authorities in Bahrain. As a result, the club was closed in the mid-1930s, along with other associations and clubs that served as the foundation for reformist and democratic ideas and facilitated their spread throughout the Gulf region. [305]

On April 28, 1924, the Kuwait Literary Club (al-Nādī al-Adabī) was established as a platform for delivering literary and social lectures. It was housed in the Diwan of Mohammad Saleh Al Jouan in Maḥallāt (locality) Al-Zain. The club's establishment was proposed by Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani, with Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah serving as its chairman. [306] Sheikh Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai was appointed as the club's director. The club's membership included numerous poets, such as Hashem Al-Refai, Saqer Al-Shabib, Khalid Al-Adsani, Nesef Yusuf Al-Nesef, Abdulhameed AlSanie, Mohammed Ahmed Al Ghanem, Khaled Al-Faraj, Haji Bin Jassim Al-Haji, Musaid Bin Al-Sayd Abdullah Al-Rifai, Mohammed Bin Khalid Al-Mshari, Sulaiman Afendi Al-Adsani, Mohammed Al-Utaibi, Omar Al-Sayyid Khalaf, Abdulqader Saif Mohammed, Ahmed Al-Khaled Al-Mshari, and Mohammed AL-Barrak. The club served as the nucleus for the emergence of the Kuwait Writers' League (Rābiṭat al-Udabāʾ) following World War II.[307]

Recounting the club's history in his memoirs (Mudhakkirāt), Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani stated, "In the year 1342 – according to the hijrah calendar (al-Taqwīm al-Hijrī) – these intellectual waves, and literary and scientific institutes were the offshoot of an active movement, the result of which was the opening of the literary club (al-Nādī al-Adabī). The club, in the first two years of its establishment, made a literary movement and raised awareness among the youth. It had around 100 members, and

[304] ʻIzzat, ʻAzzah ʻAlī, *Al-Ṣiḥāfah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, (*Baghdad: Gulf States Information Documentation Center, 1983), Vol. 01, p. 79
[305] For further details, see: Ḥasan, ʻAbd Allāh Aḥmad, *Al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah wa-al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Association of Writers in Kuwait, 2014), p. 345.
[306] Al-Saʻīdān, Ḥamad Muḥammad, *Al-Mawsūʻah al-Kuwaytīyah al-mukhtaṣarah*, Vol. 02, (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1981), p. 52.
[307] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 35

various literary and scientific lectures were held. They had a far-reaching reputation not only in Kuwait but also in the neighboring emirates of the Arab Coast.[308]

The Islamic Forum (Al-Muntadá Al-Islāmī), established in Bahrain in 1927, comprised merchants and affluent individuals in Manama who, despite the forum's Islamic name, harbored sympathies with the then-prevailing nationalist movement in Egypt. Following its inception, the forum's ideology and approach shifted to align with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (The Society of the Muslim Ikhwan), receiving publications from the movement and its associated groups. However, the forum maintained its independence from the movement, serving as an organic response to colonial policies in Egypt. Despite its efforts, the forum struggled to attract a significant membership, primarily serving as a social gathering for the elite and a platform for merchants and wealthy individuals to discuss political and commercial matters.[309]

In 1937, Bahrain's intellectuals established the "Bahrain Club" (Nādī al-Baḥrayn) in Al-Muharraq for cultural, social, and sporting purposes, including the elite of young intellectuals such as Abdulrahman Al-Mouwda, Abdul-Aziz Al-Shamlan, Rashid Al-Zayani, Issa Al-Hawi, and Mohammed Al Hassan, with the honorary president being Shaikh Issa bin Salman Mohammed Al-Khalifa. The club was represented by wealthy Sunni merchants, along with teachers, employees, and students, whose number exceeded 250. Its main goals were to spread culture among the youth of Bahrain and strengthen social bonds between the people. The club's members engaged in activities such as giving lectures, holding seminars, and participating in social and sporting events. Additionally, the club had its own small library.[310]

Al Ahlī Club was established in 1938 for cultural, social, and sporting purposes, with around 177 members from Al Manama. Among the club's most famous members were Abdulrahman Al Moayyed, Khalifa Al Gosaibi, Ahmed Kanu, Mohammed Kanu, Abdullah Al Mahzaa, Hassan Al-Mehza, Ahmed Al-Jaber, Abdulrahman Al-Alawi,

---

[308] Al-'Adasani, K., *'Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 5

[309] Al-Khūrī, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā,* p. 241

[310] Al-Bassām Khālid, *Tilka al-Ayyām: Ḥikāyāt wa-ṣuwar min Bidāyāt al-Baḥrayn,* (Manama: Gulf panorama publications, 1986), p. 19-28; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-'Arabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn,* p. 37

Ibrahim Al Khalfan, Abdulrahman Taqi, and Sultan Saif. The club kept itself distant from political and religious issues and instead focused on organizing poetry readings and sports activities. Similarly, Al Islah Club (Nādī al-iṣlāḥ) was founded in Al Muharraq with 160 members. It was the second club in the city with cultural and literary objectives.[311]

Al-'Uruba Club (Nādī al-'Urūbah) emerged as one of the most prominent Bahraini clubs during the 1930s. [312] Founded in Manama by Mohammed Douigher in 1939, the club boasted a membership of 250 individuals, carefully vetted through a set of eligibility criteria. Applicants were required to be literate, of good character and reputation, at least 18 years old, and of Arab descent. The club's demographic primarily comprised individuals in their thirties, possessing a high school education, and engaged in either mercantile or civil service occupations. The club's core principles revolved around fostering solidarity, and national and social belonging, [313] promoting political awareness and Arab nationalism, establishing public education, and enhancing civil services. Notably, a segment of affluent Shia merchants collaborated with senior officials from the same sect to actively participate in the club's endeavors. The club's guiding principles explicitly advocated for "unifying people and fighting sectarianism based on Arab nationalism principles." However, a contingent of young Sunni merchants expressed concerns regarding the club's perceived overemphasis on Arabism at the expense of Islamic values. Several notable individuals graced the ranks

[311] Al-Khūrī, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā*, p. 27-28

[312] The most famous of the Bahraini clubs was al-'Uruba Club. In addition to this, other clubs with nationalistic trends emerged, calling for the raising of national spirit and liberation from foreign colonization, realizing Arab unity, focusing on Arab issues, and supporting the Palestinian people against Zionist greed. These clubs included the Clubs association, Alumni clubs (Nādī al-Khirrījīn), Independence club (Nādī al-istiqlāl) in Kuwait, the cultural club in Kuwait (al-Nādī al-Thaqāfī), and the Knowledge for Struggle association in Saudi Arabia (Jam'īyat al-'Ilm lil-niḍāl), among others. There were also clubs with liberal/reformist trends, such as Al Ahlī, the Teachers, Graduates in Kuwait, and others, whose members claimed democracy, freedom of opinion, facing oppression, granting people their rights of elections, candidature, and parliamentary representation, establishing parties and unions, stopping corruption and waste of national resources, and enacting laws that guarantee employees' rights. For further details about these clubs and associations, please refer to the final chapter of this study.

[313] Lawson, Fred, "Labor Politics, Economic Change and the Modern Nation of Autocracy in Contemporary Bahrain" in Peter J. Pranger (ed) *Ideology and Power in the Middle East*, Studies in Honor of George Lenczwski, (London: Dake University Press, 1988), P. 57-58; Nakhle, Emile A, *Bahrain: Political Development in Modernization Society,* (London: Lexington Mass, Lamington Books, 1976), p. 49

of Al-'Uruba Club, including Ibrahim Muqla, Saad Yusuf, Khalif Mohammed Bushlibi, Qassem Mohammed Murad, Mohammed Khalifa Al Maawda, Mohammed Nesef, Mirza Al Arid, Nathem Al Asfour, Reda Al Musawi, Hussein Al Maskati, Salman Al-Saffar, and Nouh Qassim. Recognizing the need to combat illiteracy, the club established a dedicated branch to address this issue and also organized regular film screenings. Furthermore, the club served as a platform for lively discussions on Arab nationalism within Bahrain, broader Arab political issues, British politics, and the cultivation of a nationalist spirit among the youth. [314] In the political arena, the club championed participation in the elections to the Constitutional Assembly. On constitutional matters, the club advocated for the inclusion of a bill of rights within the constitution, women's suffrage, the formation of labor unions, constitutional governance, and the presumption of innocence until proven guilty.[315]

These cultural and social clubs and associations served as a fertile ground for the cultivation of political and cultural awareness. The youth who frequented these clubs actively engaged with Arab and foreign radio broadcasts, tuning in to stations such as Italian Radio Bari, German Radio at Zeesen, the BBC Arabic Service, [316] and Qaṣr al-zuhūr radio station of Baghdad. These stations served as conduits for disseminating political, cultural, and social ideas, news, and reports, attracting a diverse audience of students, teachers, and employees who congregated in cafes and clubs. The clubs played a pivotal role in introducing the Gulf community to Arab issues from across the Arab world, with particular emphasis on the Palestinian cause and the British stance supporting Jewish occupation in Palestine. This exposure fostered a heightened sense of national awareness.[317]

Despite their initial success, these clubs did not endure for an extended period in Gulf society, particularly following the British authorities' decision to shut down most of them at the onset of World War II. This decision stemmed from the clubs' heightened

---

[314] Al-Khūrī, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā*, p. 266; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 38

[315] Nakhle, *Bahrain Political Development in Modernization Society,* p. 49

[316] Ayish, Muhammad I., Foreign Voices as People's Choices; BBC Popularity in the Arab World, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 3 (Jul. 1991), p. 374-389

[317] Zahlan, Rosemarie Said, Al-Wiḥdah wa-al-Ḥokm al-Barīṭānī, ḥālat al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah al-Muttaḥidah", in*: tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah al-Muttaḥidah*, (symposium), (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1982), p. 134-135

activism against the Allied forces, specifically Britain, which raised concerns about potential anti-British protests in the region and prompted their closure.[318] Nonetheless, the experiences garnered from these gatherings in Kuwait and Bahrain proved invaluable, enriching the subsequent endeavors of intellectual and political organizations. They reinforced the experiences, intellectual activity, and political actions of the nationalist elites, enabling them to operate in a more mature and effective manner.

In the aftermath of the 1930s, Kuwait underwent a period of profound transformation, encompassing economic, social, and political realms, fostering the emergence of diverse trends, organizations, and political movements. These changes were accompanied by inherent conflicts, contradictions, and the influence of intellectual and political movements, both domestically and internationally, extending their impact beyond Kuwait's borders to neighboring countries. [319] Amidst this dynamic backdrop, the cultural and social clubs and associations established during this period played a pivotal role in cultivating and deepening political and intellectual awareness, particularly in Kuwait and Bahrain. These clubs served as hubs for a diverse range of individuals from varying professions and social backgrounds, including merchants, students, and oil workers, who later emerged as the backbone of the national movement in subsequent periods.

2.1.2. The libraries

Collective memory, as reflected in cultural institutions such as libraries, constitutes a crucial element of collective identity. [320] By providing access to materials that

[318] Al-Najjār, Bāqir, "Al-mujtama‘ al-madanī fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah", In: *Al-mujtama‘ al-madanī fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī wa-dawruhu fī taḥqīq al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah*, (intellectual seminar) Sa‘īd Binsa‘īd al-‘Alawī et al., Vol. 01, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1992), p. 566-567.

[319] Al-Tayyār al-Taqaddumī al-Kuwaytī, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, Office of Preparation and Education, (Kuwait), p. 1 Link

[320] For more details see: Adams, Sue; Krolak, Lisa; Kupidura, Eva; Pangerc Pahernik, Zvonka: Libraries and Resource Centres: Celebrating Adult Learners every week of the year, *Convergence*, Vol. XXV, Nr. 2-3, (2002). pp. 27-38; Krolak, Lisa, *The role of libraries in the creation of literate environment*. A paper prepared for the UNESCO education for all global monitoring report, literacy for life, (Hamburg, Germany, 2006), p. 7; Valencia, Miriam. “Libraries, Nationalism, and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century.” *Libri* 52, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–15.

encapsulate a nation's history, culture, and values, libraries foster national awareness and patriotic sentiments. They instill a sense of unity and solidarity among community members, nurturing pride and belonging. The history of libraries in Arab societies is inextricably linked to the cross-cultural exchange of ideas. Prominent Arab rulers established mosques and palace libraries, incorporating elements of Hellenistic culture. As Arab-Islamic civilization absorbed more of this heritage and acquired new techniques through global trade, sophisticated research libraries emerged. In the Middle East, the earliest of these libraries were private collections belonging to Ottoman or Arab notables. Of Istanbul's forty significant libraries listed in a Tunisian almanac in 1876, twenty-two were owned by notables, including the Kuprulu collection. These libraries often emulated European systems of classification. Notable libraries could also be found in Damascus, Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem (al-Quds), Alexandria, Tunis, and Cairo. At the beginning of the twentieth century, libraries became integral to an awakening awareness that regarded education as a catalyst for social change. During the colonial period, the growth of modern libraries in the Arab world lagged behind expectations, possibly due to the colonizers' reluctance to impart certain cultural traits, such as education and industry, to the colonized populace.[321]

According to many scholars of nationalism, the development of a shared language, literacy, and body of vernacular literature can be crucial to the formation and perception of national identity. The recognition of such literature can contribute to a group's self-awareness as a nation and justify their claim to political self-determination. This desire for self-determination and the resistance to it by dominant groups have been a major source of conflict in recent years. Given the centrality of cultural differences to these conflicts, it is not surprising that cultural property, including library collections, has sometimes become a target during internal armed conflicts in which minority groups seek self-determination.[322]

Modern archives, libraries, and museums play a pivotal role in safeguarding national history and memory, contributing to the formation of a cohesive national identity and

[321] Green, Arnold H., “The History of Libraries in the Arab World: A Diffusionist Model”. *Libraries & Culture*, 23(4), (1988), p. 454–473

[322] Valencia, Miriam. “Libraries, Nationalism, and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century.” *Libri* 52, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–15.

a shared moral solidarity, or the collective conscience, as conceptualized by Émile Durkheim. These institutions fulfill several macro-social functions, including the preservation of collective national memory and the fostering of a sense of shared identity among members of a society.[323]

In the mid-1913, a public library named "Iqbal Awal" was established in Bahrain. A group of young intellectuals from Manama, including Mohamed Salih Yusuf, Nasser Al Khairi, Mohammed Haji Husain Al Arid, Khalil Al Moayed, Mohammed Ali Al-Tajer, Ali Bin Khalifa Al-Fadil, Mohammed Ibrahim Al-Bakir, Ali Ibrahim Kanu, Saad Al-Shamlan, and Salman Al-Tajer, decided to establish a public library in response to the prevailing sentiment against the existing missionary library in the city. These young men sought to establish an independent platform for accessing modern newspapers and magazines. However, their endeavor faced opposition from traditional elements, ultimately leading to the library's closure later that same year.[324]

The Central Library (Al-Maktabah Al-Markazīyah) in Kuwait emerged as the first public library established post-1936. However, the roots of libraries in Kuwait trace back two decades earlier to the establishment of the National Library (Al-Maktabah Al-Ahlīyah) in 1922, spearheaded by a group of intellectuals and affluent donors. This library operated on a public management model, relying on donations, until the formation of the Education Assembly Administration (Majlis al-Ma‘ārif).[325] It is worth noting that prior to the emergence of distinct political orientations, political activists in Kuwait harbored cultural and literary interests. For instance, individuals instrumental in the establishment of the National Library in 1922, including Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer and Abdullatif Yaseen Tabatabai, later became active members of The National Bloc (Al-Kutlah Al-Waṭanīyah) alongside colleagues such as Abdullatif Thunayyan Al-Ghanim and Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani in the 1930s.[326]

[323] Brown, R. H.; Davis-Brown, B., “The making of memory: the politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness,” *History of the Human Sciences,* 11(4), (1998), p. 17–32.
[324] ‘Izzat, *Al-Ṣiḥāfah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī,* p. 79; Al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Jābir, Fuṣūl min Tārīkh Ṣiḥāfat al-Khalīj : qiṣṣat al-Muḥāwalāt wālbidāyāt al-ūlá 1920-1930 *Doha Journal*, No. 10, (October 1976), p. 86-92.
[325] Ḥasan, *Al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah wa-al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 349.
[326] Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 161

In the early 1930s, Mohammed Ahmed Al-Rouijeh established a library to sell books and stationery named the "National Library" (al-Maktabah al-Waṭanīyah). The library included newspapers and books in different cultural and literary genres from publishing houses in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Later, in 1934, another library was established in the house of Ali Al-Amer, with Abdullah Al-Imran Al-Najdi appointed as its secretary. Its headquarters was later moved to Al Amir Street, where Mubarak Bin Jassim Al Qinai became its director. Libraries in Kuwait were a center for culture and literature, and a place where individuals could meet to read newspapers, magazines, and recent books. [327]

In 1938, Muhammad al-Barrak, revered as 'the leader' (Al-Zaʿīm) by Kuwaitis for his unwavering support of Arab nationalist principles, transcended political activism to harness culture as a vehicle for his ideals. He established a library aptly named 'the Nationalistic Library' (al-Maktabah al-Qawmīyah) and prepared copybooks to be sold to students with this sentence written on their covers: “the Arab world is an inherent unity and a beacon for the nationalist youth who steadfastly pursue its political unification.” This served as a poignant reminder to the youth and student populace of their duty towards comprehensive Arab unity and their indispensable role in this endeavor. Moreover, Humood Al-Mogahwi, emulating Muhammad al-Barrak's initiative, founded Al Tilmeth Library (Maktabat al-tilmīdh) to address the school's stationery requirements.[328]

2.2.Social Classes and Political Awareness

A comparative analysis between Kuwait and other Gulf states reveals several shared characteristics, such as historical and cultural parallels, predominantly hereditary feudal systems of governance, and enduring tribal structures. Most notably, they have undergone a rapid economic transformation within a few decades, transitioning from societies reliant on agriculture, fishing, and pearl diving to economies centered on

[327] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt, p. 252-253; Al-Tamīmī, ʿAbd āl-Mālik Khalaf, "Al-istiʿmār al-Thaqāfī fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī" *Al-bāḥith Magazine*, Beirut, first issue, (September 1980), p. 122-123 (Appendix 2)

[328] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt, p. 71; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 151

modern oil production technologies. Prior to the discovery of oil, the tribe served as the cornerstone of social, economic, and political life in the Arab world. It represented the foundation of social organization and the form of kinship unity among members of a common lineage. Tribal relationships were governed by a set of traditions and norms that constituted an unwritten tribal code. The dominance of tribal forces in social and economic spheres extended to political leadership, where tribal leaders often leveraged their influence over other productive forces in society to maintain their positions of power. [329]

The tribe was characterized by a hierarchical structure, with the Sheikh holding supreme authority due to his influence, wealth, and lineage. The tribe selected its Sheikh, who managed the people's affairs based on social position and familial and tribal affiliations. The elders served on an advisory assembly (Shura Council) alongside the Sheikh, but they did not challenge or debate his decisions. The tribe functioned as a self-contained political unit with centralized authority and social and economic autonomy. Individuals within the tribe were bound by obligations of loyalty and dependency, governed by a system of rights and duties. The existence of the tribe as a political entity has had a significant impact on the functioning of the state, the nature of loyalty within society, and the development of political parties and associations. In the absence of a modern state or political parties, tribal affiliation and culture served as primary sources of identity for tribal groups. [330] Although traditional tribal loyalties remained stronger and held more sway than loyalty to the modern state or nationalism in the Arab Gulf region, the state in Kuwait was able to attract nomadic groups (Bedouins) and tribal leaders, leading to the emergence of a pro-state faction that countered the opposition.

The social and cultural landscape of the region evolved under challenging conditions. The shallowness of the Gulf's coastal waters and scarcity of groundwater compelled

[329] Al-Tamīmī, ʻAbd āl-Mālik Khalaf, "al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī: dirāsah fī al-tārīkh al-iqtiṣādī wa-al-ijtimāʻī, *Social Sciences Journal*, Vol 2, Kuwait, (June 1981), p.17 (9-44); Al-Zaydī, Mufīd, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī,* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2000), p. 45

[330] Sadik, Muhammad, and W. Snavely. *Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates: Colonial Past, Present Problems, and Future Prospects*. (London: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 120; Al-Ḥamad, Turkī, "Tawḥīd al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah: Dawr al-aydiyūlūjiyā wa-al-tanẓīm fī taḥṭīm al-Buná al-ijtimāʼiahʻ-āl-iqtiṣādyāt almuʻiqah lil-Wiḥdah, *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, (Beirut, November 1986), p. 28-40

local communities to supplement their meager agricultural yields and cattle herding with maritime endeavors. Consequently, social structures remained relatively uncomplicated and traditional, while political and cultural awareness was notably underdeveloped. [331] This situation only began to transform with the burgeoning of commercial activity in the Gulf, particularly in Kuwait. This surge in trade ignited a merchant class's interest in education and libraries, fostering the dissemination of political awareness and bolstering support for the national movement.

The structure of Gulf society was traditionally dominated by a rigid hierarchy of social classes, with ruling families at the apex. These families maintained close relationships with influential merchants, collectively wielding immense influence over political decisions and economic activities. The social hierarchy can be broadly divided into two primary groups: the ruling families and the workers' group. The ruling families, epitomized by the Sabah dynasty, encompassed a diverse range of individuals, including sheikhs, prominent pearl traders, tribal leaders, commercial shop owners, real estate magnates, and religious figures. These individuals held ownership over the means of production and capital, forming an oligarchy of wealthy merchants. [332] In contrast, the workers' group comprised individuals engaged in various occupations, such as fishing, pearl diving, shipbuilding, hunting, handicrafts, agriculture, and nomadism. In 1922, the pearl diving workforce was estimated at 10,000 individuals, while Kuwait's merchant fleet consisted of approximately 800 ships.[333] The discovery of oil triggered a significant transformation in social categories. The pre-existing social structure gradually eroded, replaced by new forces and categories arising from demographic growth and an influx of Arab and foreign immigrants.

The ruling families in the Gulf have evolved into a network of tribal families that hold a dominant position in the political sphere, perpetuating a system of hereditary rule. Their influence extends over civil and military institutions, as evidenced by the increasing number of family members holding key positions within these institutions.

---

[331] Al-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd, *Sukkān al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Publications Company for Publishing & Distribution, 1969), p. 88-89; Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad ʻAbbās, al-abʻād al-ijtimāʻīyah wa-al-thaqāfīyah al-ḥaḍarīyah fī mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabīyah ", *al-Shuʾūn al-ijtimāʻīyah*, vol 6, issue 21, (1989), (169-210), p. 176

[332] For more information see: Yanai, The Political Transformation of Gulf Tribal States.

[333] Casey, Michael S. *The History of Kuwait.* (London: Greenwood Press, 2007), p. 72; Rumayḥī, *Al-Qaḍāyā al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʻī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970*, p. 243

To further consolidate their power, ruling families forge alliances with influential commercial families and tribal leaders, effectively transforming civil institutions into solidarity organizations within the state's hierarchy. [334] The pervasive influence of ruling families in the Gulf transcends the political realm, shaping the region's social and political landscape. They serve as central authorities within society, playing multifaceted political roles that contribute to a perception of political unity.[335]

Al-'Ulamā', or religious scholars, constitute another significant social group in the Gulf region. Renowned for their expertise in Islamic laws and teachings, they occupy prominent positions in religious education institutions, provide guidance through preaching, and play a crucial role in the implementation of Islamic and Sharia rule. [336] Emerging in the wake of the oil boom and the ensuing financial prosperity, the Bourgeoisie represents another notable social category. This group comprises prominent commercial families, entrepreneurs, importers and exporters, and agents of foreign companies. [337] Well-known examples of bourgeois families include Al-Ghanim family in Kuwait, Al-Juffali family in Jeddah, Al Futtaim family in Dubai, the Yusif Kanoo family in Bahrain, and Al-Aliyan family in Najd. Through strategic alliances with ruling authorities and by exerting significant economic and social influence, the Bourgeoisie has solidified its position within the Gulf's social hierarchy. Leveraging their distinct economic status and exposure to political and intellectual currents in the Arab world, this group has advocated for liberal reforms within the emerging social order and actively sought participation in governmental and political positions. Despite their pursuit of political influence, the Bourgeoisie has generally maintained a moderate and pragmatic approach, avoiding fanaticism or bigotry in their intellectual and political stances. This measured approach stems from their desire to maintain stability and security, safeguarding their economic interests and financial

[334] Korany, Bahgat, Defending the Faith: The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia, In: Bahgat Korany, Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, *The Foreign Policies of Arab States*, (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, Cairo, Egypt: American University of Cairo Press, 1984), p. 260-261.
[335] Al-Manūfī, Kamāl, Al-'ā'ilah wa-al-siyāsah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī, *Al-Fikr al-istirātījī al-'Arabī Journal*, Issue 8-9, (July 1983), p. 181-182
[336] For more information see: Munson Jr., Henry, *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East,* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 29, p. 66-74, p. 95-104; Al Sabah, Ebraheem Duaij Al-Ebraheem, *Shari'ah, Democracy and the Kuwaiti Constitution*, (London: Arabian Publishing Ltd, 2017), p. 113.
[337] Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-judhūr al-ijtimā'īyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣirah*, p. 20.

wealth. This shared commitment to stability has fostered a close and mutually beneficial relationship between the Bourgeoisie and ruling families.[338]

The merchant class played a pivotal role in shaping the economic landscape of the region through their involvement in financial institutions, public enterprises, commercial agencies, expansive trading centers, and the facilitation of substantial import and export activities. Their economic influence translated into political clout, extending back to the time of their formation. This influential group sought to implement societal and governmental reforms, advocating for the right to political participation and decision-making authority. They proposed ideas rooted in liberalism, reforms, democracy, parliamentary systems, Shura councils, and establishing channels for communication with the ruling bodies to secure their role in political life.[339] The merchants actively participated in the reform movements of 1921, 1923, and 1938 in Kuwait and Bahrain, aiming to bring about necessary changes in society and the governing structure. However, as substantial oil revenues emerged, leading to significant financial gains and a flourishing economic climate, the merchants forged alliances with the ruling families, who sought to legitimize their power through political and social recognition. In return, the merchants sought the support of the ruling families to advance their economic ventures and investments. [340] Consequently, the merchants no longer posed a threat to the ruling regimes and shifted their focus towards commercial interests, accumulating wealth, and expanding their influence in social circles, cultural forums, philanthropic endeavors, and sporting activities.[341]

The emergence of the middle-class in the Gulf region following World War II marked a significant shift in the political and social landscape, driven by a surge in cultural and political awareness. [342] This group comprised individuals from diverse backgrounds, including skilled artisans, employees, students, and military officers.

---

[338] For more information see: Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States;* Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 34.
[339] For more information see: Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-Khalīj laysa nifṭā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah,* p. 46; Crystal, Jill, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar,* (Cambridge Middle East Library, Cambridge (UK), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 24-48
[340] Al-Khuṣūṣī, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ijtimāʻī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-ʻaṣr al-ḥadīth,* p. 126; Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States,* p. 97, 121
[341] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 35
[342] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtamaʻ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah*, p. 136

Their economic and social position placed them between the upper echelons of society, encompassing ruling families, the bourgeoisie, and merchants, and the lower classes, consisting of workers, farmers, and nomadic communities. The Middle-Class were profoundly influenced by the political and cultural upheavals that swept across the Arab world post-World War II, fostering a desire for reforms, change, and heightened political awareness and national identity. Unlike the ruling families, their bourgeois allies, and merchants, the Middle-Class lacked economic interests or political ties that bound them to the established power structures. [343] This detachment from the ruling elites emboldened them to engage in political activism, fueled by their growing cultural and educational qualifications, technical, scientific, and administrative expertise, and a strong belief in liberalism, justice, and political participation. They advocated for an end to exploitation and foreign domination over oil resources, championed reforms, change, and modernization in society and governance, and envisioned a supportive partnership with Arab nations and the active involvement of Gulf states in nationalist and Islamic causes.[344]

The emergence of the Working Class in the Gulf region was a direct consequence of the discovery of oil and the concomitant surge in demand for labor in oil refineries, commercial enterprises, construction sites, and other industries.[345] This burgeoning class gradually expanded its social footprint yet faced rampant exploitation at the hands of foreign companies and investors, fierce competition from foreign labor, and significant obstacles in forming trade unions. In response to these challenges, the Working Class organized into both clandestine and openly operating associations and organizations, driven by the dual objectives of social and political advancement. This

[343] Rugh, William, Emergence of a New Middle Class in Saudi Arabia, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 27, Issue 1, (Winter 1973), p. 7-20

[344] Al-Rumaihi, Mohamed, Factors of Social and Economic Development in the Gulf in the Eighties, in: *Palestine and the Gulf: Proceedings of an International Seminar* November 2-5, 1981, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1982), p. 208-209.

[345] On February 22nd, 1938, oil was discovered in the Burgan field of Kuwait. Prior to this, the Kuwait Oil Company had been established in February 1934. The company was granted exploitation rights by Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah on March 23rd, 1934, for a period of 75 years. Following a geological survey of Kuwaiti land and waters between 1936 and 1937, oil was discovered in significant quantities in the Burgan field. Subsequently, eight wells were dug in the same region during 1938-1942, yielding very encouraging results. In July 1946, Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah initiated Kuwait's first crude oil export aboard the tanker "British Fusilier" by turning a silver wheel. Al-ʿajīl, Farīd Mashārī, *Al-nafṭ fī al-Kuwayt : dirāsah taḥlīlīyah shāmilah,* (Kuwait: Maqahwī Press, n.d.), p. 13-37; Iskandar, Marwān, *Ghuyūm fawqa al-Kuwayt*, translated by: Maḥmūd Zāyid, (Beirut: Publications Company for Publishing & Distribution, 1991), p. 24

collective mobilization enabled the Working Class to actively participate in reformist movements and political events unfolding across several Gulf states, including Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia. [346] They also played a pivotal role in the liberal revolutions that swept across the Arab world following World War II, particularly in addressing the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Working Class vehemently opposed the policies of the ruling families and the pervasiveness of foreign presence in the region, demanding sweeping reforms to improve their living standards and eradicate the exploitation perpetrated by foreign oil companies. To amplify their voices, they disseminated their views through publications, statements, and pamphlets distributed among the populace.[347]

The evolution of professions within society, exemplified by industries like shipbuilding and pearl trading, was a direct consequence of their pivotal role in the production processes. This economic stratification concurrently gave rise to a hierarchical societal structure, wherein an individual's societal standing was contingent upon their affluence and chosen vocation. This socioeconomic delineation significantly contributed to the establishment of an influential economic and political upper echelon. This elite segment of society assumed a central role in governance and public administration, serving as the primary advisory body for rulers. A case in point is the ascension of Sabah I to rulership, an event indicative of the Kuwaiti populace recognizing the elite as the principal authority in matters of leadership. Moreover, this socioeconomic elite undertook the responsibility of financing essential societal functions, with the understanding that the ruler would seek their counsel and defer to their interests. Ghanim Al-Najjar aptly characterizes this reciprocal relationship as the "common governance formula."[348]

The following sections present an in-depth exploration of the transformations in political awareness that unfolded in Kuwait between 1938 and 1971. This examination is achieved through a comprehensive analysis of the social, political, and societal

[346] Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-judhūr al-ijtimā'īyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣirah,* p. 2
[347] Cottrell, Alvin J., C. Edmund Bosworth, R. Michael Burrell, Keith McLachlan, and Roger M. Savory, eds. *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey*, Baltimore, (MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 399.
[348] Al-Najjār, *madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 9.

conditions that prevailed during this era. By delving into the experiences of various societal categories, including ruling families, merchants, the middle class, and the working class, the study sheds light on the impact of the prevailing social and political climate on these groups and their role in shaping political awareness and driving change. The final two chapters provide a detailed analysis of the transformations in political awareness among these categories, offering a nuanced understanding of the political landscape during this period.

2.3.The Nature of the Political System

Travelers and writers like Abu-Hakima and Alexander Keith Johnston have chronicled Kuwaiti society as one characterized by a notable degree of awareness and freedom among its people. Abu-Hakima, drawing from his 1816 citation of Buckingham's work, [349] remarked on Kuwait's preservation of independence and the reputation of its inhabitants as the most courageous and free-spirited among Gulf nationals. [350] Additionally, accounts suggest that Kuwait's political system was rooted in consultation, or "Shura." This notion is corroborated by an old map published by Alexander Keith Johnston in 1803, which labels Kuwait as "The Republic of Kuwait." [351] The cartographer perceived Kuwait's system of government as republican in nature, owing to the citizens' involvement in selecting their rulers and actively participating in governance. [352]

In his work titled "Kuwait: The First Independent Arabic State in the Gulf," Barclay Raunkiaer [353] sheds light on the distinctive characteristics of Kuwait's political system.

---

[349] James Silk Buckingham (25 August 1786 – 30 June 1855) was a Cornish-born British author, journalist and traveller

[350] Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965)*, vol.1, p. 238

[351] J. Slot has drawn attention to the prevalence of fabricated historical documents, citing the example of a report by a Dutch naval officer who visited Kuwait in 1870. The report presented a highly favorable portrayal of Kuwait as a thriving republic with content citizens, and a map was subsequently published depicting an independent "Republic of Kuwait." (Appendix 4)

[352] Al-Ghunaym, Allāh Yūsuf, *Al-Kuwayt: qirā'ah fī al-kharā'iṭ al-tārīkhīyah, (*Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2000), p. 35; ʻAbd al-Muʻṭī Yūsuf, *al-Kuwayt bi-ʻuyūn al-ākharīn : Malāmiḥ min ḥayāt mujtamaʻ al-Kuwayt wa-khaṣā'iṣuhu qabla al-nafṭ*, (Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2002), p. 31-33; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 47

[353] Anders Christian Barclay Raunkiaer (11 November 1889 – 13 June 1915) was a Danish explorer and author.

He observes that power in Kuwait was concentrated in the hands of a single individual, who held the authority to suppress any form of opposition. Consequently, security in Kuwait remained more stable compared to other cities along the coast. Raunkiaer further notes that with the exception of the Sheik's guards, citizens of Kuwait were not permitted to possess weapons, rendering the trade of weapons inconsequential. Additionally, Raunkiaer underscores Kuwait's pivotal role in the political struggles between Britain and Germany in the Near East. As a critical gateway to Mesopotamia and a strategically advantageous location for the Baghdad railway, financed by Germany, Kuwait played a crucial part. However, Kuwait's political status prevented the railway company from utilizing the Gulf without the support and cooperation of Britain.[354]

Despite sharing similar political structures, frameworks, and institutions, the Gulf States exhibit distinct characteristics that differentiate them from one another. For instance, Saudi Arabia operates as an absolute monarchy rooted in the Wahhabi school of thought. The ruling authority is hereditary, passing between the sons of King Abdulaziz Al Saud, the Kingdom's founder. The King holds ultimate authority, encompassing religious, political, legislative, and executive powers. Similarly, the Sultanate of Oman is governed by the House of Busaid, represented by the Sultan, and is based on tribal affiliation and the Ibadi school of thought. In both states, political legitimacy stems from religious considerations, and both adhere to written constitutions. [355]

Kuwait, in contrast to other Gulf States, operates as a constitutional, hereditary emirate under the rule of Al Sabah family. The ruling family wields authority over the state and its institutions,[356] with the Emir serving as the head of both legislative and executive authority. Additionally, Kuwait boasts the National Assembly (Majlis al-ʾUmma al-Kuwaytiyy), a unique feature in the region. In Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, the ruling Al Thani and Al Nahyan families, respectively, exert political

[354] ʻAṭāllāh, Samīr, *Qāfilat al-Ḥibr: al-raḥḥālah al-Gharbīyūn ilá al-Jazīrah wa-al-Khalīj (1762-1950*), (Beirut: Dar Al-Sāqī, 1994), p. 235-236, 237

[355] For an extensive discussion on Ibadism as a religion and its ideological form, please see: Bierschenk, Thomas. "Religion and Political Structure: Remarks on Ibadism in Oman and the Mzab (Algeria)." *Studia Islamica*, no. 68 (1988): 107–127

[356] Long, David E. *The Persian Gulf: An Introduction to Its Peoples, Politics, and Economics.* Westview Special Studies on the Middle East 2nd ed. Boulder, (CO: Westview Press, 1978), p. 30-31

influence in managing the state.[357] Bahrain, on the other hand, functions as a hereditary emirate governed by Al Khalifa family. The Sheik holds ultimate authority, appointing the Crown Prince and ministers. However, political parties and parliamentary activities are prohibited, and freedom of press and expression is curtailed. The first constitution was established in 1973, two years after independence. The ruling authority confronts significant opposition from the bourgeoisie, intellectuals, and workers, who advocate for political participation, democracy, and a parliamentary system.[358]

The transition from traditional tribal authority to an authoritarian state structure in the Gulf during the 1960s resulted in a weakening of the tribal legitimacy of the ruling families, following the international recognition of the modern state. This transition was accompanied by the emergence of new political and social elites who expressed dissatisfaction with the concentration of power, wealth, and influence in the hands of the ruling families. They also criticized the absence of representative government, lack of a constitution, arbitrary suspension of civil rights, prohibition of political parties, restrictions on unionization, censorship, and government intervention in civil society organizations. These issues were prevalent in the Gulf states and were seen as a major hindrance to the political and social development of the region.[359]

Despite the emergence of new political and social elites in the region, clandestine political and social organizations continued to thrive, providing a platform for individuals to express their opinions and aspirations. These organizations found their roots in early gatherings in coffeehouses (Maqha), schools, Dywānyāt, and religious and charitable associations, reflecting a reaction against state policies and a rejection of democratic practices and public participation in decision-making.[360] The people of

[357] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 77-80; Ḥajlāwī, Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥabīb, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971, (*Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2003), p. 30-31; Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, p. 51.

[358] For further details see: Zarnūqah, Ṣalāḥ Sālim, Namaṭ intiqāl al-Sulṭah fī al-nuẓum al-wirāthīyah al-'Arabīyah (1950-1985), *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, vol 140, (October 1990), p. 71-95; Kamal El Menoufi, Family and Politics in the Arab World, p. 181-198

[359] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 149,160

[360] Russell, Sharon Stanton, Migration and Political Integration in the Arab World, In: Luciani, G., & Salamé, G. (Eds.) *The Politics of Arab Integration*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 1011-1012

this region demonstrated an early development of nationalistic political awareness, particularly following societal advancements.[361]

These elites manifested their political and nationalistic awareness through clandestine publications (bulletins) and cultural periodicals, as well as through social, literary, and sports gatherings. These platforms served as fronts for their political activities, facilitating discussions on reformist plans and the adoption of nationalistic stances in opposition to Western policies in the region. Their objectives encompassed the termination of foreign exploitation, participation in nationalist events, the closure of foreign military bases, and the attainment of national independence.[362]

Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb delves into the intricate phenomenon of the authoritarian state, a form of governance prevalent in the Arab region and potentially extending to the broader "Third World" context. He defines it as a modern manifestation of oppression, akin to feudal, sultanian, and bureaucratic systems. The authoritarian state relentlessly strives to monopolize power and authority within society, primarily for the benefit of the elite and ruling class. This objective is achieved through the strategic penetration of civil society, transforming its institutions into non-governmental corporations that function as extensions of the state apparatus. According to Al-Naqeeb's perspective, these regimes establish their legitimacy upon the foundations of violence, power, and terrorism, effectively discarding the notion of public participation in decision-making processes. Instead, they actively discourage individuals from engaging in political events and activities, fostering a society characterized by disengagement and a lack of awareness regarding political developments. As aptly described by Halim Barakat, these societies may "live on the margins of the presence and events." [363]

The political awareness transformations in the Gulf region have been influenced by the actions and strategies of ruling regimes toward popular movements. To fully comprehend these transformations, it is crucial to investigate when and how these actions occurred in the Gulf. Ruling regimes have employed various tactics, including

[361] This is further discussed in the last chapter.
[362] Aruri, Nasser H., Politics in Kuwait, in: Jacob M. Landau, ed., *Man, State, and Society in the Contemporary Middle Eas*t, (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 93-121.
[363] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah,* p. 143-144, 149; Barakāt, *Al-mujtama' al-'Arabī fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-'alāqāt,* p. 34-35

delay, division, co-optation, and in some instances, violence, to retain their power and interests. In Kuwait, repression began as early as the events of the 1st Legislative Council in 1939, with the detention of members of the National Movement and the instigation of repression by the Emir and his group (الفداوية). In Dubai, the events were particularly violent as the opposition came from within the ruling family (Al-Maktoum). In Bahrain, repression was carried out by British forces, causing public resentment towards the rulers. In Saudi Arabia, repression was organized and implemented through oppressive laws and regulations in the 1950s. These examples demonstrate the complexity of political awareness transformations in the Gulf region and the significance of analysing the behaviors and strategies of ruling regimes in understanding these changes.

The oil monarchies in the Arab world achieved formal independence even later than other countries in the region, such as Kuwait in 1961. However, the Royal families who eventually dominated the state had already established local control and prominence prior to the recognition by the departing British as the rulers of the region. Upon assuming formal power, the Royal families based their control of the state on two main principles: one economic and the other historical. Historically, they used the apparatus of the state to present themselves as the "natural" continuation of tribal forces in society, portraying themselves as the true representatives of the essence of their nation[364]. By doing so, they nullified any potential claims to rulership from other tribal chieftains or local notables, eliminating a potential source of opposition or societal independence. They also sought to gain additional legitimacy on religious grounds by presenting themselves as the embodiment of religious piety and righteousness. The degree of success in these efforts varied.[365]

Al-Jihād newspaper, published in Jaffa, Palestine on February 21st, 1939, provided updates on the situation in Kuwait and closely followed the state's reaction to the

[364] The use of the term "natural state" here is inspired by Khaldoun Hasan al-Naqeeb, although he uses it in a specific historical context that lasted roughly from the 16th century to the 19th century. See Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah*, p. 6-24.
[365] Gause, F. Gregory. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States.* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994), p. 12-13; Al-Anzi, Khalid. "*Role of Education in Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: A Study of Kuwait*." (Ph.D. dissertation, Aligarh Muslim University, Department of Political Science, 2009). p. 25 P.25,

dissolution of the Legislative Council. The article, titled "Resistance of the Ruling Regime in the Emirate," highlighted the escalation of tensions stemming from decisions made by Sheikh Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait, particularly the disbanding of the Legislative Council. The Emir perceived the council as a threat to his authority and control over the country, believing that its dissolution would silence dissenting voices. However, the outcome proved contrary to his expectations. Members of the elite society, constituting the opposition, declared that they could not remain silent in the face of the Emir's oppressive measures and would refuse to cooperate with him unless he respected the people's aspiration for participation in the ruling system and transparency in the utilization of government revenues. [366]

In the same newspaper, on March 4th, 1939, news was published regarding the situation in Kuwait, highlighting the public's growing demands for freedom and independence. The article stated that "an emergency protocol has been declared in Kuwait, posts have been controlled and examined, and the Iraqi press launched a harsh campaign against Kuwait's authority and the behavior of its prince, calling on King Ghazi to intervene." It went on to say that "Qaṣr al-zuhūr radio broadcast a detailed report about the current situation there, explaining that foreign authorities have taken complete control of Kuwait, as the British controlled all the affairs there, leading the Kuwaitis to call for freedom and independence and to end the unconstitutional practices." A subheading entitled "Raqābat shadīdah" (Severe Control) noted that "the Kuwaiti Prince still imposes severe control on telegraphic and postal services and prevents all news about turmoil and upheavals from being spread outside of Kuwait." The article added that had it not been for the presence of some Iraqi workers there, Iraq would not have known what was happening in Kuwait.[367]

Under the subheading "Qānūn alṭwār'" (Emergency Law), the newspaper reported that "the Kuwaiti government-imposed emergency measures, including mail censorship, to quell the recent unrest (preventing news from disseminating beyond Kuwait's borders) and deployed heavy weaponry in various locations." Another subtitle in the same

[366] Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Jaffa, Tuesday 21st of February 1939
[367] Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Friday,4th of March 1939, Jaffa, main title: The condition in Kuwait, subtitle: Kuwaiti people demands its freedom and independence, another subtitle: Declaration of the emergency protocol and post surveillance.

newspaper chronicled the oppression faced by members of the National Movement in Kuwait. It detailed the executions of several movement leaders, the fatal shootings of three leaders by police during protests, and the carrying out of a death sentence against another leader. Furthermore, members of the legislative council remained incarcerated, and the overall situation was characterized as turbulent. [368]

In its reporting on the events surrounding the dissolution of the Legislative Council, Al-Jihād newspaper stated that the Amir had disbanded the council in response to the council's commendable actions against the colonizer's proposed constitution. The Kuwaiti populace rejected this decision, deeming it both illegal and illogical, and contended that the Amir lacked the authority to make such a move, especially considering his prior recognition of the people as the source of authority and power. The council played a pivotal role in shaping Kuwait's destiny. Al Nass newspaper, published in Al Basra, Iraq, reported that Kuwaiti authorities had taken steps to impede the dissemination of news from Kuwait to the outside world. Incoming reports indicated that a group of Legislative Council members had been detained, and an atmosphere of oppression and anxiety gripped the country.[369]

On February 5, 1939, an article in Al-Jihād newspaper highlighted the Amir of Kuwait's forceful suppression of the National Movement. The article described the pervasive presence of the Amir's forces and his enforcers, known as "Alfidāwyh" (thugs), patrolling the city day and night. It also noted the intensifying pressure on the "National Youth Bloc" or "National Bloc" and the escalating oppression of civilians. The article cautioned that continued such practices would lead to dire consequences, as national awareness had become deeply ingrained among the Kuwaiti people and could not be eradicated, regardless of the strenuous efforts made by the Amir's supporters to curtail it through fearmongering tactics.[370]

In a separate article, titled "El Halah fi el Kuwait" (The Status Quo in Kuwait), Al-Shabāb newspaper depicted the situation in Kuwait as dire, with former Legislative Council members enduring harsh conditions in prison and fundamental freedoms curtailed. The article further noted the prohibition of weapon carrying and the

[368] Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Friday,4th of March 1939, Jaffa
[369] Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Jaffa, Friday,4th of March 1939, Tuesday, 28th of March 1939
[370] Al-Jihād, Sunday 5th of February 1939

implementation of weapons searches among Kuwaiti nationals. News reports from Kuwait indicated that the newly appointed the new council, under Sheikh Ahmed Al Jaber, had resolved to engage British officers for training and management of the Kuwaiti police force.[371]

In another issue of Al-Shabāb newspaper published on March 22nd, 1939, it was reported that a Kuwaiti man living in Al Basra named Ahmad Ben Manayih had given a sermon in Kuwait, stating that Al-Sabah family was no longer the legitimate ruling force in Kuwait and that they should be confronted and resisted until the Iraqi army reached Kuwait to end their illegitimate rule. Following this, a warrant for his arrest was issued. His supporters attempted to prevent the police from capturing him on March 10th, leading to the death of some of the supporters and the arrest of many others, including Ahmad Ben Manayih himself. He was immediately put on trial by a military council and sentenced to death on charges of high treason and was executed immediately. The government then regained control of the situation.[372]

In its coverage of events in Bahrain, Al-Shabāb newspaper wrote that "the national movement against the colonizer is sweeping Bahrain," and that the British counselor had resorted to using violent methods of interrogation with nationals and political detainees, resulting in the death of one person due to whipping. Despite this violence, the newspaper noted that "Arabs in Bahrain are determined to fight until the end to obtain their rights." Their demands included the establishment of a legislative council, exclusion of the British counselor and the minister of education, replacement of the minister of education with an Iraqi, and prohibition of the use of foreign labor in the oil company.[373]

In its May 3, 1939, issue, the Egyptian newspaper Al-ʻIlm Al-Miṣrī published an article titled "The Horrible Slaughter in Dubai In Gulf: Perpetuated by the Ruler of Dubai against his People - a Horrible Action is an Insult to History." The article reported on the horrific slaughter perpetrated by Sheikh Said Ben Maktoum, the ruler of Dubai, against some of his own people and relatives. The death toll reached thirty

[371] Al-Shabāb, Jarīdat siyāsīyah sharqīyah ijtimāʻīyah (Eastern socio-political newspaper interested in the Arab countries' affairs and the oppressed diagonals), Cairo, Wednesday, 12th of April 1939.
[372] Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 22nd of March 1939, Main title: Disturbances in Kuwait
[373] Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday 8th of February 1939

individuals, with numerous wounded and around 40 people detained. The article reported that the violence lasted for 18 hours, causing many people to flee to Sharjah. The conflicts had arisen a few months prior due to privileges granted to the oil company and the ruler's reliance on foreigners, such as Iranian nationals, for employment and advice. The issue was temporarily resolved when Sheikh Saeed agreed to establish a legislative council under his presidency, which included individuals such as Sheikh Jumaa Bin Maktoum, Sheikh Manii Bin Rashid, Sheikh Hashr Bin Rashid, Sheikh Suheil Bin Butai, Sheikh Mijrin Bin Sultan, Haj Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Huraiz, Rashid Bin Abdullah, Bayat Al-Mur, Muhammad Bin Thani, Abdullah Bin Thani, Abdullah Bin Muhammad Al-Budoor, Naser Bin Sultan Al-Suwaidi, Muhammad Al-Qindi, Muhammad Bin Saeed Elan, Abdullah Bin Oubeid Al-Basti, and Thameen Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Saeed as the exchequer. Despite Sheikh Saeed's approval of the legislative council, he refused to share power, authority, and management of its affairs as the council had requested. He also declined to provide a written document granting privileges, which led to renewed tensions. Suddenly and unexpectedly, on Wednesday, March 29th, followers of Sheikh Saeed launched bloody attacks against his cousins and relatives, resulting in the deaths of Sheikh Hashr and his son, as well as the two sons of Thani, Obeid Bin Rahmah, Obeid Bu Shakr, Abdullah Bin Al-Sheikh Yousef Al-Mutawaa, and Rashid Bin (Hamdo/Hamour). The death toll reached 35 people, including some of Sheikh Saeed's followers. Sheikh Al-Manii fled to Sharjah with some of his siblings and 45 people.[374]

In Saudi Arabia, the labor force was the first to become familiar with leftist and nationalist ideas that shaped unionist awareness (associative awareness) and contributed to the formation of "Lajnat al-ʻUmmāl" (Labor Committee). This committee led the large strike movement in oil production sites in Eastern Saudi Arabia from 1953 to 1956. The strikes were met with large campaigns of kidnapping

[374]Al-ʻIlm al-Miṣrī newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 3rd of May 1939, the main title: al-Madhbaḥah alfẓyʻh fī Dubayy bi-al-Khalīj : allatī awqʻhā Amīr Dubayy bqwmh – ʻamal fẓyʻ huwa sbh lil-tārīkh" literally "The Horrible Slaughter in Dubai In Gulf: Perpetuated by the ruler of Dubai against his People –a Horrible action is an Insult to History", according to Al Bahrain newspaper.

activists and unionists and taking them to " Sijn al-ʻUbayd" (Al Abids' Jail) in Al Ahsa for punishment.[375]

Similarly, the Saudi Arabian government employed tactics typical of authoritarian regimes to suppress political activism and stifle dissent. This strategy aimed to thwart any nascent political awareness among the populace. Al-Akhbār newspaper reported on September 22, 1968, that the Arab Lawyers Conference held in Damascus adopted a set of resolutions supporting the "Arab struggle against imperialism and Zionism." This stance was largely influenced by a memorandum presented by the Arab National Liberation Front in Saudi Arabia. The memorandum detailed the harrowing plight of political detainees in Saudi prisons, exposing their "comprehensive confiscation of all democratic rights" and the "police rule based on oppression and coercion" that subjected them to "different cruel tortures." It further documented the regime's practices of mass arrests and prolonged detentions without due process. The memorandum specified instances of torture endured by individuals like Hassan Al Shammasi, Al Sayyid Ali al Awami, Abdul Rasoul al Alqam, Yusuf Al Sheikh Yaqoub, Khalifa Julfam (Bahrani), Abdul Hamid Al Zayer, Mohamed Said Al Muslim, Baqir Ali Al Shammasi, Musa Al Sheikh Ali, Abdullah Al Shammasi, Rida Al Shammasi, Mansour Ikhwan, Abdul Raouf al Khunaizi, Saleh Al Zayd, and others detained in various prisons across the country since 1964.[376] These acts of state violence aimed to deter dissent and maintain the status quo.

The political systems of the Gulf States exhibit a complex interplay of historical, cultural, and economic factors. While sharing certain similarities in terms of their traditional tribal structures and authoritarian governance models, each state has developed its own unique political trajectory. The emergence of new political and social elites in the region has challenged the traditional power dynamics and

[375] Al-Jumyarī, Sulṭān, Ḥadīth ʻan al-tajribah al-niḍālīyah al-ʻummālīyah fī al-Saʻūdīyah (5/1), *Al-ʻaṣr Magazine*, (February 2013), https://gulfpolicies.org/2019-05-18-07-14-32/93-2019-06-26-10-11-31/998-5-1 ; For further information, see: Al-ʻAkarī, *"al-munaẓẓamāt al-yasārīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah*.

[376] Sijn al-ʻUbayd (Slave's prison) in al Ahsa, al Mabahith, Riyadh, and the prisons of the Western and Central regions. Al Akhbār newspaper, 22 September 1968, The Inauguration meeting of the Arab lawyers congress that issued a set of important decisions supporting the Arab struggle against "imperialism and Zionism", headline: The Memorandum of the National Liberation Front in "Saudi Arabia" to the congress of the Arab lawyers.

contributed to a growing demand for political participation and democratic reforms. The actions and strategies of ruling regimes have significantly influenced the transformations in political awareness, with tactics ranging from co-optation to repression employed to maintain control. Understanding the evolving political landscape of the Gulf States requires a nuanced examination of the interplay between state power, societal aspirations, and the historical legacies that continue to shape the region's political dynamics.

2.4.Economic Circumstances: Beyond Nomadic Life: The Socio-Economic Fabric of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula

Existing publications and writings on society and the state in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula fall short of providing a comprehensive understanding of the region. While some studies offer valuable insights into the ethnography of nomad life, its values, and traditions, they may also inadvertently perpetuate misconceptions about the subject. [377] Many works that have addressed the region lack the depth necessary to grasp the constructivist society at its social and structural levels. They often portray tribes and tribalism in a narrow context, viewing them solely as local organizations of kinship units, rather than recognizing their role as integral components in the Peninsula's social-political organization, guided by pervasive politictribalism despite the absence of a centralized government.[378] This traditional approach overlooks the fact that the oil industry's impact on the economy has been unevenly distributed across societal segments. The generated wealth has not had an equitable impact on all, and political and normative considerations have dictated the allocation of relative quotas intended for specific social classes as income and influenced consumption patterns. These political considerations have deep historical roots that continue to play a decisive role in maintaining the status quo. Documentary works by contemporary historians, even

[377] As a case in point, see: Shiloh, Ailon ed, *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, (New York: Random House, 1969); Sweet, Louise Elizabeth. *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*. (New York: Natural History Press, 1970); Nelson, Cynthia, ed. *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society*. Vol. No. 21. (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies., 1973).

[378] On the distinction between the traditional concept of tribalism and political tribalism as an organization principle and general mentality, see: Al-Naqīb, "binā' al-mujtamaʿ al-ʿArabī: baʿḍ al-furūḍ al-baḥthīyah", p. 4-41.

those drawing upon Western documents and Ottoman archives, provide limited insight into the organizations and trends shaping the significant changes and transformations that have swept across the region.[379] Therefore, Al-Naqeeb's book emerges as an attempt to provide an analytical understanding of the relationship between the state and society in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula through a fresh perspective on the region's social and economic structures. This approach aims to explain phenomena and events by carefully examining the constructivist processes that underlie them, including their hidden and unseen connections.

The concept of "the Natural State", as proposed by Al-Naqeeb, is the product of the prevailing socio-economic structures, political forces, and social relationships within Gulf and Arabian Peninsula societies at a specific point in time.[380] It mirrors how social activities and relationships are shaped in relation to the level of development or underdevelopment of the productive forces in a given country, whether intellectual, political, or cultural.[381] This study endeavors to explore this perspective of awareness.

Al-Naqeeb's conceptualization of the "Natural State" parallels Fernand Braudel's notion of the "World-economy." Both concepts portray how the economy of a specific geographical region revolves around an advanced center that serves as the driving force behind the overall economy and society. This central hub is surrounded by less developed peripheries, encompassing transitory economic sectors and marginal areas, and engages in continuous interactions with the governing institutions and the social, urban, and political systems that shape it. The key issue in this theoretical framework is the recognition that disparities in maturity or underdevelopment within and between economic worlds are not exceptional occurrences in history or the 20th century, but

[379] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 23

[380] Al-Naqib posits that the participation of the British marked the conclusion of the "natural state" (al-Dawlah al-ṭabī'īyah) - a political entity that was adjusted to the social, economic, and political circumstances of the Persian Gulf - and substituted it with a framework that was more appropriate for British interests. This new structure comprised of a centralized regime and a financial system that was integrated into the global economy.

[381] The productive forces in the pre-modern Arabian Peninsula environment represent the entire social production relationships and production techniques and tools that determine the overall productive capacity of the community, including its commercial production. This means that the overall economic system is shaped by the development of social production relationships and institutions in the Arabian Peninsula environment. For more information about these definitions, see: Lange, Oskar, *Political Economy*, translated from Polish: A. H. Walker, (New York: Macmillan, 1963), vol. 1 (General Problems), p. 10-11, 21-26; Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 28.

rather continuous and evolving realities. Braudel's concept offers a more nuanced understanding of development and underdevelopment within a dynamic historical context, surpassing approaches that view these phenomena as exclusive to the 20th century and solely attributable to international capitalism. [382]

As a consequence of the dynamic interplay of forces that generate the natural state of the economy in Gulf society and the Arabian Peninsula, the outcomes diverge from the conclusions drawn from existing literature on the subject. Trade emerges as the primary mechanism for generating social surplus, representing an ancient network of interconnected relationships and activities. This network exhibits a divergent pattern of development and maturity, extending outward to foster the growth of commercial coastal cities and inward to establish major tribal coalitions around strategic internal cities and villages. This network is not merely a product of "pure" economic activities but also stems from demographic pressures and large-scale, long-term political dynamics. Economic activities are inextricably embedded within institutions and the surrounding socio-economic structures; they are not independent entities and cannot be fully understood in isolation. [383] Accordingly, this study adopts a perspective derived from Al-Naqeeb's premise in examining political awareness, with Al-Naqeeb's starting point being the role of merchants and their influence on political awareness. This role, which subsequently shifted to the Bedouins (bedu) reciprocally, persists even after their simultaneous involvement in political and economic activities.

The primacy of trade in the region lends credence to the hypothesis that a mercantilist pattern of production played a significant role in the Gulf's historical development. This assertion contradicts the notion that the pastoral economy and tribal Arabian Peninsula society were self-sufficient and could have sustained their existence for centuries without extensive trade. This conclusion can be drawn from the examination of the prominent role played by coastal commercial cities, as well as the emergence of strategic tribal settlements along land-based trade routes. Cities like Siraf (Bushehr in

[382] Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism*, Translated by Siân Reynold. (London: Collins, 1984), p. 21-70; Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah*, p. 28

[383] Regarding the term 'embedded,' which is subject to social and psychological considerations in social construction, see: K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg, and H. W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, (New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 71, 294-306; Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah*, p. 29

the south of Iran), Hormuz, and Kuwait, which served as crucial transit trade hubs (also known as entrepôts),[384] defied the conventional characteristics of typical cities, lacking the readily available water and food sources typically associated with urban centers.

The intricate network of economic and social activities that characterized the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula cannot be fully comprehended or explained solely within the confines of these societies. Instead, it is essential to recognize that this network formed an integral part of a broader interconnected system that transcended geographical boundaries and connected multiple worlds. This wider network was underpinned by an economy structured on a pre-capitalist division of labor, encompassing the western coast of India, Iran (the Persian Gulf), and the coastal regions of East Africa along the Indian Ocean. This extensive network extended to three major trade regions: the Euphrates Valley, the Syrian Coastal Region (Levant), and the Upper Nile Valley, reaching as far as the Eastern Mediterranean and the Italian commercial cities, particularly Venice and Genoa.[385] The existence of this interconnected network underscores the notion of a wider system of socio-economic activities and relations that transcended the boundaries of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula societies.

During the pre-capitalist era, the majority of land trade flowed through three primary commercial routes. This reality challenges the claims often made in writings that rely on the assumption of a predominant pastoral economy within tribal societies (The Economy of Pastoral Nomadism). By acknowledging the existence of this broader economic network, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of the economic dynamics that shaped the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula societies.

Furthermore, it can be observed that the ruling institutions in these ports and cities, represented by the ruling families, often stood against trade unions and organizations

[384] The term 'Entrepôt' refers to cities that specialize in commerce, particularly re-exporting and transit trade. Siraf, Hormuz, and Kuwait are historically significant examples of ancient commercial cities or ports of trade. See: Robert B. Revere, No Man's Coast: Ports of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, In: Karl Polanyi, C.M. Arnesberg and W. H. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory, (*New York: Free Press, 1957), p.38-63; G. B. Endacott, ed, *An Eastern Entrapot: A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong,* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1964); Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 29.

[385] For further discussion of the 'Trade Route' and trading networks in the Old World, including the Grand Trunk Road of India and the Incense Road of Arabia, see: Braudel, Fernand, and Sian Reynolds. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol. 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

of merchants, craftsmen, sellers, divers, and sailors. These ruling institutions derived their power from tribal militias and affiliations, including Bedouin fighters such as the "Alfidāwyh" and others.[386] These institutions often used their affiliations for dual purposes: to provide security for trade and providing security for trade and fostering unity among the tribes, while simultaneously exerting control over the urban populace (merchants and others) to maintain their own authority.[387] This intricate dynamic is evident in various locations throughout the study.

The economic life of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula was intricately interwoven with the natural environment. Economic activities were synchronized with the seasonal cycle, dictating specific times of the year for various pursuits. Agriculture, primarily confined to the oases of Najd, the wadis of Oman, and Yemen, was complemented by the pastoral economy of nomadic life. Nomadic communities adapted to the seasonal cycle of grazing, cattle ranching, raiding, and trading in cities. Some tribes seamlessly integrated both agriculture and nomadic life, engaging in a two-cycle seasonal rhythm: the spring cycle of grazing and cattle ranching, the invasion cycle, and Al-Musāblh cycle of trading in cities. [388] Alongside these primary modes of subsistence, simple crafts also emerged, including salt production, basket making, date palm preservation, pottery, and fishing net making. These crafts were closely intertwined with shipbuilding and agriculture, forming an integral part of the region's economic tapestry.[389]

---

[386] The rulers of the region deployed groups of special squads, known as 'Alfidāwyh,' to enforce their rules. These squads were composed of Bedouin fighters brought in from the mainland. Al Jamri, Mansoor, *State and Civil Society in Bahrain*, Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, (6 December 1998).

[387] According to Anh Nga Longva, the term "urban" in contemporary public discourse refers to Kuwaitis whose grandparents lived in Kuwait before the oil era in 1946 and worked as traders, sailors, fishermen, or divers, extracting and selling pearls. In contrast, the term "nomads" (Bedouin) refers to a specific group of new settlers from Saudi Arabia who worked in cattle ranching and cattle trade. These settlers migrated to Kuwait between 1960 and 1980, after Kuwait gained independence and began exporting oil. They have since been naturalized. Longva adds that urban discontent in Kuwait began in the 1960s with the arrival of these new settlers, and it has become a recurring topic of debate in the region. Longa, Anne Nga, Ta'ammulāt fī Qaḍīyat al-ḥaḍar wa-al-badū fī al-Kuwayt, in: Faraḥ al-Naqīb et al*., Ishkālīyat al-ḥaḍar wa-al-badū fī al-Kuwayt: wa-asbāb istimrār al-Inqisām al-ḥaḍary-ālbadawy ḥattá al-ān,* translated by: Ḥamad al-'Īsá, (n.d. 2020), p. 25 https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CHw9JH9u5irtyMHDvWFLxSNK7iYIy2Lm/view

[388] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 44; 'Abd Allāh, Ḥamad 'Alī, *al-Mushkilah al-Tijārīyah bayna al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jābir wa-al-malik 'Abd-al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd : Mushkilat Almusāblh1922-1942,* (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 2023).

[389] Ibrāhīm, al-ab'ād al-ijtimā'īyah wa-al-thaqāfīyah al-ḥaḍarīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabīyah ", p. 176

Sources indicate that Kuwaiti ships, which formed the commercial fleet in the 18th century, traversed the ports of the Indian Ocean, extending from East Asia to East Africa, encompassing both Gulf and Arabian Peninsula ports. These ships were owned and operated by Kuwaiti captains and merchants, including Ibrahim Bin Ghanem, Mohammed Bin Bakr Al-Dosari, and Ali Bin Sulaiman. These versatile vessels served not only for trade, including the transportation of goods to Surat in India but also possessed the capability for self-defense. [390] The fleet's activities flourished during the 19th century, with Kuwaiti ships expanding their reach to over 1000 vessels. These vessels were employed for various purposes, including pearl fishing and trade with the coasts of India, Belutschistan, and ports in Yemen.[391]

The "travel season" (Mawsim al-Safar) in the Gulf and Eastern Arabia commenced with the onset of the seasonal Northeastern winds, marking the beginning of the monsoon season in the autumn and winter. Embarking on this maritime odyssey, ships laden with commercial goods and speculation traders would navigate the waters of the Indian Ocean, reaching the coasts of India and the Arabian Peninsula, with Aden serving as a pivotal port of call. Subsequent voyages would extend to East Africa, where the ships would engage in trade and commerce. Typically, two or more trips were undertaken to India and the Arabian coast, while a single journey to Africa was generally the norm. The return voyage commenced with the onset of the Southwest winds, known as the southwestern monsoons, during the late spring and early summer. This period also coincided with the pearl diving season and Al-Musāblh, a time of internal trading between coastal communities and Bedouin groups.[392]

The Gulf region, particularly its coastal areas, was deeply rooted in a maritime culture that permeated its economic and social fabric. Prior to the discovery of oil, individuals from lower socioeconomic strata found sustenance in pearl diving and fishing, while those with more advanced skills excelled as sailors and boat builders. Wealthier families, on the other hand, pursued lucrative trade ventures, including the sale of

[390] Abū Ḥākimah, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965)*, vol.1, p. 133, 247-248
[391] Al-Kandarī , Fayṣal ʻAbd Allāh, *Al-Ḥamlah al-ʻUthmānīyah ʻalá al-Aḥsā' ʻām 1288h-1871m min khilāl al-wathā'iq al-ʻUthmānīyah ,* (Kuwait: Jāmiʻat al-Kuwayt. Markaz Dirāsāt al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, 2003), p. 218
[392] Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, *Tārīkh al-ghawṣ ʻalá al-Lu'lu' fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (*Kuwait: Kuwait Government Press, 1975), p. 477

pearls, foodstuffs, and timber, establishing regular commercial ties with India and Iran.[393] Field's research underscores Kuwait's prominence as a bustling hub for ocean-going dhow trade and the Gulf's largest shipbuilding port. Many of the families who migrated to Kuwait alongside the Sabah dynasty in the early 18th century derived their livelihoods from the dhow trade. Kuwaitis reportedly held the belief that it was unbecoming for these families to engage in trade alongside Indian and Persian merchants within the souk.[394]

Pearl diving and the resultant internal and external trade in the Gulf cities and ports, as well as neighboring regions, constituted the primary sources of livelihood for the inhabitants, particularly in the coastal regions of the Gulf. These vibrant commercial relationships with India, Iran, and East Africa fostered the exchange of traditions, languages, arts, and clothing, both through Arab merchants and foreign traders who frequented the region.[395] The profound influence of this trade on the development of political awareness in the region, specifically in Kuwait, is examined in the following section of this chapter.

During the pre-oil period, particularly in the early 20th century, pearl diving and the resultant trade played a pivotal role in the economic development of the Gulf region. For instance, in 1911, Kuwait, with a population of approximately 50,000, boasted a fleet of 800 ships that employed around 20,000 men, equivalent to over one man per family. Bahrain also emerged as a prominent center for pearl diving, attracting individuals actively involved in this industry.[396] Despite the existence of three pearl diving seasons, the main season, known locally as "al-Ghawṣ al-kabīr," occurred during the summer and spanned four months from June to September. This period was characterized by stable sea conditions, due to the absence of storms that could hinder the movement of the diving fleet. Consequently, the work period was confined to only

[393] Field, *The Merchants: The Big Business Families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*, p. 74
[394] Ibid, p. 122
[395] Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī*, p. 3189-3203; For further details see: Bishara, F.A., Haykel, B., Hertog, S., Holes, C., & Onley, J. The Economic Transformation of the Gulf. In J. Peterson (Eds.), *The Emergence of the Gulf States: Studies in Modern History*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 187-222.
[396] Al-Tamīmī, ʻAbd al-Mālik Khalaf, *Al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī wa-al-Maghrib al-ʻArabī: Dirāsāt fī al-tārīkh al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʻī wa-al-iqtiṣādī ,* (Beirut: Dār al-Shabāb, 1986), p. 18.

four months per year. During the remaining months, divers faced either full or partial unemployment, with the exception of those holding land-based occupations.[397]

The pearl industry in the Gulf region experienced a period of stagnation and decline in the early 1930s, driven by a confluence of factors, including the global economic downturn of the Great Depression (1929-1933).[398] This economic crisis severely impacted the pearl market and trade, disrupting the region's traditional economic mainstay. Additionally, the emergence of the Japanese pearl industry, producing cultured pearls at a lower cost, further exacerbated the crisis, diminishing the demand for natural pearls. [399] A pivotal factor in the deterioration of the pearl diving industry was the discovery of oil in the region. While oil production and export did not commence until the end of World War II, the prospect of better-paying and more stable jobs in the oil industry enticed many pearl divers to abandon their traditional occupation. This shift in labor was also fueled by the exploitation and poor working conditions that pearl divers had long endured. [400] Furthermore, the decline of the pearl trade and the economic hardship imposed by the Saudi Blockade of Kuwait (1922-1937) contributed to a sense of disillusionment among many Kuwaitis, leading them to gravitate towards Iraqi propaganda and advocate for closer commercial ties with Iraq. In this regard, a British political agent in the region noted in correspondence that

[397] Al-Ghanīm, Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh Yūsuf, *Al-ghawṣ ʻalá al-Luʼlu' fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : maqālāt wa-taqārīr min al-wathāʼiq al-Barīṭānīyah* , (Kuwait: The Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2018), p. 30-35

[398] The global economic depression had a powerful negative impact on Kuwait's economy starting in the later 1920s. At its peak, Kuwait's pearling industry led the world, regularly sending out between 750 and 800 vessels to meet the world's need for pearls. Unfortunately, in the middle of a depression, luxuries like the pearl industry quickly began to languish. Almost immediately thereafter, the shock waves from the launch of a cultured pearl industry by the Japanese sounded the death of knell for Kuwait's once-bustling pearling fleet and its port home. A few of family-owned boats were able to stay afloat, but the vast majority of the sheikhdom's pearl-related workforce was made to look elsewhere for sustenance. Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, P.57

[399] For more details see: Al-ʻAqqād, Ṣalāḥ, *Maʻālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, (*the Arab League's Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization, Cairo: Institute of Arab Research and Studies,1972), p. 52; Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, p. 48; Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*, p. 200-202

[400] Shaqalīyah, Aḥmad Ramaḍān, "ṣināʻat al-ghawṣ fī al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī", *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī magazine*, Arab Gulf studies center, Basra University, issue 8, (1977), p. 37.

the Saudi Blockade and the collapse of the pearl trade had impoverished merchants and many young Kuwaitis.[401]

As Michael S. Casey notes, the natural pearl market experienced a significant decline, leading to the collapse of Kuwait's pearl-based economy and a sudden increase in poverty. This resulted in Kuwait becoming heavily reliant on Great Britain for support. However, in 1936, a new development occurred that would bring about significant changes for the country - the sinking of the first oil well in the Burgan oil field by a joint British and American petroleum company. This discovery would ultimately be seen as a positive change for the majority of the Kuwaiti people.[402]

Amidst the interwar period, Saudi Arabia sought to address its economic woes by implementing taxes and fees on goods entering or traversing its territory. However, this move evoked frustration among Kuwaiti traders, accustomed to conducting their commercial activities freely across the Arabian Peninsula before the delineation of national borders. Despite Saudi Arabia's attempts to regulate and tax Kuwaiti trade within the Peninsula, traders devised methods to evade customs officials, exploiting the lengthy borders and the inherent challenges of enforcing control. In response, Saudi Arabia imposed an economic blockade on Kuwait, prohibiting its citizens from engaging in business with Kuwaiti traders. Nevertheless, this measure proved ineffective in completely eradicating smuggling, and trade between the two countries persisted, albeit at a reduced scale. The underlying cause of this economic crisis stemmed from the prevailing weak economic conditions in both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Kuwait's economy heavily relied on trade, while Saudi Arabia sought to stimulate economic activity within its territory or in neighbouring Kuwait. [403] The blockade precipitated a decline in wages and a scarcity of essential goods in Kuwait. The economic crisis also triggered political ramifications, culminating in the events of the 1938 Kuwait Legislative Council. Michael S. Casey asserts that some Kuwaiti

---

[401] Al-Sa'dūn, Khālid, *Al-'Alāqāt al-siyāsīyah al-'irāqyah-al-kuwaytyah zaman al-Malik Ghāzī 1933-1939 kamā ṣawaratehā al-wathā'iq al-Barīṭānīyah, (*London: Dar Al-Ḥikmah, 2013), Vol. 01, p. 220; Toth, Anthony B. "Tribes and Tribulations: Bedouin Losses in the Saudi and Iraqi Struggles Over Kuwait's Frontiers, 1921–1943." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (November 2005): 145–67.

[402] Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, p. 48

[403] Al-'Aqqād, *Ma'ālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* p. 30-31; Al-Farḥān, Rāshid, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kuwayt,* (Cairo, n.d., 1960), p. 97-98

merchant families amassed wealth through gold smuggling to India during these challenging years; however, new economic opportunities remained scarce. Further hindering Kuwait's economic development were Ibn Saud's recurring efforts to restrict trade between his domain in Najd and Kuwait. As the economic situation continued to deteriorate for the people of Kuwait, it became inevitable that they would seek changes in their country's political landscape.[404]

According to Yacoub Al-Hijji, the advent of the oil era ushered in a paradigm shift in attitudes towards maritime pursuits, rendering many Kuwaiti Nūkhadhah (captains),[405] who had once been instrumental in the country's economic life, abruptly marginalized. Some sought employment with the harbor (maritime port) authorities in Al-Shuwaykh, relegated to the role of guiding commercial vessels for a meager government salary.[406]

Field argues that the decline of the pearl industry in the Gulf region was a direct result of the arrival of oil companies in the 1930s and 1940s, which offered more financially lucrative employment opportunities. Even if there had been an increase in pearl prices following 1945, it is unlikely that the pearl industry would have been able to compete with the appeal of the oil industry.[407]The discovery of oil and the significant financial returns it generated had a major impact on the changes that the Gulf region experienced across various fields, particularly in the economic sphere. The initial attempts at oil exploitation began in the 1930s in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, and later in the Trucial States, Masqat, and Oman. Oil quickly became the primary driving force behind societal changes on all levels.[408]

Petroleum was not an entirely novel discovery Oil seeps had appeared in various locations for centuries. Moreover, European and American oil companies had actively pursued oil exploration for decades, primarily to fuel the naval battleships that

[404] Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, p. 57
[405] Nūkhadhah is the leader of maritime activities in the domain of boat travel (sailing ships), which was at the forefront of social and economic activities in Kuwait during the first half of the 20th century.
[406] Al-Ḥajjī, Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, *Nawākhidhat al-safar al-shirāʿī fī al-Kuwayt,* (Kuwait: The Centre for Research and Studies in Kuwait, 2005), p. 12
[407] Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf State,* p. 203
[408] For more information on the preliminary oil concessions see: Zahlan, *The Origins of the United Arab Emirate,* p. 107-124; Al-Ṭanāḥī, Maḥmūd Muḥammad, *Al-nafṭ wa-ʿalāqāt al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah bi-Duwal al-jiwār 1911-1990,* (Kuwait: The Centre for Research and Studies in Kuwait, 2011), p. 73

dominated the world's oceans. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC), later renamed the British Petroleum Company in 1954, had commenced oil field development in Iran nearly 25 years earlier. In 1911, APOC sought permission to explore within Kuwait, but the British imperial administrators denied the request in accordance with the memorandum of understanding initially signed by Mubarak and subsequently expanded. By 1936, the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) was prepared to sink its first well. Drilling equipment and personnel were swiftly mobilized, and drilling commenced in the Bahrah field, situated north of Kadhima (Kāẓimah). The first well proved unsuccessful, but a second well nearby struck oil in 1938. The KOC had stumbled upon one of the world's largest and most lucrative oil fields.[409]

Kuwait has a long-standing commitment to establishing a welfare state for its citizens, a pursuit initiated at a relatively early stage of its development. The country's oil production experienced a significant surge following the "Mossadegh Coup," which resulted in the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later known as BP) and a consequent shift of its primary production efforts to Kuwait. This influx of oil wealth during the 1960s and 1970s prompted other Arab states to emulate Kuwait's model of establishing welfare systems for their citizens. During this period, Kuwait's oil production surpassed that of Saudi Arabia in the 1950s and 1960s, generating a substantial financial surplus for the state. This surplus enabled Kuwait to extend financial assistance to other Arab countries, granting it disproportionate influence within the Arab World.[410]

This section has explored the profound impact of economic transformation on political awareness in Kuwait. It has demonstrated how the rise of a merchant class, the decline of tribalism, the growth of education, the emergence of labor unions, and the impact of oil all contributed to an increasing sense of political agency and participation among the Kuwaiti populace. This analysis has also challenged the traditional narrative of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula as self-sufficient tribal societies, emphasizing instead the dynamic interplay between economic forces and social transformations.

[409] Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, p. 58-59
[410] Field, *The Merchants: the big business families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*, p. 99, 197

The following section delves into the factors that have influenced political awareness in Kuwait. It specifically explores the hypothesis that Kuwait's geographical location and external threats from neighboring powers have significantly increased political awareness among its people. To the best of our knowledge and research, this hypothesis has not been thoroughly examined in previous studies. Therefore, this section endeavors to rigorously prove this hypothesis, rather than simply confirming it. The systems analysis method employed in this study will further emphasize the critical roles played by individuals and diverse socioeconomic categories, including merchants, students, ideologists, partisans, parliamentarians, workers, and even Bedouins, in shaping political awareness. These roles will be elucidated more comprehensively in the subsequent chapters.

2.5.The Influence of External and Internal Factors on the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait

2.5.1. Introduction

The evolution of political awareness in Kuwait has been shaped by a complex interplay of various factors, both external and internal. External challenges, such as the geopolitical pressures from neighboring powers, the influence of the British colonial presence, the impact of North African developments, and the strategic geographical location along the Gulf Coast have all played significant roles in shaping political awareness across the region. However, the impact of these factors has been particularly pronounced in Kuwait, where they have catalyzed the rise of political awareness and encouraged Kuwaitis to demand a greater role in their governance.

The first section delves into the impact of external threats, particularly claims of regional hegemony by powers like Saudi Arabia and Iraq, on the development of political awareness among Kuwaiti citizens. These external pressures have prompted Kuwaitis to question their traditional political structures and seek a greater voice in their governance. For instance, Iraq's desire to annex Kuwait [411] and Saudi Arabia's

[411] The study will include samples of propaganda published in some Iraqi newspapers. The aim is to identify common themes and messages disseminated through the media during a particular period.

pressure to annex Kuwaiti territory have heightened Kuwaiti political awareness and galvanized calls for independence and self-determination.

The second section explores the influence of Kuwait's strategic geographical location along the Gulf Coast on the development of political awareness in the country. This strategic position has transformed Kuwait into a hub for trade and cultural exchange, exposing its citizens to diverse political ideologies and fostering a sense of international awareness. This exposure to foreign ideas has played a crucial role in cultivating a more informed and engaged citizenry in Kuwait, paving the way for democratic reforms.

Modern education, an internal factor, has also played a crucial role in promoting political awareness in Kuwait. The establishment of educational institutions and the expansion of literacy rates have enabled Kuwaitis to gain access to information and develop critical thinking skills, which have empowered them to engage in informed political discourse and advocate for change. The rise of modern education has also contributed to the emergence of a more educated and politically engaged citizenry, laying the foundation for democratic reforms. In the following chapter, we will delve deeper into the specific impact of modern education, commercial activity, and interactions with neighbouring regions on the political awareness of merchants, students, and other key social groups in Kuwait. We will examine how the education system has equipped these groups with the knowledge and critical thinking skills necessary to engage in informed political discourse, advocate for change, and contribute to the democratization process in Kuwait.

2.5.2. External Forces and the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait

2.5.2.1. The Influence of the British Presence

The evolution of political awareness in Kuwait is intrinsically tied to the presence of external forces, particularly the British colonial presence and the discovery of oil in the region. The British colonial era, spanning from the early 19th century, played a significant yet nuanced role in shaping Kuwait's political landscape. Initially, British colonialism served as an obstacle to the development of political awareness in Kuwait.

The British government prioritized maintaining control and safeguarding its economic interests, often suppressing dissenting voices and obstructing political movements.

Even with the acknowledgement of fewer overt anti-colonial movements or British protection existed in Kuwait compared to other Arab regions, as noted by Abdul Rahman Osama, one can still argue that the seeds of awareness were present during the European imperial period. The resistance, albeit mischaracterized and suppressed, served as a catalyst for a gradual awakening to the realities of foreign dominance and the need for change.[412] Al-Naqeeb offers a different perspective. He suggests that local resistance to European imperialism and its economic dominance in the Gulf region was indeed present, but often mischaracterized and suppressed by colonial authorities. Notably, this resistance manifested in the form of what British sources pejoratively labelled as "piracy." argues that Arabs, particularly those on the Gulf Coast (then known as the "Pirate Coast"), were regularly accused of piracy as a deliberate strategy to legitimize British interventions and mask their imperial objectives under the pretext of quelling local Arab resistance. This tactic is demonstrably evident in British actions such as the invasions of Ras Al Khaimah and Al Fujairah, and the signing of the 1820 anti-piracy treaty (the General Treaty of 1820) with the Qawasim and other rulers and governors of what is now the United Arab Emirates. [413]

The seeds of political awareness sown by the resistance against European imperialism, as discussed previously, found fertile ground in the actions of the merchant elite. The analysis of the contentious events of the early 20th century demonstrates that the merchant elite, despite their oligarchic nature,[414] represented a highly active and efficient political force capable of challenging the ruler's growing autonomy. However, pragmatism often prevailed due to their reliance on the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq’s support and their desire to avoid direct confrontation with Britain, especially during World War II. This pragmatism is evident in the actions of the 1938 Council in

[412] ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, Usāmah, *Al-Muthaqqafūn wa-al-Baḥth ʿan masār : Dawr al-muthaqqafīn fī aqṭār al-Khalīj al-ʿArabīyah fī al-tanmiyah,* series of the National Culture (9), (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987), p. 46, 49-50

[413]. See: Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtamaʿ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʿArabīyah*, p. 48-89; Onley, *Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection*, p. 4

[414] Broeze, F., Kuwait before oil: the dynamics and morphology of an Arab port city, In F. Broeze (ed.) *Gateways of Asia: port cities of Asia in the 13th–20th centuries*, (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), p. 170

Kuwait, composed primarily of the National Bloc members. Despite their oppositional leanings, they maintained friendly relations with the British political representative and prioritized dialogue over confrontation. This example illustrates the multifaceted nature of resistance and highlights the need to analyze specific events to fully understand the political landscape of colonial Kuwait. The National Bloc maintained friendly relations with the British and avoided acting upon the coup on the protection agreement. In fact, when disagreements arose with De Gaury, its members even attempted to directly reconcile with Sir Trenchard Fowle, the Political Resident in "the Persian Gulf."[415]

While the council members initially sought to reassure the British of their intention to avoid interfering with external affairs under British control, their desire to review Kuwait's external agreements and take control of the armory raised concerns. The British representative responded with a letter to the Emir on August 6th, expressing his hope that the existing relationships would be maintained without any modifications. He emphasized that any changes should only be made with the Emir's agreement and after consultation with the British representative.[416] Contrasting this view, Mohammad Al-Rumaihi argues that the 1938 movement was merely a reform movement, seeking limited changes within the existing political system, rather than a fundamental transformation to independence and a review of the protectorate treaty.[417]

This intervention was not an isolated incident. British documents reveal that the British agent advised the ruler to appoint a British counsel in Kuwait, which the ruler interpreted as a warning of potential intervention to quell any disorder during his reign. Various sources suggest that British intervention was the primary factor hindering the national movement of the 1940s and 1950s, continuing their response to similar incidents in Bahrain and Qatar in 1956, which they linked to the United Arab Republic.

[415] Al-Wazzān, *ʻAbd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwāʼ ʻalá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974),* (Kuwait: The Kuwait Research and Studies Center in Kuwait, 2019), p. 11
[416] Al-Tamīmī, ʻAbd āl-Mālik Khalaf, Taṭawwur ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwayt maʻa al-Duwal al-ʻArabīyah qabla al-istiqlāl, *Historical Studies,* No. 9-10 (October 1982), p. 107; Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p.152, 163
[417] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, vol 4, (1975), p. 32

These incidents were perceived by the British as a significant threat to their interests and presence in Kuwait.[418]

While the British presence undoubtedly left its mark on Kuwait's political landscape, the development of political awareness was also significantly impacted by other external forces, particularly regional powers. The emergence of Saudi Arabia as a powerful neighbor and the fluctuating relationship with Iraq, with its own political ambitions, presented distinct challenges and opportunities for Kuwait. Understanding the complex interactions between these regional actors is crucial to gaining a complete picture of how political awareness developed in Kuwait. Therefore, the following section will delve deeper into the influence of these regional powers, examining how their policies and ideologies impacted Kuwait's internal dynamics and contributed to the evolving political awareness of its people.

2.5.2.2. Regional Threats and the Rise of Political Awareness in Kuwait

While the British presence undoubtedly influenced Kuwait's political landscape, other regional powers, particularly Saudi Arabia and Iraq, played significant roles in shaping the development of political awareness. This section explores the complex relationships between Kuwait and these regional actors, highlighting how their policies and ideologies impacted the country's internal dynamics and contributed to the evolving political awareness of its people.

Rashid Khalidi aptly observes that "situations of extreme political stress" can significantly reshape perceptions of self, other, and collective identity. [419] Notably, in the case of Kuwait, external threats [420] played a crucial role in enhancing political and

[418] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 347; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 4; IOR, 15/5/205: From Political Agent Kuwait to Political Resident in the Persian Gulf 13th June 1938; Political Resident in the Persian Gulf to Secretary of State for India, 12th May 1938; Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah*, p. 141; Al- Ṭalī'ah, Issue No. 799, 29 June 1983.

[419] Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. ix

[420] It must be noted that Iran did not actively attempt to invade Kuwait, the propaganda of pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism during the mid-twentieth century often portrayed Iran as a source of fear and danger, with the Shah of Iran being portrayed as seeking to exert control and dominance over the region by reviving the Persian Empire and undermining the Arab identity of the Gulf sheikhdoms. Agha-Mohammadi, Morteza, and Jamei Masjed. "Kuwaiti Shia as a Lever of Balance for the Ruling

national awareness, fostering a new sense of collective identity that had not existed previously. This identity, however, remained primarily limited to specific segments of the population.

2.5.2.3. Saudi (Wahhabism) and Political Awareness in Kuwait

External threats, particularly those emanating from Saudi Arabia, played a pivotal role in shaping political awareness and reformist movements in Kuwait during the interwar period (1918-1939). The imposition of a 15-year trade blockade by Saudi Arabia on Najd (1922-1937) severely impacted the Kuwaiti economy, fostering calls for reform. In response, the National Bloc, a powerful coalition of prominent merchants, emerged as a vocal advocate for political participation and the establishment of a council to address the economic crisis.[421] The compounding effects of the blockade and the decline of the pearl trade disillusioned many Kuwaitis, prompting them to seek closer economic ties and political alignment with Iraq. This sentiment was echoed by a British political agent in the region, who observed in correspondence that the Saudi blockade and the collapse of the pearl trade had impoverished merchants and many young Kuwaitis.[422] This episode underscores the interconnectedness of economic and political factors in shaping political awareness.

On 30 May 1938, the National Bloc convened and unanimously mandated Mohammed Thunayyan, Abdullah Al-Saqer, and Sulaiman al-Adsani as a delegation to negotiate with the ruler, Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah. The delegation's primary objective was to remind the ruler that his assumption of power was contingent upon the application of the shura (consultation) as a system of governance. Consequently, they demanded the formation of a council to contribute to the resolution of the economic crisis. [423]

Family of Kuwait." *Kom: Casopis Za Religijske Nauke* 9, no. 3 (2020): 31–48. https://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/2334-6396/2020/2334-63962003031A.pdf

[421] Zahlan, *the making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p. 36-38

[422] Al-Sa'dūn, *Al-'Alāqāt al-siyāsīyah al-'irāqyah-al-kuwaytyah zaman al-Malik Ghāzī 1933-1939*, Vol. 01, p. 220; Toth, Tribes and Tribulations, p. 145–67.

[423] Al-'Adasani, K., *'Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p.28.

Jill Crystal, in her book "Oil and Politics in the Gulf," observes that "Ibn Saud harboured no inclination to endorse a reform movement in Kuwait, especially one with reverberations in neighbouring Dubai and Bahrain".[424] The establishment of an elected council with extensive powers in Kuwait raised significant concerns for Ibn Saud, who staunchly opposed the presence of such a democratic experiment within Kuwait's borders. He harboured fears that its influence would extend beyond Kuwait's borders, posing a grave threat to his rule.[425] This episode further underscores the profound impact of external threats on shaping political awareness in Kuwait. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia's unwavering opposition to reformist movements in Kuwait hindered the region's political development. Ibn Saud and his administration feared the potential spread of these movements and their destabilizing impact on national trends, particularly given the emergence of similar movements in neighbouring Dubai and Bahrain.[426] This staunch opposition stifled political awareness and hindered the growth of democratic aspirations within Kuwait.

The dissolution of the elected council in 1938 and the subsequent confrontations between the government and the council's supporters further highlighted the delicate balance between internal reform movements and external threats. Ibn Saud, wary of King Ghazi's aspirations to annex Kuwait, intervened by deploying military forces near Kuwait's borders to support Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber in restoring order.[427] This intervention, driven by Ibn Saud's fear of democratic ideals spreading to his own kingdom, ultimately improved his relationship with Sheikh Ahmad and paved the way for the signing of the neighbourhood agreement in 1940.[428] This agreement, however, came at the cost of suppressing political aspirations in Kuwait, demonstrating the complex interplay between internal reform movements and external pressures.

While the Wahhabi movement itself did not directly influence the Kuwaiti population, its impact on intellectual life has grown significantly since the 1970s. According to

---

[424] Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 52

[425] Al-Jāsim, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn*, p. 27

[426] Al-'Aqqād, *Ma'ālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, p. 26-27

[427] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p.233-235; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 69

[428] Al-Ṣabāḥ, Maymūnah al-Khalīfah, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah (Kuwait under British protection),* (Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1988), p. 191; Al-Jāsim, Najāt 'Abd-al-Qādir, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir, (*Kuwait: Kuwaiti government printing house, 2010), p. 27

Abdul Aziz Hussein, the reality is that Kuwait remained largely unaffected by the Wahhabi Movement during this period, despite its proximity to the movement's origin. This can be attributed to the fact that the Kuwaiti population did not feel inclined toward the movement, and did not actively oppose it, as it was primarily seen as a religious movement.[429] Kuwait has had a complex relationship with Saudi Arabia throughout history, including historical conflicts and disputes such as the Battle of Al-Sarif in 1900 and the Battle of Jahra in 1920, as well as economic sanctions imposed by King Abdul Aziz on Kuwait in 1923-1937. Furthermore, the "Al-Ikhwan" militants' assaults in Kuwait have led to the rejection and opposition of the Saudi influence in the country. The Kuwaiti population has opposed Wahhabism and the Saudi influence from the 1920s till the 1960s. Additionally, Salafism has been active in Kuwait since the mid-1960s and has gained followers among merchant families, but its focus has primarily been on non-political issues such as education and charity.[430]

In conclusion, external threats, particularly Saudi Arabia's actions and policies, served as catalysts for political awakening and reformist movements in Kuwait during the interwar period, as will be further explored in the subsequent chapters.

2.5.2.4. **The role of Economic, Political, and Cultural Ties between Iraq and Kuwait on the development of the political awareness**

The early 20th century witnessed a remarkable transformation in Kuwait's political and cultural awareness, profoundly shaped by the pervasive influence of Iraq.[431] This period marked a surge in intellectual exchange, cultural interaction, and political discourse, fostered by the close ties between the two countries. Iraq, with its rich cultural heritage, well-established educational institutions, and burgeoning nationalist movement, served as a beacon of inspiration for Kuwaiti intellectuals and political activists.

---

[429] Ḥusayn, *Muḥāḍarāt ʻan al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 25

[430] Al-Saʻdūn, Khālid Ḥammūd. "*al-ʻAlāqāt bayna Najd wa-al-Kuwayt 1902-1922",(*MA thesis, Umm Al-Qura University, 1981), p. 175

[431] In 1932, the Kingdom of Iraq gained complete independence from post-Ottoman Turkey and sought membership in the League of Nations. As part of the application process, the Iraqi government reaffirmed the established border with Kuwait, which was included in the documentation submitted to the League of Nations. Casey, *The History of Kuwait*, p. 56

The two countries shared a strong economic relationship, as evidenced by the extensive trade and communication between Kuwaiti and Basra merchants. Many Kuwaiti intellectuals also received their education from schools and faculties in Baghdad and Basra, which exposed them to Iraqi ideas on modernization, education, and management. The “modern renaissance” in Iraq had a significant impact on Kuwait as well, with the Iraqi press playing a key role in encouraging Kuwaiti youth to embrace change and reform through articles and calls to action. This resulted in the emergence of reformist views and the establishment of political and cultural movements like "Lajnat al-Taḥrīr al-Qawmī" (The National Liberation Committee) in Kuwait. This movement called for unity between Iraq and Kuwait, criticized the regime, and sought liberation from British colonization. Events in Iraq, such as King Ghazi's recommendations for creating unity between Iraq and Kuwait and supporting Arab affairs, also had an impact on Kuwait. Thus, it is crucial to recognize Iraq's significance as a model for Kuwaiti intellectuals with regard to running a modern state, culture, and liberal modernization.[432]

There was a close correlation between tribes and the intermingling of population groups, particularly between Kuwait and southern Iraq. Many Kuwaitis lived in this region, and some Kuwaiti traders even had properties in palm gardens in southern Iraq. The Kuwaitis played an important role in trade between Najd and Iraq, and the region of Al-Zubair in Basra served as a rest stop for Kuwaiti traders. Furthermore, Iraq's agricultural products were imported to Kuwait, and freshwater was also transported from the Shatt al-Arab to Kuwait, beginning in the early 20th century.[433]

The geographic proximity of Iraq to Kuwait further facilitated the intermingling of population groups. Many Kuwaiti families resided in southern Iraq, and Kuwaiti traders maintained properties in the region. This close connection extended to the educational sphere, with the first Kuwaiti educational mission being dispatched to Iraq

[432] Al-Najjār, Ghānim, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī*, (Kuwait: Faculty of commerce, economics, and political science,1985), p.14-15; Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 210; Al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad, *Taṭawwur al-Waʻy al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Association of Writers in Kuwait, 1983), P. 26

[433] Al-Farḥān, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 159; Al-Tamīmī, Taṭawwur ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwayt maʻa al-Duwal al-ʻArabīyah qabla al-istiqlāl, p. 104

in 1925 [434] and in 1939, an educational mission from Kuwait went to the Higher Teachers Training College in Baghdad at the expense of the Iraqi government.[435] This exchange of students and scholars established the basis for a common intellectual discourse and the implementation of modern educational practices in Kuwait, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Also, the Kuwaiti government sent many graduates from Al-Mubarakiya (Almubārkyh) and Ahmadiya schools to study in Iraqi colleges and institutions, leading to the emergence of Kuwaiti intellectuals who graduated from these institutions, such as Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani, Secretary of the dissolved Legislative Council 1939-1938, Mahmoud Al-Abd Al-Razzaq Al-Dosari, Ahmed bin Omar Al-Ali, Abdul Karim bin Mohammed Al-Ali, Abdullah Al-Abdullatif Al-Abdul-Jalil, and Salman Al-Anzi, who received their education in the College of the Great Imam (Al-Adhamiyah/ al-Aʿẓamīyah) in Baghdad.[436]

Furthermore, during this period, Iraqi cultural and intellectual influence also radiated into the Gulf region through its schools and newspapers.[437] The presence of the 'Atabat al-Muqadasah (the sacred thresholds)' of Najaf, Karbala, al-Kazimiyya, and Samarra, the most revered sites of Shi'i Islam in Iraq, also played a significant role. These sacred sites served as the focal point of pilgrimage for Gulf residents, exposing them to the ideological and political developments unfolding in Iraq.[438] This cultural interaction fostered intellectual growth and enrichment in Iraq, in contrast to the more insular environment of Saudi Arabia.

In the 1930s, socio-political movements in Kuwait experienced a surge in activity, fueled by new intellectual trends, particularly the burgeoning Arab nationalist

[434] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad Ghānim, *Al-Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimāʿī fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī, (*Kuwait: Al Wehda Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, 1975), p. 33
[435]Al-Saddānī Nūrīyah, *Riwāyat al-Kuwayt: Malḥamat al-tārīkh allatī lā tunas,* (Kuwait: al-Qabas, 1988), p. 78; Al-Ḥātim, min hunā badaʾat al-Kuwayt, p. 319
[436] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā badaʾat al-Kuwayt, p. 83; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʿArabīyah fī al-shiʿr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 45
[437] In 1935, Al-Difāʿ newspaper wrote that "a group of 15 young Kuwaitis traveled to Iraq to improve the friendship links between the two Arab nations". Al-Difāʿ newspaper, Sunday, February 3, 1935, Shawwal 29, 1353, Jaffa, Address: The Travel of Kuwaiti Youth to Iraq.
[438] Al-Bassām, *Tilka al-Ayyām: Ḥikāyāt wa-ṣuwar min Bidāyāt al-Baḥrayn*, p. 15

movement.[439] These movements were further amplified by the influence of Iraqi journalism, which featured calls and articles by Kuwaiti youth demanding reforms, liberation, and independence.[440] A significant catalyst for these changes was the broadcasting station Qaṣr al-zuhūr, directed by King Ghazi of Iraq (1933-1939). Qaṣr al-zuhūr's constant criticism of tribal regimes and British intervention in the Gulf region played a crucial role in motivating people to call for political and economic reform.[441] However, the station's credibility was tarnished when a radio statement aired on February 18-19, 1939, falsely attributed to Kuwaiti activist Khalid Al-Adasani. This fabricated statement claimed Al-Adasani endorsed the existing regime, leading to widespread confusion and distrust, "We have the Constitution; God endorses the King."[442]

This incident underscores the role of the Iraqi media as a catalyst for reform and change among Kuwaiti youth through articles and calls that challenged the ruling regime and the prevailing order in Kuwait. This platform provided Kuwaiti reformists with an avenue to express their progressive views and ideas in Iraqi newspapers.[443] It is noteworthy that the influence of the Iraqi press on Kuwaiti society in terms of fostering change and reform played a pivotal role in shaping Kuwaiti political and national awareness of Kuwait, particularly during the 1930s and 1940s. [444] This influence was further amplified by the surge of Iraqi nationalistic sentiments, spearheaded by King Ghazi's (1933-1939) fervent advocacy for a modern state. Inspired by Iraq's example, Kuwaiti youth began to view Iraq as a model for reform and clamored for transformative measures to address their own economic and political shortcomings. This Iraqi influence also extended to a critique of the prevalent tribal rule in the Gulf region and the detrimental impact of British policies. This influence was further amplified by the surge of Iraqi nationalistic sentiments, spearheaded by King Ghazi's

[439] Al-'Aqqād, *Ma'ālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, p. 24 ; Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*, p. 128 ; Example of articles: Iraqi newspaper Al-Zamān / Baghdad / April 11, 1938 in: Koweit Situation 20/file 4/ 205/5/IOR R/15 (Appendix 5)
[440] Al-Jāsim, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn*, p. 11-12
[441] Al-'Ubaydī, Ibrāhīm Khalaf "al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī" (Political Currents in the Arab Gulf), *al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī magazine,* Bagdad, (April 1998), vol 45, p. 15
[442] Al-'Adasani, '*Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī* p. 130
[443] In the next chapter, the study will delve into analyzing samples of propaganda published in several Iraqi newspapers to understand their role in shaping political awareness during a specific period.
[444] Al-Najjār, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī*, p. 14-15; Al-Bassām, *Tilka al-Ayyām: Ḥikāyāt wa-ṣuwar min Bidāyāt al-Baḥrayn*, p. 15

(1933-1939) fervent advocacy for a modern state. Inspired by Iraq's example, Kuwaiti youth began to view Iraq as a model for reform and clamored for transformative measures to address their own economic and political shortcomings. This Iraqi influence also extended to a critique of the prevalent tribal rule in the Gulf region and the detrimental impact of British policies.[445]

From an alternative perspective, the Rashid Ali al-Kilani Revolt of April and May 1941, a significant political incident in Iraq, exerted a profound impact on Kuwaiti society, fostering a heightened sense of national awareness. This event resonated with maritime workers in Kuwait, despite their general disinterest in politics at the time, as evidenced by the well-known aversion to politics among ship captains (Nūkhadhah) during that era. In 1939, a prominent ship captain, Ahmad Al-Qudaibi, commissioned a renowned shipbuilder to construct a new vessel for his family, resulting in the launch of the ship (Boom) "Rashīd," named after Rashid Ali Al-Kilani. Uniquely distinguished as the "perfect or extra-large-sized ship" (Kāmil al-awṣāf al‘wd), it became one of "the most beautiful and best-crafted wooden ships in Kuwait and the Gulf. [446]

The early 20th century witnessed a profound transformation in Kuwait's political and cultural landscape, shaped by the influence of Iraq. Iraqi intellectuals, institutions, and media played a pivotal role in fostering political awareness, stimulating intellectual discourse, and promoting cultural exchange. These interactions laid the foundation for Kuwait's future political and cultural development, contributing to the emergence of a distinct national identity.

2.5.3. The Influence of Kuwait's Strategic Geographical Location on the Development of Political Awareness

Introduction

The geographical location of Kuwait, situated in the strategically significant Arabian Peninsula, has played a pivotal role in shaping its cultural and political development.

[445] Al-Najjār, Muṣṭafá et al. *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu‘āṣir, (*Basra: Basra University, Arab Gulf studies center, 1984), p. 166 ; Al-‘Ubaydī, "al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī", p. 15

[446] Al-Ḥajjī, *Nawākhidhat al-safar al-shirā‘ī fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 26

Prior to the early 1900s, the Gulf region, including Kuwait, experienced a relatively limited cultural and political awakening compared to more established Arab centers like Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon. These regional hubs served as the primary sources of cultural and political discourse for Kuwait and its neighboring cities, including Manama, Dubai, Riyadh, Doha, Abu Dhabi, Muscat, and Al-Muharraq. Newspapers and publications from Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon, such as Al-Ahrām, Al-Miṣrī, Al-Da‘wah, Al-Hilāl, Al-Istiqlāl, Al-Nās, Al-Zamān, Al-ḥyāt, and Al-Nahār, played a crucial role in shaping the intellectual landscape and political awareness of Kuwait and the Gulf region. These publications introduced Kuwaiti readers to the latest advancements in Arab thought, fostering a sense of cultural and political engagement that would eventually lead to the emergence of a distinct Kuwaiti identity and more active participation in regional and global affairs. [447]

This section delves into the multifaceted role of the political importance of the Kuwaiti and Gulf geography in shaping political awareness in the region. Geographical location, especially in relation to commercial activity and merchants, has been a key factor in shaping political awareness in the region. Kuwait's proximity to Saudi Arabia and Iraq, as well as the claims of regional "hegemony" from neighboring countries, have had a significant impact on political awareness. Additionally, the subject of the sea and its relevance to political awareness and external threats can also be considered a part of the broader effects of geography on political awareness.

Geographical characteristics, such as the coastal roads (coasts) and ports, contributed to the openness and flexibility of the mindset of Gulf residents, particularly in coastal areas. These areas had frequent communication and trade with other communities and nearby regions, resulting in familiarity with the traditions, languages, and cultures of the people with whom they interacted. This explains the early cultural movement and political awareness in Kuwait, Dubai, and Bahrain compared to the rest of the Gulf states.[448]

---

[447] Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah*, p. 392; ‘Izzat, *Al-Ṣiḥāfah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī*, vol 1, p. 9

[448] Abū al-‘Ulā, Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, "Khaṣā’iṣ al-bī’ah al-jughrāfīyah li-Ḥawḍ al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī" , In *al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī muwājahat al-taḥaddiyāt,* Seasonal cultural lectures 7th and 8th 1974-1975 intellectual symposium, sociologist’s committee, (Kuwait, 1975), p. 123; Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-Khalīj laysa niṭā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah*, p.21

The demographic and cultural communities living on the Arab Gulf coast were gathered throughout history on tribal and demographic foundations and had similar social and religious legacies in the light of the same environment as if it were a monolithic cultural lake. This led to some scholars describing these characteristics as a similar but not identical cultural identity due to the social mobility among the people of the region who moved naturally from one port to another and from one region to another due to their socio-economical formation which forced them to search for places of stability and means of subsistence.[449]

Regarding the commercial importance of the geography, the Gulf is one of the most strategic coastal areas between Asia, Africa, and Europe. It serves as a main passage between the East and West, and a communication channel of the Iraqi part Arab East with the outside world. [450] Historically, it has been an important commercial route for goods transportation with the Far East and India through the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea towards the top North of the Gulf in Kuwait and South Iraq. This has further strengthened the political, strategic, and economic importance of the region in shaping political awareness. [451]

These characteristics of the Gulf geography have played a significant role in shaping the mindset and mentality of its inhabitants, particularly those living in coastal areas. This is due to the frequent trade and transportation interactions through coastal routes and ports with other societies and neighboring countries. As a result, individuals living in these coastal regions exhibit greater openness and flexibility in their traditions, languages, and cultures when compared to those in inland areas. This phenomenon can be observed in the early cultural advancements in Kuwait and Bahrain, as opposed to other emirates in the Gulf.[452]

---

[449] Al-jaṣānī, Iyād, *Al-nafṭ wa al-taṭawwur al-iqtiṣādī wa al-siyāsī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, (Kuwait: Dār Al-Ma'rifah, 1982), p.13; Levon H. Malikian, Gulf Reaction to Western Culture Pressures, in B. R. Pridham (ed) *The Arab Gulf and the West*, (London: Center for Arab Gulf Studies, University of Exeter, 1985), p. 204.

[450] Al-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd. *al-ahammīyah al-Istirātījīyah lil-Khalīj al-'Arabī, al-Khalīj al-'Arabī fī muwājahat al-taḥaddiyāt*, lectures of the 07th and 08th cultural seasons (1974-1975), 7th and 8th Cultural Seasons Lectures (1974-1975), (Kuwait: Kuwait Social Association, 1975), p. 32-35

[451] Al-Kawwārī, 'Alī Khalīfah, *Naḥwa istirātījīyah badīlah lil-Tanmiyah al-shāmilah, al-malāmiḥ al-'Āmmah li-istirātījīyat al-tanmiyah fī iṭār Ittiḥād aqṭār Majlis al-Ta'āwun wa takāmulihā ma'a baqīyat al-aqṭār al-'Arabīyah*, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985), p. 40-41

[452] Abū al-'Ulā, *Khaṣā'iṣ al-bī'ah al-jughrāfīyah li-Ḥawḍ al-Khalīj al-'Arabī"*, p. 123

Moreover, commercial activity has played a vital role in promoting cultural and intellectual development in the region. Historically, merchants from the Gulf region had significant trade ties with India, particularly Bombay, which was considered a hub for trade between India and the Gulf. Some wealthy Arab families, such as Al-Bassam, Al Gosaibi, Al-Zainal, and Alebrahim families, even settled in the city. Furthermore, an Arabic school was established in Bombay, and several Arab intellectuals and politicians spent time in exile there.[453] In later years, there were efforts to improve maritime transportation between Kuwait and India. In 1911, "The Arab Steamers Ltd" was founded by Kuwaiti and Arab merchants in India and was chaired by the prominent notable Qasim bin Mohammad Al-Ibrahim, who was considered the Dean of Arab traders and notables in Bombay.[454]

Due to the significant commercial activity [455] of Kuwait in India and East Asia, many Kuwaiti traders and their employees settled in these regions (India then Singapore and Indonesia). Along with their business pursuits, these individuals also engaged in religious, social, and cultural activities, such as establishing Arab schools, charitable organizations, cultural forums, publishing Quran books, publications, and founding printing houses. These traders also played a role in introducing new ideas and perspectives, seeking to inspire and drive reform in the underdeveloped societies of the Gulf region. [456]

---

[453] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-'Arabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn*, p. 25; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 42

[454] Takriti, A. Political Praxis in the Gulf: Ahmad al-Khatib and the Movement of Arab Nationalists, 1948–1969. In J. Hanssen & M. Weiss (Eds.), *Arabic Thought against the Authoritarian Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 86-112; Kuwait-India Relations seminar, (from the Mid-18th century to Kuwait's independence), (National Council for Culture, Arts & Letters, Kuwait, 2018), p. 137-139

[455]Raunkiaer attributed the commercial importance of Kuwait, stating: "Undoubtedly, Kuwait is the most important commercial city on the Eastern Coast of the Arabian Peninsula, including Masqat. This is because the trade of Masqat is limited to Oman itself, which confines it to the Southern Arab desert and it has no territorial connections with the rest of the peninsula. Furthermore, Kuwait is the only city in Shatt-Al-Arab and the Musandam peninsula that has a good port and is the only place where inhabitants can find a free route to the sea with all security, thanks to the rule of Sheikh Mubarak." 'Aṭāllāh,, *Qāfilat al-Ḥibr: al-raḥḥālah al-Gharbīyūn ilá al-Jazīrah wa-al-Khalīj (1762-1950*), p. 238

[456] The Kuwaitis that lived in India provided educational and cultural services for the Arabs and were interested in establishing schools and institutes for the Indian Muslims. What attracts attention is that one of the Kuwaiti intellectuals, Al Hajj Saleh Alshaya, who lived in India, made big efforts to convince the Muslim Indians to allow their daughters to receive education in the schools he donated money to for the foundation. See: Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 32, 43.

These merchants, particularly those from Kuwait and Bahrain, brought with them modern tools and technology that they had encountered during their travels abroad. One notable example is the radio, which was introduced to Bahrain and Kuwait by oil expert Frank Holmes (1874 – January 1947), in the early 1930s and presented to the Kuwaiti ruler, Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah (1921 –1950). The need for access to the news during WWII, coupled with the development of radio technology, led to the acceptance of the radio in cafes, (Maqhá/Coffeehouse) houses, and Dywānyāt (traditional Kuwaiti gathering places) such as The BBC Arabic Service, German Radio at Zeesen, and Italian Radio Bari.[457]

Michael Herb's study suggests that the emergence of reform movements in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai was not a coincidence but rather a result of their respective economic structures. These economies, driven by seagoing trade, fostered the development of a powerful and influential merchant class. Conversely, economies that relied primarily on pearling, such as Abu Dhabi and Doha, did not exhibit the same level of reformist activity due to the presence of less prominent merchant classes, as observed by Jill Crystal in her research. According to Herb, the Majlis movements, characterized by informal gatherings and discussions, were successful in Kuwait and Dubai in promoting reformist ideas. However, in Bahrain, these movements faced opposition from the British government, hindering the establishment of a legislative council.[458] Nevertheless, merchants in Kuwait played a crucial role in disseminating enlightened ideas and introducing new cultures to Kuwaiti society through their private Majlis gatherings and public diwaniyas. These forums served as platforms for addressing critical issues related to education, liberation, decolonization, and democracy.[459]

Kuwait's strategic geographical location has profoundly influenced its cultural and political awareness. Prior to the early 1900s, Kuwait's cultural and political awakening was limited compared to established Arab centers like Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon.

---

[457] Al-Bassām, *Tilka al-Ayyām: Ḥikāyāt wa-ṣuwar min Bidāyāt al-Baḥrayn*, p. 78-80

[458] Herb, Michael. *'The Origins of Kuwait's National Assembly.*' LSE Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, Paper Series 39, (London, UK, March 2016), p. 12; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 57

[459] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981, In: Buḥūth wa-munāqashāt al-nadwah al-fikrīyah : *Azmat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī,* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987), p. 644

However, exposure to ideas and perspectives from neighboring regions through trade, travel, and media played a crucial role in shaping Kuwait's intellectual landscape and political awareness. The coastal location and commercial activity of Kuwait contributed to the emergence of a powerful merchant class. These merchants, particularly those from Kuwait and Bahrain, played a pivotal role in introducing new ideas, technologies, and cultures to Kuwaiti society through their private Majlis gatherings and public diwaniyas. Their efforts fostered a sense of cultural openness and political engagement, leading to the emergence of reform movements that advocated for education, liberation, decolonization, and democracy.

2.5.4. The Arab Uprisings and Armed Resistance Movements in North Africa: Their Impact on the Development of Political Awareness in Kuwait

This section examines the impact of the Arab uprisings and armed resistance movements, particularly those in North Africa, on the burgeoning political awareness in Kuwait. It argues that these events, coupled with the dissemination of new ideas such as freedom, political participation, independence from foreign colonization, and calls for reform, played a crucial role in shaping the region's political landscape. These ideals resonated deeply with the populations of Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai during the interwar period (1918-1939), ultimately leading to the emergence of demands for political reform. These demands can be regarded as the initial stirrings of political awareness in the region.

The influence of the Arab uprisings and armed resistance movements [460] was evident in the poetry and writings of Kuwaiti authors, who engaged with events such as the Libyan resistance movement against Italian colonization (1914-1932), Saad Zaghloul's Egyptian Revolution of 1919 against British occupation, the Iraqi revolt of 1920, the armed resistance in the Far Maghreb (Marrakesh) against French and Spanish colonization (1921-1930), and the Syrian Revolt of 1925 against French rule.

[460] It can be observed that the effect of the movements that appeared in the Arab region in an earlier period. Such as the Mahdi movement in Sudan (1881–1899) that had been followed by the people in the Arab Gulf in 1883 and attracted the interests of many young people that sympathized with Al Mahdi politically and religiously. Some of them left Dubai to join his movement in Sudan. This angered Britain because of the support for the movement in the region. Lorimer, *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī,* vol 6, p. 3418

Additionally, the Great Arab Revolt of 1936-1939 in Palestine, and against the Jewish colonization, immigration, and the British mandate in Palestine also had an impact.[461]

The emergence and growth of political parties in the 1920s and 1930s in the Arab Maghreb such as North-African Star, Algerian People's Party (PPA), Tunisian "constitution" (Destour) Party, and Moroccan Istiqlal Party played a significant role in shaping the political awareness in the region. These parties, along with those established in other parts of the Arab world, aimed to combat colonialism and imperialism, contributing to a broader regional awakening.[462]

The World Wars (World War I and World War II) and their repercussions on the Arab World had a significant impact as the latter had been a war a "battleground" of the Great Powers. Its people, especially in the Arab Maghreb, had been mobilized in these Wars and fought inside and outside their countries in wars that had no benefit for them or their countries. Furthermore, the economic, political, and military crises had ramifications during the two wars on the Arab World because it had been under the influence of the colonial powers which allowed the "colonizer" to take advantage of its human, economic, and geographic resources in the war. It can be said that this situation created a political awareness that started imposing a newly developed form and style of national struggle which created new social layers that had been shaped by the struggle and prepared to play a complementary role to the categories that Initiated the national action in its first stage.[463]

Some have attempted to portray this phase as a stage of political conflict that was disconnected from social conflict since it was a stage of confronting colonialism. However, this perspective can be viewed as shortsighted and unable to see the dimensions of the problems and their underlying causes. While the outcomes of the conflict were political, it does not imply that the nature of the conflict was purely political and that social and economic circumstances were not related to the development of political events. Some presumed that due to circumstances such as

[461] Am'ḍshw,Farīd "al-Ittijāh al-Qawmī fī al-shi'r al-Kuwaytī al-ḥadīth", *Al-Bayān-Al-Kuwaytīyah magazine*, issue 492, (July 2011), p. 8-22
[462] Sulaiman, Hassan Sayed. "The Nationalist Movements in the Maghrib: A comparative approach", *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, Uppsala, Research Report Issue 78, (1987), p. 19, 24, 33; Dawn, C. Ernest. "The Formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Interwar Years." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 1 (February 1988): 67–91.
[463] Al-Tamīmī, Taṭawwur 'Alāqāt al-Kuwayt ma'a al-Duwal al-'Arabīyah qabla al-istiqlāl, p. 110

isolationism, underdevelopment, and lack of media outlets, Kuwaiti youth would be distant from the armed resistance that was taking place in Libya, Al Maghreb Al Aqsa, and Algeria. Nevertheless, the young, well-educated, intellectual Kuwaitis were living the events of their nation from an early stage. A quick reading of Kuwaiti poetry at that time or the interwar period demonstrates the extent of interaction and complete awareness in the corners of the Arab world.[464]

The Arab Uprisings and armed resistance movements in North Africa, particularly the Algerian revolution, had a profound impact on the development of political awareness in Kuwait. This was reflected in the works of Kuwaiti poets such as Saqer al-Shabib and Abdullah al-Nuri, who used their poetry to express solidarity with the struggles of North Africans and criticize Arab inaction. Abdullah al-Nuri blamed Italian terrorism in Libya in his 1931 poem entitled "No Pride for the Ashamed". The Kuwaiti poets were also critical of the Arab failure to support Algeria and condemned the cruelty of the French. Additionally, they tackled political and economic corruption and urban underdevelopment resulting from colonization and its betrayal of the countries in the region. [465]

By the early 1960s, student activism in Kuwait had become increasingly common, reflecting the growing political awareness and sentiment inspired by the Arab Uprisings and armed resistance movements in North Africa, particularly the Algerian revolution. This is exemplified by the 1961 strike of students at the Girls' Secondary School in support of Algeria. This incident, as noted by the British Ambassador, highlighted the significant shift in political engagement, with students taking a proactive role in expressing solidarity and advocating for change.[466]

The first notable feature of the Arab nationalist movement in the Gulf was its focus on a nationalist political discourse and its alignment with the historical changes taking place in the Arab world. These changes included the Palestinian Nakba, nationalization

[464] Works by Kuwaiti poets played a role in political awareness and interaction with Arab events, such as the poets Khaled Al-Faraj, Abdul Latif Al Nisf, Mahmoud al-Ayyubi, Saqr al-Shabib, Abdullah al-Nuri, and Fahad al-Asker. As mentioned in: Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 77-87, 107, 104, 149. For further details, see Alsajāry, Mashārī ʻAbd Allāh, *Al-shiʻr al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt ilá sanat 1950.*

[465] Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 77-86, 112, 116; Al-Rūmī, *Al-Ḥarakah al-shiʻrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī bayna al-taqlīd wa-al-taṭawwur*, p. 88-89

[466] Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*, p. 306-307

of the Suez Canal, the tripartite aggression against Egypt, the Arab revolutions that led to the downfall of royal regimes (monarchies) in Iraq and Yemen, unity and separation, national liberation movements, and most importantly, the struggle of the Algerian people. In other words, the establishment of the Arab nationalist movement in the Arabian Gulf and Peninsula was part of the broader nationalist resurgence. Similarly, the decline of this movement later reflected the deteriorating state of the Arab nationalism movement across the Arab world.[467]

Besides, Akhbār al-Kuwayt newspaper followed the events of the Arab world and the revolutions of the region with keen interest. In the first issue and on the first page, the main title came as "The National Council of the Algerian Revolution approves the steps of the negotiations: the cease-fire in Algeria." Starting in 1958, Kuwait launched a program called "Ṣawt al-Jazīrah" (Voice of Algeria) that was broadcast on Kuwaiti radio for three hours every week. The program aimed to raise nationalist awareness among listeners in the Arab Gulf about the events in Algeria.[468] The Arab Uprisings and armed resistance movements in North Africa served as a powerful catalyst for political awareness in Kuwait. These events, coupled with broader regional and global developments, inspired a generation of Kuwaitis to demand political reform and engage in the struggle for a more just and independent Arab world.

2.5.5. The Modern Education the Development of Political Awareness

The introduction of modern education had a significant impact on political awareness in Kuwait. Arab teachers who were working in the region brought new ideas and intellectual trends from their countries, and Gulf residents who traveled to Arab

[467] Chalcraft, John. "Migration and Popular Protest in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 79, no. 1 (2011): 28–47; Makkī, Yūsuf. Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab fī al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah, In: *al-aḥzāb wa al-Ḥarakāt wa al-Tanẓīmāt al-Qawmīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī,* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2012), p. 467.

[468] For further information about Kuwait's support for the Algerian Revolution: Akhbār Al Kuwait newspaper: Issue No. 1, 1963, a political daily newspaper, Thursday 1 March 1963. Fāyid, Bashīr, Al-da'm al-Kuwaytī lil-thawrah al-Jazā'irīyah 1954-1962, *al-Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir University for Islamic studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, (2017), p. 319-351.

thought and culture centers for scientific and educational purposes also played a role in motivating intellectual, cultural, and political life.[469]

The modern education movement in Kuwait during the early 20th century emerged in response to the escalating demand for an educated populace to underpin the economic expansion of trade and commerce. The political milieu in Kuwait between 1900 and 1930, characterized by economic recovery and the ascent of affluent pearl merchants to positions of social and political influence, provided the requisite conditions for the development of modern education. In the early 1900s, prominent figures in Kuwait and Bahrain embarked on various initiatives to enhance education and counter the influence of Western missionaries. These endeavors were propelled by the need for a skilled workforce to support the burgeoning trade and commerce in the region, as well as the requirement for literacy skills to conduct commercial transactions with India and East Africa.[470]

The affluence of the pearl merchants, which had outstripped that of Al-Sabah family in terms of revenue, was channeled towards social, charitable, and educational initiatives. This resulted in the founding of schools and educational institutions in Kuwait, which played a pivotal role in the region's intellectual awakening. As Al-Zaidi astutely observes, the demand for an educated workforce to bolster trade and commerce served as a significant catalyst in the development of modern education throughout the Gulf region.[471]

The genesis of the modern education movement in Kuwait can be traced back to the early 20th century, emerging in response to the burgeoning presence of Western missionaries in the region and the escalating demand for educated individuals to

---

[469] Abū al-ʻUlā, Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, "Khaṣāʾiṣ al-bīʾah al-jughrāfīyah li-Ḥawḍ al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, p. 123; Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-Khalīj laysa niftā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah,* p.21

[470] The year 1912 had been called 'the year of Al-ṭafḥ,' i.e., excess, referring to the blossoming and prosperity of the diving for pearls industry that had been reached., See: Al-Sharqāwī, Ibrāhīm ʻAbdālftāḥ, *ʻāshiq al-Baḥr ʻAlī Aḥmad al-Sharqāwī,* (Kuwait, n.d, 2020), p. 54; ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz Ḥusayn et al. , *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tawthīqīyah*, Vol. 1, (Kuwait : Center for Research and Studies On Kuwait, 2002), p. 100; Al-Ghanīm, *Al-ghawṣ ʻalá al-Luʾlu' fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī)*, p. 83

[471] The traders and merchant's class that appeared in the era of pearls and kept its unity as one of the influential and strong social categories found in the increase of its returns from pearls collection and trade the ideal tool to exercise pressure on the successive rulers in Kuwait. The class had the power of stopping the ruler if he exceeded the logic because the political system got its resources from this class's returns from the land and the sea. Al-Ṣubayḥī, Ḥasan Qāyid, *al-Kuwayt 1756-1992, Ibḥār fī al-siyāsah wa-al-tārīkh, (*Kuwait: al-Fadjr printing houses, 1993), p. 110.

support the expanding trade industry. This initiative was largely spearheaded by self-motivated individuals and prominent figures within the community, including Sayyid Yasin al-Tabtabaʾi, who delivered a compelling speech during Al-Mawlid al-Nabawī (The celebration of the birth of the Prophet) on March 23, 1910. In his address, he passionately urged attendees to contribute towards the establishment of public schools, emphasizing the paramount importance of education in leading the people towards progress and prosperity. Despite the active participation of numerous Kuwaiti dignitaries, traders, merchants, and ordinary citizens in fundraising efforts to advance education, Qasim and Abdulrahman Al-Ibrahim emerged as the most significant benefactors, generously donating approximately 70% of the total funds, amounting to an impressive 78,000 rupees. Additionally, Al Haj Hamad al-Khaled Al Khudair, demonstrating his unwavering commitment to the cause of education, selflessly donated a house in the heart of Kuwait City to serve as a school, along with a substantial annual financial grant.[472]

As a result of these efforts, the first modern public school in Kuwait was established on December 22, 1911. Named Al-Mubarakiya, in honor of Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah, the school was directed by Sayyid Umar Asim al-Izmiri and staffed by Kuwaiti and Arab teachers such as Abdulaziz Al Rasheed, Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai, Sheikh Yusuf Bin Mahmoud, Hafiz Wahbah, Abdulaziz Bin Mohammed, Abdulmalik Al-Salih, Sheikh Mahmoud Al-Hete, Mohamed Bin Nori Al Musalli, Sheikh Najm Al-Din Al Hindi, Sheikh Abdul Kader Al-Baghdadi, Abdulrahman Al-Imoussi, and Sheikh Mohamed Firashi. [473]

The establishment of Al-Mubarakiya School in 1911 marked a significant milestone in the evolution of education in Kuwait, heralding the advent of a modern education system. However, the school's curriculum was initially restricted, and the education provided did not fully align with the aspirations of the educated class due to the pervasive influence of conservative religious leaders, known as "Mashāyikh" or "religious Ulamas." These influential figures held reservations about incorporating

[472] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p.44; Shihāb, Ṣāliḥ Jāsim, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj Ayyām Zamān*, Vol. 01, (Kuwait: Kuwaiti government printing house, 1984), p. 32, 34.
[473] ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, p. 111-112

subjects such as geography and English into the curriculum, arguing that they contravened Islamic principles. Despite these initial constraints, Al-Mubarakiya School played a pivotal role in laying the groundwork for modern education in Kuwait. Under the stewardship of Hamad Al Abdullah Al-Saqr and with the support of prominent dignitaries, the school's leadership, headed by Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai, gradually expanded the curriculum to encompass modern subjects such as geography, history, and English, which were not initially offered. This progressive expansion reflected the growing demand for a more comprehensive and well-rounded education in Kuwait.[474]

In response to the educational needs of Kuwait, a group of influential Kuwaiti figures, renowned for their interest in education and national development, took the initiative to establish Al-Ahmadiya School in 1921. The establishment of this school was prompted by Sheikh Abdulaziz Al Rasheed, who suggested the need for a new school that incorporated some modern subjects while preserving the traditional curriculum of Al-Mubarakiya School.[475] The new school was managed by Hamad Al Abdullah Al-Saqr, supported by dignitaries, and directed by Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai. The curriculum at Al-Ahmadiya School included modern subjects such as geography, history, and English, which were not available at Al-Mubarakiya School. This initiative had a significant impact on the students' thinking and transformed their intellectual and cultural levels, leading to the establishment of educational missions in 1924. Al-Ahmadiya School was considered a turning point in Kuwaiti students' educational styles and a starting point for their academic and professional development. [476]

In his book "Kuwait's History," Sheikh Abdul Aziz Rasheed describes the establishment of Al-Ahmadiya School in Kuwait. According to Rasheed, the school's establishment was a result of words spoken during a meeting of country elites and

---

[474] Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 13-14

[475] Al-Ahmadiya School is located on the seashore. It had been previously a headquarters for the Charitable Association (al-Jam'īyah al-Khayrīyah) that Farhan Al Khaled (1878-1913) had founded in 1913. It is the house the Family of Al-Khaled donated to be a part of the first Ahmadiya School. See: Al-Nūrī, *qiṣṣat al-Ta'līm fī al-Kuwayt fī niṣf qarn min sanat 1300-1360*, p. 57; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt*, p. 284

[476] For more details, See: Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 370; Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh (1953-1973), Documentary Committee emanating from the Supreme Committee for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Al-Shuwaikh high-school, Ministry of Education. (Kuwait, n.d, 2005), p. 38; Shihāb, *Tārīkh al-Ta'līm fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj Ayyām Zamān*, Vol. 01, p. 40-42; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 14, 19

dignitaries in the Majlis of Sayyid Khalaf Pasha al-Naqib, who urged and encouraged the creation of the school. Those in attendance at the meeting, including Al Haj Hamad Al-Saqr, Sheikh Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai, Al Haj Ahmed Al-Humaidi, Al Haj Ahmed Al-Fahd Al Khaled, Sayyed Abdulrahman Bek Al-Naqeeb, Mashan al-Khudair, Al Haj Marzouk Al-Daoud, and Sultan al-Kulaib, subscribed and declared their annual contributions towards the school's establishment. [477] Sheikh Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai sought permission from Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber Sabah to build the school on land on the shore in front of the Charitable Association (al-Jamʻīyah al-Khayrīyah). Ahmad Al-Fahad al-Khalid donated the land, and the school was named after Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah. Al-Qinai served as the headmaster of the school, and the administration included Mishari al-Kulaib, Mashan Al-Khudair Al Khaled, Sultan Al-Kulaib, Abd al-Rahman Bek Al-Naqib, and Sayyid Ali bin Sayyid Sulaiman Al-Rifai.[478]

Al-Qinai proposed a comprehensive four-article law governing the administration of Al-Ahmadiya School. The most notable provisions of this law were the school's independence from external interference, with Al-Qinai at the helm as headmaster, and the incorporation of English language, history, and geography into the curriculum. Additionally, the law stipulated the recruitment of experienced teachers from Egypt to impart English language instruction. [479] The success of Al-Ahmadiya School paved the way for the establishment of other educational institutions, such as Sa'ada School for Orphans in 1924. Pearl merchant Shamlan bin Ali solely financed this school with the intention of providing education to orphans. Subsequently, the school's doors were opened to underprivileged students from the surrounding area, including those from trader families and the sons of Al-Nūkhadhah (captains). However, despite having approximately 200 students and eight teachers, Sa'ada School faced financial constraints and was forced to close its doors in 1929.[480]

---

[477] A list of the contributors is available in the Appendix 3. Al-Iraq Newspaper, Issue No. 1921, p. 2 (https://www.wdl.org/ar/item/10486/); Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 291; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 33; For further details See: Al-Iraq Newspaper, Issue No. 389, September 1921

[478] Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 40

[479] Al-Shamlān, *min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p.201

[480] ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, p. 126

Alongside the establishment of Al-Ahmadiya School, several individuals in Kuwait took the initiative to establish independent educational institutions. One such notable school was the school of "Ustādh ʻAbd al-Mālik al-Ṣāliḥ", founded by a teacher with the same name. This school commenced operations around 1927. Unfortunately, due to disagreements with members of the educational board of Al-Mubarakiya School, this school was unable to sustain its operations for an extended period.[481] In a significant development, a group of Arab nationalist merchants formed the Educational Council on October 18, 1936. Comprising 12 members, the council's establishment followed an election in which reformists secured a decisive victory. Prominent figures among the council members included Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai, Ahmed Al Mashari, Yusuf Al Hamidi, Abdullah al-Saqr, Mishari al-Badr, Sultan al-Kulaib, Nisf Yusuf al-Nisf, Muhammad Ahmad al-Ghanim, Sulaiman and Yusuf al-Adsani, Sayyid Ali bin Sayyid Sulaiman, and Mashan al-Khudair.[482]

In the early days of Kuwait's educational system, some Kuwaiti students were sent on education missions to other Arab countries, particularly Iraq. In 1925, students including Fahd Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Sulaiman Al Anzi, Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani, Ahmed Bin Omar Al-Ali, Mahmoud Al-Dosari, Abdullah Abdullatif Al Abdul Jalil, and Abdul Karim Bin Mohamed Al-Ali enrolled in the "Al-Rahmaniya School" in Basra and Al Al-Adhamiyah School in Baghdad. In the following year, 1926, more student missions were sent to Iraq, Al-Ahsa, Najd, Syria, and India, with a total of 37 students in 1938. The largest education mission was sent to Egypt in 1945, with 65 students. [483]

Abdul Aziz Hussein's article, titled "Education in Kuwait," highlights that the first organized educational movement in Kuwait predated the establishment of the Educational Council in 1936. This movement was later taken over by the government,

---

[481] Al-ʻAskarī, Sulaymān Ibrāhīm wa Khiḍr, Aḥmad Ḥasan, *Al-Kuwayt wa-al-tanmiyah al-Thaqāfīyah, (*Kuwait: National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature, 1998), p. 20

[482] Al-Nūrī, *qiṣṣat al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt fī niṣf qarn min sanat 1300-1360,* p. 75

[483] The first education mission was composed of 5 students to the Iraqi school Al-Adhamiyah in 1924. the first delegation of the graduates of Al-Ahmadiya and Al-Mubarakiya schools arrived in Baghdad in 1925. The first educational mission left Kuwait for Cairo in 1939 and was made up of 4 students that were: Yusuf Omar, Yusuf Hassan Al-Mshari, Ahmed Al-Adwani, and Abdulaziz Hussein. See: Al-Zayd, Khālid Saʻūd, ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Ḥusayn wa-masīrat al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt, *Al-Bayan Al-Kuwaitiah Magazine*, Issue 171, (June 1980); Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 83; Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah,* p. 132-133; ʻAdasānī, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt (The history of intellectual movement in Kuwait), p. 15

which provided both administrative and financial support as it had previously relied on donations and volunteering. According to the article, in 1952, Kuwait had eight primary schools in the villages, twelve primary schools in the city, a secondary school, a commercial school, a religious school, a teachers' institute, and an industrial school run by the Kuwait Oil Company. Girls had access to eight primary schools and a school for feminine education, in addition to some private schools. However, education was not compulsory in Kuwait at that time.[484]

The concept of female education in Kuwait emerged in 1937, championed by influential figures within the education system. This initiative involved bringing Arab female teachers to Kuwait to instruct Kuwaiti women. However, this progressive endeavor encountered staunch opposition from the Imams (Imām al-Masjid) of Kuwait, who actively sought to thwart its implementation. Consequently, female education was relegated to the margins for an extended period, estimated to be approximately a quarter of a century. Mariam Abdulmalik Al-Saleh, the first Kuwaiti female teacher and headmaster, observed that pre-oil Kuwaiti society was not receptive to the idea of educating girls, adhering to a family-based economy and deeply entrenched customs and traditions. This societal structure enforced gender segregation and staunchly opposed the notion of providing girls with education beyond religious instruction, which was narrowly confined to the roles of Al-Muṭawwi‘, Al-Muṭawwi‘ah, or Al-Mulā.[485]

In 1937, seeking to enhance the quality of education in Kuwait, the Kuwaiti government solicited the assistance of Muhammad Amin al-Husaini (1895-1974), the esteemed Mufti of al-Quds and President of Palestine's Supreme Muslim Council. This collaboration resulted in the historic dispatch of an educational delegation of Palestinian educators to Kuwait's schools. This pioneering mission, led by Ahmed Shihab-Eldin, marked a turning point in Kuwait's educational landscape. Shihab-Eldin, who later assumed the role of Director of Studies (Mudīr al-Ta‘līm), was accompanied by a distinguished team of educators: Muhammad Jabir Hadid, Muhammad al-

[484] Al-Zayd, Khālid Sa‘ūd, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ḥusayn wa-masīrat al-Ta‘līm fī al-Kuwayt; *Al-Ba‘thah magazine*, issue 6, (June 1952).
[485] Ashkanānī, Jāsim ‘Abbās, *Ṣafaḥāt min al-dhākirah,* Part 04, (Kuwait: al-Qabas, 2011), p. 135; ‘Aqīl Yūsuf ‘Īdān, *Ma‘ṣiyat Fahd al-‘Askar: al-wujūdīyah fī al-Wa‘y al-Kuwaytī , (*Cairo: Dar Al-‘Ayn, 2013), p. 182

Maghribi, and Khamis Khair Al-Din Najm. These four eminent individuals, all graduates of institutions that strongly advocated for Arab nationalism, commenced their teaching duties on January 5, 1937. [486] In 1938, the delegation was further strengthened by the arrival of two additional educators, Muhammad Mahmud Najm and Abd al-Latif al-Salih. [487] Ahmed Shihab-Eldin, tasked with the crucial responsibility of drafting an education law, meticulously crafted the foundation for a robust and consistent educational system. He drew upon the Iraqi and Palestinian curricula, integrating them into Kuwait's educational framework between 1936 and 1942. [488]

The first educational delegation dispatched to Kuwait in 1942 concluded its mission, achieving remarkable objectives and catalyzing a comprehensive educational renaissance. The delegation's pivotal accomplishments encompassed the organization of education into primary and secondary stages, the development of educational curricula enriched with new subjects, the establishment of dedicated schools for girls, the provision of training sessions for novice Kuwaiti teachers to equip them with the new curricula, the implementation of a comprehensive supervisory system for classes and schools, and the introduction of a novel scouting and sports program within schools.[489]

In 1938, some Shiite dignitaries in Kuwait attempted to set up their own schools, separate from Al-Mubarakiya and Al-Ahmadiya schools, where sciences and literature would be taught. They raised funds from both Sunni and Shiite inhabitants and named it "The Jafaria National School" (al-Madrasah al-Waṭanīyah al-Jaʻfarīyah). Mohamed

---

[486] Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961),* p. 140

[487] Khālid al-Khurāfī, al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt, *Al- Rā'id Magazine,* Issue 10, (March 1953); Al-Khālidī, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad, *Dakhalnā baladan yuqāl la-hā al-Kuwayt: siyāḥah tārīkhīyah wa-jughrāfīyah wa-adabīyah fī Māḍī al-waṭan , (*Kuwait: Al Qabas Printing House, 2011), p. 154, 287-288; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 184

[488] In 1945, the education administration (Idārat al-Maʻārif) made a decision to revoke the Iraqi curriculum that had been in place since 1936 and replace it with the Egyptian curriculum. This decision sparked strong opposition from students and teachers at Al-Mubarakiya School and other schools. They demonstrated significant political awareness by staging strikes in the schools and shouting hostile slogans against the officials and stakeholders, especially F.J. Wakelin, the educational advisor to Kuwait, and Ali Haikal, the Director of Education. This marked the first students strike in Kuwait's history. Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 84-85; ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, p. 141; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 72; Al-Nūrī, *qiṣṣat al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt fī niṣf qarn min sanat 1300-1360,* p. 76

[489] ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, vol 2, p. 21; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 74

Al-Adli from Najaf was appointed as the headmaster of the school, which included both Shiite and Sunni students, except for those who opposed the idea of its establishment and preferred to attend government-run schools.[490]

In the following year, other education missions were sent to Kuwait, funded by the Iraqi government. These missions included students such as Khaled Al-Qinai, Abdullah Al-Qinai, AlSayid Rajab Al-Rifai, Salah Bin Abdulmalik Al Baeed, and Abdul-Aziz Dosari. Another mission was sent in 1939 to study at Al-Azhar, which included Abdul-Aziz Hussein, Ahmad Meshari Al-Adwani, Yusuf Abdullatif Al-Omar, and Yusuf Meshari Al Hassan Al Badr.[491]

Following the departure of the first educational delegation, Abdullatif Al-Shamlan assumed the mantle of leadership in Kuwait's education administration. Having received his education in Egypt, Al-Shamlan recognized the value of Egyptian expertise and embarked on a mission to recruit Egyptian teachers to Kuwait's schools. His efforts proved successful, as he persuaded the Egyptian government to provide assistance in this endeavor. As part of this agreement, Egyptian teachers were dispatched to Kuwait, with the Egyptian government covering half of their salaries and Kuwait bearing the remaining expenses. Al-Shamlan's diplomatic efforts extended beyond teacher recruitment, as he also secured the Egyptian government's commitment to sponsoring Kuwaiti students for higher education in Egypt. This educational delegation included Ali Haikal (the Director of Education), Ahmed Al-Daif, Abdulqader Saad, and Mohammed Sayyid Al Ahl. Additionally, during this period, Kuwait's education landscape was further enriched by the arrival of a group of Syrian teachers, including Kamel Benqasli, Haider Al-Shehabi, Abdul-Aziz Malas, and Faysel Al-Azmah. These strategic initiatives resulted in a significant shift in Kuwait's educational system, transitioning from the Iraqi system that had been in place since the first educational delegation to the Egyptian system. [492]

The introduction of Western education to Bahrain commenced in 1882 with the establishment of the first Western schools by American missionaries. These schools,

---

[490] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 350; ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz Ḥusayn, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tawthīqīyah*, vol 2, p. 208-210

[491] ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt,* vol 2, p. 162

[492] ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʻlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, vol 2, p.23; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*,p. 76-77

initiated by Mrs. Zwemer in Manama, initially enrolled a small number of female students. The cornerstone of national education efforts was laid with the establishment of the "Al-Hidāyah Al-Khalyifyh" school, which marked the inception of the first Bahraini school, situated in Al Muharraq. This endeavor garnered the support of numerous residents and prominent figures. Subsequently, in 1921, the "Al-Hidāyah Al-Thāniyah" school was established. Both of these institutions welcomed students from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other regions within the Gulf.[493]

In 1928, the Bahraini government embarked on a series of educational missions to various Arab countries, sending students to pursue their studies at the prestigious American College in Beirut. Three of the students were from the ruling family, while the others were from the sons of merchants and other notable figures. The number of schools in Bahrain increased to seven, five of which were for girls, all operating under the name "Al-Hidāyah schools". The government appointed Fayek Adham, a graduate from the American College in Beirut, as the general inspector for the schools in Bahrain.[494] The educational board from Syria followed the Syrian curriculum and included Othman al-Hamawi and his assistant Yahya al-Hamawi, who challenged the British policy on education and administration in Bahrain. As a result, the British authorities dismissed the two Syrian teachers and expelled them from the country. The students in the schools expressed their awareness by staging furious reactions, protests, and strikes for two months against the British decision. Due to the general deterioration of the situation, the schools were closed down and remained shut for several months.[495]

Education in Dubai began in 1921 with the establishment of Al Ahmadiya School by Ahmed Bin Dalmouk, a wealthy pearl merchant who played a significant role in society. The school was staffed by 45 Arabic educators from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Egypt [496]. According to Abdullah Al-Hajeri, British opposition to any activities related to the economic development of the Trucial States, particularly Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and

---

[493] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 48

[494] Rumayḥī, *al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʻī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970*, p. 160-162.

[495] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 50

[496] Rāshid,ʻAlī Muḥammad, *Dawlat al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah al-Muttaḥidah fī Majallat al-ʻArabī,* (Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʻ al-Thaqāfī : Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭanīyah, 1988), p. 77-78; Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 50

Sharjah, was a major factor that hindered any significant progress in raising educational standards and promoting political awareness in the region. He argues that Britain's reluctance to allow any educational role or activity outside of conventional education in the Trucial States was due to concerns about potential threats to its interests. As a result, Britain initially took a stance against any educational activities in the region. However, due to internal pressures and changing circumstances, it ultimately adopted a more permissive policy that did not have a significant impact.[497]

In Qatar, education was initially limited to religious instruction provided by " al-Katātīb" and " al-Mullā," as well as a few basic schools such as Al-Sudayrī School, Abdulhamid Al-Dail School, Hassan Murad School, and Amina Mahmoud School for girls. These schools were established through personal efforts and donations from prominent individuals in Qatar. Later, Al-Atharīyah School was established, followed by Doha School in 1915.[498]

Al‘utybh School, named after a prominent merchant, emerged as one of the first educational institutions in Abu Dhabi, a region that experienced a relatively delayed development in formal education. A decade later, in 1940, Sheikh Darwish Bin Karam, a religious scholar and pearl diver, established another school. In Ajman, Al- Fatḥ School emerged in 1937 as one of the earliest educational institutions in the area. Similarly, Ras Al Khaimah witnessed the establishment of schools such as Umm Al-Brāmyl, Al-M‘yryḍ, and Al- AlHidāyah.[499]

Education in the Gulf region during this era was characterized by a confluence of traditional religious instruction and modern education introduced by Arab teachers from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. These educators played a pivotal role in exposing young Bahrainis and Kuwaitis to the rich tapestry of Arab culture and in shaping educational curricula and pedagogical approaches in the Arab world. Their

[497] Al-Hājirī, ‘Abd Allāh, Barīṭānyā wa-al-musā‘adāt al-ta‘līmīyah al-Kuwaytīyah li-Imārāt al-Sāḥil al-mutaṣāliḥ, 1953-1971, *Annals of Arts and Social Sciences,* Kuwait University, Monograph 330, Kuwait, Issue 31, (March 2011), (8-62) p. 15.

[498] For more on the evolution of education in Qatar, see: Al-‘Abd Allāh, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, Al-Ta‘līm fī Qaṭar fī marḥalat taḥawwul (1954-1964), *Majallat Markaz al-wathā’iq wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Insānīyah*, Qatar University, Issue 10, (1998), p. 61-93; Al-‘Abd Allāh, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh al-Ta‘līm fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (1913-1971) (*Doha, n.d., 2009), p. 307-313.

[499] Al-Hājirī, Barīṭānyā wa-al-musā‘adāt al-ta‘līmīyah al-Kuwaytīyah li-Imārāt al-Sāḥil al-mutaṣāliḥ, 1953-1971, p. 18

influence significantly contributed to fostering national awareness and cultivating nationalistic sentiments among the populace, particularly regarding the pressing issues and challenges confronting the Arab world at the time. This included a growing sense of opposition towards British colonial rule and dominance.[500] According to Khayri Abu al-Jubayn, the continuous presence of educational delegations from Palestine in Kuwait fostered a deeper engagement among Kuwaitis with the Palestinian cause. During the Great Palestinian Revolt (Thawrat Filasṭīn al-Kubrá) from 1936 to 1939, seminars and meetings were organized to discuss the plight of the Arab Palestinians and fundraising campaigns were launched to support the revolution. Kuwaiti women actively participated in these endeavours, even going to the extent of selling their jewellery to raise funds.[501]

In 1948, seeking to enhance the quality of its education system, the Kuwaiti education assembly sought the expertise of Palestinian teachers. However, a disagreement between the education assembly and the Egyptian director of education in 1950 prompted the Kuwaiti government to halt the recruitment of Egyptian teachers. Consequently, the Egyptian government terminated the contracts of its teachers working in Kuwait. To address this void, Kuwait reached an agreement with Darwish al-Miqdadi, a distinguished Palestinian educator, who relocated from Baghdad to Kuwait to assume the role of the Egyptian director of education. During his tenure in the 1950s and 1960s, he implemented various initiatives aimed at improving the educational process. However, he encountered challenges, including resistance from Egyptian teachers who insisted on being employed by the Kuwaiti director of education. In response to these objections, the education administration, at the urging of a group of young Kuwaitis, appointed Abdul Aziz Hussein as the director of education. The education assembly approved and confirmed his appointment in the

[500] Rumayḥī, *al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā'ī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970*, p. 160-162

[501] The first Palestinian delegation that attended in 1936 consisted of Ahmed Shihab-Eldin, Muhammad al-Maghribi, Khamis Khair Al-Din Najm, and Muhammad Jabir Hadid. The first female Palestinian teachers in Kuwait were Rabiha Awda, Wassifa Awda, and Sakina Awda, who attended with their brother Issa Awda as a Mahram and was appointed as sports teacher. Other Palestinian teachers who had worked in Kuwait before the Nakbah of 1948 include Sulaiman Abughosh, Ibrahim Eid, Faisel AlTahir, Abdullatif Al-Saleh, Mohammed Mahmoud Najm, Zaki Al-Darhali, Omar Al-Dajani, Subhi Al-Dahlah, Mohammed Ghafour, and Yusuf Al-Hammuor. See: Abū al-Jabīn, Khayrī *Qiṣṣat ḥayātī fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Kuwayt*, (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 2002), Second Chapter, the section of Al Kuwait and the Palestinian issue.

1952-1953 school year, tasked with bringing qualified Egyptian teachers to Kuwait and elevating the standards of education.[502]

In the same year, the Kuwaiti education assembly resolved to seek the assistance of Palestinian teachers. This decision was motivated by the profound impact of the Palestinian Catastrophe (Nakbat Filasṭīn) and the plight of the Palestinian people. Yusuf Al-Nisf, a prominent member of the education assembly, embarked on a mission to Damascus to recruit Palestinian teachers for Kuwait, driven by a desire to provide aid and support. He was aided by Lebanese educator Abdullatif Al-Jamal, who was then working in Palestine. This decision was rooted in the recognition of "the knowledge, reputation, and dedication of Palestinian teachers who had been diligently serving in Kuwait since 1936."[503]

Subsequently, a group of young Kuwaitis emerged and played a pivotal role in the development of the intellectual and political movement in the region. These individuals, including Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adsani, Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer, Abdullatif Yaseen Tabatabai, and Abdulatif Thunayan Al-Ghanim, ignited the wave of Kuwaiti thought during the first rise period. They were also members of the clandestine "National Bloc" (al-Kutlah al-Waṭanīyah) that disseminated publications and fostered political awareness within Kuwait. Additionally, they launched press campaigns by authoring articles that were published in Iraqi newspapers such as Al Sijil and Al-Zamān, among others. Al-Adsani acknowledges that Sheikh Yusuf bin Isa al-Qinai played a pivotal role in initiating and personally overseeing various reformist movements. Al-Adsani quotes him as saying, "This first reformist was the initiator, founder, supervisor, and contributor of his efforts and money to realize all the beneficial projects."[504]

Modern education played a pivotal role in the emergence of an intellectual elite, also known as the "intelligentsia." The education imparted during this period was of high

---

[502] Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p.80; ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz, *Tārīkh al-Taʿlīm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt*, vol 2, p. 23

[503]In 1936, Palestinian teachers arrived in Kuwait, with the exception of the director who was unable to travel due to British restrictions. As a result, Ahmed Shehab El-Din was sent as his replacement. The teachers included Khamis Najm, who taught history, Mohammad Jaber Hadid, who taught mathematics, and Mohammad al-Maghrabi, who taught English and sports. In the second year, two additional teachers, Abdul Latif Al-Saleh and Mohammad Mahmoud Najm, were brought in. Further information on this topic see: Abū al-Jabīn, *Qiṣṣat ḥayātī fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Kuwayt,* Second Chapter, the section of Al Kuwait and the Palestinian issue.

[504] Al-Mudayris, *Al-Ḥarakah al-dustūrīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 9

quality, tailored to the needs of the sons of ruling families, merchants, and dignitaries. This era witnessed a more pronounced development of culture and thought through education compared to previous stages.[505] Concurrent with the growing awareness among merchants, a new awareness emerged among the student body. This group of individuals cultivated their ideas and methodologies while simultaneously fostering a strong sense of "Arabness." Consequently, they formed the nucleus of the newly emerging educated elite in pre-oil society.

[505] Al-Zaydī, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn*, p. 54-55

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS IN KUWAIT: MERCHANTS AND STUDENTS

3.1. Political Awareness Among Merchants

This part of the chapter delves into the role of merchant families in Kuwait's political awareness, their impact on socio-political changes, and their contributions to the cultural exchange that occurred in Kuwait. Two key questions have emerged as a result: did merchant families in Kuwait play a role in socio-political transformations, and to what extent did they influence the awareness of Gulf society? Can it be demonstrated that the merchant class played an important role in shaping Gulf awareness both before and after the discovery of oil? these questions are explored in depth, drawing on historical research and analysis to gain a better understanding of the role of merchant families in shaping the socio-political landscape and political awareness in Kuwait.

The political climate in Kuwait is widely considered a key factor in shaping political awareness and social activism in the region. As elucidated in the preceding chapter, the wealth amassed by merchants through extensive trade networks spanning India, Iran, and Africa [506] exerted a profound influence on the Gulf region, particularly in Kuwait, Dubai, and Bahrain. These strategically positioned ports evolved into hubs of cultural exchange, fostering heightened awareness and distinguishing them from the more insular communities of the desert regions. Beyond their economic influence, merchants served as cultural intermediaries, playing a pivotal role in introducing novel ideas and cultures to Kuwaiti society through their private councils known as "Majlis" and public gatherings known as "Dīwānīyah." These forums served as platforms for addressing critical issues such as education, liberation, and democracy, further propelling the growth of awareness and social transformation within the region.[507]

[506] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 30
[507] Al-Rumayḥī, *Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981,* p.644

3.1.1. Historical Background

The impact of merchants on political awareness began in the late 1920s but became more prominent in 1938, during and after the council events that followed. These events are widely considered a turning point in the history of the region's political awareness and mark the beginning of a distinct period that could be termed the "Stage of Political Awareness Among Merchants." While this term is not commonly used in historical literature, it aptly captures the essence of this era, characterized by the merchant class's active attempts to participate in the state's policymaking processes. However, these efforts ultimately met with failure in the late 1930s.

Kuwaiti society encompasses both Shiites and Sunnis, with Shiites primarily concentrated in Al-Sharq region and less frequently in Al-Wasat. These communities are distributed across various areas, including the old Kuwait, Al-Sharq, Al-Qiblah, Al-Wasaṭ, Al-Mrqāb, and villages such as Al-Jahrā', Al-Finṭās, Abū ḥlyfh, and Al-Sh'ybh.[508] The majority of merchants in Kuwait adhered to the Sunni branch of Islam.

While most Shiites were engaged in crafts such as carpentry, welding, and grocery, some excelled in shipbuilding, such as Al Qallaf and Baharnas families. According to Al-Shamlan, the pre-oil merchant families in Kuwait were primarily concentrated in the Eastern Quarter (Al-Sharq) and included prominent families such as al-Saif, al-Mudaf, Hilal al-Mutairi, al-Nisf, al-Ghanim, al-Qatami, Abu Risli, al-Qina'i, and 18 others. The Western Quarters (Al-Qiblah / Al-Jiblh) also had notable merchant families, including al-Bader, al-Marzouq, al-Hamad, al-Khudhair, and nine more. [509]

Before the discovery of oil, the merchants formed a united group known for their awareness and were the primary providers of the emirate's budget. They generated revenue from pearl divers and paid a portion of it to the ruler through taxes imposed on the divers' ships.[510] However, their role transformed with time, and they began to play a significant part in spreading education and culture among the residents. They achieved this by establishing institutions and schools such as Al-Mubarakiya School

[508] Al-Zumay', 'Alī, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah al-Sunnah wa al-Shī'īyah fī al-Kuwayt : dirāsah fikrīyah wa-siyāsīyah,* Part One, (Center of Nuhūḍ for Studies and Research, 2018), p. 28
[509] Al-Shamlan, Saif Marzooq, *Pearling in the Arabian Gulf : A Kuwaiti memoir*, (London: LCAS, London Centre of Arab Studies, 2000), p. 95- 98
[510] Al-Kutubī, Ibtisām Suhayl, Al-taḥawwulāt al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī minṭaqat duwal Majlis al-Ta'āwun al-Khalījī, *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī* , Issue 23, No, 257, (2000), p. 220-235

(Almbārkyh) in 1911, the charitable organization in 1913, Ahmadiya School (al-Aḥmadīyah) in 1921, and the national library (al-Maktabah al-Ahlīyah) in 1924. Additionally, they spearheaded the idea of establishing schools in Kuwait and pledged to pay the "knowledge tax," estimated at 1%, to fund these schools. They also made efforts to create newspapers and libraries. This group gained a solid footing in the surrounding social and economic structures within the Kuwaiti society for successive generations.[511]

Furthermore, the elites and merchants established the short-term advisory council in 1921, the Municipal council in 1930, and the educational council in 1936. Talal Al-Rashoud contends that the merchants were responsible for the maintenance and financing of these institutions. However, with the economic crises, the discovery of oil, and Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber's receipt of substantial amounts of money for providing oil companies with privileges, the merchants began demanding that the emirate take full responsibility for the expenditures on these administrative institutions in a regulated manner. [512]

As noted by Jodi Sanger, affluent Kuwaiti families prioritized their sons' education by sending them abroad. This educational legacy laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Educational Council by merchant families in 1936, marking the first political institution conceptualized by the merchant class. This development was particularly astute given their practical experience in the realm of education.[513] Exposure to international travel and education through their fathers or through studying abroad instilled in the sons of merchants a liberal ideology, fostering the emergence of what could be characterized as an opposition movement. This movement was bolstered by the substantial financial contributions of their parents towards the state budget and the services that managed and facilitated the lives of the inhabitants.

---

[511] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah,* p. 29.
[512] Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961),* p. 119-122
[513] Sanger, Jodi. “Political Reform & Economic Diversification in the Gulf: Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.” (PDF) Political Reform & Economic Diversification in the Gulf: Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates | Jodi Sanger - Academia.edu https://www.academia.edu/22393932/Political_Reform_and_Economic_Diversification_in_the_Gulf_Kuwait_and_the_United_Arab_Emirates ; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar,* p. 45

This symbiotic relationship helped avert confrontations with the ruling family and instilled a sense of stability during the tumultuous periods that engulfed Kuwait. [514]

3.1.2. The Amir and the Merchants: From Opposition to Reconciliation

Efforts to curtail Kuwaiti participation in governance emerged during the reign of Mubarak Al Sabah, following a period of consultation and involvement of elites in decision-making.[515] The abrogation of consultation, evident in the signing of the 1899 Agreement (the Anglo-Kuwaiti Treaty of 1899), which enabled British dominance and local persecution without any reaction from the informed populace in Kuwait, was difficult for Kuwaitis to ignore.[516] Despite Mubarak's reputation for sternness and ruthlessness in dealing with his adversaries, the opposition intensified. Yusuf Al-Ibrahim's movement, which made several attempts to overthrow Mubarak's authority, serves as a prime illustration of Kuwaitis' rejection of the conciliatory policy towards the British.[517] Following the British occupation of Basra, a rebellion against Sheikh Khaz'al, the ruler of Arabistan, erupted due to his collaboration with the Ottoman Empire's enemies. Khaz'al, fearing the rebellion, and Mubarak, aware of this fear, sought to dispatch Kuwaiti troops to his aid. However, upon realizing that they would be fighting their fellow Arabs, the Kuwaitis openly objected, expressing their disapproval of Mubarak's policy and his reconciliation with the British. In response to an inquiry from Egyptian Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, who had previously supported the

---

[514] Al-Ṭanāḥī, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Al-Tujjār wa-al-ḥarāk al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt (1921-1939), *Ostour*, Issue 5, (Jan 2017), p. 145

[515] Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*,p. 189; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 36.

[516] Onley, *Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection*, p. 12, 39

[517] Yusuf bin Abdullah al-Ibrahim, a loyalist to the Ottoman Empire, was granted the reins of authority in Abdullah bin Sabah's Sheikhdom (1866-1892). At the time, the Ottoman Empire represented the religious authority of Muslims in the public view, making it unacceptable for the non-Muslim British authority to arrive on its ruins. Yusuf al-Ibrahim fought against Mubarak due to his support for the Ottoman tendency in Kuwait and over the assassinations of Mohammad and Jarrah. For more information, please see: Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 37; Sagher, Mostafa Ahmed, The impact of economic activities on the social and political structures of Kuwait (1896-1946) (Ph.D. Dissertation, Durham University, 2004), p. 9-10 http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1266/1/1266.pdf?ETHOS%20(BL); Al-Shammarī, *almstwd‘ wālmsthḍr fī asbāb al-nizā‘ bayna Mubārak Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-Yūsuf Āl Ibrāhīm 1896-1906.*

opposition to Mubarak's policies, Mubarak stated, "The school students in Kuwait attacked the British publicly in the marketplaces and glorified the Germans."[518]

The migration of prominent Kuwaiti merchants to Bahrain during Mubarak Al Sabah's reign stands as another testament to the growing opposition to his policies. Mubarak's decision to increase taxes on merchants and restrict divers' travel, with the intention of conscripting them into the military, prompted three wealthy merchants – Hilal Al-Mutairi, Ibrahim Al-Mudaf, and Shamlan al-Saif – to relocate to Bahrain. While historical sources attribute their departure to mistreatment, this event, along with others, catalyzed opposition and citizen engagement in voicing their grievances against the ruling authority, both locally and internationally. Recognizing the significance of this incident for his political stability and fearing the adverse economic consequences of the merchants' migration between 1908 and 1909, Mubarak repeatedly sought to appease them. He dispatched delegations to seek their reconciliation and eventually felt compelled to travel to Bahrain himself. [519] This act underscored his acknowledgement of the crucial role played by trade and merchants in underpinning his rule and personal stability.[520]

In this regard, Zahlan concludes that "Relations between the merchants and the ruler were so badly strained during his (Mubarak's) reign that a number of the former became disheartened and left the country to settle in neighboring Bahrain. Although Mubarak, who was aware of the importance of the merchants, was able to persuade them to return home, the rift between the two groups had become a feature of Kuwaiti political life." [521] While the 1909 merchant protest was short-lived and involved only a small segment of Kuwaiti society, it served as the first indication of the gradual emergence of a cohesive opposition group among merchants, which could potentially act as a significant political force. [522]

---

[518] Al-Rashīd, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt*, p. 174-176; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 38.
[519] Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*, p. 37-38; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 21; Slot, *Mubarak al-Sabah: founder of modern Kuwait, 1896-1915*, p. 337
[520] Al-Ṭanāḥī, Al-Tujjār wa-al-ḥarāk al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt (1921-1939), p. 140-163
[521] Zahlan, Rosemarie Said, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*, (NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), p. 26.
[522] Nosova, The Merchant Elite and Parliamentary Politics in Kuwait, p. 49

The next wave of opposition activity emerged in 1921 when a group of merchants tried to utilize the political vacuum created after the death of the ruler, Sheikh Salim Al Sabah (1917-1921), as an opportunity for empowerment. They organized a council led by Hamad Al Abdullah Al-Saqer, a member of a powerful merchant family, and forwarded a petition to the ruling family demanding the establishment of a consultative body that would ensure their participation in political decision-making.[523] However, as Dickson notes, the council met infrequently and was ignored by the ruler, who preferred the older system.[524] Nonetheless, the council represented the first formal "attempt at a democratic rule in Kuwait, and indeed, in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula". [525]

This petition is considered one of the most important documents concerning political awareness in Kuwait as it led to the establishment of the first council in Kuwait. [526] It marked a shift from individualism and tribalism to the Islamic principle of consultation, known as "Shura." [527] The petition also demonstrated the growing political awareness of the social elite, such as merchants and elites, due to their role in the state's administration. Furthermore, it paved the way for public participation in governance, consolidated the role of the merchants and elites, and provided a platform for diverse opinions in society and the state. The outcomes of this experience ultimately led to the development of constitutional work in Kuwait.[528]

---

[523] Dickson, H.R.P., *al-Kuwayt wa-jārātahā,(* Ṣaḥārá for printing and publishing, n.d., 1990), p. 263; Tétreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait*, p. 39-40.
[524] Dickson, *al-Kuwayt wa-jārātahā,* p. 263
[525] Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan, *al-Kuwayt dirāsah siyāsīyah,* (Kuwait: Kuwait University, 1975), p. 133. For more information, see: ʻAbd al-Majīd Muṣṭafá, ʻUthmān fyẓ Allāh, *Dirāsāt ʻan al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī,* (Cairo: Mktbh Nahḍat Miṣr, 1965), p. 347; al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Jābir, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-ūlá fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : al-Baḥrayn wa al-Kuwayt fatrat mā bayna 1920-1940, *al-Muʼarrikh al-ʻArabī,* vol. 15, (1980), p. 64-80.
[526] Ibrāhīm, *al-Kuwayt dirāsah siyāsīyah,* p. 146; Al-Hājirī, ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad, Taṭawwur al-ʻalāqah al-tārīkhīyah bayna Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-al-tujjār fī al-Kuwayt mundhu al-nashʾah wa-ḥattá ʻahd al-Shaykh ʻAbd Allāh al-Sālim, *The Arab Journal for the Humanities*, Vol. 27, No. 106, (Spring 2009), p. 68.
[527] Qalʻajī, Qadrī, *Al-niẓām al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt, (*Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb, 1975), p. 33; Ḥusayn, Najlāʾ ʻAdnān, Fāḍl Jāsim, Al-Ḥarakah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-ūlá fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : al-Kuwayt namūdhajan 1920-1940, p. 264.
[528] For a detailed account of the factors that led to the establishment and eventual dissolution of the Consultative Council, please refer to: Al-Shaykh Khazʻal, Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī, Part 5, Section One; Al-Waqayyān, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī*; Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, Min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt (Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr Library, 1959); Al-Mudayris, *Al-Ḥarakah al-dustūrīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 7; Ḥusayn, Muḥāḍarāt ʻan al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī fī al-Kuwayt, p. 94; Al-Najjār, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī,* p. 11

The advisory council was composed of 12 appointed members, not elected. Six members represented the district of Al-Sharq and six represented Al Qibla. The members were Hamad Abdullah Al-Saqar, Sheikh Yousef bin Isa AlQinai, Hilal Fajhan al Mutairi, Shamlan Bin Ali Bin Saif, Ibrahim Bin Madaf, Shaikh Abdulaziz Al Rasheed, Al-Said Abdulrahman Khalaf Al-Naqeeb, Ahmed Al-Salih Al Humaidi, Marzouq Dawood Al-Bader, Khalifa Shahin Al-Ghanem, Ahmed Al-Fahd AlKhaled, and Meshaan Al Khudair Al Khaled, with Hamad Abdullah Saqar as the president.[529] However, the council did not last long due to disputes among its members and was dissolved just two months after its establishment. It's worth noting that the council was composed solely of merchants.[530]

3.1.3. The Wider Regional Developments and the Political Awareness among the Merchants

Beyond the inextricable economic ties between Kuwait and Basra, stemming from the extensive ownership of palm groves in Basra by Kuwaiti elder families, commercial exchange between the two cities witnessed a significant rise following the imposition of an economic embargo on Kuwait by Saudi Arabia.[531] Despite this strategic shift, Sheikh Ahmed Al Jaber persisted in employing the same governing practices adopted since the early 1920s, including the imposition of arbitrary taxes on houses and commercial establishments through the municipality established in 1934. Reports indicate that individuals were assessed higher taxes on their stores than on their rent. Monopoly and administrative corruption were also rampant within the customs sector, a vital institution for Kuwait's commercial society. Additional factors contributing to the political unrest in Kuwait included the misconduct of authorities, the disenfranchisement of representatives from the rising merchant class, conflicts between representatives and authorities over the establishment of the education

[529] Hamad Al-Saqer was one of Kuwait's prominent figures, serving as a member and president of the Legislative Council in 1921. He was known as the "King of Dates" for his extensive trade in dates and for owning many orchards in Basra. He passed away on January 8, 1940. For more details see: Al-Sa'īdān, Ḥamad Muḥammad, *Al-Mawsū'ah al-Kuwaytīyah al-mukhtaṣarah*, 2nd edition, (Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbū'āt, 1981), Vol 2, p. 875

[530] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 347; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 45

[531] Al-Tamīmī, Taṭawwur 'Alāqāt al-Kuwayt ma'a al-Duwal al-'Arabīyah qabla al-istiqlāl, p. 104

council in 1936, leading to the withdrawal of some council members, and the intervention in the 1937 elections of the 4th municipality through a decree prohibiting electors from voting for prominent liberals.[532]

As previously mentioned, external threats played a pivotal role in augmenting and elevating political awareness in Kuwait. Saudi influence, in this regard, serves as a compelling illustration. The 15-year blockade imposed by Saudi Arabia on trade between Kuwait and Najd (since 1922) caused substantial material losses and economic damage to the Kuwaiti people.[533] This blockade can be regarded as one of the most significant factors contributing to the success of the reform movement in Kuwait in 1938. The dire economic situation induced by the blockade compelled merchants to demand solutions, leading to the establishment of a council comprising the most prominent merchants of that era.[534]

Concurrently, new concepts emerged advocating for nationalism, the strengthening of Kuwait's relations with the Arab world, political reforms, and the prioritization of Arab labor over foreign labor.[535] This surge in political awareness intensified with the advent of the Palestinian Issue, which captured the attention of nationalist movements across all Arab countries in the mid-1930s.[536] This resulted in a secondary contradiction between the British authority and its presence in the region and the local

[532] Tétreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait*, p 63; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 44; Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, , p. 33; Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 8

[533] Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 69

[534] Zahlan, *the making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p. 36-38

[535] Salih, Kamal Osman. "The 1938 Kuwait Legislative Council." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (January 1992): 66–100; Examples of newspapers are included in the appendix: Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber expressed discontent regarding some Iraqi newspapers that discussed the internal situation in Kuwait in 1934. Additionally, the Kuwaiti youth published 9 Demands for Reform in an Iraqi newspaper supported by the Free Youth Bloc, Al-Sajil Al-Basriah newspaper.
Rush, Alan de L., Recorders of Kuwait 1899-1961, (London: Archive Cambridge Editions, 1989), Vol. 2, p. 124.

[536] Kuwaiti merchants' solidarity with the Palestinian cause was widely reported in Arab newspapers. In 1934, the Arab League magazine chronicled Kuwaiti fundraising efforts for Palestine, and following the Palestinian protests, a group of Kuwaiti citizens petitioned the British High Commissioner in Palestine, the British Colonial Office in London, and the League of Nations in Geneva, demanding an end to Jewish immigration, the restoration of justice, and the recognition of Palestinian rights. Al-Jāmiʻah al-ʻArabīyah (Newspaper), March 13, 1934, Al-Quds, Dhu al-Qi'dah 27, 1352 Heading on the main page: Kuwait's sympathy for the Palestinian cause, p. 1.

commercial bourgeoisie.[537] In essence, Arab national awareness blossomed during the 1930s, and the Kuwaiti people expressed their unwavering solidarity with the Palestinian cause from an early stage of the conflict.

In October 1936, a group of individuals from Kuwait's commercial class formed the first committee known as "Lajnat October," comprising seven members: Sheikh Yousef Bin Essa, Ahmad Al-Humaidi, Mohammad Thanyan Al-Ghanim, Abdul-Rahman Al-Bahr, Al-Sayid Ali Al-Sayid Salman, Mishaan Al-Khudeir, and Mohammad Ahmad Al-Ghanim (prominent Kuwaiti merchants). On October 7th, this committee issued invitations signed by all its members, urging other merchants and notables in the city to attend a meeting at Mubarakiya School on October 8th to initiate fundraising efforts in support of their brethren, the Palestinian people. Approximately one hundred and fifty persons were present. The "Al-Qāḍī" and "Mudīr al-Awqāf", Shaikh Abdul Aziz bin Hamada, opened the meeting with a few remarks, followed by Shaikh Ahmad al-khamis, who delivered an impassioned speech that evoked tears from many attendees.[538] The committee successfully raised funds amounting to an estimated 7500 Rupees and convened a solidarity meeting with the Palestinian people, attended by 150 Kuwaiti citizens.[539]

3.1.4. Great Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 and the Kuwaiti Merchants

The outbreak of the Palestinian Revolt in 1936 against Zionist colonization and British occupation had a profound impact on Kuwait, sparking a surge of material and moral support for the Palestinian cause. [540] Kuwaiti youths actively participated in smuggling weapons and supplies to the Palestinian revolutionaries through Iraqi lands and sent

[537] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 31; Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p, 27-28, 54.
[538] For more details see: Palestine Disturbances, Coll 30/45 'Persian Gulf Diaries: Kuwait Intelligence Summaries, 1932-1936' [34r] (78/1208), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/3757, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100057214323.0x00004f> [accessed 26 January 2022]
[539] Zaḥlān,Rosemary Sa'īd, Al-Khalīj wa-al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (1936-1948), *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, vol. 26, (April 1981), p.8.
[540] Zahlan, "The Gulf States and the Palestine Problem, 1936-48." 1–21

donations through Al-Nās newspaper.[541] By actively supporting the Arab and nationalist cause, Kuwaiti merchants demonstrated their newfound political awareness and their unwavering commitment to their national identity.

Jassem Al-Saqer, a descendant of a prominent Kuwaiti merchant family and a respected journalist, vividly remembers the clandestine operation to smuggle weapons and supplies to Palestinian revolutionaries during the 1936 revolution. Kuwaiti merchants, recognizing the urgency of the Palestinian cause, played a pivotal role in funding and orchestrating this covert endeavor. Guns and ammunition were brought ashore in Kuwait and then transported on camels to the Mutla (Al-Mṭlā‘) region, from where they were carefully conveyed to Basra and eventually to Palestine via Syria and Iraq. This arduous and intricate route, circumventing British-controlled Mediterranean ports, underscored the crucial role played by Kuwaiti intermediaries in securing arms for the Palestinian resistance. Al-Saqer further recounts frequent visits by Palestinian revolutionary leaders to Kuwait, seeking both financial and moral support from their Kuwaiti counterparts. He remembers that Fawzi al-Qawuqji visited Basra in the 1930s and met with some national figures, such as his brother Abdullah. [542]

British intelligence documents attributed the rise of Kuwaiti nationalism to the presence of Palestinian teachers in the country and the involvement of Kuwaiti youths in the Red Book movement, which advocated for Arab nationalism. Founding members of the National Bloc, including Abdullah Al-Saqer, Abdullatif Al Ghanem, and Khaled Al-Adasani, were part of this movement, leading to increased opposition against Sheikh Ahmed Al Jaber, who vehemently opposed political activism. Notably, all members of the National Bloc hailed from prominent merchant families, highlighting the pivotal role played by the merchant class in shaping Kuwait's political landscape. Despite Sheikh Ahmed's refusal to contribute financially to the Palestinian

[541] Al-Nās was a daily political newspaper that was first published in Basra in 1935 by Abd al-Qadir al-Sayyab and Aziz Barakat. The newspaper later became the mouthpiece of the "Istiqlal Party," known for its nationalist tendencies. Further details see: Ibrāhīm, Zāhidah, *Dalīl al-jarā’id wa-al-majallāt al-‘Irāqīyah, 1969-1978*, *(*Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Kuwaytīyah, 1982), p. 237

[542] Al-Saqer, Jassim Hamad was interviewed by Hamad Al-Jasser in an article titled "Jassem Hamad Al-Saqer: Generations in a Generation," (Jāsim Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr: Ajyāl fī jīl) which was published in *Al-Kuwayt Magazine*, Issue 77, January 1989, p. 38; Al-Wazzān*, ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwā’ ‘alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974)*, p. 77.

Arab revolution in 1936, [543] a powerful wave of sympathy for the Palestinian cause swept across Kuwait. This sentiment was manifested a month later when influential merchants established a fundraising committee, even in the face of Sheikh Ahmed's disapproval.[544] Kuwaiti support for Palestine intensified to such an extent that in May 1939, Kuwaiti merchants in India, including Al-Said Abdulhamid AlQinai, raised a substantial sum of money to assist the beleaguered Palestinian population.[545]

The Arab Revolt in Palestine served as a catalyst for the political awaking of Kuwait's merchant class, instilling in them a deep sense of Arab and nationalist identity. Their unwavering support for the Palestinian cause exemplified their growing political awareness and their determination to shape Kuwait's political trajectory. This newfound political awareness among the merchants laid the foundation for the eventual emergence of a more representative and democratic form of governance in Kuwait.

3.1.5. Democracy, Kuwaiti Patriotism, and the Merchants

The 1930s witnessed the emergence of a reform movement in Kuwait, spearheaded by elites and merchants, advocating for democratic participation in governance. This movement was driven by a combination of internal and external factors that fostered political awareness among Kuwaitis. [546] In 1938, a group of enlightened merchants established the first political gathering, initially operating in secrecy and later formalizing into the " the National Movement" or "National Bloc" (al-Kutlah al-Waṭanīyah).[547]

---

[543] Coll 30/45 'Persian Gulf Diaries: Kuwait Intelligence Summaries, 1932-1936' [26r] (62/1208), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/3757, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100057214323.0x00003f> [accessed 26 January 2022]
[544] Al-Ibrāhīm, ʻAbd-al-Raḥmān, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥ fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), *Ostour*, issue 14, (July 2021), p. 69-95. For more details on the education movement and the Arab Nationalism in Kuwait, see: Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*; Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p. 37
[545] Al-ʻalam al-Miṣrī (Newspaper), Cairo, Wednesday, 27 Rabi' al-Awwal 1358, 17 May 1939, headline: The Kuwaitis in India.
[546] Al-Baḥārnah, Ḥusayn Muḥammad, *Duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīthah : ʻalāqātuhā al-Dawlīyah wa-taṭawwur al-Awḍāʻ al-siyāsīyah wa-al-qānūnīyah wa-al-dustūrīyah fīhā, (*Beirut: Al-ḥayāh, Foundation block, 1973), p. 88
[547] Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 5-16, 41

In response to mounting public pressure, the government adopted a more liberal stance by establishing the first municipal council in 1934, with partial elections for selecting its members. However, the council's effectiveness was hampered by the appointment of Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber as its president without the council's consent and the selection of most members without genuine elections, favoring elites and influential figures.[548] The disbandment of the educational council by the authorities further heightened tensions, leading to the resignation of municipal council members in solidarity with their colleagues. Public discontent was exacerbated by Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber's resistance to administrative and judicial reforms, the inadequacy of the education system, and the dire state of infrastructure, educational institutions, healthcare, and the lack of potable water.[549]

Anti-government slogans, targeting Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber's conduct and demanding reforms, appeared on walls in certain areas of Kuwait, included "Hey, Ahmad Al-Jaber, correct your behavior (misconduct), Judgment Day is at hand," "Hey, Ahmad Al-Jaber, take your satanic entourage away from us, or we will replace you," and "Let's start a revolution!" Other writings also touched on the Emir's personal life.[550] While these slogans were absent from Arab sources, Iraqi newspapers published articles critical of the Kuwaiti regime. One such article, "The Real Status Quo in Kuwait," published in al-Kifāḥ, highlighted the absence of law and order, a lack of transparency in government finances, and the suppression of dissent. The author, identifying as "the slave in his country," attributed the Kuwaiti people's suffering to the arbitrary rule of Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber, urging divine intervention to end the "British-subject satanic government." He noted that the law was nonexistent and inapplicable in Kuwait, which did not even have an official budget to inform its nationals about the state's income and the Emir's expenses. He further asserted that poor Kuwaitis were treated in a tyrannical manner that might lead to detention if they expressed dissent. He also mentioned the Emir's refusal to hire Iraqi educators and his deportation of many Iraqis

[548] Al-Jāsim, Najāt ʻAbd al-Qādir, *Baladīyat al-Kuwayt fī khamsīn ʻāman, (*Kuwait: municipality of Kuwait, 1980), p. 40-41; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 46, 58-59.
[549] Qāsim, Jamāl Zakarīyā, Al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : dirāsah li-Tārīkh al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah, 1914-1945, (Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian library, 1971), p. 168.
[550] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, volume.2, p. 117, 119.

against the will of Kuwaitis. Such actions could not be interpreted solely as the Emir's disregard for Iraqis as Arabs or as unrecognized neighborhood rights.[551]

As the fourth cycle of municipal council elections approached, a group of young activists, including Mohammad Al-Barrak, spearheaded a campaign advocating for electoral reform. Their efforts culminated in the drafting of a petition addressed to the Emir, highlighting the need for a more inclusive electoral process. However, Kuwaiti authorities responded with hostility towards the National Bloc, particularly targeting Al-Barrak for his vocal criticism of the regime's governance.[552] Al-Barrak was apprehended and subjected to brutal treatment, with false accusations of inciting a taxi driver strike levelled against him.[553]

Al-Adasani's memoirs recount an encounter between Gerald De Gaury, the British political agent from 1936 to 1939, and Al Mulla Saleh, during which De Gaury expressed his disapproval of the treatment meted out to Mohammad Al-Barrak, calling it "awful and completely brutal." Al Mulla responded by blaming Al-Barrak's anti-British sentiments, stemming from his criticism of their actions in Palestine, as the rationale for the Kuwaiti authorities' harsh actions.[554] De Gaury's mocking response, dismissing Al Mulla's explanation, highlights the British agent's concern about the escalating tensions in Kuwait. The British documents corroborate De Gaury's

[551] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 39, 40, 44, 46, 112, 105

[552] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 20-21, 31; Al-Ibrāhīm, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes, p. 69-95; 'File 4/20 I Koweit Situation' [88r] (179/707), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/205, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100044487753.0x0000b4> [accessed 1 April 2022] (Appendix 11)

[553] In 1937, taxi drivers went on strike in response to an order issued by the authorities prohibiting them from transporting women outside of town without official permission. Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber responded by sending a group of striking drivers to prison and ordering the severe beating of one of them, a young driver named Abdullah Al-Asfoor. The authorities then paraded him through the markets. On the same day, another young man, Mohammad Al-Barrak, who had no connection to the strike, was brought before Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber and accused of inciting it. The authorities bound his feet with iron and threw him into a dark room with no source of light. These events highlight the brutal measures employed by the authorities in response to dissent and the suppression of basic human rights. Further details see: Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 19, 22-21; Māḍī al-Khamīs, *masīrat al-dīmūqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1938,* Third Edition, (n.d.) p. 64; Al-Ḥātim, *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt* , p. 101.

[554] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 23

concerns, revealing that he advised the Emir to appoint a British counsel in Kuwait, a suggestion interpreted as a veiled threat of British intervention to restore order. [555]

Al-Adasani's memoirs document the core members of the National Bloc, spearheaded by a group of prominent merchants, individuals who were vehemently opposed to the prevailing regime. These individuals included Mashaan Al-Khudair, Sulaiman Al-Adasani, Al-Said Ali Said Sulaiman, Abdullah Al-Hamad Al-Saqer, and Khaled Al-Adasani. Later, Sultan Ibrahim Al-Kulaib and Yusuf Marzouq Al-Marzouq joined the Bloc for personal reasons. Recognizing the need for transformative reforms, the Bloc members unanimously agreed to form a clandestine association dedicated to advocating for change. Al-Adasani sheds light on the Bloc's ideology, emphasizing their conviction that rectifying the state's dire circumstances was imperative for the betterment of the Kuwaiti people. They deemed it justifiable to capitalize on the existing discord between the Kuwaiti authorities and the British consulate to advance their cause. The Bloc's campaigns commenced in national Iraqi newspapers, such as Assijil of Basra (al-Sijill al-baṣarīyah) and Al- Istiqlāl of Baghdad, renowned for their staunch support of national and Arab issues and their unwavering opposition to administrative chaos. Through these publications, the Bloc forcefully articulated their demands for essential reforms and the inclusion of the populace in state governance. In response to the Bloc's burgeoning influence, the authorities intensified their censorship measures, meticulously scrutinizing individuals entering Kuwait from Iraq and confiscating any opposition-inciting newspapers. Despite these repressive measures, the Bloc's publications managed to infiltrate Kuwait, finding their way into the markets alongside pamphlets advocating for reform, further fueling the flames of opposition.[556] Unfazed by the authorities' attempts to stifle their dissent, the National Bloc continued its clandestine operations, distributing pamphlets and organizing awareness campaigns within Kuwait. Additionally, they leveraged their journalistic influence to amplify their message.[557]

[555] IOR, 15/5/205: From Political Agent Kuwait to Political Resident in the Persian Gulf 13th June 1938; Political Resident in the Persian Gulf to Secretary of State for India, 12th May 1938.
[556] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 25
[557] Al-Mudayris, *Al-Ḥarakah al-dustūrīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p.9

The National Bloc's undeterred pursuit of reform, even in the face of a repressive environment, underscores their pivotal role in Kuwait's political evolution. Their emergence served as a watershed moment, signaling the merchant class's burgeoning desire for political participation and a more accountable governance. Their legacy lies in their pioneering efforts to elevate political awareness among the Kuwaiti populace, laying the groundwork for future movements.

Amidst these developments, De Gaury advised the Sheikh to establish an advisory council; however, the Sheikh remained unconvinced that the growing unrest represented a genuine "democratic reformist movement." Instead, he viewed it as an "Iraqi intrigue" that required a forceful response. Moreover, the Sheikh believed that Al-Barrak's punishment was justified, particularly in light of reports that the ruler of Basra had met with Kuwaiti traders visiting Basra, offering them protection and support if they acquired Iraqi nationality. Among those who met with the ruler were merchants from the families of Zayd Assarhan, Saqer, Mohammad and Yusuf Thanian Al Ghanem.[558]

It is crucial to emphasize that the opponents of the regime harbored no intentions of overthrowing it. Rather, they sought reforms and an end to corruption. Drawing upon their previous experiences in Bahrain, they firmly opposed the idea of introducing a British advisor to the ruler of Kuwait. They reiterated their demand to British stakeholders, seeking assistance in establishing a democratic rule that represented the people's will, where the ruling family remained at the helm.[559] Their primary demands focused on securing the necessary reforms, particularly the inclusion of citizens in the management of state affairs.[560] These coercive measures and events by the government inadvertently united the opposition, despite their diverse ideologies and principles.

In 1938, the aforementioned political circumstances gave rise to the establishment of the "National Youth Bloc" or "National Bloc" (al-Kutlah al-Waṭanīyah).[561] The Bloc comprised a diverse group of individuals, including merchants and educated individuals, such as Mashaan Al-Khudair Al-Khaled, Al-Saeid Ali Al-saeid Sulaiman

[558] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 132-136.
[559] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī* , p. 25
[560] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 21
[561] Al-Difa', 16 September 1938; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 48.

Al-Rifai, Sulaiman Al-Adasani, Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer, Abdul Latif Mohammad Thanian Al-Ghanim, Yousef Saleh Al Humaidhi, Sultan Ibrahim al-Kulaib, Khaled Al-Adasani,[562] Mohammad Thounayan Al-Ghanim, Hamed Saleh Al Humaidhi, Yusuf Al Marzouq, and Abdulaziz Hamed Al-Saqer.[563] Operating clandestinely, the Bloc was guided by the principle of establishing an elected Legislative Council empowered to oversee the regulation of the emirate's affairs.[564]

Following the decision to shift its focus to public engagement within Kuwait, the National Bloc tasked prominent merchants, including Mohammad Al-Thounyan, Abdullah Al-Saqer, and Sulaiman Al-Adasani, with presenting a petition to Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber on 28 June 1938.[565] The petition outlined their demands for a consultative rule and the establishment of a legislative council to address the prevailing economic crisis. To maintain anonymity, the signatories opted for the collective identity of "your faithful group," preventing the Sheikh from ascertaining the number and identities of members within the clandestine National Bloc, which was widely believed to comprise a substantial membership.[566] Under British pressure, the ruler of Kuwait acquiesced to these demands and initiated the process of electing a legislative council. This move was strategically intended to mitigate internal unrest and curtail the influence of Iraqi journalism, widely read by Kuwaitis, which consistently criticized the Kuwaiti authorities and accused the Sheikh of facilitating the smuggling of illicit goods.[567]

The petition unequivocally conveys the signatories' unwavering commitment to Kuwait's independence. They explicitly declare their desire to "preserve our country and protect its independence," categorically refuting the unsubstantiated allegations of their aspiration to annex Kuwait to Iraq. Their sympathy towards Iraq may have

[562] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p.1
[563] Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p.9
[564] Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtama' al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 15; Al-Ḥātim, *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt,* p. 198; Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 141; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 25
[565] Al- 'Adasani, *Nisf 'Am Li al-Hukm al-Niyabi Fi al-Kuwayt*, p. 5, 7, 8. Al-Adasani mentioned that the "National Bloc" informed Sheikh Youssef bin Issa and Mohammad Thunayan Al-Ghanim about the matter. The Sheikh accepted the second, but the first refused to participate in the delegation that met with him. Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 35
[566] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2 , p. 141 ; Al-Ḥātim, *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt,* p. 217; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 28**.**
[567] Jamāl, *Al-mu'āraḍah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 102

stemmed from economic factors, as some of them held property in Basra, as well as social considerations, given Iraq's relatively advanced state of development at that time. [568] Furthermore, the document employs the term "the nation," even though the concept of Arab nationalism was not yet fully crystallized in that era. They refer to the "Kuwaiti nation," or in simpler terms, the Kuwaiti people, highlighting their deep-rooted affinity with their homeland. This usage of the term "nation" reflects the growing political awareness among the Kuwaiti people and their nascent sense of national identity.

3.1.6. Arab Nationalism and the Kuwaiti Merchants

The ideology of Arab nationalism was a cornerstone for the opposition in Kuwait. This became clearer through the Bloc, which confirmed in its charter the unity of the Arab nation, considered Kuwait a part of it, and declared the right of Arab peoples to self-determination. Members of the Bloc had to pledge to respect these basic principles and commit to the following objectives: strengthening ties between Arab countries, spreading Arab nationalism and cultural awareness within Kuwaiti society, unifying Kuwaiti youth, and supporting liberals and loyalists (i.e., the legislative council later).[569] It is worth noting that a large number of its members received education in Iraq and were in touch with Arab nationalist movements, which contributed to the spread of the Arab nationalist spirit among Kuwaitis.[570]

During the 1930s and 1940s, Gulf youth, particularly merchants or the sons of merchants, played a pivotal role in Arab nationalist organizations, clubs, and associations. This surge of nationalist activism continued into the 1950s until the influence of Egyptian Nasserism and the Syrian and Iraqi Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party took hold of the Arab nationalist movement.[571] Hassan Ghobash characterized the National Bloc as a representation of the enlightened and reformist merchants. In 1938,

[568] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 35-36
[569] Al-Ḥātim, *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt,* p. 1988
[570] Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtama' al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 15; In the appendix, there is a British report that lists the names of Kuwaiti youths who were known to oppose the government and Britain during the time period.
[571] Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974),* p. 9

the Bloc established a national public organization known as "The Club of the National Youth Bloc." The club's primary objectives were to foster Arab unity, promote nationalism, and safeguard the National Bloc's accomplishments. With a membership of 300, the club organized festivals to support the legislative council and held protest festivals following its dissolution in 1939. However, the authorities responded by shutting down the club and detaining some of its members.[572]

Rush, on the other hand, depicts the National Bloc as an opposition group within Kuwait comprising merchants, elites, and their sons motivated by the unresolved political disagreements that had plagued the advisory council, the municipal council, and the educational council. This group faced internal conflicts between its members and the ruling family, ultimately leading to its dissolution. The Bloc's selection process, which favored certain individuals over others, coupled with deteriorating circumstances—including poor services in justice, healthcare, and education, administrative corruption, rising taxes, and the government's inaction on the water shortage crisis—all contributed to the opposition group's formation.[573]

Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer, a prominent Kuwaiti merchant and political figure, played a significant role in promoting Arab nationalism throughout the Arab world during the early and mid-20th centuries. His extensive network of social connections, active participation in various cultural clubs and political groups, and involvement in the education sector significantly impacted the movement's trajectory at the same time the political awareness in Kuwait. Much like his father, Hamad Al-Saqer, who established a vast commercial network across Arab ports,[574] Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer cultivated a broad network of relationships in urban centers throughout the Arab world. These connections, often forged through shared interests in Arab nationalism and cultural

[572] Ghubāsh, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shu'ūb al-ṣaghīrah.*
[573] Rush, Recorders of Kuwait 1899-1961, vol. 2, p. 117-119
[574] Al-Saqer family's trade was centered in Basra, with a focus on the trade of dates. Despite this, the family maintained significant social, political, and commercial connections with Kuwait. Brothers Abdullah, Mohammad, and Jassem frequently visited Kuwait and participated in events there. Abdullah Al-Saqer, in particular, played a prominent role in supporting the educational sector. He was a member of the first educational council in 1936, led the National Bloc, and participated in submitting a petition to Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber to approve the establishment of the council. He also hosted the 1938 council elections in the Family Court, making it a meeting venue. In those elections, he emerged as one of the winners. For more information see: Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974)* p. 30

exchange, extended to cities such as Kuwait, Aden, Basra, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, and Cairo. Among his notable acquaintances were prominent figures like Haj Amin al-Husseini, Fakhri al-Barudi, Kazem Sulh, Mohammad Ali Luqman, Ahmed Fadl al Qmandan, Salim Abdurrahman and Abdulhamid Shuban. These relationships provided a platform for Al-Saqer to disseminate Arab nationalist ideas and mobilize support for the cause.[575]

Al-Saqer's involvement in Arab nationalist movements extended beyond personal connections. He actively participated in several cultural clubs and political groups dedicated to promoting Arab unity and self-determination. In Kuwait, he joined two influential organizations: the secret "National Bloc" and the public "Red Book" movement. The "Red Book" movement, founded in Beirut in 1935 by a group of politicians, mainly Constantin Zureiq, Kazem El-Solh, and Taqi Dine El-Solh, sought to unite Arab nationalists across the region under a common platform. This group divided the Arab world into agencies, and each agency was headed by an agent. In 1940, the movement had seven agencies, and the agent of Kuwait was Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer. Each agency had several commissions responsible for each region, and Abdullatif Thanian al Ghanem was responsible for the commission of Kuwait, and Abdulaziz al Mtir for the commission of Basra. Each commission represented an independent unit of the movement, managed by a president known as the commissioner, and assisted by the supreme leader. Each commission had some directorates, and Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adasani was in charge of the directorate of Kuwait in the commission of Kuwait.[576]

In his work, "The Secret Arab Movement: The Group of the Red Book 1935-1945," Shafiq Juha highlights the involvement of Kuwaiti leaders in the movement's structure. These Kuwaiti merchant-politicians were actively engaged in the group's activities across Kuwait, Basra, and Aden, including prominent figures like Abdullah Al Saqer, Abdulatif Thunyian al Ghanem, Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adasani, Sarhan Al-Sarhan, Yusuf al Ghanem, Mohammad al Ghanem (Aden), Abdulatif Adhekir, and Abdulaziz

[575] Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr: Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974),* p.10

[576] Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr: Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974),* p. 78; Juḥā Shafīq, *al-Ḥarakah al-'Arabīyah al-sirrīyah (Jamā'at al-Kitāb al-Aḥmar) 1935-1945, (*Beirut: Al-Furāt Publishing and Distribution, 2004), p. 49-51,

al Mtir (Basra). However, Juha contends that the Kuwait agency (the fifth agency established in Kuwait) played a relatively minor role, with only a small number of active members.[577] While Juha's assessment suggests a limited impact of the Kuwait agency, historical records of Kuwait during this period paint a more nuanced picture. Events such as the 1938 Council protests, the collection of weapons for Palestine, and the significant financial contributions made by Kuwaiti elites (estimated to be approximately 10% of their annual incomes), all point to a broader and more engaged network of Arab nationalist sympathizers in Kuwait. These activities contradict Juha's assertion of a limited role for the Kuwait agency. Moreover, Hamad Al-Saqer, a prominent Kuwaiti merchant and political figure, subscribed to the Arab nationalist newspaper "Fatá al-'Arab," which actively promoted Arab nationalist ideology. Juha cites sources indicating that the movement's most active and clandestine cells were established in Beirut, particularly within the American University and its surrounding areas. These student cells, including one led by Rafiq Hanina and comprising individuals like Zuhir Daruzeh, Rafiq Hanina, Wadie' Assiran, George Taama, Nacib Hamam, Abdullah Al-Saqer, Hassan Abdurrahman, and Abdullah Al-Najar, played a pivotal role in disseminating Arab nationalist ideals. [578] while Juha's work offers valuable insights into the Arab nationalist movement, it appears to understate the significance of the Kuwait agency and its members' involvement in Kuwaiti politics and society. The broader historical context and the documented activities of Kuwaiti Arab nationalists suggest a more substantial role for the movement within Kuwait.

The close ties between Al-Saqer family and other prominent merchant families to Basra and its environs provided them with direct exposure to nationalist thought, which they subsequently introduced to Kuwait. Similarly, the recruitment of Palestinian teachers by Kuwait's educational council in 1936 significantly amplified the influence of Arab nationalist ideology and the political awareness among Kuwaitis, as acknowledged by Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah and Abdullah Al-Saqer themselves.[579] Together with Mohammad Ahmed al Ghanem, Abdullah Al-Saqer

[577] Juḥā, *al-Ḥarakah al-'Arabīyah al-sirrīyah (Jamā'at al-Kitāb al-Aḥmar) 1935-1945,* p. 329
[578] Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr: Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974)*, p. 78-79
[579] Ibid p. 78; An interview with Shihab al-Din Ahmad conducted by Reda Al-Faili and available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTMmGSloj2U (15.6.2022); Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 5-6

played a pivotal role in promoting education and culture in Kuwait. Al-Adasani's observations support this assertion, noting that young Abdullah and Mohammad Ahmed al Ghanem were particularly enthusiastic supporters of education and culture due to their extensive exposure to Iraq's cultural renaissance and Arab nationalist movements. They were instrumental in the council's decision to recruit Iraqi teachers and implement the Iraqi curriculum. However, Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber, upon the advice of his advisor Izzat Jafar,[580] opted for Egyptian teachers to circumvent potential conflicts with the British, who might have objected to the presence of Iraqi and Palestinian teachers. The council members, citing Egypt's limited involvement in Arab nationalism at the time, vehemently opposed this decision. The dispute was swiftly resolved when Sheikh Abdullah al Jaber, the president of education, intervened and persuaded the ruler to accept Palestinian teachers. Abdullah Al-Saqer then contacted Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (al-Quds), who was in Iraq at the time, requesting him to select four Palestinian teachers, one of whom would serve as director, to oversee and teach at Kuwait's primary schools.[581]

3.1.7. The 1938 Kuwaiti Council: The Reform and Dissolution

Upon gaining the Emir's approval for the establishment of the Council, a committee was formed to oversee the electoral process. The committee convened a meeting of prominent families at Yusuf Marzouq al Marzouq's Diwan, compiling a list of 320 eligible electors from various elite and well-established commercial families in Kuwait. According to the political commissioner's report in Kuwait, there were 150 electors.[582] The list included individuals from Al Hasawi community and non-Arab

[580] There is a British document that talks about Izzat Jaafar's sympathy for the renewal movement that took place in Kuwait and his meeting with exiles in Basra. The document reads, "Izzat Beg Ja'afar, the Palestinian secretary to the Shaikh of Kuwait, is known to have had a certain amount of sympathy with the 'Modern Reform' party during the constitutional crisis in Kuwait. It is not surprising that in Basrah, he made contact with a number of exiles, including Mohammad al Thunaiyah, Mohammad al Saqer, Mohammad al Barrak, Fakhr al Khayyatt, Khalid al Adasani, Abdullah al Bader, and Abdullah al Saqer. This meeting took place in the house of Saiyid Hamid al Naqib, with whom Izzat Beg was staying in 1941."'File 4/26 Izzat Jaffer' [39r] (77/274), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/214, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042408152.0x00004e> [accessed 1 April 2022]

[581] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 14; Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol . 2, p. 27, 28

[582] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 144

residents who had settled in Kuwait for an extended period. The elections were held on June 28th, 1939, at the Saqer family's Diwan. [583] However, a significant portion of Kuwaiti society, including Shiites,[584] sailors, pearl divers, and artisans, were excluded from participating. The election results yielded fourteen members, all of whom were Kuwaiti merchants affiliated with the "National Youth Bloc." The members included Abdullah Hamad Saqer, Mohammad Thanian al Ghanem (who later resigned and was replaced by Mohammad Bin Shahin al Ghanem), Sheikh Yousef bin Isa AlQinai, Al-Sayd Ali Al-Sayed Sulaiman, Meshaan Al Khudair Al Khaled, Hamad Daoud al Marzouq, Sulaiman Khaled Al-Adasani, Abdullatif Mohammad al Thanian, Yusuf Salah al Humaidi, Mashari Hassan al Badar, Sultan Ibrahim al Kulaib, Salah al Othman Al-Rashid, Yusuf Marzouq al Marzouq, and Khaled Abdullatif al Hamad. The council elected Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem as president due to his pro-reform stances.[585]

A segment of those who failed to secure seats in the council questioned the fairness of the electoral process, advocating for a fresh election. They argued that the hasty nature of the initial election left them unprepared to mount effective campaigns. However, their demands lacked popular support and gradually coalesced into an early form of opposition to the council. This opposition included the prominent trader Khaled Al-Zayd, who, in his memoirs, identified other merchants such as Yusuf Al-Adasani, Nasf Al-Yusuf, Abdulmohcen Al-Khurafi, Thanian Mohammad Al-Ghanem, and Mohammad Ahmed Al-Ghanem as part of the opposition group. They successfully persuaded Mohammad Thanian Al-Ghanem to resign, and he was replaced by the influential figure Mohammad Shahin Al-Ghanem, often referred to as "the strong man." The Emir's secretary and the director of the municipality also joined forces with this opposition, attempting to entice council members and individuals from lower-income backgrounds and non-Arab communities with financial incentives to abandon

[583] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 28

[584] As Shiites or Iranians, as Al-Adasani sometimes refers to them, were a minority in Kuwait, only fifty individuals had the right to vote in the 1932 municipal council. This group had the opportunity to obtain a seat, but with the increase in the number of voters, it became increasingly difficult for the Shiite minority to win the elections, especially with the cohesion of the Qibla merchants' bloc. Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 28; Al-Ibrāhīm, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥh fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), p. 69-95.

[585] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 29, 30; Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 35; Asīrī, 'Abd al-Riḍā, *Al-niẓām al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt : Mabādi' wa-mumārasāt,* Edition 12, (Kuwait: al-waṭan Press, 2012), p. 128

their support for the council and join their ranks.[586] Contrary to prevailing notions, the Shi'i community was not unanimously opposed to the council. In fact, the National Youth Bloc, which formed the council's foundation, was initially established by several Shi'i individuals, including Mohammad Habib Al-Tatan and 'Abd al-Razzaq Al-Basir.[587]

Jill Crystal observes that Al-Salem branch's support for the ruling family played a significant role in the National Bloc's success.[588] Similarly, Michael Herb asserts that four primary factors led to the council's emergence: the ruler, the other ruling family members, the British, and the merchants.[589] The National Bloc represented the interests of the bourgeoisie, or the merchant class, and was adversely affected by British control over the country's resources and affairs through the 1899 agreement and the 1934 oil exploitation agreement. Furthermore, the Bloc was dissatisfied with the regime's neglect and the failure to implement pledges and commitments through consultation.[590]

The oil agreement signed in 1934 by Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber with Britain was a pivotal issue that prompted a shift in the British stance towards the council. The council sought direct communication with the Kuwait Oil Company, a British-American company operating in Kuwait, but Britain insisted on maintaining direct contact with the ruler. British concerns grew, and they feared that the council might seize control of oil revenues in the future when the ruler began sending his monthly allocations directly to the council in 1938. Some interpret the ruler's move as an attempt to create a rift between the council and the British representative in Kuwait, thereby gaining British support for dissolving the council.[591] This step was seen as an indication of the ruler's decision to dissolve the council because Ahmed al Jaber recognized the oil issue's impact on the British.[592]

---

[586] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 105, 145, 289
[587] Alebrahim, Abdulrahman. “The Balancing Powers in Kuwait in the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Minutes of the Legislative Council.” *AlMuntaqa* 4, no. 2 (2021): 8–26.
[588] Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 55
[589] Herb, Michael. *'The Origins of Kuwait's National Assembly*.', p.12
[590] Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p.28
[591] Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah,* p. 158
[592] Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p, 55

Upon its establishment on July 9, 1938, the council embarked on a series of reforms across various sectors. In the legal and legislative domains, it promulgated a special law that functioned as a de facto constitution. This law comprised an introduction and five articles borrowed from the Egyptian Constitution of 1923. The first article enshrined the nation as the source of authority, represented by its elected deputies. The second article designated the Legislative Council as the sole authority empowered to approve all internal and external treaties and privileges. Mohammad Al-Rumaihi interprets the first article as a manifestation of the anti-colonial sentiments prevalent among Arab and Third World peoples during that era. While it served as a preamble, its practical impact may have been less significant than its symbolic importance. Despite its brief existence and the challenging circumstances prevailing in Kuwait, the council implemented reforms in finance, justice, and administration. [593]

The fifth article considered the most consequential, transferred legislative and executive powers to the Legislative Council, effectively curtailing the ruler's authority.[594] In the economic and administrative spheres, the council established a financial body, separating public finances from the ruler's funds. Additionally, it abolished certain taxes, including those on food items like vegetables and fruits, and the tax imposed on pearl divers, which amounted to one-third of their earnings. It also reduced market rents, eliminated public store monopolies, and abolished monopolies in sand exportation and ice manufacturing. Furthermore, the council dismissed employees facing corruption charges, primarily in customs, security, administration, and the judiciary (corrupt judges). It constructed a new customs building and enhanced police powers. In the education sector, the council introduced scholarships to Baghdad and al-Azhar, invited Palestinian educators to work in Kuwait, and established three new schools. [595] Moreover, the council oversaw the public budget and allocated expenditures, led by Mashaan al Khudair al Khaled, prioritizing the state's benefits and

[593] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, 'Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981', *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, vol. 7, Issue No. 64, 1984, p.91-107
[594] al-Shaykh Khazʻal, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī*, Part 5, p. 15; Al-Jāsim, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn*, p. 167-169; Al- 'Adasani, *Nisf 'Am Li al-Hukm al-Niyabi Fi al-Kuwayt*, p. 11-12; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 27-34
[595] Moore, Pete W. *Doing Business in the Middle East: Politics and Economic Crisis in Jordan and Kuwait*. Vol. Series Number 20. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 39; Al-Ibrāhīm, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥh fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), p. 69-95

interests. Before the council's formation, no independent financial organization managed public expenditures, organized tax collection, imports, or expenditure patterns. Therefore, the council established an independent financial organization separate from the ruler's control.[596]

In the early stages of their tenure, the council members sought to reassure the British authorities that they had no intention of interfering in Kuwait's external affairs, which remained under British control.[597] Nevertheless, they expressed their desire to review Kuwait's external agreements and assume control of the country's armory. This raised concerns among the British representative, who promptly sent a letter to the Emir on August 6th, cautioning against any interference in external relations. He emphasized his hope that the existing relationships would remain unchanged and expressed his trust in the Emir's ability to maintain and preserve these ties. Any modifications, he asserted, should only be made with the Emir's agreement and following consultation with the British representative.[598] Contrary to prevailing perceptions, Mohammad Al-Rumaihi challenges the widely held notion that the council's objectives included the pursuit of independence and the revision of the Kuwaiti-British protectorate treaty. He asserts that the Kuwaiti movement of 1938 was primarily a reform movement seeking limited changes within the existing political system rather than a radical transformation.[599]

Sheikh Ahmed had previously agreed to hand over the weapons to the council, effectively entrusting them with the responsibility of defending Kuwait. This move strengthened the council's position while weakening the ruler's authority. In response, the ruler sought the British government's intervention through a letter to De Gaury. Acting on this request, the British representative advised the ruler to appoint an English advisor to assist him in managing the state's affairs. [600]

The growing pro-council sentiment among the Kuwaiti youth is evident in the account of Hamad Al-Rjib, who recalls his experiences as a student at the Mubarakiya School in 1939. He describes Khaled Al-Adasani's impassioned speech to the students, urging

[596] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī,* p. 37-40, 42, 43
[597] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 152
[598] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p.163
[599] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 32
[600] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol, 2, p. 165-167

them to protest against the dissolution of the council. The students went on protests to Al Safat Square, where they found a large gathering of Kuwaitis listening to Abdullah Al-Saqer's speech. Al-Rjib's observation that most of the youths were pro-council while their parents supported the other team at the Dasman Palace highlights the generational divide that emerged during this period. The youth's embrace of the council's reformist agenda reflected their aspirations for a more democratic and representative political system.[601]

The period of the Legislative Council culminated in its dissolution by the Sheikh, brought about by the Emir's perception of the council's demands as a threat to his absolute authority. Following riots between the police and citizens who gathered publicly to express their support for the council, the Sheikh detained some of its members and subsequently dissolved the first council, which was supported by the British, on December 12, 1938. [602] Three days later, on March 10, 1939, following the dissolution of the second council by Shaikh Ahmed, [603] pro-council Kuwaiti youths gathered and declared the dissolution illegal, refusing to accept it. Mohammad al Munais, known as the "Water Carrier," drew a crowd as he distributed leaflets calling for the deposition of Al-Sabah family and resistance against them.[604] However, this claim is questionable, as British documents describe him as a Kuwaiti resident of Basra sent by the Iraqi government who arrived in Kuwait on March 7, 1939. [605] Upon discovering al Munais' actions, the authorities arrested, beat, and detained him on the orders of Sheikh Ahmed al Jaber. While being transported to prison, the route passed by the market where pro-council individuals, led by Mohammad al-Qatami and Yusuf al Marzouq, had gathered and opened fire. In response, the security forces (Bedouin guards) also fired back, striking Yusuf al Marzouq and causing chaos within the

---

[601] Al-Rajīb, Ḥamad, *Musāfir fī sharāyīn al-waṭan,* (Kuwait: Ministry of Information Press, 1994), p. 57, 72-75
(In the appendix, there is a document where Kuwaiti women appealed to the British ruler of the Gulf to intervene and secure the release of their husbands who were being held in detention in Kuwait following the dissolution of the Legislative Council in 1938. The names of the detainees include: Abdullatif al Ghanem, Ali Sulaiman Arrifaii, Meshaan Al Khudair Al Khaled, Salah Arrashed, and Sulaiman al Al-Adasani who had been detained for almost 4 years).

[602] Ibrāhīm, *al-Kuwayt dirāsah siyāsīyah,* p. 147; Al-Najjār, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī*, p. 12; Al-ʻAqqād, *Maʻālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī,* p. 26-27

[603]See the appendix for a list of the elected members as of December 27, 1938.

[604] The Egyptian newspaper "Al Shabab" provided a critical account of the Council events that is not available in other sources. "Al-Shabāb," March 29, 1939.

[605] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 258-263

market, resulting in the death of Mohammad al Qatami.[606] By noon that day, Mohammad al Munais had been executed in Safat Square.[607] These events solidified Al-Sabah family's complete control over domestic affairs.[608]

On February 22, 1939, the Palestinian newspaper, Filasṭīn, reported on a meeting held at Al-Muthanná Club in Baghdad to express solidarity with Kuwait and its youth. During the gathering, Kuwaiti national Mr Mohammad Al-Barad delivered a speech addressing the state of Kuwait. He highlighted the oppressive and unjust treatment faced by Kuwaitis seeking freedom and the challenges encountered by nationalist supporters of Iraq, its king, and government, who advocated for others to join their cause. Following his speech, Mr Al-Barad requested "assistance from Iraq to liberate Kuwait, integrate it with the Iraqi Kingdom's 15th Brigade, and transform the Iraqi port of Kuwait into a hub for establishing a grand Arab kingdom".[609]

Members of the National Bloc, led by Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer, gathered and sent a delegation to Baghdad to request Iraqi support. While some sources suggest they sought immediate unification between Iraq and Kuwait, the veracity of this claim remains uncertain. Nevertheless, they did receive support from the Iraqi government, particularly after violence erupted in Kuwait as Kuwaitis demanded reform and unity. The ensuing unrest saw police intervention, resulting in the arrest of protesters, injuries, and the detention of influential merchants and noble families.[610]

Additionally, on March 22, 1939, Al-Shabāb newspaper reported that a Kuwaiti man named Ahmed bin Manayeh, a merchant residing in Basra, declared in Kuwait his opposition to Al-Sabah family and urged resistance until the arrival of the Iraqi army

---

[606] According to a British document, Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber was reported to have been injured while attempting to calm his Bedouin supporters who were shouting "for the sake of Al-Sabah." However, no other sources reporting this occurrence could be found. Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 258-263

[607] Al-Khamīs, *masīrat al-dīmūqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1938,* p. 101-102; Al-Ḥātim, *min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt,* p. 220-221; For additional information regarding the execution of Mohamed Al-Munais, see: Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 8 Safar 1358, March 29, 1939, "What in Kuwait, brutal atrocities"; Al-Ibrāhīm, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥh fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), p. 69-95

[608] Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*, p. XV

[609] Filasṭīn newspaper: Wednesday, February 22, 1939, Jaffa, Muharram 3, 1358, year 22, headline: Kuwait seeks help from the Iraqi kingdom and requests to join it.

[610] 'Abd Allāh, Ṭaybah Khalaf, Al-taṭawwur al-tārīkhī lil-Majālis al-tashrī'īyah fī al-Kuwayt, 1921-1971, (Master's thesis, Basra University, 1986), p. 73-74

for liberation. This outspoken rebellion led to his arrest on March 10th. Supporters attempted to obstruct authorities, resulting in the death of one individual and the detention of several, including Bin Manayeh himself. A swift court found him guilty of high treason and sentenced him to death, which was promptly carried out.[611]

3.1.8. Suppression of the Political Opposition

Following the Council's dissolution in March 1939, several members fled Kuwait for Iraq, while others were captured and imprisoned until 1944. Notably, Khaled Sulaiman Al-Adasani, the Council secretary and National Bloc member, managed to escape undercover through the desert. In his book, Al-Khatib vividly describes Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber's "fidāwiyyah" (thugs) and Bedouins capturing and executing Al-Qatami and Al-Munais. Under the heading of Munais's crucifixion, Al-Khatib recounts:

"I will never forget the day cruelty manifested in its vilest form before my eyes at Al-Safat Square. I was a student at Al-Mubarakiya school then. When Khaled Al-Adasani gave an enthusiastic speech, I didn't fully realize it, perhaps he was calling the students to demonstrate in support of the council. And when I was on my way back home, a big fuss in Al-Safat Square in front of my house caught my attention. I saw a bunch of guys standing outside, looking strange; bare-breasted, with long hair like women's, alighted from their vehicles. Then they threw a man on the ground with bloodstains on his white clothes. After that, they hung him up on a wooden pole in the shape of a cross with his last breath. It was such a terrifying, intimidating, and disgusting sight. I have never encountered anything like what I saw in my life. I never thought people could be treated with such cruelty by individuals who had no connection to humanity. The British documents stated that King Abdul Aziz Al Saud (1932-1953) sent 300 tribesmen to help the Emir of Kuwait against the legislative council. Later, I learned that the crucified person was Mohammad Al-Munais, a leader of the democratic reform movement. Ahmad al-Jaber was able to suppress the movement, resulting in the arrest of some of its leaders and the flight of others to escape persecution in Kuwait. During my visit to my father near Seif Palace (al-Qaṣr al-Sayf), I witnessed with my

[611] Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 1 Safar 1358, March 22, 1939, headline: Unrest in Kuwait

own eyes the democratic movement's members being held in the basement of the jail, their feet shackled as they walked in the yard. My father informed me of their identities and the reason for their arrest." [612]

The suppression of the council and its leaders marked a significant setback in the political awareness of the Kuwaiti people. Al-Adasani's portrayal of despair, mismanagement, and humiliation reflects the disillusionment felt by many Kuwaitis who had dared to hope for reform and democratization. The silencing of their voices through the reduced activity of Qasr Azzuhur and the dominance of English radio further cemented this sense of helplessness. The colonial discourse broadcast on the radio served to delegitimize their movement and reinforce the notion of their inferiority. This period of repression had a chilling effect on political activism in Kuwait, forcing many to either abandon their aspirations or pursue them in secrecy.[613]

Following the dissolution of the Legislative Council, Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber's attempts to suppress the council members who fled to Iraq highlight a crucial turning point in the political awareness transformation among Kuwaiti merchants. His efforts to frame their actions as mere debt disputes, rather than legitimate political dissent, demonstrate a deliberate attempt to undermine the rising tide of political awareness. This tactic of delegitimization reflects fear of the merchants' growing influence and their potential to challenge the established power dynamics. On January 20, 1939, the Emir's demand that Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer choose between resigning from the

---

[612] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 19; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 141 (Appendix 10)

[613] Radio Qaṣr al-zuhūr, under the reign of King Ghazi in Baghdad, played an important role in the events that took place in Kuwait between 1937 and 1939. According to British Document No. (F0371/23180) from March 1939, the King received personal telegrams every evening that urged him to continue broadcasting about Kuwait and its events on the radio. Moreover, the Iraqi government, represented by Nuri al-Said, promised to stop any radio broadcasts against Kuwait. The British ambassador in Baghdad, Sir Maurice Peterson, demanded the cessation of publishing articles in Iraqi newspapers against Kuwait, and even their closure if necessary. He also requested that law school students who asked to hold demonstrations in support of the movement in Kuwait not be allowed to do so. Nuri al-Said pledged to the British government representative in Baghdad to meet these demands. In the same document, King Ghazi mentioned that the foreign influence that the station referred to repeatedly in its broadcasts was Iran, as he and his government became concerned about the flow of Iranians into Kuwait, which could endanger Iraq's transportation in the event of war. Al-A'ẓamī, Walīd Ḥamdī, *Al-Kuwayt fī al-wathā'iq al-Barīṭānīyah min 1752 ilá 1960,* (UK: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 1991), p. 143-154. Regarding Iraqi propaganda: Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' [187r] (373/607), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042256962.0x0000b0> [accessed 7 January 2022] ; Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 141

council and settling his exorbitant debts of 80,000 Rupees further underscores the attempt to silence dissent through financial pressure. [614] This act served as a stark warning to other merchants who might harbour similar aspirations for political reform. Despite this pressure, Al-Saqer's prompt payment of the debt showcases the unwavering commitment of some merchants to their ideals, even in the face of personal hardships. Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber asked the British to arrest and try a member of the council, Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer after he had fled to Basra. However, the British resident replied that "there is no treaty on exchanging criminals with Iraq, and there is no political cause for that except for treason and the debt he has to the Emir." [615]

In this regard, A British document attributed the 1938 Kuwaiti political movement to the patriots' debts owed to the Emir, implying their motivation was debt forgiveness. The document states: "The following extract from a recent letter from de Gaury (Gerald de Gaury, the British agent in Kuwait) is significant as showing the self-interested motives which actuated the Kuwaiti 'patriots' " In this connection, the following figures showing the debts of various local politicians to the Shaikh alone may interest you. These merchants no doubt hoped to get out of having to pay these sums by removing the Shaikh."[616]

Mohammed Al-Rumaihi identifies two key factors influencing the movement: the Palestine issue, evidenced by numerous slogans referencing the Palestinian conflict, and the financial hardship faced by the movement's leaders. British sources attributed this hardship as a primary motivator, suggesting losses incurred due to the international recession. However, Al-Rumaihi expresses scepticism towards this analysis, citing the British's history of making similar claims regarding other national movements. [617]

---

[614] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 116
[615] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 220-221
[616] Abdulla Saqar 95,000 (Rupees owed), Yusuf Marzook 24,000 (Rupees owed), Yusuf al-Ghanim (whom you saw here and who turned out to be against the Shaikh) 1,50,000 (Rupees owed), Mohamad Shahin al-Ghanim 40,000 (Rupees owed), Salah Othman Rashid 5,000. The Residency, Bushire, the 24th March 1939. sd. T. O. Fowle (Sir Trenchard Fowle the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf) in other sources is the political agent in the Persian Gulf. IOR/R/15/5/127, File 2/1 II IRAQ PROPAGANDA. (Absorption of Kuwait by Iraq). Relations etc, 20 Feb 1939-29 Feb 1948. the Qatar Digital Library: http://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100046245823.0x000003
Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' [63r] (125/607), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042256961.0x000080> [accessed 1 April 2022] (Appendix 12)
[617] Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 41

Additionally, some sources suggest that the council's dissolution stemmed from opposition from specific societal groups, namely merchants whose privileges and monopolies were dismantled by the council's reforms. This highlights the complex interplay of political ideologies and economic interests that contributed to the movement's trajectory. [618]

The dissolution of the council is often attributed to opposition from certain civil society groups. Similarly, the "Ajam" (Kuwaitis of Persian/Iranian origin) who adheres to the Shiite faith, opposed the council due to their exclusion from participation. They submitted multiple petitions advocating for their representation on the council and requested representation at their respective schools. The council members, however, rejected these demands when they were presented directly to Britain's Political Resident. The council members emphasized “the Arab identity of Kuwait (the Arabness) and made efforts to maintain this identity and preserve the country's Arab national character, free from Iranian influence”. As a result, the "Ajam" community organized demonstrations to voice their demands and, most notably, to bring down the council. At the same time, the council declined to recognize new immigrants from Iran to Kuwait as citizens following WWI and classified them as Iranian nationals, thereby depriving them of their right to participate in political life as voters and candidates.[619]

Regarding the position of Kuwaiti Shiites, they were very much against the council and its members. They called it the racist council, as described in the writings of Al-Adasani. Prior to the council events, the Shiites were doing their Hawsāt [620] in front of Naif Palace. In this respect, Al-Adasani adds that "in the afternoon of this day, the Al‘rḍāt (plural of ‘Arḍah) [621] took place as usual, but the weird thing was that the Ajam flooded the markets (souks) with guns and weapons. They were raising their voice in

[618] Al-Naqīb, *ṣirā‘ al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah,* p. 31
[619] Al-Hājirī, Taṭawwur al-‘alāqah al-tārīkhīyah bayna Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-al-tujjār fī al-Kuwayt mundhu al-nash’ah wa-ḥattá ‘ahd al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Sālim, p. 71
[620] Hawsāt is a form of verbal and motor performance in which a poet recites three or four lines of folk poetry, often mentioning the Ahl al-Bayt. Men usually surround the poet in a circular shape, striking the ground and raising their hands. This art is used for almost all occasions, particularly in times of adversity. Al-Adasani used the term "Al Hawsāt" (plural of Hawsah) to describe this practice, although in Kuwait, the term used is "Al Shylh." Al-Zubaydī, ‘Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Ahāzīj al-sha‘bīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah, (*Cairo: Shams Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, 2021), p. 46-47.
[621] ‘Arḍah is the national male folk song and dance of Kuwait. Its primary function is to encourage kinship and promote state solidarity. The original function of the dance was to prepare men for battle.

Hawsāt, which were indoctrinated to them, and they were roaming around Naif Palace and the police headquarters till the directorate of security held by Sheikh Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah. Some of their Hawsāt were: 'Destroy the nest so its eggs will not be able to hatch.' (هدم العش لا يفرخ بيضـــه) The intent of this was open incitement to abolish the Council. 'Allah and Ahmed our Guardian (custodian).' (الله وأحمد والينا) 'Tell Hamad not to sign,' (قل لحمد لا يمضيها) etc. The defiant spirit was reflected in their chants, and they were doing that in vanity. On Tuesday, 31 January 1939, the chants increased, and they were shooting bullets, which turned out to be instructed to do so. There was a popular sentiment of resentment against Ajam's misconduct. Some youths expressed strong dissatisfaction. One of them was Abdullah, the son of Thanian Al-Ghanim, who had quarreled with one of the Ajam. [622] The ruling family in Kuwait used this situation for its political benefit and took advantage of the Shiites to serve its plan to attack the political opposition, both through the Shiite opposition in the Legislative Council in 1938 and through the elected and administrative councils that had emerged in the 1930s and 1950s.

In this regard, Nasser al-Fadalah states in one of his book chapters entitled "Seeking Power from the Foreigner: Employment of “al-Badw alfidāwyh” against the Kuwaitis" that during the events of the council, 60 policemen from the urban regions originating from Najd, along with most of the Kuwaitis, refused to be used in political quarrels against the members of the first legislative council. The regime had to hire foreigners to kill democracy. In doing so, Sheikh Ali al-Khalifa Sabah hired alfidāwyh who were foreign nomads from Arrshaida. They were asked by the Sheikh to walk in the streets and shout " Hawsāt." Similarly, this happened during the events of the Second Legislative Council when other nomads "Al-Ajman" were employed to capture and hang "Mohammad Al-Munais."[623] So, when the Emir dissolved the Council in 1938 and during the confrontations that took place between the government and the Council's supporters, Ibn Saud[624] sent a large force close to the borders with Kuwait

[622] Al-‘Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-‘Adsānī,* p. 129-130
[623] Al-Faḍālah, Nāṣir Muḥammad Sanad, *Al-ḥālah wa-al-ḥall : faraḍīyāt awwalīyah litaṣwyb al-ṣirā‘ al-siyāsī ilá uṭurihi al-ijtimā‘īyah,* (Kuwait, n.d., 2010), p. 23-24
[624] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p.233-235; Al-‘Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-‘Adsānī,* p. 69

to help Sheikh Ahmad restore order to his country. He feared King Ghazi's pursuit of annexing Kuwait to Iraq.[625]

According to Abdurrahman al Ibrahim, the 1938 council was legislative rather than administrative. This required including the largest number of influential categories, including the Shiite families who were granted the right to cast votes without the right to run.[626] However, it should be emphasized that the right to vote without running for the Shiite families is not entirely accurate because Al-Adasani mentions that non-Arabs in Kuwait called for elections and casting votes, and he never mentioned them not having the right to run. He criticized what this group did in society, but their right to run was not explicitly mentioned.[627]

In this context, sources state that a large number of Shiites of Iranian origin approached the British political resident in Kuwait and requested British citizenship. Thousands of them assembled in front of the British consulate, seeking naturalization as they believed it would offer them numerous advantages in legal and commercial dealings in Kuwait. [628] According to some sources, there was no unified opposition among the Shiites towards the council as the youth bloc was originally established by Shiite members, including Mohammad Habib Al-Tattan[629] and Abdul Razak Al-Basir. [630]

The suppression of the Legislative Council marked a turning point in the fledgling political awareness of the Kuwaiti people. The Emir's harsh response, coupled with the British colonial influence, served to silence dissent and instill fear among the population. However, this period of repression also planted the seeds for future political transformation. Despite setbacks, the events surrounding the Council's dissolution ignited a crucial shift in the political awareness of the Kuwaiti people,

---

[625] Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah,* p. 191; Al-Jāsim, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir*, p. 27

[626] Al-Ibrāhīm, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥh fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), p. 69-95

[627] Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 9-12

[628] Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī*, p. 63; Al-Ḥātim, min hunā badaʾat al-Kuwayt, p. 320; Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p.38; Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol . 2, p. 188

[629] Al-Hājirī, ʻAbd Allāh, Al-ʻAnzī, Muḥammad, *Madkhal ilá Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir*, (Kuwait: Center of al-Qarīn for historical studies, 2006), p. 342

[630] He is described as someone who adheres to the Shiite doctrine but has a Sunni creed and identifies as a pan-Arabist. Al-Zayd Khālid Saʻūd, *Udabāʾ al-Kuwayt fī qarnayn,* Vol. 1, (Kuwait: al-Rubayʻān Publication and Distribution Company, 1987), p. 54.

particularly the merchant class. Their efforts, although initially met with resistance, paved the way for future generations to continue the struggle for reform and establish a more participatory political system.

3.1.9. In the Aftermath of the Legislative Council

After the tragic events of the Legislative Council, a state of stalemate and a stifling political atmosphere prevailed in Kuwait. Political activities and national movements came to a complete standstill, and the country witnessed a fragile calm as a reflection of the repressive actions against members of the Council and the "National Bloc" (al-Kutlah al-Waṭanīyah), as well as because the world was engulfed in World War II at that time.[631] Perhaps the unprecedented repressive policies that accompanied the dissolution of the council also resulted in apprehension about reiterating demands for political reforms from the same ruler.

On the other hand, the council was not able to create community awareness of the importance of political participation. In this connection, there was a general conviction among the Kuwaitis that the council was attempting to seize control of the government as a substitute for Al-Sabah. This was regarded as a departure from the principle of local governance which Kuwaitis were accustomed.[632] It could therefore be inferred that the culture of the community at that time was centered on the concept of "obedience," in which "sailors" were used to giving absolute obedience to the "al-Nūkhadhah" (the ship's captain). Similarly, the nomadic Bedouins (nomadic inhabitants) were used to obeying the tribal elder (the clan chief). This could explain the difficulty of the revolt against the authority and the non-acceptance of any threats against the power of the ruler in such a society.

Following this time, particularly in the 1940s, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia signed The Agreement for Friendship and Neighbourly Relations,[633] which contributed to the

[631] Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 35
[632] Al-Jāsim, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʿāṣir*, p. 25.
[633] The Agreement for Friendship and Neighbourly Relations Between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia with Exchange of Letters Regarding the Tribes of Saudi Arabia, Dated April 20, 1942, p. 19. 'A Collection of Treaties and Engagements relating to the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in force up to the End of 1953' [11r] (23/92), British Library: India Office Records and Private

resumption of commercial activity between the two countries. This was mainly due to the end of World War II, which had caused a halt in the oil extraction process. The process was resumed in 1945, and in June 1946, a grand celebration was held to mark the export of the first Kuwaiti oil shipment.[634] The influx of oil revenues and economic prosperity, according to Abdulmohsen Jamal, reduced the calls for democratic reforms. The Kuwaitis started to work to compensate for the losses of the previous years.[635] In 1944, Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah allowed those who were exiled to Iraq to return to Kuwait. Additionally, political detainees from the "1939 events," including Khaled Al-Adasani, al-Haj Mohammed Al-Thunayan, Mohammad Ahmed al Ghanem, and Abdul-Wahab Issa Al Qatami, were released after Emir Ahmed al Jaber sent a delegation of Kuwaiti figures. The Emir had also released five political detainees, namely Yusuf al Marzouq, Meshaan Al Khudair Al Khaled, Mohammad Abdulatif Thunyian, Ali Al-Sayad, Sulaiman Al-Adasani, and Salah al Othman Al-Rashid, to express his satisfaction and show that he had forgotten the past events.[636] As for the reason for the cessation of political activity among merchants and the decrease in their influence on the political awareness of Kuwaiti society, it was mainly due to their shift to other activities, moving away from direct political confrontation to indirectly influence the Kuwaiti political scene.

All in all, the analysis of the contentious events of the early 20th century shows that the merchant elite represented a highly active and efficient political force, which was able to challenge the ruler's growing autonomy in decision-making. Although the nature of this opposition movement was oligarchic,[637] pragmatism prevailed in the relation and stance of the Arab revolutionists, mainly because their favorite state - the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq - would not have emerged without British support. On the other side, the revolutionists did not want to be enemies with Britain, especially when

Papers, IOR/R/15/1/738, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023550810.0x000018> [accessed 21 January 2022]

[634] Rushdī, Rāsim, *Kuwayt wa kuwaytyun : Dirāsāt fī al-māḍī al-Kuwayt wa-ḥāḍiruhā,* (Beirut: al-Rahbānīyah Lebanese printing house, 1955), p. 64; Al-Nūrī, ʻAbd Allāh, *Mudhakkirāt ʻan ḥayāt al-marḥūm al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jābir, (*Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1978), p. 56, 58; Al-Yūsufī, Muḥammad, *Al-Kuwayt min al-nash'ah ilá al-istiqlāl (*Beirut: Arabic institution for studies and publications, 2013), vol 2, p. 257

[635] Jamāl, *Al-muʻāraḍah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt,* p. 118

[636] Al-ʻAdasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-ʻAdsānī,* p. 2; Al-Yūsufī, *Al-Kuwayt min al-nash'ah ilá al-istiqlāl*, p. 267.

[637] Broeze, Kuwait before oil: the dynamics and morphology of an Arab port city, p. 170

it intervened in World War II. It can be noticed that the Council of 1938 in Kuwait, despite most of its members being revolutionists from the National Bloc, did not take an opposing stance vis-à-vis the British political representative; rather, it maintained friendly relationships and refused to act on the coup on the protection agreement to the point that its members tried to make a rapprochement with Sir Trenchard Fowle, the Political Resident in "the Persian Gulf," directly when they felt disagreement with De Gaury.[638]

British sources indicate a document dated February 27, 1939, suggesting that De Gaury learned of an offer made by Iraqi officials to Abdullah Al-Saqer. This offer proposed the Sheikhdom of Kuwait under conditions similar to the Anglo-Kuwaiti treaty established by Sheikh Mubarak. However, the authenticity of this document remains uncertain. While Al-Saqer's meeting with King Ghazi and various Iraqi officials during his visit to Iraq is confirmed, the veracity of the offer and its details require further investigation. Furthermore, the possibility of this information being fabricated to discredit the National Bloc and its members cannot be ignored. This suspicion arises from similar tactics employed previously. Notably, in his memoirs, Khalid al-Adsani describes the impact of a fabricated radio statement attributed to him, which was aired on February 18 and 19, 1939, by Qaṣr al-zuhūr. This statement falsely claimed Al-Adsani's support for the Iraqi King and a constitution, only to be later revealed as a deliberate attempt to slander the National Bloc movement. [639]

De Gaury anticipated the plan to begin by sending numerous forged letters (using pseudonyms) advocating for joining Iraq, aiming to manipulate unsuspecting individuals into participating in petitions calling for annexation. These fabricated petitions would then be published in Iraqi newspapers, ultimately enabling the Iraqi government to request intervention from the British Embassy in Baghdad under the pretense of fulfilling Kuwaiti aspirations. [640]

Regardless of the labels attributed to these political movements, be they derived from their own literature and publications or assigned by national and nationalist groups,

[638] Al-Wazzān, *'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974)*, p. 11
[639] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 130
[640] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 252

they can be fundamentally understood as reform movements in the truest sense. This is because they did not directly challenge the colonial system or British protection, seeking instead to eliminate their subjugation to foreign authority through negotiation. British delegates initially expressed empathy towards these movements, but ultimately intervened to terminate them when it became clear their vision diverged from the anticipated framework.

An analysis of 1940s publications did not reveal any direct public opposition to the British presence in Kuwait. However, there were indications of discontent with the prevailing social and political order, including some public disaffection likely stemming from the British presence. This discontent may have contributed to the emergence of Arab nationalist opposition movements in the 1950s and 1960s. Following the death of the reformist Emir Abdullah al-Sabah in 1965, the Sabah elite formed an alliance with tribal groups, aiming to increase the dependence of the commercial elite on government-sponsored projects. This strategy effectively integrated the tribes into the political process, weakening the critical stance of the urban middle class. In exchange for their support, the Sabah-led regime provided direct assistance to tribal chiefs and employment opportunities to the broader tribal community. This reliance on tribal support delayed the emergence of a meaningful reform agenda, although the formula began to face challenges in the 1980s.[641]

Despite waning intensity compared to the 1930s, elements of political awareness persisted among Kuwaiti merchants, fueled primarily by the Palestine Issue. The Palestine Issue served as a primary catalyst for this awareness. As mentioned earlier, Kuwaitis displayed notable engagement with the Palestinian cause, actively participating in fundraising campaigns to support “the Arabs of Palestine”.[642] Al Muqaṭṭam reported a 60,000 rupee donation from "the Arabs of Kuwait" on March 10,

[641] Ghabra, *Kuwait: At the Crossroads of Change or Political Stagnation*, p. 3

[642]According to Ayed al Jerid, the educational board/faculty of Kuwait played a significant role in fostering Kuwaitis' involvement in the Palestinian cause. In the period of the Arab revolt from 1936 to 1939, a series of seminars and meetings were held to deliberate on the Palestinian struggle, and fundraising campaigns were launched to provide support to the revolution. Notably, Kuwaiti women contributed to the cause by donating their jewellery. al-Jarīd, ʿĀyid ʿAtīq *al-Kuwayt wa-Muqāṭaʿat al-kiyān al-Ṣuhyūnī 1945-2016) (*Kuwait: the author, 2019). p. 61.

1948.[643] Al-Balāgh further documented meetings at Abdullah Al Saqer's house, attended by prominent Kuwaitis and Basra merchants, where passionate discussions centered around Salim Bey Abdul Rahman's "Dunum project" (Mashrū‘ aldwnm) for land acquisition in Palestine. The project aimed to purchase lands in Palestine to prevent their possession by Jews and to strengthen the nation's fund (Ṣundūq al-ummah) in any way possible.[644] Filasṭīn newspaper reported on April 3, 1948, that donations from the Kuwaiti people to Palestine had reached one million rupees.[645] These meetings illustrate the active engagement of merchants in seeking solutions for the Palestinian land issue. Moreover, critiques of Arab state inaction emerged from within Kuwait. The eighth issue of Al Kāẓimah magazine fiercely criticized the perceived lack of support for the Palestinian cause from other Arab states. [646] Even outside demonstrations, Kuwaiti merchants expressed their dissatisfaction with perceived anti-Palestinian actions.

On June 27, 1964, Kuwaiti political awareness regarding the Palestine Issue manifested in a new way, as reported by the Kuwaiti Common News Agency. The government announced its intention to restrict relations with Japan due to the perceived "humiliating treatment" experienced by Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah al Ahmed al Jaber during his visit to Tokyo. This visit aimed to clarify the Arab position on Palestine following the Arab Summit In a display of solidarity with the Arab stance, several Kuwaiti merchants reportedly responded by imposing restrictions on their trade with Japan. Subsequently, on July 27, Kuwait Radio announced a conciliatory gesture from Japan. The Japanese Ambassador conveyed a letter from his counterpart expressing understanding of the Arab position on Palestine and commitment to a

[643] Al Muqaṭṭam, Cairo, Wednesday, 10 March 1948, heading: the Arabs of Kuwait contribute to support Palestine; Other examples of donation campaigns were mentioned: Alf Bā’ newspaper (Syria), 18 December 1947, Issue No. 7653, headline: Kuwait donates half a million rupees; Alf Bā’ newspaper (Syria), January 6, 1948, Issue 7666, A party in Bombay where 95,000 rupees were collected. The party had been attended by the Arab community in Bombay and the consulates of the Arab states. There, Shaikh Sulaiman Al-Rashoud from Kuwait gave a discourse about Palestine. Later, Mr. Ahmed al Hurr Thani from Bahrain gave another speech, and then Sheikh Abdullatif al Hamad from Kuwait contributed of 15 thousand rupees. For further details, see: Zaḥlān, Al-Khalīj wa-al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (1936-1948), p. 6-9; Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt, p. 58.
[644] Al Balāgh, 4 September 1947.
[645] Filasṭīn newspaper, Saturday, 3 April 1948, Issue No.6881-29, headline: One million rupees from Kuwait to Palestine.
[646] Al Kadhima (Kāẓimah), Issue No. 8, February 1949, “ Fīmā yataḥaddathūn”, (As They Talk), Ahmed Al-Saqqaf

peaceful resolution, considering their strong relations with Arab countries.[647] This incident highlights the enduring influence of the Palestine Issue on Kuwaiti political activism, even beyond the direct protests and fundraising observed in the 1950s and 1960s. The substantial oil revenues that emerged during this period undoubtedly played a role in shaping the landscape of political opposition. The influx of wealth mitigated both confrontations with imperialism and indirect resistance against reactionary forces. This economic transformation led to the absorption of various social and political forces within the oil industry's ecosystem, effectively reducing the vibrancy of earlier protest movements.

This section has comprehensively investigated the significant role played by merchants in shaping the landscape of political awareness in Kuwait. Drawing upon historical records and diverse perspectives, it has examined their crucial contributions to socio-political transformations, cultural exchanges, and the development of a politically conscious citizenry. During this period, merchants actively participated in policymaking processes, laying the groundwork for future political activism and demonstrating their unwavering desire for greater representation and democratic reforms. Despite initial setbacks, their efforts paved the way for future movements and a more democratic future for Kuwait. The establishment of the National Bloc in 1938 by prominent merchants further serves as a testament to their unwavering commitment to democratic reforms.

The section also delved into the dynamic relationship between merchants and the ruling family, highlighting periods of both opposition and reconciliation. Early instances like the 1909 merchant protest and the 1921 council movement showcased the gradual emergence of the merchant class as a political force, directly challenging the established power structure.

Furthermore, the section explored the impact of regional developments and the burgeoning wave of Arab nationalism on the political awareness of the merchants. It shed light on their unwavering support for the Palestinian cause during the 1936 Arab Revolt, evidenced by their clandestine operations to smuggle arms and supplies.

[647] Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1964, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1966), p. 148

In conclusion, this section has provided a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted role played by merchants in shaping the political landscape of Kuwait. This understanding paves the way for further investigation into the specific forms of student awareness that emerged as a result of merchant influence. Since they established the first schools in the country, recognizing the importance of education in fostering critical thinking and social responsibility. These schools provided students with access to knowledge and ideas, exposing them to diverse perspectives and igniting their interest in the political landscape.

3.2. Political Awareness Among Students

This section explores the intricate relationship between education and the development of political awareness among students in Kuwait, with a specific focus on the role of education in shaping both national identity and political awareness. It meticulously examines the impact of various factors, including the modern education movement, the influence of Palestinian teachers, the rise of student movements, the burgeoning tide of Arab nationalism, and the activities of the National Union of Kuwaiti Students. Through this analysis, the section convincingly argues that education plays a crucial role in shaping political awareness and among students. It vividly highlights how exposure to diverse educational experiences, including the influence of dedicated teachers, participation in active student movements, and engagement with pressing national and regional issues, significantly contributes to the development of students' political awareness. This awareness, in turn, fuels their unwavering commitment to national causes and ignites their desire to actively engage in Kuwait's political landscape.

3.2.1. The Kuwaiti Schools, Palestinian Teachers, and the Political Awareness in Kuwait

Arab students have always been an effective social force in the region's political events and have been at the center of major political events in the various historical stages of the development of people and their political awareness. In his article on the student movements in the Arab world, Halim Barakat notes that "students were among the few categories that were qualified to work for change" and that "they were an effective movement when they had a new awareness that insisted on standing with the downtrodden categories and changing established relationships." He adds that in each state that witnessed a revolution, "the students were its engine and those who took the awareness on their shoulders and revolted." When students move beyond restlessness into protests, their interest focuses on determining problems, analysing situations, and facing challenges. [648]

[648] Barakāt, Ḥalīm, al-Ḥarakah al-ṭullābīyah : al-Fikr – al-ʻamal, *Mawāqif Magazine,* Issue 19-20, (January 1972) p. 3-5

The establishment of schools and the development of education in Kuwait contributed to socio-political transformations which ended up with a rise in political awareness. After the discovery of oil, there was a rise in the state's income, and education witnessed vast development in the 1950s after being limited to Quranic schools that taught the Quran, grammar, and arithmetic. The first public school, the Mubarakiya School, was established in 1911 with donations from merchants and inhabitants. Then, the Ahmadiya School was established in 1921, followed by the literary club (al-Nādī al-Adabī) in 1924, which was one of the most important institutions of national cultural awareness in Kuwait. Reportedly, Kuwaiti students were influenced by teachers brought from Iraq, which had been more developed than Kuwait. However, the then-ruler insisted that the educational board had to be from Egypt. The members of the educational council considered bringing teachers from Palestine as an achievement. The first educational wave of Arab teachers for modern education came from Palestine after the foundation of the Educational Council in the same year, which was like an elected governmental institution by the merchants to manage education. Kuwait then witnessed a reformist political movement impacted by nationalistic Arab thought. The Arab orientation overwhelmed the Educational Council, whose members worked to lift education by seeking help from Arab states. The sons of merchants had the chance to study abroad. In 1924, the first scholarship was awarded to Iraq. Later, the education administration opened modern schools for boys and girls and launched scholarships to some Arab states. This contributed to creating new generations of educated and intellectual citizens. We must note that the total number of students in Kuwait increased from 6,292 in 1951 to 40,211 (males and females) in 1960.[649]

Initially, Gulf students going abroad were primarily focused on the cultural level, with Bahrainis going to Lebanon, Kuwaitis going to Egypt and Iraq, and so on. Additionally, teachers from Egypt, Palestine, and Lebanon began arriving in Kuwait

[649]Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah*, p. 132; Al-Jāsim, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir*, p. 14; Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 33; Ṭalāl al-Rashūd, al-Taʻlīm wa-Munāhaḍat al-istiʻmār bʻthāt al-Kuwayt lil-Ṭalabah al-ʻArab 1953-1961 (Education and anti-colonialism: Kuwait scholarships to Arab students 1953-1961), Department of History and Archeology - Kuwait University- YouTube channel https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LjvhvzCHsxA&t=924s (February 2022); Ghubāsh, Ḥusayn, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shuʻūb al-ṣaghīrah*, p. 54

and Bahrain.[650] The increase in primary and secondary education from 1936 to 1978/79 corresponds to the rapid rise in wealth due to oil reserves. The total number of students in public schools increased from 4,665 in 1948/49 to 267,518 in 1978/79. The number of teachers also increased from 198 to 20,624 during the same period.[651]

In the 1930s, a class of students and intellectuals started to emerge, and their impact on political awareness began to appear clearly in their stances towards local and regional political events. For example, a couple of Kuwaiti youths sent a letter to the British Political Resident in Kuwait, H. R. Dickson, during the events in Palestine in the 1930s, objecting to the prosecution policy adopted by the British against the Palestinians in colonized Palestine.[652]

As discussed in the previous section, the Kuwaiti students also actively participated in the incidents surrounding the legislative council. Hamad Al-Rjib, in his book, recounts the events that unfolded, including the influential Khutbah (speech) delivered by Khalid Al-Adasani to the students of Mubarakiya School. Al-Adasani's passionate words encouraged the students to strike against the dissolution of the council, and Al-Rjib vividly describes how they subsequently witnessed crowds of Kuwaiti citizens gathering to listen to a speech by Abdullah Al-Saqer. Notably, Al-Rjib emphasizes that a majority of these citizens were vocal supporters of the council.[653]

Khairy Abul Jebain asserted that the continuous presence of educational missions in Kuwait from Palestine significantly increased Kuwaiti interaction with the Palestinian issue. He cited the Great Revolution of Palestine (Thawrat Filasṭīn al-Kubrá) (1936-

---

[650] Zahlan, *the making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p. 19

[651] Al-Munais, Waleed. "Social and Ethnic Differentiation in Kuwait: A Social Geography of an Indigenous Society." (Doctoral Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1981), p. 55, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161529063.pdf

[652]Early Kuwaiti support for the Palestinian cause is demonstrably evident in contemporary accounts. Newspapers of the period, such as Al-Difa' and Al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿArabīyah, regularly published articles expressing solidarity with the Palestinian people and condemning British Mandate policies. Notably, in 1933, a group of young Kuwaitis penned a letter directly to the British Resident in Kuwait protesting the repression directed towards Palestinians. The events in Palestine had an impact on Kuwait's internal situation and led to the emergence of nationalistic sentiments among the members of the community. This resulted in some activities that took on a nationalistic character, such as organizing national meetings, fundraising, and smuggling weapons to Palestine. Al-Difa', 3 February 1935; Al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿArabīyah, Al-Quds, 13 March 1934; Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 24; Zaḥlān, Al-Khalīj wa-al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (1936-1948), p.6

[653]Al-Rajīb, *Musāfir fī sharāyīn al-waṭan*, p. 57, 72-75

1938) as an example, during which symposiums and meetings were held to discuss “the Palestinian struggle against the Jews”. Additionally, donation campaigns were conducted, and Kuwaiti women generously contributed, even donating their jewelry.[654] This was further corroborated by Palestinian newspapers like Al-Difā‘ reports, emphasizing the vital role the "Arab woman" in Kuwait played in advocating for the Palestinian cause.[655]

Ahmed Al-Khatib, in his memoir, further corroborates the influence of Palestinian teachers on the nationalistic and political awareness of students. He recounts, "In the Mubarakiya School, I was introduced to the nationalistic sense instilled by teachers brought from Palestine, who had themselves been threatened by the British and the Zionists." He further details how these teachers' experiences shaped the students' understanding of the atrocities faced by Palestinians, particularly following the 1936 revolution. Al-Khatib also reveals their admiration for Iraq, stemming from the support provided by Iraqi nationalist forces. This admiration turned to sadness upon the failure of Rashid Ali al Kilani's movement and the death of King Ghazi, whose funeral procession passing through the Mubarakiya school square sparked the anger of the ruler, Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, leading him to withdraw his sons Jaber and Sabah from the school. Al-Khatib further confirms that their teacher, Faisal Al-Taher, even instructed them on gunpowder production, highlighting the profound impact of the struggle in Palestine, particularly "the Arab-British-Zionist conflict."[656]

3.2.2. Student Movements in Kuwait

The early 1940s witnessed the emergence of a politically awareness student population in Kuwait. Two significant protests in 1943 and 1945 marked this awakening. The 1943 strike by female students at al-Qibliya School challenged the established social order by demanding the appointment of a female teacher, highlighting the importance of female education. [657] This early example of students using their voices to advocate

[654] Khayrī Abū al-Jabīn, qiṣṣat ḥayātī fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Kuwayt (2006), part II, chapter III, p. 112-131.
[655] Al-Difā‘ newspaper, 7 Sha’ban 1355, October 23, 1936, third year No. 726, Headline: A meeting in Kuwait for Palestine, sub-heading: Arab women provoke determination to help the afflicted.
[656] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 23
[657] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt, p. 88

for progress fostered a sense of agency and collective action. In 1945, a larger protest erupted following the Ministry of Education's decision to replace the Iraqi curriculum, which had been in use since 1936, with the Egyptian curriculum, perceived as an imposition of foreign influence. This decision fueled resentment towards the authorities and solidified the students' understanding of collective action and political engagement. The distribution of leaflets and calls for strikes further evidenced a growing awareness of political issues and the potential of protest to effect change. [658] One pivotal event, the student strike at Al-Mubarakiya School, was meticulously documented by Hamad Al-Rjib in his book. This strike, fueled by rumours of Ali Haikal's "questionable" behaviour and the perceived implementation of British policies, instilled a potent sense of distrust among students and faculty. This distrust, coupled with a burgeoning desire for transparency and accountability, empowered students to proactively challenge authority. The strike's success, culminating in the resignation of Ali Haikal and the termination of Wakelin's mission, served as a concrete demonstration of the potential for collective action to achieve political goals. According to Al-Rjib, the appointment of Ali Haikal as the head of the education administration, replacing Abd Al-Latif al-Shamlan, coincided with the implementation of the Egyptian curriculum in Kuwait between 1943 and 1950. This period was marked by the emergence of rumors surrounding Haikal's activities, with many believing he was collaborating with Educational Advisor Wakelin to implement British policies within the education system. This perceived collusion sparked outrage among Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti teachers alike, leading to the distribution of pamphlets criticizing Haikal's leadership. Furthermore, the indictment of Hmud al-Muqahwi, the owner of a printing house, and the abduction of Fahad al-Duwairi, an intellectual known for his association with other like-minded individuals, further fueled the growing dissatisfaction. The final straw came when Haikal, in response to Wakelin's directive, attempted to modify the curriculum, prompting the student strike.[659]

[658] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 84; Al-'Awaḍī, 'Alī Ḥusayn, al-'amal al-Ṭullābī .. al-Qā'idah al-asāsīyah lil-'amal al-taṭawwu'ī wa-al-madanī, December 26, 2012, *al-Ṭalī'ah al-Kuwaytīyah newspaper.*

[659] Al-Rajīb, *Musāfir fī sharāyīn al-waṭan*, p. 147-148; *Tārīkh al-Ta'līm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tawthīqīyah* Volume 2, (Kuwait: Ministry of Education, 2002), p 142

Inspired by a collective sense of injustice and a desire for change, students at Al-Mubarakiya School embarked on a strike, chanting anti-establishment slogans targeting Educational Advisor Wakelin and Director of Education (Al-Ma'arif's director) Ali Haikal. Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, head of Al-Ma'arif, intervened in an attempt to quell the unrest and persuade the students to return to their classes. However, the students remained resolute, refusing to comply until their demands were met. This unwavering determination prompted Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber to launch a thorough investigation to identify the leaders orchestrating the strike. The investigation implicated several individuals, including Khalid Abdul-Latif Al-Muslim, Salih Abd al-Malik al-Salih, Abduallah Zakaria al-Ansari, and several other youths, among them Fahad Al-Yousef Al-Duwairi and Hmud al-Muqahwi, owner of Al-Tilmīdh library. Despite denying the charges of incitement and distribution of leaflets upon their incarceration for further investigation, teacher Khalid Al-Muslim had already confessed to his father, who subsequently informed the authorities. This confession set in motion a series of events, culminating in Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber being informed, who in turn informed Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber. The accused individuals were summoned to the schoolyard (Al-Mubarakiya school) and subjected to disciplinary action. Hmud al-Muqahwi received the harshest punishment, attributed to his sole motivation for participating in the strike: his concern for the fate of the Iraqi curriculum books he had already purchased. This episode marked a turning point, leading to Ali Haikal's resignation as the director of Al-Ma'arif and his subsequent replacement by Ahmad Hamdi. By the end of the year, the mission of British Advisor Wakelin was terminated.[660] This historic student strike, albeit seemingly isolated, played a pivotal role in shaping the political landscape of Kuwait. It served as a catalyst for elevating political awareness, fostering political activism among youth, and influencing key decision-making processes within the educational system. The strike brought critical attention to issues of social justice, national identity, and educational autonomy, sparking vital discussions and fostering a nascent sense of national unity. It provided a platform for students to express their dissatisfaction and experiment with collective action, paving the way for future political movements. Moreover, it

[660] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt, p.84-85

demonstrated the transformative power of student voices and their ability to effect concrete changes in educational policy and personnel.

3.2.3. The Kuwaiti Students Abroad

Studying abroad provided Kuwaiti students with a valuable opportunity to broaden their perspectives. They were exposed to a diverse range of political ideologies and fostered a sense of solidarity with other Arab peoples. This exposure fueled their passion to return home and contribute to the development of their own nation.

The early 1940s witnessed the emergence of political awareness among students both in Kuwait and within the growing communities of Kuwaiti students pursuing post-secondary education[661] in Arab and foreign countries. According to the Arab Culture Yearbook (Ḥawlīyāt al-Thaqāfah al-ʻArabīyah), approximately 64 Kuwaiti students were studying in Egypt alone by 1949.[662] Characterized by their political awareness and initiative, Kuwaiti students, both in Kuwait and abroad, quickly rose to become the most active social group. Even in the absence of organized political parties, they actively participated in national strikes and published articles in newspapers, demonstrating their unwavering commitment to social and political progress. Kuwaiti students sent abroad since 1939 played a pivotal role in establishing a framework for student activism, fostering a sense of unity and providing a platform for expressing their aspirations and demands.[663] The first such organization, the "Bait al-Kuwait (Kuwait House)," emerged in Cairo in 1945, reflecting the growing number of Kuwaiti students awarded scholarships to study there from 1943 onwards. This initial success was followed by the establishment of the League of Kuwaiti Students in Britain in 1950. The movement subsequently expanded to Beirut and Alexandria, leading to the formation of Kuwaiti student organizations in both cities by 1964. Finally, on

[661] "In the past, post-secondary education was government-financed and of course meant going abroad to other Arab countries or even to Britain or US. Al-Khaldi, Salem, *Education Policies in the GCC States*, the
GRC Research Papers Series, (the Gulf Research Center: Dubai, 2007),
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/97639/2007-01_Education_Policies_in_GCC_States_Digital_5830.pdf
P. 33,

[662] Al-ṭullāb al-ʻArab fī mukhtalif al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah, *Ḥawlīyat al-Thaqāfah al-ʻArabīyah Magazine*, Issue 1, (January, 1949), p. 38-39 https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/256/18742/423806

[663] Al-Awaḍi, Ali Ḥusayn, *Ruʾyah lil-wāqiʻ al-Ṭullābī: al-Ḥarakah al-ṭullabiyah al-Kuwaytiyah wa-al-tayyarat,(*2000, n.d.), p. 16

December 24th of that same year, the National Union of Kuwaiti Students was established, marking a significant milestone in the development of student activism in Kuwait.[664] It is important to note that the period between the 1920s and 1930s witnessed the establishment of numerous clubs that served as venues for literary and intellectual discourse. These clubs provided a vital platform for students, recent graduates, merchants, educators, and oil company employees to engage in important discussions and contribute to the intellectual and cultural life of Kuwait.[665]

The impact of studying in Iraq on Arab students can be seen through the memoirs of Bader Khaled Al-Bader. In his memoirs, he mentions that in the mid-1920s, Iraq witnessed a terrific Arab awakening as a reaction to Turkish rule that had lasted for almost four centuries. The exciting Arab poems by Arab poets, such as al Rusafi, were recited all day long. Bader also remembers what their teachers used to tell them about the Zionist movement, The Balfour Declaration, and the news of the demonstrations that took place in Baghdad due to the Zionist emigration and the Belfour Declaration. These demonstrations were led by two young men; one was an Iraqi called Yusuf Zainal, and the other was a Lebanese called Mohieddine al-Nsouli, who came from a well-known Lebanese family and was a teacher in one of the schools in Baghdad, as Bader recalls. The police arrested some protestors, including these two young men, and exiled them to Al-Faw (South of Basra). Undoubtedly, this was recommended by the British authorities, as these events took place in 1927 when Iraq was under British mandate.[666]

The early 1950s witnessed a significant rise in political awareness among Kuwaiti students residing in Lebanon. This phenomenon was largely driven by the influence of Khaled Al-Adasani, secretary of the dissolved Legislative Council (1938), who fled Kuwait in the face of regime persecution. Al-Adasani's book, "Half a Year of Parliamentary Rule in Kuwait," smuggled into Kuwait by Marzouq Fahd al-Marzouq, catalyzed political engagement among students. Despite facing prosecution for his

[664] Al-ʻAwaḍī, al-ʻamal al-Ṭullābī . al-Qāʻidah al-asāsīyah lil-ʻamal al-taṭawwuʻī wa-al-madanī, December 26, 2012, al-Ṭalīʻah al-Kuwaytīyah newspaper; ʻAbd al-Majīd Muṣṭafá, ʻUthmān fyẓ Allāh, *Dirāsāt ʻan al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī,* p. 333; Bayt al-Kuwayt bi-Miṣr, *al-Baʻthah,* Issue 1, (January 1946), p. 4-5 https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/122/5483/133107

[665] Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, 53

[666] Al-Badr, Badr Khālid, *Riḥlat maʻa Qāfilat al-ḥayāh, (*Kuwait, n.d., 2004), p. 2

actions, Marzouq's youth and family connections provided him with a degree of protection. This period also saw the establishment of a cultural club by Kuwaiti students in Beirut. Initiated by a group of secondary education students, al-Khatib, Marzouq Fahd al-Marzouq, and Abdullah Yusuf al-Ghanem, the club served as a platform for their initial foray into national activism. Ahmed al-Khatib, in his memoirs, attributes the creation of the club to the prevailing political climate and their connections with figures like Al-Adasani and al-Marzouq. These factors, combined with a desire to contribute to Kuwait's development, fueled their early efforts. Al-Khatib further highlights their collaborative efforts with Kuwaiti students in Egypt, demonstrating a coordinated approach to fostering political awareness. It is noteworthy that all club activities and journalism were strictly prohibited during this period, a measure implemented following the dissolution of the Legislative Council in 1939. Despite these restrictions, a group of students managed to secure permission from Sheikh Ahmed al-Jaber to establish their club. This feat was achieved through the mediation of Yusuf Ahmad al-Ghanem, father of Abdullah Yusuf al-Ghanem and a close confidant of the Emir. Unfortunately, internal disputes among the students in Kuwait ultimately led to the club's dissolution before it could fully materialize. [667]

Due to the high tuition fees, enrollment at the American University of Beirut was predominantly limited to affluent Kuwaiti students. Bader Thanian, described by Ahmed al-Khatib as a witty, friendly, and fervent nationalist, was among those who joined his fellow Kuwaitis in Lebanon. Al-Khatib's memoirs shed light on the prevailing circumstances in Lebanon and their impact on the political awakening of Kuwaiti students. He describes how these conditions facilitated his interaction with Kuwaitis from a previously inaccessible social class – the wealthy students. Al-Khatib emphasizes the significance of this group due to their financial resources, strong connections with decision-makers, and the historical role some played in national work. This factor, according to al-Khatib, significantly enriched national efforts in Kuwait after the failure of the Legislative Council in 1939. It served to bridge the gap between the common people and the affluent class. However, al-Khatib also acknowledges the sense of alienation and disinterest experienced by the common

[667] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 38-42

people, who perceived the political landscape as a power struggle between the ruling elite and the merchants. [668]

3.2.4. The Influence of Nasserism on Kuwaiti Students

Hamad Al-Rjib's memoirs offer valuable insights into the political awareness of Kuwaiti students in Egypt. He vividly recounts his participation in weekly protests, often met with police brutality. According to Al-Rjib, Cairo was "simmering with patriotic and nationalist sentiment," with the Palestinian cause occupying a central place in the minds of Egyptian and Arab youth [669].

This burgeoning political awareness became increasingly apparent in the 1950s, as students actively participated in various events and strikes. Notably, high school students in Al-Shuwaikh joined a protest organized by the Arab Nationalist Movement in Kuwait in 1963, demonstrating their support for the tripartite union between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. The same year, the idea of Kuwaiti participation in the union gained significant popular support, prompting 12 members of the National Assembly to propose joining the unity talks. However, this proposal ultimately failed to secure enough votes for approval. The Arab Nationalist Movement also advocated for Kuwait's inclusion in the United Arab Republic, formed by the Union of Egypt and Syria in 1958. This stance was disseminated through various affiliated institutions, including the "al-Rābiṭah al-Kuwaytīyah" (Kuwaiti League), which submitted a statement to the ruler of Kuwait advocating for this move. Additionally, Al-Fajr newspaper, published by the Alumni Club, served as a platform for promoting these ideas.[670]

Founded on February 2, 1955, Al-Fajr newspaper provided a platform for covering local, Arab, and international events, taking a firm stance in support of nationalism and freedom, often with a sharp and critical voice. However, it also served as a champion of Kuwaiti society's nationalist role, highlighting its contributions to the

[668] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 43-44
[669] Al-Rajīb, *Musāfir fī sharāyīn al-waṭan*, p. 173; Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*, p. 202.
[670] Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh (1953-1973), Documentary Committee emanating from the Supreme Committee for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Al-Shuwaikh high-school, Ministry of Education. (Kuwait, n.d, 2005).

defence and support of Arab causes, reflecting the growing political awareness within the community.

For example, issue number 14, published on May 4, 1955, dedicated its front page titled "al-Ittijāh al-ṣaḥīḥ" to address the public's demands for a permanent constitution, the formation of a founding association, and the adoption of a national charter. Similarly, issue number 17, dated June 1, 1955, captured the public's desire for a single, unified assembly to govern the state, replacing the fragmented system of separate councils for municipal, health, and educational affairs. Al-Fajr recognized these reforms as vital safeguards against potential collapse and chaos. In this same issue, the newspaper called upon all segments of society to sign a public petition presented to Emir Abdullah Al-Salim, advocating for the establishment of a single, democratically elected assembly.[671]

Al-Khatib observes that newspapers in the 1950s consistently advocated for solidarity and support for the liberation movements in the Maghreb. Additionally, they criticized Arab governments for policies deemed detrimental to the broader nationalist cause, causing embarrassment for Kuwait. Of particular note is al-Khatib's renowned article, "O Gamal, this is your petrol," published in issue number 55 of Al-Fajr newspaper on December 2, 1958. In it, he directly addresses Gamal Abdel Nasser, asserting that Arab oil belongs to the entire Arab nation and demanding its utilization for the collective benefit. Al-Khatib argues that Arabs cannot find peace or progress while their resources are exploited by colonizers or squandered on lavish palaces and frivolous luxuries. He emphasizes the desire for every resource to be channelled towards the construction of a unified and glorious Arab state, even if it means sacrificing material comfort in exchange for freedom and self-determination.[672]

3.2.5. The Role of Student Organizations in Supporting Nationalist and Arab Struggles

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Kuwaiti students played an active role in Arab political events. Notably, Ahmed al-Khatib, alongside the group " Al-‘Urwah al-

[671] Al-Fajr newspaper, issue 25, 5 May 1958
[672] Al-Fajr newspaper, issue 55, 2 December 1958

wuthqá," demonstrated a strong aversion towards military intervention in politics. Opposed to coups d'état, they refused any affiliation with military organizations. Initially, they greeted the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 with skepticism and opposition. However, their stance shifted following the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the Tripartite Aggression (Suez Crisis) [673] of 1956. During this year, Kuwaiti students spearheaded the denunciation of the Tripartite Aggression against Egypt, urging the Kuwaiti authorities to allow their participation in the conflict.[674] This marked a turning point, as Kuwaiti students continued to engage with political developments in the Arab world, actively supporting nationalist and pan-Arab struggles. Consequently, the first student organizations in Kuwait emerged, both within the country and abroad. In 1957, the Local Union of Secondary School Students was established at Al-Shuwaikh secondary school, publishing a regular bulletin titled "Al-Nashra" (The Bulletin). This led to government intervention and the subsequent dissolution of the bloc in 1959.[675] Meanwhile, the growing number of Kuwaiti students in Egypt formed the Union of Kuwaiti Scholarship Students under the auspices of "Bait al-Kuwait" (Kuwait House), established in 1945.[676] Subsequently, the League of Kuwaiti Students and the National Union of Kuwaiti Students were founded.

It is crucial to recognize that Kuwaiti secondary school students were not simply passive recipients of nationalist ideology disseminated by their Egyptian teachers. Instead, they actively participated in shaping the nationalist character of school life. By the late 1950s, following years of nationalist education and the burgeoning opposition movement within Kuwait, a vibrant activist current emerged among secondary school students. This phenomenon manifested demonstrably in February 1958 with the establishment of the Kuwait Student Union by Baʿthist Kuwaiti students at the Shuwaikh Secondary School.[677] This union played a pivotal role in organizing the celebration of the United Arab Republic's formation in February 1958. Notably, its president, the Baʿthist Fayṣal al-Ṣāniʿ, and another member served on the editorial

[673] al-ʿAdwān al-thulāthī ʿalá Miṣr
[674] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 54
[675]Al-ʿAwaḍī, al-ʿamal al-Ṭullābī .al-Qāʿidah al-asāsīyah lil-ʿamal al-taṭawwuʿī wa-al-madanī, December 26, 2012, al-Ṭalīʿah al-Kuwaytīyah newspaper.
[676] Bayt al-Kuwayt bi-Miṣr, *al-Baʿthah*, Issue 1, (January 1946), p. 4-5
[677] Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh (1953-1973), p. 186; Al-Mudayris, albʿthywn fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʿArabīyah, p. 24

board of al-Yaqẓah, further solidifying their influence in shaping the nationalist discourse. Despite the union's dissolution alongside other clubs in Kuwait in February 1959, student activism continued to flourish. By the early 1960s, student protests had become increasingly common, occasionally erupting into violence. A notable instance occurred in 1961 when students at the Girls' Secondary School went on strike in support of Algeria and subsequently "assaulted their (Egyptian) headmistress," prompting the British Ambassador to remark: "This would suggest that it is now the pupils and not the teachers who make the running."[678]

The tripartite union formed between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq in 1963 sparked a demonstration in support of this unity by students at Al-Shuwaikh secondary school. Furthermore, political events in Iraq significantly influenced student protests in Kuwait. Following Iraqi President Abdul Salam Arif's (1963-1966) revolution against Abd al-Karim Qasim (1958-1963), who had maintained hostile relations with Kuwait, students took to the streets to express their support for Arif.[679] This protest serves as a crucial indicator of how external threats from neighboring powers contributed to the development of political awareness among the population of the region, particularly in Kuwait.

In March 1965, the abrupt dismissal of hundreds of employees by the British Petroleum Company of Kuwait (BAPCO)[680] triggered widespread unrest. Initially, students expressed their solidarity with the sacked workers by initiating a strike. Subsequently, various political groups that had operated clandestinely for the past decade mobilized to support the cause. This collective action led to the formation of the National Front for Progressive Force, which advocated for a nationwide general strike. Riots and demonstrations erupted throughout the country, with citizens openly defying the police and voicing their frustration with the government's handling of the situation. The cause of the dismissed workers garnered significant support across Kuwait, uniting disparate groups in their demand for justice and improved labour

[678] Al-Rashoud, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*, p. 306-307
[679] "Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh (1953-1973), p. 229. Please refer to the appendix, which features photographs of student protests in 1963. One picture depicts support for the tripartite union among Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, while the other illustrates demonstrations in support of the Iraqi Prime Minister, Abdul Salam Arif. (Appendix 13)
[680] The Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO)

conditions. However, despite the initial momentum, the government ultimately reasserted its authority, forcing the National Front to disband without achieving its objectives.[681]

Upon the return of numerous Kuwaiti students who were members of nationalist movements, particularly the Arab nationalist movement, from Egyptian universities, they began organizing their efforts in Kuwait among the local population. They established effective cells of the Arab nationalist movement in their emirate, making Kuwait the main headquarters of the Arab nationalists in the Gulf.[682] Some Kuwaiti students, including Ahmed al-Khatib, who studied at a US university in Beirut and was one of the founders of the Arab nationalist movement in Kuwait in the early 1950s, played a significant role in promoting political stances in support of Arab issues, particularly those supporting Gamal Abdel Nasser.[683] In addition, many public leagues and associations were founded and played an active role in Kuwaiti society, both politically and socially, following the enactment of Law 24 of 1962 on clubs and public benefit associations in Kuwait. The total number of clubs, associations, and public leagues exceeded twenty [684].

These associations played a significant role in the social and political development of Kuwait, exceeding fifty in number by the end of the 1990s. [685] In Third World countries lacking formal party systems, public benefit associations serve as alternative platforms for political engagement. [686] Encompassing unions, clubs, and public leagues, these organizations have evolved into quasi-political institutions, pursuing political goals without explicitly adopting a political identity. [687] The role of public

[681] Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, 58
[682] Al-Hindī, Hānī, Al-Naṣrāwī, ‘Abd al-Ilāh, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab nash’atuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā ‘abra wathā’iqihā, (1951-1968), *al-Jarīdah Newspaper*, Baghdad, issued by the Arab Socialist Movement, (March 12, 2006).
[683] Al-Saddānī, Nūrīyah, *Al-jamā‘āt alḍāghṭh: al-quwá al-ṭullābīyah al-Kuwaytīyah (1943-1984), (*Kuwait, Maṭbū‘āt Dār al-siyāsah, 1985), p. 80-81
[684] For more details, see: Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash’at al-tajammu‘āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975)*.
[685] Asīrī, *Al-niẓām al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt : Mabādi’ wa-mumārasāt*, p. 354.
[686] Since the late 1940s, most political parties in the Arab world have had party branches in Kuwait that operate secretly. For example, there are the Arab Nationalist Movement, the Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party, the Nasserist Movement, the Communists, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Hizb al-Tahrir.
[687] For more information on civil society, see: Crystal, Jill, Civil Society in the Arabian Gulf, In *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Volume Two, ed., Augustus Richard Norton, (Leiden, New York, Koln:

benefit associations in Kuwait extends beyond serving members' professional and social needs. They have actively addressed internal issues such as political participation, women's political rights, and human rights, while also taking stances on external issues, including those impacting the Arab region and the Palestinian cause. The Alumni Association, founded in 1964 by 15 graduates from Egypt, Lebanon, and the UK, exemplifies this commitment. [688] Their objective, to foster cultural awareness among citizens and strengthen ties with other Arab associations to advance the Arab nation, underscores the association's strong interest in Arab nationalism.[689]

Upon its establishment, Alumni Association, like other public benefit associations, actively engaged in cultural, social, and political activities. These activities encompassed organizing seminars and political conferences, signing political declarations, and participating in public forums and discourse festivals. Through these activities, the Association criticized the regime's stance on various issues, including constitutional defense, parliamentary experience, human rights, and women's political rights. On the external front, Alumni Association adopted political stances towards nationalist issues, such as the "Arab-Zionist struggle" and the national liberation movements in the Gulf. As noted by Baqer Al-Najjar in his study "Civil Society in the Gulf," the Association was known for its consistent advocacy for political participation and its staunchly nationalist positions.[690]

Since its inception, the association has prioritized the Palestine Issue, allocating a significant portion of its activities to this cause. This commitment is evidenced by the numerous seminars organized and solidarity declarations issued by the association. In its official booklet, the association explicitly acknowledges the Palestine Issue as a

---

Brill, 1996), p. 259-286; Khuri, Fuad I., *Tribe and State in Bahrain: The Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State*, (Chicago, London: the University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 154.

[688] Ibrahim Al-Shatti, Ahmed Ali Al-Duaij, Khalid Al-Kharafi, Suleiman Abdul-Razzaq Al-Mutawa, Abdul-Rahman Khalid Al-Ghunaim, Abdul-Rahman Al-Awadi, Abdul-Aziz Al-Ahmad Al-Bahr, Abdul-Wahhab Muhammad, d. Ali Al-Atawna, Faisal Al Mazeedi, Laila Muhammad Hussein, Muhammad Abdullah Al-Sanea, Muhammad Musaed Al-Saleh, Muhammad Al-Sayed Abdul-Mohsen Al-Rifai, Youssef Muhammad Al-Saleh.

[689] *Jam'īyat al-Khirrījīn, masīrat al-ta'sīs wa-al-'aṭā' 1964-1994*, (Kuwait: Qirṭās House for publication and distribution, 1995), P. 6-7; Jam'īyat al-Khirrījīn, al-niẓām al-asāsī (Alumni Association, Statute, 1964), p. 3

[690] Al-Najjār, "Al-mujtama' al-madanī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah", In: Al-mujtama' al-madanī fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī wa-dawruhu fī taḥqīq al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah, Sa'īd Binsa'īd al-'Alawī et al., Vol. 01, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1992), p. 582.

primary concern of the Arab world and a central focus of their organization's efforts. This dedication manifested in the International Seminar on Palestine held in February 1971, co-organized with the General Union of Students in Palestine. The event brought together 500 Arab and foreign intellectuals and thinkers to engage in a comprehensive discussion of the Palestine Issue's history, the ongoing revolution, and its multifaceted challenges.[691]

Returning to the National Union of Kuwaiti Students, the 1950s and 1960s witnessed a surge in popularity for the Arab nationalist movement led by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Kuwaiti student groups embraced Nasser's positions and championed his ideology. The union's publications, such as the book "The Gulf or the Second Palestine," reflected its unwavering support for Arab unity, independence, the liberation of Palestine, and socialism. The book's introduction highlighted the union's relentless efforts since its inception to expose the complexities of the Gulf situation through all available means and to mobilize its members to garner widespread attention from Arab and international audiences. Notably, the union sought to emphasize to Arab youth that "the Gulf issue was just as dangerous as the Palestinian case, and that what was happening in the Gulf was similar to what occurred in Palestine before 1948 when Zionism utilized all available means to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine." [692]

The union had a look at the future of the region concerning the period that would follow the British withdrawal from the Gulf. In this regard, the executive board stated that prior to 1971, communications and meetings between the public benefit associations in the Gulf were ongoing to make necessary preparations and fill the military vacuum. They believed that “Britain could not give up its oil interests and therefore, it mobilized the public benefit associations to serve its economic and strategic goals in the region.” [693]

Regarding the Iranian government's allegations of owning some regions in the Gulf and organizing illegal migration, the National Union of Students of Kuwait stated that these issues had been planned by Britain for a long time to maintain a power balance

[691] *Jam‘īyat al-Khirrījīn, masīrat al-ta’sīs wa-al-‘aṭā’ 1964-1994*, p. 76-79, 8.1
[692] Al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī li-ṭalabat al-Kuwayt, al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī aw, Filasṭīn thānīyah, (July 1969), p.9
[693] Ibid.

and hinder communist penetration.[694]As for the project of unity between the emirates in the region, the union's executive board saw it as a firm plan to serve economic and strategic interests, and not to protect the Arab people in the Gulf from foreign migration, maintain territorial unity, extract petrol wealth for socio-economic development, or improve the people's living standards in the region.[695]

The National Union of the Students of Kuwait's book states that colonialism took advantage of the tribal system to pursue goals beyond its purported objectives. It shifted the struggle from one between colonialism and national forces to one between tribes for power or between families of the same tribe for the rule. To survive, a family or tribe needed to form an alliance with the colonial power and abide by its orders and commands, precisely as colonialism desired.[696]

The political awareness of the National Union of Kuwaiti Students regarding Iranian influence in Kuwait is evident in its publications. According to the union, the most prominent manifestation of Iranian political influence in Kuwait was during the 1960s, particularly in 1969, when they won three seats in the previous National Assembly and seven in the subsequent one, which the union referred to as "fake." The Iranian influence was also seen in their ability to gain supporters through sectarian cooperation, which they had been doing for a long time. The Iranians also had a presence in the National Assembly, and there was a phenomenon of "agents" in the other Gulf emirates. They managed to secure business agencies for some members of the ruling family and other officials, such as the agent of the official buildings and Sheikh So-and-so's commercial agent.[697]

Regarding the Iranian presence in Kuwait, the book of the National Union of the Students of Kuwait mentions that during the events of the tripartite union between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq in 1963, a demonstration was organized against one of the protests that supported the charter of the tripartite unity which had been established in Kuwait. A highly organized Iranian protest faced it, in order to separate the Arab

[694] Ibid, p. 9, 27-28
[695] Ibid, p. 10
[696] Ibid, p. 30
[697] Ibid, p. 83

protestors. When they had successfully separated the protestors, they suddenly disappeared in an organized way.[698]

The memoirs of Arab nationalist youths, such as the Damascus letters of Sami Kleib and Faisal Jalloul, offer insight into the Arab students' reaction to the Shah of Iran's occupation of the islands of the Arab Emirates. “While the Gulf regimes remained silent, the public and international community denounced this act”. The memoirs detail how students from Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia, along with their counterparts from various Arab nations, organized a protest march in Damascus. Starting from the headquarters of the Arab students' unions, they marched towards the Iranian embassy in Abu Rummaneh, despite strict security measures. Although urged not to harm the ambassador, employees, or furniture, the excited and outraged protestors ended up damaging the embassy property. The Syrian police eventually intervened and dispersed the crowd.[699]

On October 22, 1973, the UN Security Council approved a joint US-USSR project to end the war in the Middle East. Despite the Security Council's decision to cease fire, the National Union of Kuwaiti Students issued a statement denouncing the cease-fire and calling for the fight to continue. Students at Kuwait University's organizations went on strike, gathered in Al Khaldiya square, and demanded that the student energies be harnessed to serve the battle, emphasizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. They also declared their support for the armed struggle until the liberation of the entire Palestinian territory. The National Union of the Students of Kuwait's stance was because they believed that the cease-fire would guarantee enlarged and secured frontiers for the Zionist entity, resulting at the end of Palestinian resistance.[700]

In conclusion, the history of political awareness among Kuwaiti students reveals a remarkable legacy of critical thinking, activism, and commitment to national causes. From their early protests against educational reforms to their unwavering support for the Palestinian struggle and their vocal opposition to foreign intervention, Kuwaiti

[698] Ibid, p. 85
[699] Jallūl, Fayṣal, Kulayb, Sāmī, *al-rasā'il al-Dimashqyah: wāḥid wa-'ishrūn kātiban 'Arabīyan yarwun yawmyātihim al-Shāmīyah, (*Beirut: Dar al-Fārābī, 2017), p. 35-36
[700] Al-Qabas, Newspaper, Iḍrāb Ṭullābī fī Jāmi'at al-Kuwayt, Issue 521, October 26, 1973, Issue 520, October 25, 1973, p. 3.

students have consistently demonstrated a deep understanding of their role as agents of change within their society. Their journey began with the introduction of modern education, which provided them with the tools to analyze their surroundings, question authority, and dream of a better future. Palestinian teachers played a pivotal role in this process, instilling in their students a sense of national identity and a deep empathy for the plight of fellow Arabs. The experiences of studying abroad further broadened the perspectives of Kuwaiti students, exposing them to diverse political ideologies and fostering a sense of solidarity with other Arab peoples. This exposure fueled their desire to return home and contribute to the development of their own nation. The formation of student movements provided a platform for students to express their political demands and raise awareness about social and national issues. Through strikes, demonstrations, and publications, they challenged the status quo and advocated for greater freedoms and a more just society. The National Union of Kuwaiti Students served as a unifying force for students across various universities, amplifying their voices and influencing the national discourse. The union's commitment to Arab unity, the Palestinian cause, and the fight for social justice continues to inspire generations of students to engage in political activism. The intricate relationship between education, political awareness, and national identity is evident throughout the history of Kuwaiti students. Their experiences demonstrate how knowledge and critical thinking can empower individuals to become active agents of social and political change.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG LABOR: MARITIME AND OIL WORKERS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the political awareness and activism that emerged among maritime and oil workers. It analyzes how the transition from a traditional, seafaring economy to an oil-based one shaped the lives and aspirations of these workers, and how they navigated the challenges and opportunities presented by this new reality. The chapter argues that the political awareness among maritime and oil workers in Kuwait was shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including the harsh working conditions and exploitation experienced by workers in both pre-oil and oil sectors, the influence of leftist and nationalist ideologies brought by Arab workers and the rise of communist organizations, the struggles and successes of labor strikes in demanding better working conditions and wages, and the support and collaboration of the Arab Nationalist Movement with the labor movement. This chapter contributes to the understanding of labor movements in the Gulf region and highlights the role of workers in shaping political and social change.

The discovery of oil (post-1939) and its subsequent exportation (in 1946) [701] had a profound impact on the lives of individuals in the region. Substantial investments were poured into the Burgan oil field, transportation and shipping infrastructure was constructed, and oil commenced commercial exportation through Mina Al Ahmadi Port. This spurred the construction process, revitalized the local market, and created employment opportunities for labourers following the establishment of oil industry facilities and the consequent decline of the traditional economy (pearl diving, navigation). It bridged the gap caused by the recession in pearl markets,[702] rendering

[701] In September 1948, Kuwait's oil production reached 50% of what it was in June. According to the Wall Street Journal, this production averaged 157506 barrels per day in September. Al-Muqaṭṭam newspaper, Cairo, 20 November 1948 Main heading: The importance of the Middle Eastern oil, while a separate article in the same newspaper on 6 November 1948, issue 18537, highlighted the increase in Kuwaiti oil production.

[702] The pearl diving trade deteriorated due to various factors, including the recession of the 1930s, the emergence of industrial pearls, the decline of the maritime transportation trade, and the disappearance of some crafts such as ship construction and other maritime-related jobs. For more information, please

redundant the trade sector, which had been the emirate's primary budgetary financier through customs taxes levied on imported goods. Socially, the discovery of oil ushered in significant transformations in society's fabric, gradually steering the population away from tribal life towards a more urbanized society, introducing new traditions and values that challenged established norms within Gulf societies. The discovery also gave rise to a new labor stratum that played a pivotal role in the development of political awareness and the subsequent Nationalist Movement. Before the 1930s, there had been no labor stratum, in its current meaning, in the region. There were scattered sectors, including fishermen, port and ship workers, and pearl divers who suffered the exploitation of ship owners and were in a continual state of indebtedness. They showed rejection movements that can be considered a form of strike resulting from an awareness of their rights, not from political awareness in the literal meaning. These movements included the pearl divers' uprisings in Bahrain against exploiters in 1919 and another series of uprisings in 1926-1932.[703]

4.2. Early Labor Activism in Pre-Oil Kuwait: The Case of the Divers' Strike

The first labor strike in Kuwait occurred in the late 1920s when divers, exploited by the commercial bourgeoisie, refused to work due to insufficient wages and quasi-feudal production relationships. These relationships saw the divers as "serfs" bound to their ships, indebted to the ship owners even for their food. As described by Abdullah Al-Hatem, the divers' grievances led to a strike, prompting the intervention of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah (1921-1950). The Sheikh, recognizing the divers as

refer to: Ḥusayn, ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, al-taṭawwur al-iqtiṣādī al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt wa-atharuhu fī Niẓām al-ʻamal wa-ḥayāt al-ʻUmmāl *al-waḍʻ al-ijtimāʻī,* (January 1954), p. 5-6; Rumayḥī, *al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʻī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970*

[703] The recession of pearls, which coincided with the international economic crisis of 1929-1933, led to the deterioration of economic circumstances and a decrease in revenues. Moreover, it resulted in an increase in mistreatment and violations against divers during their work, which led to troubles among them. These troubles culminated in an armed upheaval by approximately 1500 workers on May 26, 1932, who attacked a police center with sticks and metal bars and managed to free one of their colleagues. These movements expressed the political awareness of Bahraini workers, who were the first in the Gulf emirates to show political awareness because oil was discovered in Bahrain first. See: al-ʻUbaydī, Samīr Judhūr al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn (1932-1939), *Al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, vol 32, issue 364, (June 2009), p. 89-107; Al-Rumayḥī, ʻTajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981', p.91-107; Al-Fahd, ʻAbd al-Rāziq Muṭlak, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-ʻummālīyah fī al-Baḥrayn (History of the Labor Movement in Bahrain), *Dirāsāt ʻArabīyah,* Issue 10-11, August / September 1985, p. 6-7; Al-Rumayḥī, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, p. 42

"balancing powers" in society, approved their demands, resulting in the resumption of work. [704] However, the divers' struggle continued. In 1925, they launched a general strike against ship owners, further highlighting their precarious financial situation. These early labor actions demonstrate the divers' agency in challenging the exploitative dynamics of their work and their role in shaping Kuwait's pre-independence political landscape. [705]

In his book, Abdullah Al-Hatem mentions that the first labor strike in Kuwait occurred in the late 1920s when many divers refused to work due to insufficient wages, which did not match the various risks and burdens of diving. The employers complained to Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, who suggested a compromise that exempted the divers from their debts for that year. Everyone agreed, and work resumed. However, it should also be noted that the diving workers' stratum, which was a large stratum in society, was exploited by the commercial bourgeoisie through quasi-feudal production relationships. In these relationships, the diver was a serf in his coercive relation with the production means (the ship). The ship owner was the one who gained while the ordinary individual became a debtor to the owner and even owed the ship owner the fees for his food during the journey. The labor, including the diving and ship workers, suffered from the exploitation of the bourgeois.

During the transition of the Kuwaiti economy from a commercial, navigational, semi-feudal, maritime economy into an oil-based economy managed by oil companies and related to the global capitalist market, certain features of the political awareness of the workers in this field can be observed. After most Kuwaiti families shifted from the craft of pearl diving into Nūkhadhah (trade through commercial ships), some families, like Al Qudaibi family, survived bankruptcy after the pearl trade collapsed. Saqer Ghanem al Qudaibi, born in 1911, was one of the well-known figures from this family. He studied at the Mubarakiya and Ahmadiya schools and later became one of the

[704] For further information, see: Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p.124.Alebrahim, *Kuwait's Politics Before Independence*, p. 114. (Appendix 6)
[705] For further information, see: Ḥusayn, al-taṭawwur al-iqtiṣādī al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt wa-atharuhu fī Niẓām al-'amal wa-ḥayāt al-'Ummā, p.6-5; Al-Mudayris, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-'ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt p.27-74.

leading Kuwaiti "Nūkhadhah."[706] As noted in previous chapters, in 1938, al-Nūkhadhah Ahmed al Qudaibi asked one of the famous Kuwaiti ship makers to build a new ship for al Qudaibi family. Thus, the "Rahsid" named Rashid Ali al-Kilani was built and was called "the perfect" due to its distinctiveness. It later became one of the most famous and beautiful ships in Kuwait and the Gulf, although it started decreasing and eventually stopped at the beginning of the 1950s.[707]

As for Mohammad al-Qatami, he was known in Kuwait more as a politician than a Nūkhadhah. His name was associated with the "Year of the Majlis" in 1938/1939. Despite this, he was described as a good and well-trained Nūkhadhah, having effectively led the ship "Al Hissan" (Horse), which was initially used for transporting fresh water before being converted into a travel ship. According to Nokhetha Bader al-Qatami, his father Abdulwahab Al-Qatami led the ship "Al-Daw" during the year of the Majlis, and despite his deep sorrow over the death of his brother Mohammad in Kuwait, he did not share his political views. He used to advise his son, saying that the members of Al-Qatami family were sailors (Ahlu Bahr/sea people), not politicians and that they had to focus on the sea to earn a living from it. When Mohammad was killed, Abdulwahab said, "What I was afraid of happened."[708]

Regarding the harbour workers' strike, Khudair Shaaban Bu Shaaban (born 1936), a veteran of maritime labour, harbours, and customs, states that the first strike in 1948 by Kuwaiti port and customs workers involved sailors and Nūkhadhah demanding wage increases. He recounts, "Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salim arrived and talked to them, and they subsequently resumed their work. This was at a time when Shuwaikh Port was the heart of transportation and activity."[709] Ya'qub Al-Hijji, however, argues that the era of oil seemingly fostered disdain for all things related to the sea. The Kuwaiti Nūkhadhah, once cornerstones of Kuwait's economic life, found themselves marginalized and relegated to silence at home. Some Nūkhadhah sought employment

[706] For more information see: Al-Hijji, Yacoub Yusuf, *Kuwait and the Sea: A Brief Social and Economic History*, (London: Arabian Publishing Ltd, 2010), p. 130; Al-Ḥajjī, *Nawākhidhat al-safar al-shirā'ī fī al-Kuwayt*, p.23-24.
[707] Ibid, p.26, 32
[708] Ibid, p.62
[709] Al-Hājirī, Manṣūr Khalaf ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣafaḥāt Kuwaytīyah bayna al-māḍī wa-al-ḥāḍir : 'alá Lisān min 'āyashuhā waṣana'uhā min abnā' al-dīrah wa ikhwānihim al-'Arab,* (Kuwait: Manṣūr al-Hājirī, 2010), P. 81

as guides for commercial ships in Shuwaikh harbour, accepting meagre government wages for their services.[710]

4.3. Labor and Politics: The Intertwined Rise of Skilled Labor, Leftism, and Nationalism

Western oil companies initially absorbed unskilled laborers, including divers, for the construction and establishment of pipelines and ports. However, the discovery of oil attracted skilled Arab and foreign workers possessing a higher level of cultural and professional expertise compared to the Kuwaiti workforce. By the early 1950s, with all oil-related facilities established, these companies and entrepreneurs laid off most Kuwaiti workers. This was largely due to the lack of professional training among the Kuwaiti workforce, as oil production required highly skilled personnel. Consequently, most Kuwaiti workers found employment in the government's newly established institutions and administration, performing roles such as errand boys, couriers, drivers, and service personnel. The subsequent large-scale land acquisitions further pushed many into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, becoming small merchants or landowners.[711] This created a two-tiered Kuwaiti labor force: those employed by government organizations for a salary and those working in the oil sector, characterized by its large-scale production and stratified nature. The latter category included production workers who directly experienced exploitation of their efforts by the oil companies. [712]

Following the transition to an oil-based economy, thousands of former sailors, fishermen, and shepherds transitioned to the oil sector, forming a distinct labour stratum equipped with new tools of production. Despite the illiteracy of most members (approximately 30% of the population), their circumstances fostered both nationalist and class awareness. This led workers to recognize that the oppression and harassment they faced stemmed not solely from individual companies or entrepreneurs, but rather from the colonial system itself. Furthermore, they understood that achieving their

[710] Al-Ḥajjī, *Nawākhidhat al-safar al-shirā'ī fī al-Kuwayt,* p.12
[711] Al-Mudayris, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-'ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt, p.27-74.
[712] Al-Ṣāliḥ, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, bayna mafhumyn lil-Ḥizb wa-ḍarūratuhu, *al-Nahj Magazine,* (February 1985), No 7, P. 105.

desired social security, work stability, and living standards required systemic change. While trade unions remained banned by the colonial authorities, this burgeoning awareness fueled public discontent, contributing to numerous nationalist uprisings. The spontaneous awareness of this young labour force, primarily focused on better wages and working conditions, manifested in a series of strikes during 1948, 1950, and 1952.[713] Workers demanded improvements in housing, organized health services, and the abolition of physical punishments. Additionally, they faced union suppression and wage inequality, with English and Indian workers (as British nationals) receiving significantly higher wages than Kuwaiti and Arab workers. For example, a Kuwaiti driver's daily wage was 3 Rupees, while an Indian driver received 14.[714] These circumstances gave rise to the spontaneous awareness of the labour stratum, leading to calls for better working conditions and wages, culminating in numerous strikes across the oil fields.

As previously mentioned, the arrival of Arabs in the region, including leftists (progressive leftists) from Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, as well as the migration of many Iraqi and Iranian communists and leftists to Kuwait in the early fifties to escape the Iraqi authorities during the royal era, and the defeat of the nationalist rule of Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh in Iran,[715] had a clear impact in paving the way for the spread of Marxist thought among workers and some Kuwaiti intellectuals. This was mainly due to the Marxist organizations working in neighboring countries such as Iran and Iraq, which aimed to expand their activities to reach the Kuwaiti arena. The Iranian Communist Party "Tudeh" decided in its meeting on June 10, 1946, in Tehran to send

[713] Al-ʻAbd Allāh, Fahd Ibrāhīm, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt (2) : al iḍrābāt al-ʻummālīyah al-ūlá, *al-Ṭalīʻah,* Issue 796, (8 June 1983); Al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī li-ṭalabat al-Kuwayt, al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī aw, Filasṭīn thānīyah, p.41

[714] For more information on the development of Marxist thought in Kuwaiti society, please refer to the works of Falah al Al-Mdairis, which discuss the factors and circumstances involved: Al-Mudayris, *al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah al-Kuwaytīyah*, p.16; Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt)*, p.112; Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʻ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p.55-82.

[715] In 1951, on March 15th, the Iranian parliament nationalized the oil industry. On April 29, 1951, the House of Representatives and the Senate elected Dr Mohamed Mosaddegh, the leader of "The National Front Party," as Prime Minister. Additionally, the positive effects of the nationalization on the entire region are debatable. For more information see: Ghasimi, Reza. “Iran’s Oil Nationalization and Mossadegh’s Involvement with the World Bank.” *The Middle East Journal* 65, no. 3 (July 20, 2011): 442–56; Louis, William Roger. *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 651-657

a number of active members to Kuwait to organize the workers.[716] After the military coup that was orchestrated by the American intelligence agency (CIA) to end the regime of Dr Mohammad Mosaddegh, many members and leaders of Tudeh fled to the Gulf emirates, bringing their political experiences with them. This paved the way for the emergence of communism in the oil sector and educational institutions. Ahmad Al-Saqqaf, one of the leaders of the National Cultural Club, stated in his book " Aḥādīth al-'Urūbah al-Qawmīyah" (The Speeches of Arabism and Nationalism) that the worker community in the oil city of Al Ahmadi included hundreds of communists who fled Iraq and Iran. Their activities and contacts were felt outside, and they had a café at the intersection of Al Gharabally Street and the New Street, where they received bulletins from Moscow [717].

The technical labor force in Kuwait, characterized by high cultural and professional levels, primarily flowed from countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran.[718] These countries had experienced Marxist influence, making it likely that the labor force coming from these countries would form Marxist organizations in Kuwait. These groups worked secretly, fearing authorities. Among the famous movements during that time were the Kuwaiti Democratic League and the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace. The Kuwaiti arena witnessed many labor strikes to denounce economic circumstances, specifically the wage, housing, and living conditions disparities between Arab and foreign workers. These circumstances provided the perfect opportunity for Marxists to establish the first secret communist organization in Kuwait in 1954, known as the Kuwaiti Democratic League, whose main figure was Ibrahim al Ghanem. [719]

---

[716] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p.60; Al- Ṭalī'ah: No 796, 8 June 1983

[717] Al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad *aḥādīth al-'Urūbah wa-al-qawmīyah, (*Kuwait: Dar al-khaṭṭ, 1997), p.109; Al-Saqqāf, *Taṭawwur al-Wa'y al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt*, p.33; Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p.60

[718] Al-Mudayris, *al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah al-Kuwaytīyah,* p.8.

[719] Yusuf Ibrahim al Ghanim was born in Kuwait in 1923. He received his secondary education in Basra and his university education in Cairo. He became a member of the Municipal Council in 1950-1951, and later a member of the Executive Committee of the Higher Assembly of the Administration of Kuwaiti Affairs between 1961 and 1962. See: al-Jubūrī, Maytham Majīd 'Abd Sa'dūn, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah, (Master's thesis, University of Thi Qar, Iraq, 2018), p. 111.

Most Kuwaitis welcomed the arrival of Arabs due to their deep nationalist sentiments. However, the Iranian migration triggered fear among the inhabitants of Kuwait and the Gulf, as it was encouraged by Britain.[720] Numerous articles in newspapers, including Al-Īmān magazine's "Market Speeches" section, discussed this migration. An article titled " Faylakā Island and the Migration of Non-Arabs" discussed the danger of non-Arab migration to Kuwait and the methods they used, mainly to the island of Faylakā. The article urged officials to pay attention to this danger and focus on the coast guard to protect Kuwait from a threat that "jeopardized the security, health, ethics, identity, and future of the country". [721]

Returning to the issue of strikes, sources indicate that the first labor strikes in the oil sector (industrial strike) took place in 1948, led by 6,000 oil workers, most of whom worked on derricks in the Wārh (Wara) region and lived in huts (cottages). The strike committee, representing the workers, presented many demands to the Kuwaiti Oil Company (K.S.C.), including improved housing, organized health services, and the abolition of physical punishments. Despite facing threats, the strike lasted for 11 days. Following the workers' firm stance, representatives of the government and the Kuwaiti Oil Company met with the labor committee and pledged to meet their demands.[722] In 1950, the workers resumed their strike, calling for the realization of the promises made by the Company in 1948. Wages and working conditions had not improved, and the segregation between workers had not ended. In February 1952, the oil workers launched a third strike, which lasted for three days. Their demands were similar to those of the previous strikes, and they also demanded paid days off for vacations and holidays. This strike was better organized than the previous two, with labor leader Ashour Issa Ashour, who was arrested for 40 days, being the most well-known figure organizing it. Other labor leaders who emerged during this strike included Fahad

[720] Al-Jāsim, Najāt, *Al-qaḍāyā al-Qawmīyah fī Majlis al-ummah al-Kuwaytī 1963-1976*, (Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 2006), p. 82, 52, 48, 16.
[721] Al Īmān, No .4, April 1953, the first year; market speeches, Faylakā and the migration of the non-Arabs, p.255
[722] Ittiḥād al-Shabībah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-niḍāl al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt, (Kuwait, 1982), p. 9-10; Akādīmīyat al-'Ulūm fī al-Ittiḥād al-Sūvyatī, al-istishrāq institute, Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-'Arabīyah 1917-1970, (Dar al-Fārābī, n.d.), part 01, p. 558; for further information, see: Ṣaqr, Ḥasan, *Riḥlah dākhil al-dhākirah ma'a al-Ḥarakah al-'ummālīyah al-Kuwaytīyah, (*Kuwait, n.d.), p. 20-26; Al- Ṭalī'ah: No 796, 8 June 1983; Al-Rumayḥī, *Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981*, p. 648.

Attia,[723] Mujbil Al-Saran, Saud Al-Faris, Masoud Al-Saad, Khaled Saleh Al-Roumi, Khalifa Fahad Abdul Karim, Saleh Jassem Al-Jeeran, and Ahmed Abdullah al Al-Modayan, who formed a labor committee to lead the strike. The timing of this strike coincided with the Iranian government's nationalization of oil under Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh. This led to accusations of the strike leaders harbouring ties to communist parties, particularly the Iranian communist party Tudeh. Consequently, the labour committee members were arrested for two months and subsequently dismissed from their jobs.[724]

Later, the country witnessed a development in the struggle of the labor class to organize itself in unions, despite the imposed ban. At the beginning of 1953, the oil workers formed a founding assembly to set their labor demands and communicate them to the government and the oil company. Furthermore, a delegation representing the Kuwaiti oil workers participated for the first time in the third International Congress of the union.[725]

In addition to the "spontaneous awareness" of the workers, as described by Falah Al-Mdairis, there was a nationalist political awareness as well, as the Kuwaiti workers were not far from the events sweeping the Arab world. They supported the Algerian revolution through fundraising and responded to the calls of the "Lajnat al-andiyah al-Kuwaytīyah," the Committee of Kuwaiti Clubs, to support the Egyptian government during the tripartite aggression against Egypt (Suez Crisis). As a result, they participated in protests that swept the Kuwaiti streets, starting from the Souq Mosque located in the center of the city of Kuwait and refused to load French and British ships and oil tankers. They also organized a march to the oil wells to stop exportation. The Committee of Kuwaiti Clubs called for a general strike to denounce the aggression against Egypt and to hit English interests. On 10 December 1956, the regions of the oil fields, specifically al Ahmadi and Al-Maqwa, witnessed a series of attacks on the

[723] According to Ahmed al-Khatib, despite its small size and poverty, the region of Al Dahla produced labor leaders, including Fahad Attia Al-Khashti and Ashour Issa Ashour. These leaders stood up to the Kuwaiti Oil Company, supported Kuwaiti workers, and organized the first labor strike in Kuwait's history. Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 89-92

[724] For further, see Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtama‘ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 63; Kuwait Magazine, No 239, 16 May 1973, p.4; Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue. 796, 8 June 1983; Al-Mudayris, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-‘ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt, 7-74; Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue 796, 8 June 1983

[725] Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue 796, 8 June 1983

oil facilities, including tens of explosions such as exploding oil pipelines in al Ahmadi port and al Maqwa, the gas pipeline that supplied the electric generator, and water distillation station.[726] They also broke many oil derricks, which led to the declaration of a night curfew in the regions of the oil fields and the besieging of the city of Kuwait by units of the British army, who guarded the oil wells, al Ahmadi port, and the foundations of the Kuwaiti Oil Company. Based on the demand of the British political administration, the British government set its forces that were near the ports of Kuwait in case of alert to intervene in case of any threats towards its nationals and interests. A night curfew was declared in the oil regions as well. Meanwhile, the volunteering committee was established to register individuals who wanted to volunteer in the Egyptian armed forces; there were around 3,000 volunteers.[727] The problems of the oil workers were not solved until September 1958, when Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad Al-Sabah declared that the workers would receive the right to housing allowance, payment for additional hours, and day-offs on weekends and holidays.[728]

The Arab Nationalist Movement emerged as a prominent political force among Kuwaiti workers. The "Nādī al-istiqlāl al-Thaqāfī" (Al-Istiqlal Cultural Club), serving as the social and cultural arm of the movement in Kuwait, hosted the country's first trade union elections. Prominent movement figures like Hussein al-Yuha, Hassan Falah al-Ajmi, and Ahmed Said Al-Asbahi spearheaded the unionist movement, instrumental in establishing labor unions across various sectors. These included the "Union of the Workers and Employees of the Government," the "Oil Workers Union," and the "General Union of the Workers of Kuwait," which aimed to unify the country's labor force.[729]

[726] FO 371/126899, Internal political situation in Kuwait, the oil well explosions on 10 December, https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/126899/n/4
[727] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p.64-65; Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʿ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p.30; Tachau, Frank. *Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa*. (Greenwood, 1994), P. 74-77
[728] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, Vol. 2, p. 176
[729] Al-Mudayris, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-ʿummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt, p.27-74.

In addition, Marxist organizations [730] emerged in the early 1950s and played a significant role in spreading Marxist ideology among workers in the oil field areas through Saudi and Bahraini oil sector workers. As a result, the first labor party, "the Bahraini National Liberation Front" (Jabhat al-Taḥrīr al-Waṭanī al-Baḥraynīyah), appeared in Bahrain, while the "National Reform Front" (Jabhat al-iṣlāḥ al-Waṭanī) emerged in the Eastern region of Saudi Arabia, which later became the "National Liberation Front in Saudi Arabia" (Jabhat al-taḥarrur al-Waṭanī fī al-Saʿūdīyah). Furthermore, Marxist ideology spread through commercial libraries and cultural clubs in the 1950s because there was no censorship on the materials kept in these institutions. Cultural club private libraries contained Arabic translations of Marxist literature printed in Lebanon, Egypt, and Syria, which were publicly read and distributed. Additionally, newspapers and magazines representing Arab communist parties, such as "al-Akhbār" and "al-Ṭarīq" magazines issued by the communist party in Lebanon, and other newspapers of Arab communist parties sold in commercial libraries, played an essential role in spreading political awareness, particularly Marxist ideology, in the region.[731]

A report issued by the American consulate in Kuwait on November 16, 1953, reveals the anxieties of American and British representatives, as well as Kuwaiti authorities, concerning the growing influence of leftist activities in the country. The report, addressed to the Foreign Office, expresses specific concern regarding a press report published by Newsweek on November 9, 1953, which highlighted Kuwait as a new target for communist activity. Notably, the report mentions the participation of a Kuwaiti Labor Union representative, using an alias, in the 3rd International Trade Union Congress held in Vienna in October 1953. This participation further fueled worries about potential communist infiltration. The report also outlines a collaborative effort between the Kuwaiti General Security, the US consulate, the British agent, the Kuwaiti Oil Company, and the independent American Oil Company AMINOIL to

[730] Marxism is a socioeconomic analysis method that uses a materialist interpretation of historical development, commonly known as historical materialism, to comprehend class relations and social conflicts, as well as a dialectical viewpoint to observe the social transformation. For further information, See: Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p.290; Kazziha, Walid W. *Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World: Habash and His Comrades from Nationalism to Marxism.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), p. 17-65.

[731] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 61

combat what is termed "communist activity in Kuwait." Additionally, the report identifies two individuals deemed "suspicious" who are being closely monitored. [732]

"Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah al-muʻāṣir" (The Contemporary History of the Arab Countries) provides further context regarding the emergence of labor activism in Kuwait. It states that in early 1953, oil workers formed a founding assembly to collectively voice their demands to the government and the Kuwaiti Oil Company. Additionally, it highlights the historical significance of 1954, when representatives of Kuwaiti oil workers participated for the first time in the 3rd International Trade Union Congress held by the International Trade Unions in Vienna, an organization closely aligned with the USSR. The book further mentions that Kuwaiti members, including students studying in Arab countries with communist affiliations, played a role in establishing the government workers union during the 4th Congress held in Bucharest in 1955 Notably, the book emphasizes the local public's support for the Kuwaiti workers' struggle for their rights. This is exemplified by a 1953 protest organized by Kuwaiti intellectuals against the suppression of democratic freedoms in Iraq and Saudi Arabia.[733]

In addition, in 1954, the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace was established in Kuwait, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. It consisted of anti-imperialists who opposed the existence of foreign bases in Kuwait, in line with the Arab liberation movement. That same year, the Kuwait Democratic League was founded, calling for a constitutional assembly to end US and British intervention and mandate, and opposing Kuwait's annexation to the Gulf states union proposed by London. Despite some concessions made by the authorities, a public movement emerged in mid-1955, aiming to establish a united national front based on the Democratic League's program. Nationalists demanded that the British administration hand over all deposits in British banks to Kuwait, to be used for the Sheikhdom's economic development. Regarding strikes, in 1956, an order was issued on August

[732] FO 371/140089 Communism in Kuwait (1959) Alleged communism in Kuwait. Code BA file 10113: https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/140089/n/7
Kuwait Despatch 50, August 25, 1953, Communist activity in Kuwait, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20115.pdf

[733] Akādīmīyat al-ʻUlūm fī al-Ittiḥād al-Sūvyatī, al-istishrāq institute, Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah 1917-1970, p. 641-645; Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʻ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 65

15th prohibiting "Egypt Support Day," which led to protests and campaigns by nationalist youths against the colonizers and called on harbor workers to refuse shipping and unloading British and French ships or supplying their planes. A large protest took place on that day, and protesters clashed with the police, resulting in 80 injuries. The boycott of British and French goods, ships, and companies was also declared, leading to the death of seven people and injury to 173 others.[734] Sheikh Abdullah Al Mubarak made a declaration warning against gathering and protesting, which was also signed by Sabah Al-Salim Al-Sabah, the head of the police. However, the public continued their protests regardless of the warning, which led police director Jasim Al-Qatami to resign. He wrote a letter of resignation to the head of the police, stating that he "wanted to continue working as a director unless they disagreed on core issues related to the dignity and freedom of the public and that he could not fight ideas he believed in. Moreover, he confirmed that he was ready to sacrifice himself and his money for the continuity of those ideas and their objectives." [735]

On December 10th and 11th, workers at Al Ahmadi port staged a general strike. During this period, oil facilities in Al Ahmadi port, Al Ahmadi city, and Al Maqwa were subjected to ten bombings. The attacks targeted the gas pipeline supplying the electrical generator and the seawater distillation station, also causing damage to oil towers. Consequently, a nighttime curfew was imposed on the oilfields, and British troops, responsible for guarding the oil wells, Al Ahmadi port, and other Kuwaiti Oil Company installations, besieged the city of Kuwait. In response to demands from the British political administration, the British government placed its forces near Kuwaiti harbors on high alert, prepared to intervene in case of any threat to its nationals or interests. [736] Although a relatively new movement with internal divisions based on nationality and ethnicity, the labor movement in Kuwait emerged with both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti workers, Arabs and non-Arabs, participating in the struggle.

[734] Akādīmīyat al-ʻUlūm fī al-Ittiḥād al-Sūvyatī, al-istishrāq institute, Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah 1917-1970, p. 641-645; Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʻ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 65; Al-Rumayḥī, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981’, p.91-107; Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 28.

[735] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, Vol. 2, p. 162

[736] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʻ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 65; Al-Rumayḥī, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981’, p.91-107; Al-Mudayris, *al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah al-Kuwaytīyah*, p. 18

However, the movement lacked a unified organization to defend its interests, leading to the establishment of the Labor/Workers Cultural Club "Nādī al-ʻUmmāl al-Thaqāfī" in the 1950s as the legitimate voice for unionist work in Kuwait. The labor force finally gained the right to unionize in 1964 through Labor Law Code No. 38 of 1964, supported by the national opposition within the National Assembly at the time.[737]

At the fifteenth conference of the General Federation of Trade Unions in Syria, held in Damascus on September 17, 1968, Hassan Al-Yoha, Assistant Secretary-General of the Trade Union Federation of Kuwait, delivered a pointed critique of the Arab response to the Six-Day War. He argued that the "defeat of June" was a consequence of the "inertia, complacency, and lack of foresight" displayed by the "limited Arab bourgeoisie" during the struggle against imperialism. Al-Yoha further contended that the Arab populace, confined to passively "listening to the radio," had been effectively sidelined from the conflict. This, he asserted, led to the "flight of the limited bourgeoisie" from the battlefield on June 5th, seeking a ceasefire "armed with its own inadequacy to wage war." In stark contrast, Al-Yoha emphasized the potential of the working class, stating that "the mobilized armies could not resist for more than six days," whereas "equipped with arms, we [workers] could resist until victory". [738]

Furthermore, the Arab Nationalists Bloc played a pivotal role in advocating for labor issues within the parliament. Leaders of the Arab Nationalists Movement, including Abdulmohsen Alduwaisan, Sami Al-Munayyis, and Abdulaziz Al-Rasheed, spearheaded efforts to raise awareness among workers and explain the intricacies of the trade unions' law. They achieved this through lectures and meetings held at Al-Istiqlal Cultural Club and the "Savings Fund for Government Employees" (Ṣundūq altwfyr li-muwaẓẓafī al-Ḥukūmah), which was administered by the Arab Nationalists Movement. Furthermore, they transformed Al-Istiqlal Cultural Club's headquarters into the initial headquarters for the labor unions, demonstrating their practical support for the cause. Additionally, Al-Ṭalīʻah magazine, the mouthpiece of the Arab Nationalists Movement, played a crucial role in covering and disseminating

[737] Al- Ṭalīʻah, No. 796, 8 June 1983.
[738] Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1968, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971), p.206.

information about strikes and labor activities through a series of informative articles in its dedicated labor section.[739]

Furthermore, Kuwait experienced a significant surge in labor activism when labor unions advocated for the nationalization of oil and the cessation of its flow to the United States. On October 11, 1973, the labor union issued a call for a 50% reduction in oil production, a complete halt to its flow to the United States, and the nationalization of the Gulf Oil Company. The Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab Union of Oil Workers declared the readiness of oil production workers across the Arab world to take action and interrupt oil flows as a strategic weapon in the fight against “Israel”. He further emphasized that "Arab oil workers will not allow the allies of “Israel” to profit from Arab oil, and the workers will take all necessary measures to achieve their goals."[740]

It is noteworthy that the labor movement actively supported Arab causes, as evidenced by a successful three-day strike by oil and chemical workers on October 23, 1973, which halted oil flows. The International Labor Conference, held at the General Union headquarters on October 21, 1973, declared this strike to be the first in a series of actions planned until Kuwait achieved its demands of controlling its natural resources and ending aggression. The strike successfully achieved its goals, resulting in the cessation of all targeted actions.[741]

Similar conditions prevailed in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, where BAPCO exploited workers through local intermediaries. Working hours reached 12, with additional travel time adding four hours to the workday, all for a meager salary of 6 annas. This oppression united workers previously divided by sectarianism, leading them to seek collective action to improve their lives.[742]

In addition, the oil industry attracted a large number of Arab workers, including Palestinians harboring deep resentment towards "colonialism and Zionists." This

[739]Al-Mudayris, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-‘ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt, p.27-74.
[740] For further, see: Al-Qabas newspaper, No. 509, 14 October 1973; al-Jarīd, ‘Āyid ‘Atīq *al-Kuwayt wa-Muqāṭa‘at al-kiyān al-Ṣuhyūnī 1945-2016*, p. 153.
[741] Al-Aṣbaḥī, Aḥmad, *al-Ḥarakah al-naqābīyah al-Kuwaytīyah lamḥah tārīkhīyah,* (Kuwait: al-Ittiḥād al-‘āmm li-‘ummāl al-Kuwayt, 2009), Vol. 1, p. 76-84.
[742] The rupee was a currency unit formerly used in British India. al-‘Ubaydī, Judhūr al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn (1932-1939), p. 89-107.

confluence, coupled with the rising national liberation movement, imbued the labor movement with a political character from its inception,[743] largely coinciding with the Nakba (Palestinian Catastrophe) and the displacement of its people. As a result, many Palestinians arrived in Kuwait and contributed to the construction boom. [744] Furthermore, the central newspaper of the National Liberation Front in Bahrain published its national program, painting a grim picture of the country's state. It declared that "the people's dignity had been humiliated, citizens were destitute, wealth stolen, traitors employed by rulers, the economy veiled by direct investment, oil companies controlled the country, and the colonizer's power grew." [745]

On the Bahraini front, Al-Ittiḥād newspaper published an article from al-Jamahir (al-Jamāhīr), the mouthpiece of the National Liberation Front in Bahrain. This article exposed the conspiracy orchestrated by Anglo-American colonists and the rulers of Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other reactionary forces to quell the growing public resistance against foreign domination and colonial agents. It called for a united front between national and progressive forces at the national level to thwart this plot and achieve freedom and independence. The article further criticized "The Military Base Agreement" and alleged the confiscation by Kuwaiti authorities of funds collected by the Bahraini people to support martyrs, the wounded, and national forces during the March 1965 revolution.[746] Furthermore, Al-Ittiḥād newspaper reprinted an article originally published in The Observer (London) that described the political climate in Bahrain. This article depicted a climate of fear where individuals hesitated to openly discuss politics, deeming those who did so as foolish. It highlighted the diminished influence of national organizations, largely due to the exile of key figures who had led the movement in the 1950s and the continued imprisonment without trial of others on the Jidda Islands (near Bahrain's western coast). Notably, the article identified the

[743] Al-'Ubaydī Ibrāhīm Khalaf, *Al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn 1914-1971, (*Baghdad: Dar Al-Andalus, 1976), p. 100.
[744] Al-Rumaihi, *Al-Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimā'ī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* p. 89; Al-'Ubaydī, *Al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn 1914-1971,* p.153; *Ḥajlāwī, Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971,* p.47
[745] Al Ittiḥād, Tuesday, 26 November 1963.
[746] Al Ittiḥād, Friday, 21 October 1966, No. 47, the section of "In the Arab World": The National Liberation Front in Bahrain discloses the plans of the colonizers and their agents in the region.

simmering frustration among the well-educated middle-class youth as a greater threat than the clandestine activities of nationalists or patriots.[747]

While a formal national movement did not exist in Qatar during the first half of the 1950s, the effects of the 1952 Egyptian Revolution were readily apparent within the labor force. A significant number of worker strikes occurred, primarily in response to "Israel's" aggression in Gaza during 1955.[748] Notably, Qatar emerged as the leading Gulf nation in fundraising for the Egyptian army. Following the announcement of the Egyptian-Czechoslovak arms deal on September 27, 1955, the Qatari people raised a remarkable sum of 930,435 Rupees by December 25, 1955. [749]

The Qatari workers demonstrably expressed their solidarity with the Egyptian people. On the morning of November 1st, 1956, markets and stores in Doha remained closed in an act of protest. More significantly, the oil pipelines located 11 miles east of Umm Bab were sabotaged, possibly marking the first instance of pipeline sabotage in the Gulf. This action followed a strike by oil workers. British authorities attributed the vandalism to Hamad Abdullah Al Attiyah, suspecting he received orders and explosives during his visit to Cairo.[750]

In Saudi Arabia, the mid-1940s and the commencement of oil exports witnessed the emergence of a new labor force concentrated primarily in the Eastern region. The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) implemented a policy of economic and social segregation between Arab and foreign workers, resulting in unequal rights, duties, and recruitment practices. This policy exacerbated unemployment among the local population due to limited job opportunities available to them. Lacking technical and scientific experience, Saudi nationals were relegated to second- and third-tier positions within the company.[751] The first labor strike by Aramco workers in 1945, primarily composed of foreign nationals, prompted temporary concessions from the

[747] Al Ittiḥād, Tuesday, 21 June 1966, main heading: From Here and There, Prisons and Prostitution in Bahrain
[748] Zahlan, *The making of the modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman*, p.98
[749] Shahdād, Ibrāhīm, Rudūd al-fi'l al-sha'bīyah fī Imārāt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī tujāha al-'Adwān al-thulāthī 'alá Miṣr 'ām 1956, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Qatar University, (1992), No. 15, p. 232
[750] Ibid., p. 226.
[751] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 122-123; Al-Zaidi, Mufeed, Political reform attempts in Saudi Arabia, *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 8:4, (2015), 553-567.

company administration. These concessions included an eight-and-a-half-hour workday, a six-day workweek, and two weeks of annual paid leave. However, the striking foreign workers were subsequently deported.[752]

Al Balagh (al-Balāgh) newspaper reported news about a concurrent labor movement in Dhahran in its April 12, 1947, issue. [753] In early 1949, new labor strikes erupted in the oil fields, demanding a just working system, an end to company oppression, and a cessation of arbitrary worker dismissals. Evidence suggests that this strike possessed the potential to escalate into a broader public movement if met with violence. This potential stemmed from several factors, including the presence of new Arab groups with substantial intellectual and political experience, such as Palestinians, working alongside Saudi workers. Additionally, the influence of the Bahraini experience and heightened awareness of human rights played significant roles. The collaboration between the two populations significantly affected the labor movement, particularly due to the predominantly Shiite population in the Eastern region, with shared familial ties to Bahrain.[754] Furthermore, Bahrain had attracted many Saudi workers from the Eastern region since the 1930s, fostering strong communication channels. This facilitated the dissemination of clandestine periodicals such as Al-Waṭan, Al-Khamylh, Al- Sha'b, Al- Qāfilah,[755] and others, which significantly impacted literate workers. [756] These publications dedicated considerable space to discussing labor

[752] Vassiliev, Alexei, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, (Saqi Books, 2013), p. 686.
[753] Al Balāgh newspaper, 12 April 1947, main heading: the modern projects in Saudi Arabia.
[754] For further, see: Matthiesen, "Migration, Minorities, and Radical Networks: Labour Movements and Opposition Groups in Saudi Arabia, 1950–1975473–504.
[755] Please note that "Al Qāfilah " referred to in the previous text is not the same as the "Al Qāfilah" magazine of Aramco Company, which was previously named " Qāfilat al-Zayt" before its name was changed. The Bahraini publication " Qāfilah," on the other hand, was first issued in November 1952 with the participation of Ahmed Yateem, Ali Sayyar, Mahmud al-Mardi, Yusuf Al-Shirawi, and Nasser Bohumaid. The local press, 'The Voice of Bahrain' and 'Al Qafilah', despite the difficulties put in their way, had a great effect on the awakening people, and expressed the people's concern about the Government Administration. The activities of the clubs were also largely instrumental in awakening the public. The basic idea of the young people in those clubs was to bring the two points of view of the two sects, Shia, and Sunni, closer and to form some sort of unity between them, for the common good. For further information, see: FO 1016/468, p. 225, https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/1016/468/n/225 ; The Local Press, FO 371/126873, p. 73 https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/126873/n/89 ; "'An Al-Qāfilah | Majallat al-Qāfilah." Accessed April 9, 2023. https://qafilah.com/ar/about/.
[756] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p.123; al-Shaykh, Tawfīq, *al-pitrūl wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabīyah al-Sa'ūdīyah, (*London: Dār al-Ṣafā, 1988), p. 333.

conditions at The Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), explaining regional developments, and opposing the British presence.[757]

Upon discerning that Aramco's policy stemmed more from racial discrimination than professional qualifications, Saudi workers established a workers' committee in 1953. This committee, which included prominent activist Nasser Al Saeed (1923-unknown), aimed to gain government recognition as a legitimate representative for labor before Aramco and official bodies, defend workers' rights, and serve as their official voice. This marked a significant shift from spontaneous to organized worker action. In the summer of 1953, the committee submitted a petition demanding unpaid wages for over four months. Following the appointment of a Saudi prince to lead a royal committee, investigations involving worker representatives commenced. However, police subsequently arrested and detained these representatives, sparking the first Saudi and Arab labor strike on July 17, 1953. The strike lasted for approximately one week.[758] Subsequently, the labor committee members who orchestrated the strike were exiled to their home villages. A witness account confirms that Saudi workers observed the rulers living extravagantly while neglecting the rights of workers who were deprived of their due wages. This incident sparked widespread public criticism of the rulers' behavior among Saudi intellectuals. Moreover, Aramco viewed this movement as the dawn of genuine political awareness amongst the region's population.[759]

The 1953 strike had a profound impact on the labor movement and the public, becoming a landmark event for raising political awareness across the population. In response, the company and the government, united in their interest to suppress the emergence of an organized labor movement, made concessions while simultaneously employing a strategy of appeasement and, when necessary, brute force. However, the workers remained undeterred by this tactic of intimidation. The government's hostile attitude towards the leaders of the labor committee further convinced them of the need

[757] Al-Shaykh, *al-pitrūl wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah*, p. 334; Al-Saʻīd, Nāṣir *Tārīkh Āl Saʻūd*, (Publications of Ittiḥād shaʻb al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, 1979), vol.1, p. 712.
[758] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ʻalá al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1952-1971*, p.125.
[759] Al-ʻAṭṭār, ʻAdnān, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-taḥarrurīyah fī al-Ḥijāz wa-Najd, 1901-1973*, (Beirut: Maʻtūq Ikhwān Press, 1974), p. 56

for a permanent body to address national issues. This committee evolved into a crucial platform for discussing and debating critical national concerns.[760]

This burgeoning awareness was particularly strong among Aramco workers, who formed labor committees to organize a nationwide campaign demanding the evacuation of US soldiers from the base. Their efforts yielded 600 signatures on a petition within a short period. In June, they took further action by organizing large protests in Dhahran during a party hosted by Aramco and attended by the King himself. Around 1300 workers participated, gathering in front of the King and raising, for the first time in Saudi history, leaflets bearing anti-colonial slogans such as "Down with US colonization," "Remove the Base," and "The United Arab Army." Additionally, their chants voiced their support for Gamal Abdel Nasser in his opposition to the West.[761]

These events triggered the anger of the regime. As a result, on June 11, 1956, King Saud ordered the arrest of the members of the labor committee. Notably, these arrests were not limited to members directly involved with the oil companies. Random arrests were also made among workers, intellectuals, and national youths, imprisoning them in the notorious slave prison (Sijn al-ʻUbayd).[762] This brutal act of oppression led some committee members to flee abroad, including the prominent figure Nasser Al Saeed who continued his activism from Damascus and Cairo. The attacks on the labor movement did not stop there. Arab workers also faced persecution, with the police arresting a hundred Palestinian employees of Aramco and immediately deporting them under the false accusation of membership in an "Arab political movement unfriendly to various Arab governments." A royal decree further solidified the crackdown, prohibiting any participation in demonstrations or strikes, regardless of the cause, and authorizing the detention of violators.[763] These harsh measures effectively extinguished the first spark of the Saudi labor movement. No further organized labor

[760] Abir, Mordechai, *Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era: Regime and Elites; Conflict and Collaboration,* (New York: Routledge, 2019), p. 90-93; Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p.123

[761] Al-Shaykh, *al-pitrūl wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabīyah al-Sa'ūdīyah*, p. 346; Al-ʻAṭṭār, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-taḥarrurīyah fī al-Ḥijāz wa-Najd, 1901-1973,* p. 58; Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p.128.

[762]Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 688-689; Al-ʻAṭṭār, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-taḥarrurīyah fī al-Ḥijāz wa-Najd, 1901-1973*, p. 65

[763] Abir, *Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era: Regime and Elites; Conflict and Collaboration,* p. 76-79

activities materialized except for sporadic movements responding to broader events in the Arab world.

The discovery of oil in Kuwait in 1938 proved to be a transformative event that dramatically altered the country's economic and social landscape. This influx of wealth spurred modernization, urbanization, and a shift away from traditional livelihoods. However, it also led to the emergence of a new labor stratum with its own set of grievances and aspirations. Initially, the labor movement existed in a nascent and fragmented state, with workers facing exploitation and lacking formal representation. However, the 1950s witnessed a growing sense of political awareness and activism among the workforce. This was fueled by factors such as the spread of Marxist ideology, the struggle for Arab liberation, and the influence of nationalist movements. The oil workers, in particular, played a crucial role in this burgeoning movement. They organized strikes and protests to demand better wages, working conditions, and the right to unionize. These actions not only challenged the authority of the oil companies and the government but also served as a catalyst for broader political reforms in Kuwait.

At the same time, the oil abundance, especially after the crisis of 1973, contributed to a retreat or regression of political awareness. Additionally, this abundance impacted the effect of social forces and their movements in the region, as Kuwaiti society turned into a consumer society that was absent from political developments, and the petrodollars started flowing in large amounts into the Kuwaiti economy, which turned into a rentier economy.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG THE PARLIAMENT MEMBERS (Majlis al-‘Umma)

5.1. Introduction

The establishment of the Parliament in Kuwait marked a significant turning point in the country's political landscape, paving the way for increased political awareness and participation among the population. While challenges such as tribalism and government interference persisted, the parliamentary experience ultimately contributed to democratic development and social change in Kuwait. This chapter investigates the development of political awareness among the members of the Kuwaiti Parliament (Majlis al-‘Umma). It provides an overview of the early experiences with legislative councils in the Gulf region, highlighting the limited scope of their authority and the lack of true public participation. The chapter then delves into the emergence of councils and parliaments in Kuwait, specifically focusing on the historical context, key figures, and challenges faced during this transition.

The chapter explores the relationship between Parliament and the political opposition, highlighting moments of tension and collaboration. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the evolution of political awareness among the Bedouin population and their engagement in the electoral process. It analyzes the impact of tribalism and sectarianism on the electoral landscape and the efforts made by the government to manipulate these factors. Finally, the chapter assesses the overall impact of the parliamentary experience on democratic development and social change in Kuwait.

5.2. The Initial Experiences in the Gulf and Kuwait: The Legislative Councils

The Gulf states saw the emergence of shura councils whose mission was limited to providing advice to the authorities on some internal affairs. This made these councils unable to truly participate in the administration of the state, as they lacked legislative authority and the right to oppose and veto the regime's decisions. Moreover, they were not an embodiment of parliamentary or public representation. The Shura and

parliamentary experience in the Gulf did not arise from the regimes' full conviction of the necessity of public participation in decision-making and constitutional reforms. Rather, this experience was imposed by internal and external circumstances that compelled the regimes to accept the principle of participation through the parliamentary experience of Kuwait in the 1960s. Later, other limited experiences followed in the 1970s. [764] The Kuwaiti experience was preceded by an early Saudi experience that emerged during the era of King Abdulaziz Al Saud when the National Council (Almajlis Al Ahlī) was established in 1926 after he had annexed Hejaz to the Saudi lands [765]. The council aimed to alleviate the opposing forces' outrage and to gain the support of the Ulama and merchants. Thus, the King asked the people to participate in the conduct of public affairs in Hejaz by choosing representatives to form the national council, which was responsible for managing the region and looking after the people's interests. However, it had to refer to the King before making the final decision.[766]

Moving back to the Kuwaiti experience, an attempt to establish a quasi-constitutional regime took place at an early stage. This attempt coincided with the emergence of socio-political elites and several liberal organizations, including the intellectual elite. It was also driven by the growth of the economic state and its related social changes, as well as the need to reduce internal and external pressures on the authority. As a result, the government made concessions to achieve a balance between internal expectations and external pressures.[767]

Popular participation in political life began in Kuwait with the establishment of the National Assembly (Majlis al-'Umma) in 1963, followed by the Shura Council of Qatar in 1964 (although it was discontinued), and the Federal National Council (FNC)

---

[764] For more information see: Monograph Series: The Shura Councils in the Gulf, Durham University and College of Arts and Science, Qatar University, Number 1: (July 2019) https://www.qu.edu.qa/research/gulfstudies-center/publications/the-shura-councils-in-the-gulf ; Hudson, Michael C., "Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East." *Contention 5,* (1995), p. 81–106.

[765] 'Abd al-Jawwād, Muḥammad, *Al-taṭawwur al-tashrī'ī fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabīyah al-Sa'ūdīyah (*Alexandria: Munsha'at al-Ma'ārif, 1985), p. 94-96; Ṣādiq, Muḥammad Tawfīq, *Taṭawwur al-ḥukm wa-al-idārah fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabīyah al-Sa'ūdīyah (*Riyadh: General administration institute, 1965), p. 28.

[766] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 546

[767] Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-judhūr al-ijtimā'īyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣirah,* p.22-23; Al-Nafīsī, 'Abd Allāh, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra'y al-ākhar,* (London, n.d., 1978), p. 211

in the UAE in 1971.[768] Michael Hudson has attributed the absence of political participation and parliamentary experience in Gulf states to the late establishment of modern rule systems and the prevalence of tribal systems. These states gained independence in the early 1970s, except for Saudi Arabia (1932) and Kuwait (1961), both of which began exporting oil in the late 1940s and gained experience in socio-economic change and modernization. However, the other Gulf states were slower to modernize and faced opposition from social elites demanding reforms, democracy, and consultation (Shura). As a result, the ruling families faced a crisis of legitimacy and the continuity of tribal rule, while neighboring Arab societies witnessed radical changes (such as Iraq and the Mashreq). The ruling families were determined to maintain their power and strongly opposed the idea of power rotation, leading to an increased demand from social elites for political participation, parliamentary life, and freedom of expression in society.[769]

5.3. The Emergence of Councils and Parliaments in Kuwait

This section builds upon the previous exploration of legislative councils' emergence in Kuwait from 1921 to 1939 and their role in fostering political awareness. It delves deeper, examining the evolution of these councils into full-fledged parliamentary assemblies and the subsequent transformation of political awareness into a more sophisticated stage that significantly impacted Kuwait's political landscape.

The early 1960s witnessed pivotal changes in Kuwait following its independence on June 19, 1961. Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah (1950-1961), leveraging the public outcry exemplified by the Shuwaikh Secondary School mass meeting, successfully pressured Britain to terminate the 1899 Anglo-Kuwaiti Treaty.[770]

---

[768] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah*, p. 148.
[769] Hudson, Michael C., *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 190-192.
[770] The Anglo-Kuwaiti Treaty, which had been imposed on Kuwait in 1899, was terminated on 19 June 1961 in response to the demands of the Kuwaiti people for national independence. However, one of the articles of the treaty granted Britain the right to deploy military troops to Kuwait, although this article was abolished in 1969. Shortly after Kuwait declared independence, Iraqi Prime Minister Abd al-Karim Qasim demanded the annexation of Kuwait to Iraq, which threatened the unity and stability of Kuwait. In response, Britain was forced to withdraw its troops after the Arab League decided to send troops to protect Kuwait's independence. The Arab League troops remained in Kuwait until mid-

However, independence also ushered in immediate challenges, most notably Iraq's claim to annex Kuwait on June 25 of the same year.[771] This regional crisis threatened the nation's unity and integrity, as Abd al-Karim Qasim, Iraq's prime minister (1958-1963), accused the Kuwaiti government of "autocracy" and suppressing public participation in political life.[772]

This crisis prompted the social elites to renew their calls for constitutional reforms and the establishment of a parliament.[773] As a result, the regime accepted these demands, adopting the principle of public participation in governance as a response to the indictment amid the crisis with Iraq.[774] Jasim al-Qatami[775] believes that the Nasserist influence and the international community's reluctance to accept Kuwait's tribal regime led to the adoption of a constitution and the establishment of a parliamentary system.[776] Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah issued an Amiri Decree on August 26, 1961, which established a body for the issuance of the constitution, set forth a law for

1963. Al- Ṭalīʿah: Issue 799, 29 June 1983; Smith, Simon C. "The Making of a Neo-Colony? Anglo-Kuwaiti Relations in the Era of Decolonization." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 1, (2001): 159–72.

[771] Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p.6. Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 206.

[772] When Kuwait gained its independence on 19 June 1961, Iraq, led by Abd al-Karim Qasim, began demanding the annexation of Kuwait. Qasim claimed that the Sheikh of Kuwait was only the vice president of Iraq on Kuwaiti lands and even imposed a tax on him. He then threatened to use armed force to annex Kuwait. These events drew the attention of the international community and caused British troops to land in Kuwait to defend it against potential Iraqi attacks. Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p.6.

[773] Michael Herb provides the most reasonable explanation for the emergence of the National Assembly, arguing that the formation of parliamentary democracy was necessary due to Iraq's expansionist threat. This threat forced Kuwait's ruler to urgently seek domestic and external legitimacy to prove Kuwait's right to sovereignty. Ahmed Al-Khatib provides a comparable argument, which includes external threats, the ruler's personality and social relationships, and constant pressure from the local Arab Nationalist Movement. Herb, Michael. *The Wages of Oil: Parliaments and Economic Development in Kuwait and the UAE*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2014); Herb, Michael. *'The Origins of Kuwait's National Assembly*.'; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah.*

[774] Dukas, Martha, *Azmat al-Kuwayt: al-'Alāqāt al-Kuwaytīyah al-'Irāqīyah, 1961-1963*, (Beirut: Dar al-Nahār, 1973), p. 64.

[775] Jasim al-Qatami was born in Kuwait in 1927 and was a nationalist. He graduated from the Police College in Egypt in 1952 and was appointed as the general director of police in Kuwait in 1956. He became the first Kuwaiti police officer to achieve the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Later, in 1962, he was appointed as a Foreign Affairs Minister with the rank of ambassador, and subsequently, he was elected as a member of the National Assembly. However, he resigned from both positions in 1966 and began working with nationalist and liberal clubs and gatherings. He became one of the most prominent nationalists in Kuwait. See, Al-Zayd, *Udabā' al-Kuwayt fī qarnayn*, p. 304-305.

[776] For more information see: Jasim al-Qatami's intervention within the discussions on the research of Yaḥyá al-Jamal, "anẓimat al-ḥukm fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī", A paper submitted to: A*zmat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī*, Researches and Discussions of the Intellectual symposium, (Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2002), p. 398.

the election of members of the Constituent Assembly, and called for constitutional reforms. The Sheikh sought to avoid confrontation with the social elites and strengthen his relationships with liberal intellectuals who had public support and social influence, such as Dr Ahmad al-Khatib, Jasim al-Qatami, Sami Al-Munayyis, and Abdullah Al-Nibari, to ensure stability during this new parliamentary experience in the country.[777]

The enthusiasm of merchants for political reforms played an influential role in supporting the demands of political elites who believed in liberalism and democracy. As a result, authorities recognized the need for merchant participation in the administration of the state to gain their loyalty through the distribution of benefits in exchange for pledging to develop a system of governance participation and maintain social stability within the state. This was necessary to prevent the unity of the state from breaking down along tribal, sectarian, or class lines.[778]

The political impact of Kuwaiti student missions sent abroad on scholarships deserves particular attention. Returning gradually from 1957, they brought with them a heightened political awareness, organizational skills honed through student movements, and aspirations for independence that they sought to apply to their homeland.[779] This influx of critical perspectives challenged the ruling family's patriarchal authority and fueled the growing demands for independence, constitutional governance, and the termination of British protection during the 1950s. This burgeoning nationalist sentiment in Kuwait stemmed from several factors. A significant role was played by the activities of Kuwaiti magazines and bulletins, which disseminated political statements advocating for independence and representative rule, often through clandestine distribution in 1953-1954.[780] Additionally, individuals like Ahmed al-Khatib, writing in "Al-Iman" magazine during the 1950s, openly challenged

[777] Salih, Kamal Osman. "Kuwait: Political Consequences of Modernization, 1750-1986." *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1 (1991), 46–66. p. 51-57, 60.
[778] Salāmah, Ghassān "al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah ka-adāh lil-Salām al-madanī" In: *dīmuqrāṭīyah min Dawwin dymqrāṭyyn : Siyāsāt al-infitāḥ fī al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī / al-Islāmī"* Research of the intellectual Symposium Organized by the Italian institute "Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM), (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1995), p. 122; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah,* p. 208.
[779] Al-Faylī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Al-aḥzāb al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt wāqiʻ qā'im wa-mustaqbal manẓūr, Ḥarakat al-tawāfuq al-Waṭanī al-Islāmīyah, Harakat Al-Tawafuq Al-Watani Al-Islamiah*, (Kuwait, n.d., 2006), p. 5.
[780] Al-Lawghānī, Bāsim ʻĪsá ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, *ḥukkām al-Kuwayt Tārīkh wa-ṣuwar, (*Kuwait, n,d., 2006), p. 122

the status quo. He advocated for free and fair elections accessible to all eligible citizens, emphasizing the importance of including youth in government bodies to leverage their potential and prevent the assembly from becoming solely "an interest assembly." [781]

5.4. The Constituent Assembly and the Elections

On July 26, 1961, Emir Abdullah Al-Salim issued a landmark decree inviting voters to elect a Constituent Assembly. This body held two crucial responsibilities: crafting a new constitution and serving as a temporary legislative body until the constitution's ratification. Recognizing the vital role of this nascent democratic institution, the Emir appointed a dedicated council to oversee the election preparations. This council, supported by constitutional experts from Egypt, meticulously formulated the law governing the Constituent Assembly elections. The Emir subsequently ratified the law in October 1961.[782] The law divided Kuwait into 10 electoral districts, each entitled to send two representatives to the Assembly. However, the nascent Kuwaiti democracy was not without limitations. Voting rights were initially restricted to men, and certain professions, including naturalized citizens, police officers, and members of the armed forces, were excluded from the electoral process. Additionally, candidates for the Assembly were required to be at least 30 years old and possess fluency in written and spoken Arabic.[783]

On December 30, 1961, Kuwait witnessed its first general elections in the modern era. The process was characterized by the absence of overt attempts to pressure voters, highlighting a commitment to fairness. Following the elections, the first meeting of the newly-elected Constituent Assembly convened on January 20, 1962. To bolster the fledgling democratic system, a temporary constitution was adopted. Comprising 38

[781] Al Īmān, year 1, No Issue 6, July 1953, p.6.
[782] It consists of Hamad Al-Humaidi, Hamad Al-Mishari, Humood al Zayd al Khaled, Khaled al Adasani, Abdul Hamid Al-Sane, Abdul Aziz Al-Saqer, Meshaan Al Khudair, Muhammad Yusuf Al-Nisf, Nisf Yusuf Al-Nisf, Yusuf Ibrahim al Ghanim, and Yousef Al-Fulaij. This is for the common assembly to set the draft of the law of electing the members of the Constituent Assembly which would make a constitution for the country. For further information, see: Al-ʻAbd Allāh, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt; Ḥusayn, *Muḥāḍarāt ʻan al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 112
[783]Al-Rumayḥī, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt: 1962-1981’, p.91-107

articles, it guaranteed fundamental freedoms for all Kuwaiti citizens.[784] The inaugural parliamentary elections were held on November 23, 1963.[785] Notably, candidates from the National Opposition Bloc (coalition), led by prominent figures Ahmed Al-Khatib and Jasim al-Qatami, garnered significant support. Other key figures elected included Rashed Al-Tawheed, Sami Al-Munayyis, Sulaiman Al-Mutawa, Rashed Al-Farhan, Sulaiman Al-Haddad (later replaced by Ali al-Omar), Abdul Al-Razzaq Al-Khaled, and Yaqoub Al-Humaidhi. Despite lacking a comprehensive electoral platform, the bloc successfully rallied a sizeable electorate behind their cause.[786] This pivotal moment marked a significant transition for Kuwait, culminating in the shift from individual rule to an institutionalized state. Establishing ministries, the National Assembly (Parliament), electoral procedures, and a codified constitution were significant milestones. Moreover, the active participation of social elites, including intellectuals and merchants, played a crucial role in pioneering the parliamentary experience in the Gulf region.[787]

The stances of liberal intellectuals towards the emergence of the assembly and its role in society and the state were different. Sami Al-Munayyis believed that its emergence was not abrupt, but rather the result of the interaction between the vanguard force since the 1930s, which sought to reach constitutional form and move from the tribal stage into the era of the modern state. This was a shift from the absolute rule of the individual to the rule of institutions that included new social elites.[788]

With the return of constitutional life after an absence of around 25 years, the struggle against absolute rule and attempts to restore it never stopped in the Kuwaiti political scene, taking on new and more diverse forms. In 1963, issue No. 83 of the "al Hadaf" newspaper published an article entitled "A‘naf jalsat yshhdhā al-Majlis al-ta’sīsī" (The Most Violent Session the Constituent Assembly Witnesses), which reported that "the assembly decided not to integrate the ministry with trade, representation, and dealings

[784] Al-‘Abd Allāh, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt; Al-Rumayḥī, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981’, p.91-107
[785] Salih, Kamal Osman, “Kuwait’s Parliamentary Elections: An Appraisal”, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, (Winter 1995), p. 185-195
[786] Al- Ṭalī‘ah, No Issue. 799, 29 June 1983
[787] Baz, Ahmed A. S. "Political Elite and Political Development in Kuwait." (Doctoral Dissertation, George Washington University, 1981), p. 20-22
[788] Al-Manīs, Sāmī *al-Ṭalī‘ah fī Ma‘rakat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah, (*Kuwait: Dār Kāẓimah, 1984), p.11.

with the government." This was one of the reasons for the merchants' withdrawal from the political scene. [789] In December 1964, the third ministry resigned due to opposition from the national bloc in the National Assembly, who refused its establishment because most of its members were traders (merchants). This contradicted the constitution, which stated that it was not possible to work in trade and for the government. The head of the National Assembly also resigned because the parliamentarians did not respond to his demand to complete the quorum in the assembly. Later, nine parliamentarians from the assembly resigned due to their opposition to the ministerial reshuffle and their inability to face the enacting of new laws that limited and banned freedoms, such as laying off employees, prohibiting political discussions in clubs, and administratively shutting down newspapers. The government managed to pass these laws through the National Assembly because it had a majority of voters in the parliamentary sessions.[790]

The nationalist political awareness led the members of the Kuwaiti parliament to many achievements in Kuwaiti society. After the constitution had been set, which was at the top of the national demands, the representatives of the people, supported by the public, fought within the National Assembly. Through these fights, they managed to pave the way to free the oil wealth from foreign monopolies and the oppression of the ruling family. Furthermore, a labor code was issued, and unions, associations, and legal bodies were established. Ministerial positions were no longer limited to the ruling family, as the middle class, supported by the merchants, could occupy many ministerial positions. Additionally, the constitution guaranteed a great deal of political expression freedom to the representatives of the national movement. Hence, ministers, including Al-Sabah's sons, could be criticized.[791]

Within the Kuwaiti National Assembly, the Nationalist Movement actively demonstrated its solidarity with regional nationalist forces and its alignment with

[789] Al-Hadaf, a weekly comprehensive Arab newspaper, No issue. 83, second year, Wednesday 24 October 1963, p.1
[790] Al-Naqīb, *ṣirā‘ al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah,* p.37-38
[791] For further information, see: Mubārak, Walīd, tajribat al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wtāthyrhā ‘alá Dawlat al-Imārāt, In: *al-Tajārib al-waḥdawīyah al-‘Arabīyah al-mu‘āṣirah : tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-‘Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah,* Research and Discussions of the Intellectual Symposium, (Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1999), p.216; Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, p. 186

Gamal Abdel Nasser's policy regarding the Yemeni civil war. Upon the outbreak of the Yemeni revolution, the movement formally announced its support for the newly established republic and initiated parliamentary discussions demanding immediate recognition by the Kuwaiti government. In these debates, representatives of the movement, along with some independent deputies, played a pivotal role in securing official recognition of the new Yemeni regime by Kuwait. Furthermore, from 1964 to 1975, the movement consistently denounced the perceived "reactionary" policies of Saudi Arabia and King Faisal towards the Yemeni revolution.[792]

5.5. The Parliament and the Political Opposition

The first session of the assembly witnessed some disagreements between social, political, and governmental forces when 12 members (most of them Arab nationalists) submitted a signed document to the government on April 9, 1964, that included two important issues regarding the reconsideration of Kuwait's foreign policy. The first issue was military cooperation with Britain, while the second issue was the involvement of Arabs in the Cold War struggle between the USA and the USSR. In response, the government announced that it would immediately begin negotiations with Britain to find a system that would abolish the protection agreement of 1961. Additionally, it was requested to start immediate negotiations with the governments of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, who were considering ways and means of creating a federal Arab state in the spring of 1963. Moreover, the National Bloc won a majority vote in the assembly for a resolution deploring French atomic tests in Algeria and requesting the government of Kuwait to assist Algeria in its attempts to nullify the military restrictions imposed by the Evian Agreement with France.[793] This indicates the activity of the Arab nationalists within the assembly, despite its small membership, because it gained support from the merchants and the liberal intellectuals in its struggle with the government.

[792] Al-Rayyis, Riyāḍ Najīb, *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī wa-riyāḥ al-taghyīr : dirāsah ʻan Mustaqbal al-Qawmīyah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-wiḥdah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah*, (Beirut, London: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis Books Ltd., 1987), p. 11.
[793] Aruri, Nasser H., Politics in Kuwait, p. 111-112.

On December 6, 1964, the simmering tension between the Kuwaiti government and the National Assembly erupted anew over a ministerial reshuffle. Assembly members expressed strong opposition, but the government controversially compelled them to take the constitutional oath to the new ministers and defend their proposed program. This coercive action sparked a significant backlash, with opposing members boycotting sessions and effectively grinding the assembly's work to a halt. Consequently, the assembly president, Abdulaziz Hamad Al Saqer, resigned on January 3, 1965. A further flashpoint emerged surrounding oil agreements with foreign companies. Arab nationalist members vehemently opposed the non-financial articles, finding them detrimental to national interests. Their position resonated with most of the assembly, the press, and public opinion, causing considerable embarrassment for the government. The situation was further inflamed by Saudi Arabia's incendiary attacks, labeling the assembly "Nasserite propaganda" in Kuwait and the Gulf. Faced with mounting pressure and a perceived loss of control, the government adopted a series of restrictive measures. A campaign to limit the activities of clubs and associations, particularly their political engagement, was implemented. A campaign to limit the activities of clubs and associations, particularly their political engagement, was implemented. Additionally, a new law granted the government sweeping powers to suspend newspapers for extended periods, revoke publication licenses, and detain foreign nationals accused of inciting unrest.[794]

In response to government-imposed restrictions on public freedoms, Arab nationalist members of the National Assembly boldly declared their dissent by tendering their resignations.[795] They cited their inability to function effectively under such constraints as the primary reason for this drastic step.[796] Notably, Minister of Counseling (al-Inbā' wa-al-Irshād) Jaber al Ali, known for his strong ties to the Arab nationalist movement

[794] The Kuwait Politics Database, a project of Michael Herb at Georgia State University, http://www.kuwaitpolitics.org/positions7.htm; Baaklini, Abdo I. "Legislatures in the Gulf Area: The Experience of Kuwait, 1961-1976." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no. 3 (1982): 359–79.
[795] The members who resigned were Ahmed al Khatib, Yaqoub Yusuf Al-Humaidhi, Rashed Salah Al-Tawheed, Ali Abdulrahman, Al-Omar, Sulaiman Khaled Al Mutawa, Abdul Al-Razzaq Al-Khaled Al-Zayd, Sami Al-Munayyis, and Jasim al-Qatami.
[796] Al- Ṭalī'ah, 8 January 1965, p.6.

and shared ideological commitment, also resigned in a gesture of solidarity.[797] One of the pressing issues championed by the National Assembly was liberating Kuwait's oil wealth from foreign influence and exploitative practices of companies. This concern centered around "royalty expenditure agreements," an ongoing dispute between oil companies and host governments regarding the classification of rent payments as a deductible expense.[798] The National Assembly strongly advocated for treating these payments as public expenditure by the oil companies, fueling extensive parliamentary debate and criticism of the government's approach. The opposition's effectiveness was evident in their successful halt of the government's proposed oil revenue renovation project in 1965. After over a year of fierce negotiation and amendments to the initial proposal, the agreements were finally passed, albeit only after a significant parliamentary crisis.[799]

Capitalizing on internal discord within the nationalist coalition in the National Assembly, the government adroitly maneuvered to advance its agenda. Exploiting fissures between factions, it secured the passage of several restrictive laws and amendments, including one on public gatherings that effectively curtailed freedom of expression. This legislative offensive further targeted public sector employment, associations, clubs, and the press, tightening controls over media activities.[800] Facing this barrage of restrictions, eight nationalist representatives staged a defiant act of protest, tendering their resignations on December 28, 1965. Undeterred, the government swiftly accepted their resignations and filled the vacant seats with eight moderate representatives elected in 1966.[801]

---

[797] Sijill al-ārā' ḥawla al-waqā'i' al-siyāsīyah fī al-bilād al-'Arabīyah li-'ām 1966: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-'Arabī, (Beirut: Sijill al-'Arab , 1966), p. 74.

[798] Marlowe John, *The Persian Gulf in the 20th century*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p 175; Stocking, George Ward, *Middle East oil: a study in political and economic controversy*, (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1971), p. 352

[799] Qāsim, Jamāl, *Al-Khalīj al-'Arabī: dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-mu'āṣir, 1945-1971, (*Cairo: Institute of Arab Research and Studies, 1974), p.58; Al-'Aqqād, *Ma'ālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* p. 44; Baz,"Political Elite and Political Development in Kuwait.", p. 190; Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, p. 91

[800] Al-Ṭabaṭabā'ī, 'Ādil, *al-Sulṭah al-tashrī'īyah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-'Arabī : nash'atuhā, taṭawwuruhā, wa-al-'awāmil al-mu'aththirah fīhā (*Kuwait: Kuwait University Press, 1985), p. 332

[801] Those who resigned were Arab nationalists. Those who won subsequent by-elections for these seats were supporters of the government. For more details see: The Kuwait Politics Database, a project of Michael Herb at Georgia State University http://www.kuwaitpolitics.org/positions7.htm; Al-Rumayḥī, 'Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981', p.91-107

In the wake of the nationalist representatives' resignations, Arab newspapers launched scathing propaganda campaigns against Kuwait's new policies, further exacerbating tensions between the government and nationalist forces. Three months after the resignations, "Al-Ṭalīʿah" magazine, a vocal mouthpiece of the nationalist movement for a year, faced suspension due to an article critical of the government by Sami Al-Munayyis.[802] The government seized upon the opportunity to strengthen its position by leveraging conservative nomadic (Bedouin) communities. Through naturalization and electoral integration, it sought to secure its votes in the National Assembly and bolster its support base against the fading nationalist movement. It also aimed to enlarge the administrative state body to attract Kuwaitis, mainly intellectuals, to governmental positions to expand its support base. Thus, the government could guarantee the support of these two categories against the national movement, which included nationalists and merchants.[803] It is worth noting that these tactics mirrored those employed by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia during his own struggles against Nasserist influence, suggesting a deliberate alignment with regional conservative forces.[804]

The second round of elections, commencing January 25, 1967, revealed the enduring resolve of the National Coalition and its members. Their candidates, determined to reclaim their seats in the National Assembly, posed a significant challenge to the government's agenda. Undeterred, the government resorted to drastic measures and intervened in the electoral process. Police officers seized ballot boxes before their official closure and sealing, raising serious concerns about the integrity of the election. [805] This blatant interference resulted in a weakened assembly, devoid of the National Coalition's most formidable figures. Notably, both Ahmed Al-Khatib and Jasim Al-Qatami, considered pillars of the opposition, were unseated. This paved the way for the government to finally secure passage of the controversial revenue expenditure agreement on May 2, 1967.[806] Despite this apparent victory, the government remained

[802] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ʻalá al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1952-1971*, p.47
[803] Mubārak, Walīd, tajribat al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wtāthyrhā ʻalá Dawlat al-Imārāt, p.216.
[804] Barakāt, *Al-mujtama' al-ʻArabī fī al-qarn al-ʻishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-ʻalāqāt,* p.489.
[805] Al-Nafīsī, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra'y al-ākhar*, p. 98-97.
[806] Qāsim, Al-*Khalīj al-ʻArabī : dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-muʻāṣir, 1945-1971*, p.63.

under intense scrutiny. Twenty-eight candidates, [807] backed by prominent organizations like the Kuwaiti Lawyers Association and the National Union of Kuwaiti Students, vehemently contested the legitimacy of the manipulated election and the subsequent agreement. However, the government, capitalizing on the weakened opposition and their absence from the Assembly, pushed through the ratification of the oil revenue agreements on May 22, 1967.[808]

At the same time, the second-tier leaders of the nationalist movement began to pressure their higher-ups to take a more effective and stricter stance towards these developments, and they demanded a violent and revolutionary response to the authorities. They interpreted the leadership's silence as a form of deception and betrayal. Hence, they refused to participate in parliamentary work as a means to achieve the goals of the movement and instead began to align themselves with leftist ideologies and the strategy of armed struggle. This was in response to the armed revolution happening in Southern Arabia and the growth of armed struggles in "the third world" during the 1960s, mainly in Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos).[809]

The second parliamentary session, stretching from January 1967 to December 1970, witnessed a decline in democratic engagement. The ongoing boycott by liberal opposition forces severely hampered parliamentary effectiveness and fueled frustration among social elites. Despite widespread discontent over the previous election manipulations, Arab nationalists led by Ahmed al-Khatib chose to participate in the subsequent elections held on January 23, 1971. This strategic participation yielded four seats for the nationalist bloc within the third parliamentary session. Notably, Emir Sabah III Al-Salim Al-Sabah (1965-1977) officially inaugurated the

[807] These opponents published a severe statement against the government in a daily newspaper in Kuwait on 28 January 1967 and represented the political intellectual elite at that stage. They were: Abdul Aziz Hamad Saqer, Rashed Al-Farhan, Abdul Al-Razzaq Al-Khaled Al-Zayd, Ahmed Al-Khatib, Sami Al-Munayyis, Abdullah Al-Nibari, Mohammad Al-Kharafi, Ali Al-Omar, Mohamed Al-Adasani, Bader Al-Mudaf, Ahmed Al-Saadoun, Hamad al Bahar, Abdul-Mohsen Al-Zaben, Hamad Al-Mutairi, Humood Al-Nisf, Musaed Al-Saleh, Fajhan al Mutairi, Yusuf Ibrahim al Ghanim, Rashed Al-Tawheed, Abdullah Al-Banwan, Abdullatif Al-Falah, Ali Al Dabbous, Abduallah Zakaria al-Ansari, Bader Bou Qammaz, Mohamed Al-Rashid, Abdul Aziz Al-Fulaij, Abdullah Taha Al-Ali, and Sulaiman Al Mutawa. See, Al-Najjār, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī*, p.153.
[808] Al- Ṭalī‘ah, 9 April 1980, p.8.
[809] Al-‘Awaḍī, ‘Alī Ḥusayn, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wa-taḥawwulātuhā al-yasārīyah wa al-jidhryah, *Al- Ṭalī‘ah* (Kuwait), Issue No. 1873, (8 December 2010).

new session, and Khalid Saleh Al-Ghunaim was elected as the Speaker of the National Assembly.[810]

It seems that the government was successful in gaining control over the opposition that emerged after every parliamentary election. The Arab World Record of 1975 reported that an arrest campaign was carried out in Kuwait on February 25th following the distribution of illegal publications. Additionally, the Kuwaiti government confiscated the "al-Mawāqif" newspaper, which was the official publication of the "Puritan" religious group that lost its seats in the last elections of the Kuwaiti National Assembly.[811]

The dynamic alliances among social forces based on their evolving interests present a noteworthy aspect of the National Assembly elections in Kuwait. Tribal leaders, aiming to counter the influence of intellectuals and merchants perceived as government and ruling family allies, actively participated in elections. Meanwhile, influential merchants, seeking greater participation in decision-making but wary of political engagement, navigated a delicate balance. They aimed to avoid government conflict while maintaining strong ties with the ruling family to safeguard their economic interests.

The liberal intellectuals, spearheaded by Arab nationalists, aimed to reshape Kuwait's foreign policy, fostering closer ties with Arab nations and adopting a more assertive stance towards Britain. Additionally, they advocated for constitutional reforms, critiqued government restrictions on public freedoms, questioned the fairness of elections, and challenged the legitimacy of the individual tribal regime's rule.[812] Tribal dynamics undeniably impacted Kuwait's parliamentary landscape. During elections, large tribes would consolidate power through localized power blocs, exerting pressure on the government. This entrenched tribal loyalty often superseded allegiance to the modern state.[813] Such tribalism hindered democratic processes, serving as a tool for authorities to fragment public participation, weaken political dissent, and garner

[810] See: Asīrī, ʻAbd al-Riḍā, Kamāl al-Munūfī "al-Intikhābāt al-niyābīyah al-sādisah (1985) fī al-Kuwayt : taḥlīl siyāsī", *Majallat al-ʻUlūm al-ijtimāʻīyah*, Year 14, Issue No 1, (Spring of 1986), p. 97-98.
[811] *Sijill al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī : wathāʼiq, aḥdāth, Ārāʼ siyāsīyah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Abḥāth wa-al-Nashr, 1975), vol. 1, p. 287
[812] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, p. 186-187
[813] Al-Ṭabaṭabāʼī, *al-Sulṭah al-tashrīʻīyah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 144-160.

support against the Assembly by manipulating electoral votes, limiting the opposition's size and influence, and controlling the Assembly's composition.[814] In the National Assembly's first four sessions, Bedouin tribes and leaders, often allied with the ruling family through shared interests or kinship, secured a significant majority of seats. This alliance fueled opposition criticism of the government's electoral practices and contributed to the major clashes between the government and the Assembly in previous years. With the escalating tension between the government and the Assembly starting in 1965, "tribalism" and "sectarianism" emerged as new variables in the electoral process. The government undertook a deliberate campaign to naturalize nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, granting citizenship to over 55,000 individuals between 1965 and 1974, with the number exceeding 173,000 by 1982. Furthermore, gerrymandering and vote reallocation across constituencies perpetuated the influence of tribal and sectarian affiliations.[815] In the absence of organized political parties and a relatively low level of public political awareness (as distinct from group or category-based awareness), family, tribe, and sect played a crucial role in determining a candidate's chances of success. The administrative and residential divisions of the country also demonstrably affected election results. For example, the initial electoral division of ten provinces with five seats each effectively granted certain social groups, like the Shiites concentrated in the first (Al-Sharq) and other provinces, near-monopolistic control over specific constituencies. Consequently, certain tribes dominated entire provinces during the first elections from 1963 to 1976, and this pattern persisted even after the constituencies were redrawn.[816]

5.6. Political Awareness, Democratic Development, and Social Change: Understanding Electoral Dynamics in Kuwait

To comprehend the electoral landscape in Kuwait, it is crucial to consider the population demographics in 1979. Statistics indicate a total population of 739,000, of whom 347,000 were Kuwaiti citizens. Notably, Kuwait's ten electoral provinces were demarcated geographically, not on a demographic basis. The 1971 elections saw an

[814] Al-Nafīsī, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra'y al-ākhar*, p.74.
[815] Al-Naqīb, *ṣirā' al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah*, p.40.
[816] Al-Rumayḥī, 'Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt: 1962-1981', p.91-107

electorate of approximately 40,000 with a 60% voter turnout. Offering a glimpse into the early stages of political engagement, an article published in the Lebanese magazine "Al-Ḥawādith" described how "in the country's first elections, candidates needed only around 100 or 200 votes to win a seat." Further highlighting the evolving political awareness among Bedouins, the article cites declarations by two members of the "Al-ʻAwāzim" tribe. One stated that "a candidate's tribe is irrelevant; what matters is their education, intelligence, and dedication to the people and nation, not personal interests." Notably, another Bedouin representative, contesting re-election, described these elections as "the saddest" due to widespread criticism. Some candidates targeted the previous representatives, criticizing their youth, tribal affiliation, university education, and "different thoughts," leading to intra-tribal tensions.[817] Participation in the electoral process transformed the Bedouins into a significant political force, previously marginalized by the traditional system. Their representation in Parliament grew steadily, securing 19 seats in 1963 and reaching 23 by the end of their participation period in 1975-1976.[818]

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a surge in activity among various groupings and blocs within the Kuwaiti National Assembly, particularly following the 1967 elections. These emergent formations, striving to fill the void in institutionalized political expression, aimed to confront traditional societal challenges like tribalism and sectarianism. Distinguished by their burgeoning maturity, these groups developed comprehensive platforms advocating for political and socio-economic reforms. Their vision encompassed a foreign policy grounded in national autonomy, free from external domination, and fostering closer ties with fellow Arab and Gulf states. Furthermore, these groups actively sought to solidify democratic processes within the National Assembly and other administrative bodies. They persistently pressured the authorities to acknowledge the critical role of political participation in decision-making, uphold public freedoms, and fulfill the aspirations of constitutional governance.[819]

[817] *Sijill al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī : wathāʼiq, aḥdāth, Ārāʼ siyāsīyah,* p. 271-274.
[818] Al-Rumayḥī, ʻTajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt: 1962-1981ʼ, p.91-107
[819] See Jasim Al-Qatami's intervention on Baqer Al-Najjar's paper: Al-Najjār, Bāqir, "Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah", p. 601-602.

The rising number of candidates and voters in each election demonstrably reflected the burgeoning political awareness among Kuwaitis. This growing engagement materialized in the emergence of various electoral groupings and platforms. The Progressive Democratic Rally, also known as Al-Ṭalīʻah Bloc, stood out for its program presented in the January 1970 elections. In 1974, Ahmed Al-Khatib spearheaded the National Action Program for The People's Representatives (Barnāmaj al-ʻamal al-Waṭanī li-nūwāb al-Shaʻb), fielding 13 candidates across 10 constituencies.[820] Al-Khatib's program faced its most significant challenge from Abdulaziz Almasaeed's gathering, associated with the newspaper "al-Raʾy al-ʻāmm." Other notable formations included the Nationalist Gathering (al-Tajammuʻ al-Waṭanī) led by Jasim Al-Qatami, a former colleague of Al-Khatib. Further enriching the political landscape were programs like the 'Work of the National Gathering (Nasserist)' in November 1974, the document of the Liberal Democratic Gathering, the National Constitutional Youth Action Program, [821] and the Popular Gathering. [822] Additional programs included the platform of the Democratic Action Movement (Hamad), the Constitutional Gathering featuring four lawyers, and the Islamic Gathering led by former minister Yusuf Sayed Najm Al-Rifai and represented by six candidates. These

[820] This gathering was founded in the early 1970s and was liberal, headed by Abdulaziz Almasaeed, the founder of "al-Raʾy al-ʻāmm". It included many businessmen and merchants who were members of the National Assembly. Its slogan was "Kuwait for the Kuwaitis," and it adopted issues related to expanding education and health services, protecting, and defending Kuwait, taking control over national resources, and determining oil production. Al-Tamīmī, Yūsuf Ḥ. D. " al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah" (Master's thesis, Baghdad University, College of Political Science, 1991), p. 157.

[821] It was a gathering of intellectuals who participated in the 1971 National Assembly elections as a single list and presented an electoral program. The program included loyalty to Al-Sabah dynasty, the maintenance and development of the 1962 constitution, democracy, and public freedoms, the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, directing national funds towards building national industries, providing assistance instead of importing foreign products, nationalizing oil, and reducing production. Its main figures were Khaled Khalaf, Ali Al-Dashti, Khalil Ibrahim, and Mustafa Al-Sarraf. ʻAbd Allāh, Al-taṭawwur al-tārīkhī lil-Majālis al-tashrīʻīyah fī al-Kuwayt, 1921-1971,,p. 133.

[822] An alliance of tribes, families, and some political forces, its main figures were Khalid Al-Massoud Al Fuhaid. The alliance called for addressing the issue of the absence of political action and replacing it with tribalism and familism, taking a clear stance towards foreign companies, finding new resources other than oil, distributing wealth fairly among citizens, and supporting the experience of the common sector (both private and public). Al-Tamīmī, "al-Kuwayt: dirāsah tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah, p. 158.

diverse programs resonated with various segments of the electorate, influencing their political stances and shaping the composition of the National Assembly.[823]

Evaluating Kuwait's parliamentary experience and democratic practice has yielded diverse perspectives. Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb contends that the root of the democratic crisis lies in the ruling family's failure to uphold the constitution and its tenets, thus perpetuating the instability.[824] In contrast, Ahmed Al-Khatib emphasizes the consensus among opposition forces that respecting the 1962 constitution and adhering to its legal framework remains the key to resolving the current conflict. Al-Khatib further argues that the democratic experience has attracted social and political elites, who often pursue their personal interests by seeking positions of power, influence, and privilege.[825]

Abdullah Al-Nibari adopts a critical stance towards the Kuwaiti National Assembly, arguing that it has "prioritized opposition and criticism over contributing to political decision-making and shaping public policies". He contends that "the Assembly's primary achievement has been obstructing government projects, such as the implementation of the 1964 oil revenues agreement."[826] Conversely, Saad Eddin Ibrahim presents a more optimistic interpretation of Kuwait's experience, characterizing it as a form of liberal democracy shaped by Western influences. He draws a distinction between Kuwait and its Gulf neighbors, deeming it the "moment of liberal democracy" in the region.[827]

Ghassan Salame suggests that while commercial families may have initially pressured the ruling family towards democratic reforms and free elections, it was public demand that ultimately led to the suspension of constitutional processes, repeated dissolutions of the National Assembly, the appointment of representatives, and the ruling family's

[823] Al-Rumayḥī, 'Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981', p.91-107; *Sijill al-'ālam al-'Arabī : wathā'iq, aḥdāth, Ārā' siyāsīyah,* Vol. 1, p. 271-274

[824] Al-Naqīb, Khaldūn Ḥasan, "Miḥnat al-Dustūr fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī : al-'Almānīyah wa-al-uṣūlīyah wa-azmat al-ḥurrīyah", *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, vol 17, Issue No. 184, (1994), p. 34.

[825] Al- Ṭalī'ah, 11 March 1981, p. 9 ; Al- Ṭalī'ah, 9 April 1980 p. 95.

[826] See Abdullah Al-Nibari's intervention on Mohammed al-Rumaihi's paper: Al-Rumayḥī, *Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981*, p. 668.

[827] Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Ed.) Ghassān Salāmah, 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Hirmāsī, Khaldūn al-Naqīb, al-Mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1988), p. 186-187, 193

retention of key positions within the state apparatus.[828] Abdallah Al-Nafisi argues that despite facing criticism, the parliamentary experience in Kuwait has bolstered liberal currents within the country, the broader Gulf region, and even regional attempts to implement democracy drawing on past experiences.[829] Michael Hudson highlights Kuwait's historical role as a hub for parliamentary life in the Gulf, even amidst periods of suspension. However, he characterizes the current system as a hybrid "Tribal democracy," where the ruling family seeks to maintain influence and control through elections while facing challenges to its legitimacy and criticism from liberal forces. This unique system, he proposes, can be seen as a new form of democracy, aptly dubbed "Desert Democracy," with the parliament functioning as a "Tribal Shura Council."[830]

The Kuwaiti experience with democracy offers a valuable case study of the multifaceted challenges faced by democratic systems in the Arab world. These challenges encompass operationalizing democratic principles, managing conflicts between social and economic forces, navigating the complex dynamics between the public and institutions, and reconciling Western democratic models with a local context shaped by tribal traditions, Arab identity, and Islamic values.[831] To further illuminate the development of political awareness among Kuwaiti parliament members, a closer examination of specific topics and debates during parliamentary sessions and interactions with the government between 1963 and 1975 is essential. The subsequent section undertakes this analysis, tracing the evolution of political awareness through these concrete instances. By delving into these specific debates and engagements, we gain valuable insights into how parliament members grappled with the complex challenges of their nascent democracy.

5.7. Key Issues and Political Awareness in the Kuwaiti Parliament

During the nascent years of the Kuwaiti Parliament, Arab unity emerged as a pivotal concern for the opposition, significantly impacting the dynamics of parliamentary

[828] Salāmah, Ghassān "al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah ka-adāh lil-Salām al-madanī", p. 127.
[829] Al-Nafīsī, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra'y al-ākhar*, p. 74, 91
[830] Hudson, "Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East.", p. 24, 83-84, 91, 188
[831] For additional information, see: Al-Naqīb, *ṣirā' al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah.*

blocs. This issue had far-reaching effects, as evidenced by events surrounding the Tripartite Unity discussions in March 1963 in Cairo. Twelve deputies advocated for the abrogation of the assistance agreement between Kuwait and Britain, arguing that its presence hindered the nation's full participation in such discussions. The government, however, maintained that no contradiction existed between these two positions. Nevertheless, this assurance proved short-lived, as the unity talks ultimately failed to materialize.[832] Further highlighting the centrality of Arab unity to the opposition's political awareness, "Al-Ṭalīʿah magazine," a mouthpiece for the movement, launched a campaign against the government following the deportation of numerous Yemeni workers and students who joined Kuwaiti citizens in strikes to express their support for unity. This incident demonstrates the extent to which the opposition linked domestic issues to their broader Pan-Arab vision, showcasing the interconnectedness of their political awareness.[833]

Furthermore, members of the Kuwaiti Parliament actively embraced a wide range of Arab and nationalist causes, particularly the Palestinian struggle and support for Arab liberation movements. This commitment manifested in concrete actions. On March 9, 1965, in response to West Germany's planned diplomatic relations with “Israel”, the National Assembly unanimously recommended a full economic and diplomatic boycott of West Germany. This decisive stance further underlined the parliament's strong opposition to “Israel's” existence and recognition. [834] Similarly, on April 24, 1965, the Assembly held an emergency session to condemn President Bourguiba's [835] call for an understanding with “Israel” at the expense of the Palestinian cause.[836] In a conjoint statement, the members declared that Arabs would "never accept anything less than the return of Palestinians to a free Arab Palestine, regardless of the price." This statement explicitly rejected the notion of compromise on the Palestinian issue,

[832] Qāsim, *Al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī : dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-muʿāṣir, 1945-1971*, p.58 ; al-ʿAqqād, Ṣalāḥ, Al-istiqrār wa-al-ʿawāmil al-muḍāddah fī al-Kuwayt , *al-siyāsah al-Dawlīyah Journal*, Issue No. 43, (Jan 1976), p. 152.
[833] "al-Kuwayt bilād al-ʿArab, alam taʿud bilād al-ʿArab", *Al- Ṭalīʿah*, Kuwait, 23 March 1963.
[834] Al-Ahrām 10/3, Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʿām 1965, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967), vol. 1, p. 224.
[835] Habib Bourguiba, president of Tunisia (1957-1987)
[836] In addition to this, protests were held in Kuwait on 15 March 1965 against the Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba (1957-1987) wherever he went, during his visit to Kuwait, due to his declarations about the Palestinian crisis and the state of Arab relations. Al Ahram, 15 March 1965, Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʿām 1965, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967).

characterizing it as a "colonial logic" unacceptable to any true Arab.[837] Finally, on the eve of the 1967 war, the National Assembly denounced “Israel's” military mobilization on the Syrian borders on May 16. They held both Britain and the United States directly responsible for this action due to their ongoing support for “Israel”.[838] This act further highlighted the parliament's awareness of international dynamics impacting the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In this context, the assembly convened a meeting to discuss the developments of the crisis in the Middle East. Some members demanded that the government nationalize the USA's share of Kuwait's oil, stop its flows to “the colonial states,” and take action against any state that teams up with “Israel.” The Prime Minister addressed the assembly, calling for arrangements to send Kuwaiti forces to fight alongside the Arab forces. He also stated that the government had instructed the Foreign Affairs Minister to inform the representatives of major powers that any state taking part in the aggression against the Arabs would subject its interests in Kuwait to a threat. Towards the end of the meeting, the assembly denounced US President Lyndon B. Johnson's (1963-1969) declaration regarding navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, expressed strong disapproval of Iran’s stance towards “Israel” and its supply of oil, thanked the countries that supported the Arab issue and sent complaint letters to the states that supported "Israel's" position.[839]

On the morning of June 5, 1967, the Kuwaiti National Assembly, convening on the first day of the Arab-Israeli War, unanimously ratified a decree declaring Kuwait in a state of war against the Zionist entity. This swift and decisive action demonstrated the nation's unwavering support for the Arab cause. The following day, the Kuwaiti cabinet enacted a strategic embargo, halting oil exports to the United States and Britain, key allies of “Israel”. Further underscoring its commitment, the Assembly, in a subsequent session on June 7, allocated 25 million Kuwaiti Dinars to support the

[837] Al-Ahrām 25/4), Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1965, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967), p.225.
[838] Al-Nahār 17/5 Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1967, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969), p. 302.
[839] Al-Nahār 28/5 and Al-Ahrām, 27/5), Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1967, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969), p.303-304

Arab war effort.[840] This substantial financial contribution highlighted the parliament's active role in bolstering the regional defense against “Israeli” aggression.

The public level of engagement echoed the parliament's stance. Popular fundraising initiatives garnered a remarkable 365 million dollars in donations for the Egyptian army, showcasing widespread solidarity with the frontline nation. In a further display of public sentiment, nationalist groups staged demonstrations in support of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and his struggle against colonial powers. The depth of public support became especially evident when Nasser's announced resignation sparked large-scale protests throughout Kuwait, demanding his reinstatement.[841]

In response to Iran's occupation of the UAE islands, some Kuwaiti parliament members advocated for a resolute stance, including severing diplomatic relations with the United States, the United Kingdom, and Iran itself.[842] This assertive approach reflected a strong sense of regional solidarity and a perceived need to hold accountable those perceived as complicit in the occupation. However, this proposal faced counter-arguments from the Kuwaiti delegate in New York, who emphasized the importance of a calibrated response. The delegate's reasoning centered on Egypt's apparent lack of interest in pursuing the issue through international forums like the United Nations or the League of Arab States.[843] Recognizing the delicate nature of inter-Arab relations and the potential for Kuwait to be isolated in its response, the delegate advocated for a more restrained approach.

In response to the conflict between the Jordanian regime and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) known as "Black September," members of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, as reported by the newspaper "al-Ra’y al-‘āmm" on March 10th, advocated for redirecting Kuwait's aid from Jordan to "the Palestinian revolution." This proposal ignited debate within the Assembly, prompting Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salim

[840] Al-ḥyāt 8/6, Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1967, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969), p. 304.
[841] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, al-Nāṣirīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, *al-Thaqāfah al-‘Arabīyah*, Issue 12, (October 1974), 10-13; Al-Saddānī, *Riwāyat al-Kuwayt: Malḥamat al-tārīkh allatī lā tunas,* p. 119-120; Al-Rayyis, *al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wa-riyāḥ al-taghyīr : dirāsah ‘an Mustaqbal al-Qawmīyah al-‘Arabīyah wa-al-wiḥdah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah*, p.11
[842] Department of State, Central Intelligence Bulletin, 1 December 1971, Issue 0287/71, p.8-9
[843] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976 Volume XXIV, Middle East Region, and Arabian Peninsula, 1969–1972; Jordan, September 1970, Document 110, Washington, December 1, 1971

Al-Sabah (15-24 January 2006) to request a closed session for further discussion. Ultimately, on April 7th, the Assembly expressed its solidarity with the PLO through a letter from Speaker Khaled Saleh Al-Ghunaim, condemning the "Arab bloodshed in Jordan by Arab hands" during this "embarrassing era in Arab history."[844]

On January 6, 1973, a group of Kuwaiti deputies from the National Assembly submitted a proposal to the government advocating for the strategic utilization of oil as a political weapon against Western nations. Their rationale stemmed from several key concerns: the ongoing aggression of “Israel” against Arab countries, the persistent violation of Palestinian rights, and the major powers' unwavering support for “Israel's” occupation of Arab territories. The deputies further expressed apprehension regarding the apparent lack of Western concern for their significant economic and oil interests within the Arab world. Additionally, anticipating a potential major conflict between “Israeli” forces and the Arab Republic of Egypt, they recommended that the National Assembly advise the government to implement a full freeze on all relations with Western oil companies at the outset of such hostilities, thereby accelerating Arab access to their own oil resources for military purposes.[845]

On March 2nd, the Kuwaiti National Assembly issued a resolute statement reaffirming its unwavering support for the Palestinian cause. This statement urged the government to maintain its diplomatic efforts, warn the international community of the dire consequences of neglecting the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, and denounce the United States' ongoing support for “Israel”. Additionally, it called upon the government to leverage its diplomatic ties with the USSR to advocate for a halt to Jewish migration to "occupied territory." [846] Further highlighting the National Assembly's proactive stance, on October 11, 1973, 36 deputies released a forceful statement demanding a reevaluation of oil export policies towards the USA. This statement proposed a multifaceted approach, including the withdrawal of Kuwaiti financial holdings from the United States and the provision of both financial and

[844] Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1971, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975), p. 189.
[845] Al Ray Al-Aam 7/1/1973, Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1973, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1976), p. 186
[846] Al Ray Al-Aam 3/3/1973, Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1973, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1976), Vol. 1, p. 186.

military support to Arab frontline forces engaged in the ongoing conflict.[847] The National Assembly's commitment to the Palestinian issue remained unwavering throughout the 1970s. In 1975, on March 16th, it condemned “Israel's” attempts to internationalize the city of Jerusalem (al-Quds), echoing a previous parliamentary resolution. This firm stance resonated with the Kuwaiti public, who strongly opposed the Sinai Interim Agreement signed between Egypt and “Israel” in September 1975.[848] This public opposition culminated in a nationwide strike declared on September 15th to denounce the agreement.[849]

In conclusion, the actions and pronouncements of the Kuwaiti National Assembly during the examined period vividly illustrate the political awareness of its members. Notably, their consistent dedication to the Palestinian cause, vocal denunciations of “Israel's” occupation of Arab lands, and advocacy for utilizing oil as a political weapon against Western nations stand as a testament to their unwavering commitment to Arab solidarity and the advancement of regional interests. This commitment extended beyond the parliamentary chambers, as evidenced by the active engagement of the Kuwaiti public in political issues, demonstrably showcased through protests and strikes. These collective actions effectively shaped Kuwait's foreign policy and solidified its position as a vocal champion for the rights and aspirations of the Arab world.

This chapter has undertaken a nuanced exploration of the multifaceted development of political awareness among members of the Kuwaiti Parliament (Majlis al-'Umma). It has navigated the intricate historical context, illuminated the roles of key figures, and revealed the challenges encountered during the nation's transition from a tribal system to a nascent parliamentary democracy. The emergence of legislative councils, culminating in the establishment of the National Assembly, stands as a pivotal marker in Kuwait's political evolution. These institutions served as a crucible for fostering

[847] Al-Qabas Newspaper, the National Assembly, Issue No. 505, Second Year, 11 October 1973, p.1.
[848] A diplomatic agreement signed by Egypt and “Israel” on September 4, 1975, with the intention of peacefully resolving territorial disputes. See: The Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions (Box 5 - September 1, 1975 - Sinai Disengagement Agreement - Documents (1)) at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library
https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0331/1553990.pdf
[849] Al-Nahār 8 September1975, Quoting from: Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1975, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978), p. 206

political awareness, both among the social elite and within the broader populace. The chapter has shed light on the struggles of diverse political groups – liberal intellectuals, merchants, and nationalists – who actively shaped the trajectory of Kuwait's parliamentary experience. Their persistent efforts yielded significant achievements, including securing political freedoms, challenging government policies, and advocating for social change. However, the chapter also acknowledges the persistent challenges that continue to cast a shadow over Kuwait's democratic aspirations. Tribalism and sectarianism remain potent forces, often manipulated by the government to maintain control over the Assembly and stifle dissent. This complex interplay of forces highlights the delicate balancing act inherent in Kuwait's parliamentary system, where the pursuit of democratic ideals constantly grapples with the legacies of traditional social structures and the ever-present influence of the ruling family.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL AWARENESS WITHIN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: CLUBS, PARTIES, AND ASSOCIATIONS FOR PUBLIC BENEFIT MEMBERS

This chapter examines the development of political awareness within the public sphere of Kuwait, with a particular focus on members of clubs, parties, and associations for public benefit. Utilizing journals containing literary and cultural content as a unique lens, the chapter unveils the political undercurrent that thrived within these seemingly apolitical spaces. The articles and publications produced by these entities profoundly reflect their political leanings, offering valuable insights into the evolution of political awareness not only among members but also within the broader Kuwaiti public sphere.

The following sections delve into the intricate relationship between cultural publications and political awareness. They explore the role of the press, parties, and publications; the activities of clandestine groups; and the influence of diverse political ideologies, including the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, the Islamic orientation, and the Arab nationalist trend. By illuminating these complex dynamics, the chapter aims to gain a deeper understanding of how political awareness flourished in the Kuwaiti public sphere despite the constraints imposed by the political landscape.

6.1. Introduction

A defining characteristic of Kuwait's political landscape is the absence of formally recognized political parties. While the constitution does not explicitly prohibit their creation, the government offers no encouragement or support for their establishment. Consequently, no official political parties exist in Kuwait. Instead, the political landscape is shaped by "quasi-party formations," such as those espousing Nasserists “Nasserism”, Baʿathists “Ba'athism”, Muslim Brotherhood ideologies, and Communism. Notably, political opposition in Kuwait frequently utilizes professional, cultural, and religious public associations as platforms for their activities. In some

instances, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, these associations served as "social facades" for political engagement and discourse.[850]

Given the political environment in Kuwait, ideologues shifted their activities and opinions towards public associations, sports, and cultural clubs. More than 20 clubs and popular leagues were founded per the Clubs Act. Additionally, many secret doctrinal parties emerged, representing various political affiliations in the Arab world unofficially. Moreover, more than 13 magazines and newspapers were established. The political discourse of these institutions called for ending imperialist monopolies over national oil wealth, ending British protection imposed on Kuwait, and including people in political decision-making through political and socioeconomic reforms towards the modernization of the state. They advocated for a shift from absolute rule (tribal rule) to constitutional rule (civil rule) in the light of the modern state. Civil society institutions led the campaign for a constitution and the establishment of a legislative assembly elected by the people.[851]

6.2. Press, Parties, and Publications

Freedom of the press and publication held significant importance for ideologists, representing the fundamental right of individuals to express their views through newspapers, magazines, and other publications. These media platforms played a crucial role in disseminating awareness and fostering political and intellectual discourse. However, the Gulf regimes exerted tight control over this freedom, often acting upon the recommendations of British political advisors and agents. This resulted in the banning and suspension of numerous publications on various pretexts, including their discussion of sensitive political issues, alleged disrespect for public ethics, the

[850] Muḥammad, Walīd Sālim, taḥaddiyāt al-tajribah al-barlamānīyah fī al-Kuwayt, *Abḥāth Magazine*, College Of Basic Education Research Journal, Vol.11, No. 4, (2012), p. 648; Al-Rumayḥī, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981’ , p.91-107.

[851] Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash’at al-tajammu‘āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975),* p. 13; Al-Saqqāf, *Taṭawwur al-Wa‘y al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt,* p.32-33; Al-Ṣāliḥ, ‘Uthmān ‘Abd al-Malik, "Ḥuqūq al-insān wa-Ḍamānātuhā: dirāsah muqārinah fī Dasātīr al-Khalīj wa-al-i‘lānāt al-‘Ālamīyah wa-uṣūl Hādhihi al-Ḥuqūq fī al-Islām, *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Year 5, No. 18, (April 1979), p. 48-49.

dissemination of Western ideologies deemed incompatible with the Islamic Arab society, and direct criticism of the regime and the British administration. [852]

Consequently, the press in Kuwait and Bahrain has endured a long and turbulent history marked by censorship and limitations on the expression of dissenting views. This climate of suppression was enforced through repeated suspensions of newspapers and magazines, further exacerbating existing tensions and fostering divisions within society. For instance, the Kuwaiti government shut down both Kuwait News and al-Raʾy al-ʻāmm newspapers in August 1966 as a consequence of their critical coverage of sensitive government policies. Similarly, the Bahraini government repeatedly closed Al-Qāfilah and Al-Waṭan newspapers for similar offenses. In most instances, the censored publications were left with a stark message emblazoned across the blank front page: "deleted by the censorship."[853]

The articles published in Kuwaiti magazines and the publications disseminated by clandestine groups resonated widely among citizens. This highlighted the importance of political work in realizing professional and national demands and pointed to the level of political awareness of these groups. Furthermore, it fueled public anger against British policy and the government.[854] With increasing foreign control, the activity of national groups intensified, accompanied by a shift in the Arab national movement that contributed to fostering new awareness. In 1954, the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace was established in Kuwait, comprising opponents of foreign military bases in Kuwait, in response to the Arab liberation movement. [855] The committee's first action was to distribute a publication calling for resistance against colonial powers and US-Anglo defence projects and urging Kuwaitis to struggle relentlessly,[856] stating: “The National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait calls on you to struggle relentlessly against the conspiracy to turn your peaceful country into a military base for the British and American colonizers, who have spread

[852] For more information see: al-Shāyijī, *al-Ṣiḥāfah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn mundhu nashʾatuhā ḥattá ʻahd al-istiqlāl*.
[853] Sijill al-ārāʾ ḥawla al-waqāʾiʻ al-siyāsīyah fī al-bilād al-ʻArabīyah li-ʻām 1966 : al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, p.23
[854] Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nashʾat al-tajammuʻāt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975),* p. 9.
[855] Al-Rumayḥī, *Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981,* p. 648
[856] FO 371/109811, p. 9-10 “Appeal by the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait” https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109811/n/9

their military bases, airports, and harbours in our dear country in the name of civilization and education." [857]

In addition to the previously mentioned publications, the Kuwaiti political scene saw the emergence of a series of anonymous pamphlets described by the British political agent as "subversive." These pamphlets contained explicit expressions of opposition to the British and "the imperialists," alongside nationalist slogans and criticisms of corruption within various governmental departments. The political agent was unable to ascertain the source of these pamphlets, whether they originated from an organized association, party, or individual. This lack of clarity resulted in conflicting reports and interpretations, with the agent attributing them at times to foreign-backed communist elements seeking to sow chaos, and at others to individuals or groups motivated by nationalist ideals evident in the content of the publications. The increasingly vocal political activity in Kuwait was a source of concern for the political agent, particularly the shift from mere pamphlets to more organized forms of communication, including a clandestine newspaper titled "The Banner of the People of Kuwait" (Rāyah al-Shaʿb al-Kuwaytī). This newspaper featured anti-imperialist slogans, attacked British protection, and criticized the working conditions in major oil companies like Aminoil (the American Independent Oil Company), KOC (the Kuwait Oil Company), and Aramco (The Arabian American Oil Company, the main developer of Saudi Arabia's oil fields). Additionally, it included articles critical of the government and called for the establishment of a founding association to organize free democratic elections.[858]

While the government was subject to criticism in these publications, the primary focus remained on the oil companies and the alleged exploitation of regional oil resources by Western capitalists. This awareness is exemplified by the widespread distribution of the pamphlet "The Stolen Oil" by Lebanese author Yusuf Khattar al Helou. Notably, a chapter dedicated to Kuwait accused the Kuwait Oil Company of concealing profits, exploiting its workers, and participating in widespread corruption within government

[857] FO 371/109811, p. 10. "Appeal by the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait" https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109811/n/10
[858] FO 371/109810, Political Agency, Kuwait, August 26, 1954, "Pamphlets signed by a body known as the Kuwait Democratic League", p. 95 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/95

departments alongside oil companies. The pamphlet further criticized the British connection, questioning the influence of British advisors and, by extension, the entire system of Sheikh's rule. This fueled calls for the convening of a constituent assembly to draft a constitution. These publications aimed to expose the exploitation of the region's oil resources by US and British monopolies, prioritizing their interests over the development of oil-rich nations. These publications aimed to expose the perceived exploitation of the region's oil resources by US and British monopolies, prioritizing their interests over the development of oil-rich nations.[859] Regarding the British perspective on the Kuwaiti stance towards administrative corruption, the political agent observed that "the townsmen have maintained a strong pressure on the Ruler to introduce some counterbalance to the personal rule of the members of his family who head the departments of government."[860]

In a publication titled "A Call from the Free Democrats to the People of Kuwait," a group known as "the Free Democrats" issued a statement in 1954 condemning the government and imperialism. The statement read, "The ruler who rejected your petition for democratic rule is now in Lebanon, enjoying a nice time." Instead of addressing your concerns, he appointed some of his relatives and associates to investigate the well-known scandals. He was deceiving you in this, and nothing will be done to address your fair and rightful demands. "It is true that you cannot do anything about this because you are not united." With Unity, you will be able to accomplish anything and liberate yourselves from tyrants. The Free Democrats are doing their best for your benefit, and they only ask that you communicate with them in writing. "Free Democrats" (al-Dīmuqrāṭīyīn al-Aḥrār).[861] Some of these

[859] F.O.,371/109810/69213.
[860] FO 371/109810, Political Agency, Kuwait, August 5, 1954, p. 86 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/86
[861] FO 371/109810, A Call from the Free Democrats to the People of Kuwait", p. 98 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/98

publications ended with the statement, "Death and shame to imperialism and its hirelings."[862]

The government's closure and subsequent ban of Al-Ṭalīʿah magazine significantly impacted its operations. This action stemmed from the magazine's critical articles on political affairs in the Gulf region and its vocal support for the liberal demands of opposition forces. Al-Ṭalīʿah expressed its belief that the ongoing regime crisis, rooted in both political and socio-economic issues, could only be resolved through a democratic process that respected the constitution's letter and spirit, public freedoms, press, associations, unions, and guaranteed the right of all citizens to express their opinions.[863] One of Al-Ṭalīʿah's writers, defiant in the face of government pressure, commented, "The right is always on top, and Al-Ṭalīʿah is the progressive voice of the nation. The continuous arrests are proof of our clean pens."[864] Despite threats and intimidation, the magazine continued its critique of the government by publishing sensitive issues concerning political affairs, including the "scandal of election fraud and secret U.S. military bases." This led to a lawsuit filed by the government, sparking public debate and culminating in the magazine's acquittal by the court. [865] However, the controversy resurfaced when one of Al-Ṭalīʿah's writers published an article in the "Bi-Lā khawf" (Without Fear) column, criticizing internal affairs and discussing the perceived negative effects of foreign immigration, particularly focusing on Iranian and other "foreign infiltrators" in the region.[866]

The Kuwaiti club scene saw the establishment of several notable organizations, including the Literary Club (al-Nādī al-Adabī) in 1923, followed by the Collaboration Club (Nādī al-Taʿāwun) in 1949, the National Cultural Club (al-Nādī al-Thaqāfī al-Qawmī) in 1951 (later renamed the Independence Club (Nādī al-istiqlāl) in 1963), the

[862] FO 371/109810, p. 99
https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/99
[863] Al- Ṭalīʿah, 03 April 1968, p.04.
[864] Al- Ṭalīʿah, 04 November 1970.
[865] Al- Ṭalīʿah, 11 November 1970.
[866] Al- Ṭalīʿah, Issue No.277, 29 April 1970; ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣiḥāfat al-Kuwayt : ruʾyah ʿāmmah bayna al-dawāfiʿ wa-al-natāʾij,* p. 261-262.

Youth Club (Nādī al-Shabāb), the Island Club (Nādī al-Jazīrah), and the Solidarity Club (Nādī al-Taḍāmun). [867]

Following the establishment of the Teachers' Club and its magazine "Al Rā'id" in 1951, the cultural landscape of Kuwait continued to evolve. [868] This club was spearheaded by Ahmed Al-Adwani and Hamad Al-Rjib upon their return from Cairo. The mid-1950s saw the emergence of Al-Irshād Al-Islamiya Association dedicated to Islamic thought through its magazine "Al-Irshād." [869] Simultaneously, the National Cultural Club, founded by graduates returning from Egypt and Lebanon, embraced nationalist ideals. Their magazine, "Al Īmān," launched in 1953, became a prominent voice for Arab nationalism in the Gulf region, alongside a weekly supplement titled "Sada Al Īmān." [870] Its founders included graduates from Egyptian and Lebanese universities, such as Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, Ahmed al-Khatib, Yusuf Ibrahim al Gahnim, Abdul Al-Razzaq Al-Basir, and others. Its editorial board, including Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, Ahmed al-Khatib, Yusuf Ibrahim al Ghanim, and Yusuf Mishari focused on raising awareness of the Palestinian cause, denouncing "Zionist crimes," and disseminating works by leading Arab nationalists. [871] Ahmed al-Khatib, a co-founder of the club, explained the magazine's title, "Al Īmān," as an expression of their deep conviction that their people deserved a better life, motivating them to establish the club and publish the magazine. [872]

This burgeoning national awareness is further illustrated by an article published in "Al Īmān" in March 1954. The article describes the club's establishment as driven by a "nationalist call rooted in true Arab characteristics." Furthermore, Ahmed Al-Saqqaf reflects on the widespread reception of their publications, highlighting their commitment to "spreading nationalist thought" and rejecting any opposing views as

[867] Al-Naqīb, *ṣirā' al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah*, p. 35.
[868] The issues of the magazine (1952-1954) can be obtained from the following link: https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/257 https://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%8A+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%86+%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%AA%22
[869] Al-Sharabāṣī, Aḥmad*, Ayyām al-Kuwayt, (*Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1953), p. 318-324.
[870] Al-Mudayris, al-Nādī al-Thaqāfī al-Qawmī wa-Tanmiyat al-Thaqāfah al-siyāsīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, p. 49-75; Al-Sharabāṣī*, Ayyām al-Kuwayt*, p. 357.
[871] Al-Sharabāṣī*, Ayyām al-Kuwayt*, p. 358; Ḥasan, *Al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah wa-al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 214.
[872] Ahmed al Khatib, Al Īmān, Al Īmān Magazine, Issue No. 1, (January1953), p.14.

detrimental to Arab progress. In the middle of the same year, the weekly annexe "al Īmān" was published. In this context, Ahmed Al-Saqqaf states that these publications were admired by readers in Arabic Kuwait, just like "al Īmān" was admired by Arabs in Sham, Aden, Iraq, Najd, Kuwait, Egypt, Bahrain, and Marrakesh. He adds that as youths with considerable awareness and perception, they saw that their duty obliged them to work faithfully towards spreading nationalist thought and to consider any opposition to this call from any side as being on behalf of despicable thought.[873] The preamble of the first issue in 1953 was entitled “Klmtnā al-ūlá” (our first word). It stated that “the Arab people are eternal, from al Muhammara (Muḥammarah) in the center of Arabistan to Casablanca, the capital of struggling Marrakech, and from Alexandretta to Aden and Muscat. The setbacks, disasters, and catastrophes would not end its eternality, rather, they test its strength, merits, and competency to endure forever”. [874]

Ahmed Al-Saqqaf further emphasized the nationalist orientation of Kuwaiti nationals, stating, "The people of this young Arab emirate are no less interested or attached (aware) to Arab affairs and national issues than their brothers in the North, South, East, and West of the region. They should be even more interested and supportive of Arab issues, not only because of their extensive travels within the Arab world and historical ties with other Arab nations, but also because their ancestors hail from various regions such as Najd, Al Hasa, Bahrain, Iraq, and beyond. Moreover, the Arab emirates have reached a stage of readiness that enables them to make significant contributions to Arabism."[875] The point that needs attention is that the magazine mentioned the term “nation” without an exact definition and spoke about the liberation of the region’s people from domination that lasted six centuries without paying attention to the British presence in the region and the reality that completely contrary to what they mentioned in their literature.

The inaugural issue of al-Īmān displayed a commitment to regional collaboration, expressing solidarity with fellow Gulf publications like Al-Ba‘thah, Al Rā’id, Ṣawt al-Baḥrayn, and Al-Qāfilah. Notably, though, it did not explicitly invoke a shared "Gulf

[873] Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 13, March 1954, p. 282
[874] Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 1, January 1953, p. 12.
[875] Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 1, January 1953, p. 12.

identity" as a unifying element. However, this concept later came into focus when the magazine discussed the development of a common identity between Kuwait and its neighboring emirates, Sharjah and Qatar, particularly in the context of establishing "Bayt al-Khalīj" (the Gulf House). [876] Turning to Kuwaiti identity specifically, al-Īmān appears to demonstrate an awareness of its distinct character. The fourth issue emphasizes the inherent Arabness of Kuwait, stating that "its past, present, and future dictate its Arab orientation." This essence is further defined by "the coastline of Kuwait, the Arabian Peninsula, and the presence of the Arab emirate."[877]

An article by the Palestinian Kamel Al Aasli in al-Īmān magazine highlighted the crucial role Kuwaiti media could play in fostering public awareness. He emphasized the potential for radio and news reports to not only inform Kuwaitis about political and socio-economic issues but also to promote intellectual understanding and rapprochement among the Arab world's peoples.[878] It is worth mentioning that the magazine focused on the feminist voice in the region and included some articles by female writers, such as Ghanima Al Marzouk in her article entitled " Ḥurrīyat al-mar'ah" (The Freedom of Women). In it, she called for granting women enough freedom to serve their society. She ended her article by saying, "You, my revolutionary colleagues, have written your revolution in your breasts for a long time. But now, it is time to reveal it. Write and repeat with me." [879] The magazine also spoke in several places about the education of women and its importance, with articles by female writers such as Hessa Al Ghanim's " al-Fatāh wa-āthār al-Ta'līm" (The Girl and the Impact of Education). The writer concluded by saying that sending girls to school is "a great service for the Arab world because Kuwait is part of it and lifting it is lifting an important part of their beloved homeland." [880]

From the contents of the first volume, a close reading reveals that the contributors to the magazine had a broad awareness of what was happening around them and, at the

[876] Al Īmān, Issue No. 5, May 1953, year 1 "Sharja and its sisters", p. 312-316,
[877] Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April1953, year 1, "Marha", p. 223-224
[878] Al Īmān, Issue No. 1, January 1953, The Kuwaiti Radio/Broadcasting: Some of what must be provided.. Observations and Notes by Kamel Al Aasli, p. 15.
[879] Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 1 January 1953, The Woman Corner: Freedom of The Woman (Ḥurrīyat al-mar'ah): by Ghanima Al Marzouk, p. 23
[880] Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April 1953, year 1,"The girl and the impact of education" (al-Fatāh wa-āthār al-Ta'līm), by Hessa Al Ghanim, p. 254

same time, grasp of the principles of genuine democracy. The magazine discusses events in Egypt, Tunisia, and Iran's decision to consider Bahrain as an Iranian constituency (electoral district). According to the author, this was attributed to "the weakness of the Arabs and their division to the point that the weakest states sought to diminish their standing, and to the leniency towards Iranian influence in this emirate until they had formed a conspiratorial Diaspora."[881] Additionally, the section covers the elections in Iraq, the government's decision to ban the "Al Nahḍah newspaper" (Jarīdat al-Nahḍah) from Aden, which had been among the nationalist newspapers in the southern part of the Peninsula, and the establishment of a club in the emirate of Sharjah in the Gulf called "the Literary Club (al-Nādī al-Adabī)," which had an Arabist nature.[882]

The awareness of the significance of place and region permeates the articles of al-Īmān magazine. This is evident in several instances, such as a statement acknowledging Kuwait's "excellent and prestigious geographical location, bordered by two vital and active oceans, namely the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans." [883] This strategic positioning is further emphasized in another article that highlights Aden's role as a "source of intellectual awakening in the South of the Peninsula" due to its crucial location as a crossroads between different parts of the world. The article goes on to celebrate the burgeoning national awareness in Aden and its surrounding regions, asserting that "the development and flourishing of Aden is only possible thanks to people who embrace civilization and push it forward despite the attempts and obstacles that stand in the way of this progress."[884]

Moreover, Al Īmān magazine denounced projects and plans aimed at taking over the region, describing them as being "inspired by the will of great colonial countries," such as the U.S. and British defense projects/agreements with Middle Eastern countries. The magazine called on people to go beyond criticizing and defaming these plans and to unite against them regardless of the beliefs of national forces and their variations. The article added that "circumstances have proved that what hinders any plot against

[881] Referring to the perceived presence of Iranian nationals in Bahrain with political motives
[882] Al Īmān, Issue No. 1, 1953, “The Sons of the Arab world”, p. 65.
[883] Al Īmān, Issue No. 2, February 1953, “Our Need for Belief”, by Abdul Majid Mustafa, p. 84
[884] Al Īmān, Issue No. 3, 1 March 1953, "Aden is Intellectual Boom Center in The Arab South", p. 213-215.

the Arab world is the awareness of loyal elements, whether they are members of institutions or not, and that depending on public awareness is a mistake."[885]

The articles in Al-Fajr magazine played a significant role in shaping public discourse on Kuwaiti and pan-Arab politics during the Cold War era. Domestically, the magazine adopted a critical stance towards the government's policies. This is exemplified by the article titled "The British agent between the Kuwaiti government and people... until when shall the Protection Agreement last?" [886] At the Arab level, the magazine showed bias towards what it believed would benefit the Arab issue and development and attacked its enemies fiercely. It supported unity and stated that "they demanded joining the liberationists," referring to the union of Egypt and Syria. However, it directly addressed Abdel Nasser, stating, "This is your oil, Gamal."[887] During the US forces' withdrawal from Lebanon, the magazine stood with the Lebanese people and commented on the crisis [888] in an article titled "The Lebanese people are in a bloody war against their tyrant rulers."[889]

Likewise, the magazine Ṣawt al-Baḥrayn (The Voice of Bahrain) had a significant impact on political, social, and cultural awareness for over four years, not only in Bahrain but also in other emirates of the Gulf. Its articles discussed various aspects of life in Bahrain, [890] particularly social problems, and called for reforms. It launched a campaign against slavery and urged Saudi Arabia and Qatar to abolish it. At the same time, Ṣawt al-Baḥrayn faced Iranian allegations by insisting on the Arabism of Bahrain. It also launched a campaign against oil monopolies in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, defended the rights of workers, and greatly supported the labor movement in Dhahran, which upset the Saudi authorities and Aramco. As a result, Saudi Arabia raised violent objections to the British authorities against the Bahraini press.[891]

---

[885] Al Īmān, Issue No. 14, 1 April 1954, “Towards a Free Forum”, by Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, p. 367-369
[886] Al Fajr, (Kuwait), 13 May 1958.
[887] Al Fajr, (Kuwait) 2 November 1958.
[888] After the establishment of the United Arab Republic in February 1958, the nationalist movement reached its pinnacle following the fall of the Iraqi monarchy and the beginning of the Revolution of 14 July 1958. With these events, the US troops landed in Lebanon and the British forces landed in Jordan to safeguard “the reactionary regimes” and suppress the nationalist current.
[889] Al Fajr,(Kuwait) 3 August 1958.
[890] Rumayḥī, *al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʿī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970*, p. 336.
[891] Qāsim, *Al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī : dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-muʿāṣir, 1945-1971*, p. 119 ; Al-bākir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *min al-Baḥrayn ilá al-manfá "Saint Helena", (*Beirut, n.d., 1965), p. 44.

This set of newspapers appeared successively. Whenever one was forced to shut down, another was issued in its place. However, in 1956, Al-Qāfilah newspaper and its successor, al Waṭan, were considered the most reliable sources for reporting on both local and national issues. They also explicitly criticized the administration of Belgrave (1926-1969) and played a vital role in the national movement from 1952 until they were suspended, along with other newspapers, in late 1956 due to the oppression against the national movement in Bahrain following the crisis of 1955.[892] The crisis was discussed in the January 21, 1955, issue of Al Ittiḥād newspaper. The text mentions the strike in Bahrain against the Sheikh and the growing public movement due to increased awareness about taxes and the Sheikh's annual share from the British BAPCO (Bahrain Petroleum Company). The article states that a committee of eight young intellectuals, approved by the people, was appointed to lead the strike. The committee collected hundreds of rupees to purchase food and distribute it to those in need during the strike. The committee's demands included reducing the Sheikh's role to a nominal position, placing the municipalities system under the supervision of elected bodies, and decreasing the percentage of foreign workers in BAPCO from 50% to less than 25%.[893]

6.3. Parties and Secret Groups

Following World War II, a wave of political awareness swept across the Gulf region. Fueled by a burgeoning nationalist sentiment, the public's engagement with political and intellectual discourse amplified. Clubs, associations, and formal organizations sprouted, serving as extensions of broader "mother movements" already active in the Arab Mashreq. This surge further intensified after the discovery of oil and the subsequent influx of Arab migrants, particularly from Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine. This influx of people led to the initiation of large-scale development and reconstruction plans. Therefore, a large number of teachers, engineers, and technicians immigrated from Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine due to The Nakba of 1948. They had clear political

[892] Rumayḥī, *al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā'ī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970,* p. 336; Qāsim, *Al-Khalīj al-'Arabī : dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-mu'āṣir, 1945-1971*, p. 119; Al-Khūrī, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā,* p.239, 291

[893] Al Ittiḥād, Haifa, Friday 21 January 1955, Heading: people of Bahrain island struggle with poverty and need.

stances and orientations as a result of their long struggle against the British presence. In Kuwait, they actively participated in shaping the nascent political landscape. They founded and engaged in political movements, disseminated their ideological perspectives, and mentored a generation of educated Kuwaiti youth. This confluence of factors fostered the emergence of a new socio-political elite, within which a diverse spectrum of partisan ideologies flourished. [894] Scholar Ahmad Sharbasi identifies four major currents of thought during the 1950s: Islamic thought, Arab nationalism, regional interests, and humanitarianism.[895]

The documents note that starting in 1954, the activity of the leftist and progressive forces in Kuwait increased remarkably, particularly that of "the Kuwaiti Democratic League" and "the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace," which used Maktabat al-Khalīj as a center for publishing and distributing their publications. The distribution of the publications was not limited to Kuwait alone; they were distributed to neighboring states as well. These publications included an attack on the "Eisenhower Doctrine" (1957), which angered the United States Consulate and the British agent in Kuwait.[896]

At the top of these groups that worked in publishing and distributing the secret publications previously mentioned, which criticized the local circumstances in Kuwait and the Western oil companies, were the Democratic League and the Kuwaiti Democratic National Party. Their names appeared on the pamphlets for the first time in July 1954, and they were distributed inside and outside Kuwait. They denounced "the British policy in the Gulf, the monopoly of oil by foreign companies, and the use of oil wealth for the benefit of imperialism and Zionism." The Party presented its program, which insisted on getting rid of British protection over Kuwait, setting up an independent executive national administration, establishing a legislative council, issuing a constitution for the state, enacting administrative laws and regulations,

[894] Sarḥān, ʻAbd Rajā, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-ʻArab : nash'atuhā, taṭawwuruhā wa-mawqifuhā min al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah 1948-1969,* (Damascus: Markaz al-Ghad al-ʻArabī, 2008), p. 7-8; For further information about the Palestinian presence in Kuwait, see: Al-Ghabrā, Shafīq *al-nakbah wa nushu' al-shatāt al-Filasṭīnī fī al-Kuwayt, (*Beirut: the ACRPS as part of its 'Palestinian Memory' series, 2018).

[895]Al-Sharabāṣī*, Ayyām al-Kuwayt,* p. 324-325.

[896] F. O. 37/1/109810-Confudential 107/3/33/54, British Embassy, Washington D. C., to Eastern Department, F. O., London, 20 Nov 1954. https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810

restricting foreign capitalism, reducing the prices of food and shop rents, and setting up a national assembly in charge of the state administration.[897] Very few knew about the organization of the Party, its members, activities, and programs because of its secret work.

The Democratic League was established in August 1954 as the first Kuwaiti leftist political organization. Its main founders were Yusuf Ibrahim al Ghanim, Badr Al Salem, and Humood Al Nawaf. [898] They gathered under the banner of the League to initiate "a project of dialogue between the people and the authorities in which the word of the people would be the highest." The League had an open membership policy for all Kuwaitis, and other clubs such as al Ahlī, al Qawmī, al Khirrījīn, and al Khalīj [899] became allies of the League. The establishment of the League coincided with the formation of the "Jabhat al-iṣlāḥ al-Waṭanī" (National Reform Front) in Saudi Arabia, which had a leftist orientation and later transformed into the "Jabhat al-taḥarrur al-Waṭanī" (National Liberation Front) in 1958, and with the establishment of the Bahraini National Liberation Front on February 15, 1955. The circumstances and impacts that led to the organization of these three leftist organizations in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain were similar. The League demanded the establishment of a legislative assembly, the issuance of a constitution for the state through free elections, the establishment of parliamentary rule, independence, the ending of corruption and chaos in the government administration, and the confrontation of US and British influence in the Gulf region.[900]

---

[897] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī,* p. 115-116; Al-Jāsim, Najāt 'Abd al-Qādir, "al-'Alāqāt al-kuwaytyah-al-baryṭānyah : Dawr al-nafṭ wa-al-mutaghayyirāt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wa-al-khārijīyah fī taḥawwulātihā, 1946-1954, *the Arab journal for human sciences,* year 10, issue No. 37 (winter 1990), p. 201.

[898] The League also included: Suleiman Al Salem, Dakhil al Jassar, Abdul Al-Razzaq Khaled Al Zayd, Badr Al Sheikh Yusuf, Abdul Aziz Ahmed Issa, Abdul Aziz al Qutaiti, Ibrahim al Khal, Abdul Aziz Fahd al Fulaij, Saleh Ibrahim, Ahmed Al Shaya', Abdu Latif Al Thunyan, Hmoud Al Nisf, Ahmed Zaid Al Sarhan, Jasim al-Qatami, Ahmed al Khatib, Abdul Al-Razzaq al Askar, Sulaiman Khaled al Mutawaa, Ali Al Sabti, and others.

[899] F. O./ 101/1258, "Kuwait League" taken from Arabic newspaper Al-Fajr, from H. M. Political Agency, Kuwait, 27 August 1958.

[900] Al-Jāsim, "al-'Alāqāt al-kuwaytyah-al-baryṭānyah : Dawr al-nafṭ wa-al-mutaghayyirāt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wa-al-khārijīyah fī taḥawwulātihā, 1946-1954, p. 201; Al-Rumayḥī, *Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981,*, p. 648-649; al-Jubūrī, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah, p. 112.

The Kuwaiti Democratic League effectively used its secret weekly newspaper, "The Banner of the People of Kuwait (Rāyah al-Shaʿb al-Kuwaytī)," to disseminate pamphlets critical of local conditions and launch scathing attacks on the policies of foreign oil companies and British experts' control over Kuwaiti affairs. Moreover, the League strenuously opposed Kuwait's entry into the British-proposed union of Gulf emirates. Specifically, they urged the Kuwaiti government to avoid aligning with British allies like The Hashemite Arab Federation ("al-Ittiḥād al-ʿArabī al-Hāshimī").[901] Beyond domestic critique, the League fiercely challenged Western interests through its clandestine pronouncements, raising anti-imperialist slogans and denouncing the oppressive measures employed by foreign oil companies towards their workers. Notably, the League demanded that Britain repatriate all Kuwaiti deposits held in British banks, advocating for their utilization in domestic economic development. This unwavering stance led Britain to declare "The Banner of the People of Kuwait (Rāyah al-Shaʿb al-Kuwaytī)" as the most damning critique of the Kuwaiti regime.[902]

During the 1950s, the Kuwaiti nationalist movement, spearheaded by the Arab Nationalist Movement, emerged as a formidable adversary to the Marxist trend. This ideological clash, fueled by the nationalist movement's fervent anti-communist sentiment, hindered efforts to forge unity among the diverse factions within the broader national movement in Kuwait.[903] The internal struggle had a detrimental impact on the national movement's growth and effectiveness, inadvertently serving the interests of both the British, at the specific level, and the broader Western world. Moreover, those opposed to the prevailing imperialist order harbored concerns that a

[901] Tachau. *Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa*, p. 74-77
[902] F. O. , 371/109811, Letter from The National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait to the Chief-Editor of Al-Waqt, March 2, 1954; F. O. , 371/109811, Letter from The National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait to the Noble Citizens and Organizations, March 2, 1954 https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109811/n/9.
Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 159; Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 65; Akādīmīyat al-ʿUlūm fī al-Ittiḥād al-Sūvyatī, al-istishrāq institute, Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-ʿArabīyah 1917-1970, p. 577-575.
[903] Bārūt, Muḥammad Jamāl, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab : al-nash'ah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣā'r, (*Damascus: al-Markaz al-'Arabi lil-Dirasat al-Istratijiyya, 1997), p. 133

potential alliance between the nationalist and Marxist forces could pose a unified threat to their power.[904]

Nationalist Movement publications launched scathing attacks on communists in Kuwait and other Arab states, drawing inflammatory parallels between Arab communists and "the Jewish movement, colonialism, and imperialism." Al Fajr newspaper, a mouthpiece for the nationalists, proudly declared itself the first to champion the fight against Arab communists in its inaugural article, claiming to have initiated this "front" while simultaneously opposing "Western colonialism." [905] Similarly, al-Īmān magazine frequently published counterarguments against communist ideologies and government-sanctioned campaigns to curb their spread. The inaugural issue of May 1954, titled "Bi-Yadī lā bi-yad ʿAmr" (In my hands, not in the hands of Amro), exemplifies this trend, boldly stating: "Undeniably, communism has proliferated significantly in recent years, with its advocates' activity surpassing that of other movements." Further acknowledging the factors facilitating communist adoption, the magazine noted that "deprived conditions in this crucial Arab region have driven many ordinary and disgruntled citizens to embrace this doctrine and spread it among various ranks." Consequently, it concluded: "The term 'communism' should evoke fear and awareness, necessitating decisive action to halt its activities."[906]

In turn, the Kuwaiti Democratic League responded through its weekly statement to what al Īmān had published. It used harsh expressions towards the Arab nationalist work and published articles and topics that expressed communist ideas, such as the class gap, imperialism, colonialism, unemployment, and poverty.[907] The authorities responded to the calls of the Nationalist Movement by starting campaigns to exile those who adopted communist thought. The Shuwaikh Secondary School mass meeting in February 1959 provided the perfect opportunity for Kuwait to get rid of communist activity, which triggered fears in Britain about the penetration of communist ideas and posed a threat to the interests of Western states. As a result,

[904] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p.55-82
[905] Al Fajr, 30 January 1959, reported from Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 67-69; Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʿ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 38-39.
[906] Al Īmān, Issue No. 15, May 1954, p. 445-446.
[907] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī* , p. 290

Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah was incited to take strict measures against the communists in Kuwait to stop the spread of their ideas. [908] These measures included firing the principal of the Eastern School (Al-Madrasah Al-Sharqīyah), a Kuwaiti national indicted for belonging to the Syrian communist party. Furthermore, the authorities deported 7,000 Arab and non-Arab immigrants suspected of having activities with other Arab communist parties, including Palestinians, Iraqis, and Iranians. Some Kuwaiti members suffered pressure and were arrested, causing the political and organizational communist activity to stop. Britain described this campaign as one of the most successful against communism in the region, while the Iraqi government described the deported Iraqis from Kuwait as victims of the Nasserist-Kuwaiti-British alliance. [909]

6.4. The Arab Socialist Baʿath Party

Emerging in the 1940s amidst nationalist currents in the Arab Mashreq, the Baʿath Party commenced as an intellectual movement before transitioning into a full-fledged political party with its official declaration on April 7, 1947. Underpinned by the tenets of Arab nationalism, the party viewed the fractured state of the Arab world as a critical juncture demanding action. For the Baʿathists, unity was the cornerstone of Arab struggle, and a unified movement was deemed essential for national advancement. Notably, the party espoused socialism as an integral element of Arab nationalism, positing that the intertwined goals of unity, liberty, and socialism could only be attained through radical transformation and revolutionary endeavor.[910]

Mekki convincingly argues that the revolutionary fervor engulfing the Arab world post-WWII also reverberated in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. The establishment of the Arab Socialist Baʿath Party in the region was demonstrably influenced by similar factors, including the potent combination of burgeoning national activism,

[908] Al-Mudayris, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtamaʿ al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, p. 65
[909] ibid.; al-Ghazālī, Ṣalāḥ, *al-jamāʿāt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007),* (Kuwait, n.d., 2007), p. 461.
[910] Makkī, Yūsuf, Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj, In: *al-aḥzāb wa-al-ḥarakāt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-Qawmīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʿArabī,(*Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2012), p. 302; Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī,* p. 185-186.

rising labor demands, and escalating efforts towards nationalist liberation. Notably, Baʿath Party organizations sprouted across the Gulf with remarkable rapidity, spearheaded primarily by returning Arab students who had imbibed the party's ideology in major Arab cities such as Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad. Furthermore, Arab workers and teachers migrating from Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq to the oil-rich regions played a crucial role in establishing and bolstering these early Baʿathi cells. Startups, too, provided additional support to the fledgling movement. It is worth highlighting that the influx of Arab migrants, particularly Syrians, and Palestinians, constituted the backbone of the Baʿath Party's nascent Kuwaiti branch during its formative years in the latter half of the 1950s.[911] As Al-Mdairis aptly notes, the initial Baʿathi group in Kuwait emerged in 1951, principally comprising immigrants seeking employment in the burgeoning oil industry. These individuals, arriving in Kuwait just a few years after the Palestinian Nakba, brought with them not only their labor but also their well-honed organizational skills and unwavering partisan convictions. Initially, their proselytizing efforts resonated primarily with fellow Arab workers, but their reach gradually extended to encompass the broader Kuwaiti populace.[912]

Among the prominent Palestinian figures who played a pivotal role in establishing the Baʿath Party in Kuwait were Naji Alloush, Zuheir Mohsen, and Abdul-Wahab Kayyali. These individuals were also key figures within the Palestinian revolution, lending their experience and commitment to the nascent Baʿathi movement in Kuwait. On the Kuwaiti side, several individuals contributed significantly to the party's development and activities. Hamad al Issa Al-Qana'i, a graduate of the Faculty of Law in Egypt, and Shamlan Yusuf al Qana'i, both provided leadership and intellectual grounding. Dr. Khalifa Al Waqayan, Ali Al Sabti, and Faisal Al Sane, who later became a member of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, also played crucial roles in the party's growth and influence within the Kuwaiti political landscape. Abdulrahman Al Rumaih joined the Arab Liberation Front and participated in military operations by the Palestinians in South Lebanon against "the Zionists". He was martyred while fighting

[911] Al-ʻAysamī, Shiblī, *Ḥizb al-Baʻth al-ʻArabī al-Ishtirākī : marḥalat al-Arbaʻīnāt al-taʼsīsīyah, 1940-1949*, (Beirut: Dar al-Ṭalīʻah, 1983), p. 249; Makkī, Ḥizb al-Baʻth al-ʻArabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj,p. 303.
[912] Al-Mudayris, al-Tayyār al-fikrī li-Ḥizb al-Baʻth wa-al-mujtamaʻ al-Khalījī ḥattá ʻām 1975, p. 84.

for the liberation of Palestine and was transported to be buried in Kuwait, covered with the Palestinian flag.[913]

The Baʿath Party demonstrably expanded its reach beyond its initial base within Kuwait, successfully cultivating influence among students, laborers, and public sector employees. This expansion manifested in their active engagement with cultural and sports clubs targeting young people. Notably, party members achieved control over the National Cultural Club, utilizing it as a platform to transmit their ideology to the younger generation. Though their electoral efforts yielded a brief seat in the club's administration, the Arab nationalist movement ultimately orchestrated their removal.[914] Hamad Al Issa, upon returning from his law studies in Egypt, established the "Nādī al-Ittiḥād al-ʿArabī" Club, which effectively served as a social hub for the Baʿath Party in Kuwait. This club played a pivotal role in mobilizing support and fostering enthusiasm for Egyptian nationalism, particularly during the Suez Canal nationalization and the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956.[915] Faisal Al Sane's instrumental role in founding the "al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī li-ṭalabat al-Kuwait" (National Union of Kuwaiti Students) Association further underscores the party's commitment to youth engagement. Both groups actively participated in public demonstrations and protests throughout the 1960s, notably following the April 7, 1963, declaration of the proposed tripartite union between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Additionally, the Baʿath Party's extensive literature stands as a testament to its significant contribution to raising political, nationalist, and cultural awareness within Kuwaiti society.[916]

Mufeed al-Zaidi highlights the Baʿath Party's active support for the proposed tripartite union following its declaration in April 1963. Leaflets distributed by the party expressed their desire for Kuwait's inclusion within the charter. However, al-Zaidi also acknowledges the organization's eventual decline, attributed to the Kuwaiti authorities'

---

[913] Makkī, Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj, p. 304.
[914] Ibid; Al-ʿAqqād, *Maʿālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī,* p. 43.
[915] The Suez Canal is an artificial sea-level waterway in Egypt that connects the Mediterranean in the north at Port Said to Port Tewfik in the south on the Red Sea. On July 26, 1956, Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which led to an attack on Egypt by Britain, France, and "Israeli" forces in October 1956. The canal remained closed until the forces withdrew. It was closed again due to the "Israeli" aggression against Egypt during the War of June 5, 1967. For further information, see: McCourt, David M. "The Suez Crisis, 1956." In *Britain and World Power since 1945: Constructing a Nation's Role in International Politics*, 58–85. (University of Michigan Press, 2014).
[916] Makkī, Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj, p. 304.

increasingly stringent measures towards its leadership and members.[917] Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, security forces progressively restricted the Baʿath Party's activities, confining them primarily to clandestine operations. However, Salah Al-Akkad argues that solely attributing the party's waning influence to government repression is insufficient. He posits that the concurrent dominance of the Arab nationalist movement within the political landscape, particularly in education, municipal assemblies, and even parliament, played a significant role in their marginalization.[918] Consequently, the Baʿath Party shifted its focus during the 1970s towards building associations and gaining influence within cultural and intellectual spheres. Notably, they achieved notable success within the "Jamʻīyat al-Udabāʾ al-Kuwaytīyah" (Kuwaiti Writers' Association) and the "Rābiṭat al-Ijtimāʻīyīn al-Kuwaytīyah" (Kuwaiti Socialist Association). Additionally, collaborating with supportive figures from Iraq further strengthened their presence within these circles. Furthermore, Al Risālah magazine served as a key platform for disseminating the party's ideology and principles, attracting contributions not only from Baʿathists but also from non-Kuwaitis.[919]

6.5. The Islamic Orientation

The emergence of Islamic modernism in Kuwait during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not unexpected, given the wide-reaching transnational influence of this ideological current. The epicenter of Islamic modernism was Cairo, where its primary proponent, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, had a significant impact. His ideas were further developed by his followers, Muhammad ʿAbdu and Muhammad Rashid Rida, who sought to counter European domination by embracing modern values such as rationality, science, constitutionalism, and certain forms of human equality while maintaining compatibility with traditional Islamic principles. They advocated for a return to the practices of the Salaf, or pious forerunners, and their ideology came to be known as Salafīyah. The Islamic modernists disseminated their ideas through the use of periodical publications such as Al-Urwah al-Wuthqá (1884),

[917] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p 190.
[918] al-ʻAqqād, Al-istiqrār wa-al-ʻawāmil al-muḍāddah fī al-Kuwayt, p. 150
[919] Makkī, Ḥizb al-Baʻth al-ʻArabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj, p. 305.

published by al-Afghani and ʿAbdu in Paris, and Rida's Al-Manār (1898-1935), which reached a broad audience throughout the Muslim world. This led to the establishment of journals sympathetic to Islamic modernism in various communities throughout the Islamic world, including Kuwait, thus fostering a sense of interconnectedness among these communities through the medium of the press.[920]

The emergence of the Arab Nationalist Movement in Kuwait coincided with the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood's local branch,[921] "Al Irshād Al Islāmīyah" (Islamic Guidance Association), in 1952. Founded by Abdul-Aziz Ali-Al Mutawa, the association initially focused on charitable work and promoting Islamic culture.[922] However, the arrest and sentencing of Muslim Brotherhood members in Egypt in the mid-1950s sparked internal divisions within Al Irshād. This resulted in two distinct currents: A moderate faction, led by Mutawa, advocated for neutrality towards the Egyptian regime. A more radical group, led by students like Mohamed al Adasani, Ahmed Al Duaij, and Abdul al Rahman Al-Ateeqi, argued for a clear stance against Egyptian President Abdel Nasser.[923] Furthermore, the Arab nationalists, opposed to Nasser's Pan-Arabism, engaged in a fierce struggle against the Muslim Brotherhood, fueled by the 1954 assassination attempt on Nasser allegedly linked to the Brotherhood.[924]

The Islamic Guidance Association (Al Irshād Al Islāmīyah), like other public benefit associations, established its non-political stance in its official policy. This self-described apoliticalism, however, masked the Muslim Brotherhood's political

---

[920] For more detailed information see: Kurzman, Charles, ed. *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook.(*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 4; Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, p. 129-160, 224-244.

[921] The religious trend emerged in Kuwaiti society during the first half of the 20th century, with the support of religious men (Rijāl al-Dīn) and merchants such as Sheikh Yusuf bin Issa Al-Qana'i and Sheikh Abdul Aziz Rashid. The first association to emerge was the Islamic Guidance Association (Al Irshād Al Islāmīyah), which was considered part of the activity of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait. This association appeared after Abdul-Aziz Ali-Al Mutawa met the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, Hassan al-Banna, in the mid-1940s during his studies in Cairo. In 1947, Abdul Aziz Ali al Mutawa founded the first organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait in the form of a branch. Al-dhāydy Mashārī, *min al-Islām al-taqlīdī ilá al-Islām al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt, in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī,* (Dubai: al-Misbār Studies & Research Center, 2011), p. 213-214

[922] al-Ghazālī, *al-jamāʿāt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007),* p. 194; Al-Ṭāʾī, Hāshim ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ṣāliḥ, "al-Tayyār al-Islāmī fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī (1945-1991), (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Mosul, College of Arts, 2006), p. 120-121.

[923] Al-Ṭāʾī, "al-Tayyār al-Islāmī fī al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī (1945-1991), p.124.

[924] Al-Mudayris, *Jamāʿat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt,* P. 22, 50.

activities within the association's structure. Similar to the Arab Nationalist Movement's use of the National Cultural Club as a cover, the association provided a social facade for the Brotherhood's organizational work. Al Irshād's publicly declared objectives were confined to promoting Islamic culture, fostering religious spirit, and presenting Islam as a global ideology and solution to socio-economic problems.[925] The association furthered these goals through Al Irshād magazine, launched in August 1953 as its official mouthpiece and platform for its thoughts and orientations. Headed by Abdul Aziz Ali al Mutawa and later Abdul Al-Razzaq al Mutawa, the magazine initially published monthly issues. However, due to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's crisis in 1954 and Al Irshād's perceived association, its publication became intermittent before ceasing altogether.[926]

Worthy of note is the Islamic Guidance Association's initial geographic focus within Kuwait, confined to three key zones: Al-Sharq, Al-Qibla, and Al-Mrqāb. This urban-centric approach meant that nomadic communities outside the city walls were not initially incorporated into the association's outreach efforts. To effectively manage its activities, the association employed a four-section structure, each catering to specific demographics and functions. These sections comprised the students' section, dedicated to mobilizing student members; the workers' section, encompassing a significant portion of Kuwaiti workers and serving as the only publicly declared political front; the merchants' section, crucial due to their socio-economic and political influence; and the section dedicated to disseminating the association's message.[927]

While the Muslim Brotherhood registered activity in Kuwait during the 1950s, its influence among students remained limited and failed to gain widespread acceptance within society. This limited traction can be attributed, in part, to the efforts of the Arab nationalist movement, which actively countered the organization's expansion. The movement held distinct ideological views from the Egyptian Brotherhood, particularly

[925] ʻImād, ʻAbd al-Ghanī, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Kuwayt, In : *al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī(The Islamic Movements in the Arab world),* Vol. 01, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2013), p. 511; Nāṣir, Hānī, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, In *: al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī,* Vol. 01, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2013), p. 542.
[926] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī*, p. 258.
[927] al-Mudayris, Jamāʻat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt : al-nashʾah wa al-taṭawwur 1947-1992, p. 49.

regarding Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Brotherhood's failed assassination attempt on Nasser in October 1954 triggered a brutal crackdown in Egypt, resulting in the arrest, torture, and execution of numerous leaders. The repercussions of this event undoubtedly impacted the organization's position in Kuwait as well.[928]

The groups of political Islam within Kuwaiti society began to gain solid ground mainly after the decline of nationalist movements and gatherings, which began after the Arab defeat on June 5, 1967, leading to a decrease in nationalist political discourse. Another reason for the rise of political Islam was the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, which left Kuwait free from the control of these powers that had dominated the political scene since the 1950s. In the absence of liberal organizations that could counter the Salafi current, religious powers, including the Salafist group, entered the scene.[929]

6.6. The Arab Nationalist Trend

The defining characteristic of the Arab nationalist movement in the Gulf was its unwavering dedication to a nationalist political discourse, deeply intertwined with the transformative events unfolding in the Arab world. These historical turning points included the Palestinian Nakba, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the tripartite aggression against Egypt, the Arab revolutions that toppled monarchies in Iraq and Yemen, the intricacies of unity and separation, the burgeoning national liberation movements, and most prominently, the Algerian people's struggle for independence. In essence, the emergence of the Arab nationalist movement in the Arabian Gulf and Peninsula was an integral part of the broader nationalist reawakening sweeping across the Arab world. Conversely, the movement's subsequent decline mirrored the deteriorating state of Arab nationalism throughout the region.[930]

---

[928] al-Ghazālī, *al-jamā'āt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007)*, p.197; Al-Nafīsī, 'Abd Allāh Fahd, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Miṣr: al-tajribah wa-al-khaṭa', In: *al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah : ru'yah mustaqbalīyah Awrāq fī al-naqd al-dhātī,* (Kuwait: Āfāq for distribution and publication, 2013), p. 233; 'Alī, Ḥaydar Ibrāhīm, *al-Tayyārāt al-Islāmīyah wa-qaḍīyat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah*, Vol. 2, Arab unity studies center, (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999), p. 213.

[929] Al-Mudayris, al-Jamā'ah al-Salafīyah fī al-Kuwayt, p. 57-89

[930] Chalcraft, "Migration and Popular Protest in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s, 28–47; Makkī, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab fī al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah, p. 467.

The Palestinian Nakba is widely acknowledged as a watershed moment in the evolution of Arab nationalist awareness [931] regarding Arab unity, serving as a potent catalyst for nationalist sentiment and a central focus of Arab interests. The subsequent crises in the region further amplified this trend, while the rise of nationalist movements following key events like the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, the Algerian Revolution of 1954, the Syrian-Egyptian Union of 1958, and the Iraqi Revolution of 1958 contributed to a heightened political awareness and its shift towards a new, more dynamic phase. However, the devastating defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, often referred to as the "Naksah," marked a turning point, leading to the decline of the Nasserist model of Arab nationalism and the broader "Arab Renaissance" project. This setback demonstrably reshaped the landscape of Arab affairs.[932]

Individuals in the Gulf region, particularly in Bahrain and Kuwait, demonstrated early and keen engagement with the unfolding events and transformations within the broader Arab world. This engagement, however, did not translate into immediate partisan affiliation or organizational adherence. Notably, the concept of Arab nationalism itself had yet to fully crystallize within the local context, lacking both clearly defined dimensions and concrete objectives beyond the immediate concerns of each individual state. Consequently, the early expressions of national sentiment in the Gulf remained primarily localized rather than embracing a broader pan-Arabist vision.[933]

Cultural clubs and associations played a crucial role in fostering national and nationalist sentiments within the region, particularly in Bahrain. Groups like the "Al Adabī," "Al Baḥrayn," and "Al ʻUrūbah" clubs served as platforms for intellectuals

---

[931] The nationalist current aimed to establish an Arab society that rejects tribalism, sectarianism, and discrimination based on beliefs or religion. Additionally, it aimed to bring about a significant transformation in Arab society and safeguard the nationalist identity, while utilizing the Islamic Arabic heritage in a manner that aligns with the demands of the current era and progress. Constantin Zurayk confirms that the Arab nation has a distinct character that is composed of various elements, primarily language, culture, and shared history, all of which have their origins in the past. For further information, see Constantin Zureiq's works: *Naḥnu wa-al-tārīkh: maṭālib wa-tasāwulāt fī ṣinā'at al-ta'rīkh wa ṣina'at al-tārīkh*, (Lebanon: Dar al-ʻIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1985); *al-Wa'y al-Qawmī : Naẓarāt fī al-ḥayāh al-Qawmīyah al-mutafattiḥah fī al-Sharq al-ʻArabī,* (Beirut: Dar al-Makshūf, 1939), p. 23-26.

[932] Al-Jābirī, Muḥammad ʻĀbid, *al-khiṭāb al-ʻArabī al-mu'āṣir : dirāsah taḥlīlīyah naqdīyah,* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1994), p. 127; Barbūtī, Ḥaqqī Ismāʻīl, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī mīzān al-Taqyīm al-tārīkhī ba'da naksat Ḥuzairān 1967, *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, Issue No. 137, (July 1990), p. 15-25.

[933] Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad Ghānim, *al-Baḥrayn : Mushkilāt al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā'ī,* (Beirut: Dar al-jadīd, 1995), p. 283-284.

and merchants to engage in discourse and action. Conferences and seminars held within these clubs shed light on colonial policies in the Arab world and the exploitative practices of foreign companies, effectively raising awareness and stirring nationalist anxieties.[934] The British response to this burgeoning nationalism was one of suspicion and accusation. Harold Dickson, the British political representative in Kuwait (1929-1936), pointed the finger towards German influence, claiming their involvement in establishing a branch of the "Al Shabībah Party" within Kuwait. This party, initially established in Syria in 1928 and later found traction in Iraq in the 1930s, was known for its pan-Arab leanings and its perceived threat to British interests. Dickson's reports, highlighting the party's German support and its goals of revolution against the British presence in Kuwait and its replacement with dependence on Iraq, further solidified British concerns.[935]

The early 1950s witnessed the emergence of Arab nationalist movement branches in various corners of the Gulf, with Kuwait fostering particularly favorable conditions for their development. This strong presence, spearheaded by the regional leadership of Ahmed al-Khatib and Jasim al-Qatami, served as a vital catalyst for the movement's expansion throughout the region, encompassing Bahrain, Qatar, Dubai, Oman, Yemen, and other neighboring territories.[936] As noted by George Habash, a co-founder of the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM) in 1951, the presence of Ahmed al-Khatib in Kuwait was instrumental in the movement's ability to establish a significant political foothold, similar to its success in Jordan, and this influence extended beyond Kuwait's borders, permeating the entire Gulf region. Habash further emphasized that the movement's political presence in Kuwait facilitated its organizational development in other Gulf countries.[937]

---

[934] Al-Najjār, Al-mujtama‘ al-madanī fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah, p. 566-576.
[935] Dickson, Harold Richard, *al-Kuwayt wa-jārātahā,* translated by: Jassim Mubarak al Jassim, Vol. 2, (Kuwait, n.d., 1964), p. 133; Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī,* p. 172.
[936] Makkī, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab fī al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah, p. 469.
For discussions on Kuwait's independence, please refer to: Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash’at al-tajammu‘āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975)*; Smith, *Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*.
[937] Maṭar, Fu’ād, *Ḥakīm al-thawrah, sīrat Jūrj Ḥabash wa-niḍāluhu*, (London: Highlight Publications, 1984), p.62; For additional information regarding Arab nationalism in Dubai and the resistance against British rule, please refer to: Davidson, Christopher M. “Arab Nationalism and British Opposition in Dubai, 1920–66.” *Middle Eastern Studies 43*, no. 6 (November 2007): 879–92.

Dr. Ahmad al-Khatib, a graduate of the American University of Beirut, emerged as a key figure in organizing the nationalist movement in Kuwait. Imbued with Pan-Arabist ideals and inspired by the Palestine Liberation Group during his studies, al-Khatib established the "Embryo Group" upon returning home.[938] This group, later recognized as the regional headquarters for the nationalist movement, played a pivotal role in attracting prominent national figures to al-Rābiṭah (1958), a coalition that counted nearly all major Kuwaiti families among its members. Notably, influential merchants such as Yousef Ibrahim al-Ghanim, Abdul Razzaq Khalid Zaid al-Khalid, Saleh al-Ibrahim, Badr Yousef Ben ‘Isa, Sulaiman Khalid al Mutawwa, Jasim al-Qatami, Hamad al-Shaya‘, Ya‘qub al-Humaidhi, Abdul Aziz Hamad al-‘Isa, Abdul Aziz al-Saqr, Abdul Aziz al-Shaya‘, Mohammad al-Khorafi, Hamad Saleh al-Humaidhi, Yousef al-Fulaij, Sulaiman al-Musallam, Abdullatif Thunayan al Ghanim, Abdul Aziz Fahd al Al Fulaij, Abdul Aziz Saud Al Fulaij, Zahim Al Zahim, Ahmed Al Sarhan, Nasser al Falah, Ali Al Sabti, Dakheel Al Jassar, Ali Al Jassar, Badr Al Salem, Hammoud Al Nisf, Abdul Rahman Sheikh Yusuf, Abdul Aziz Al Qutaifi, Ibrahim Al Khal, Yusuf Mohamed Al Amir, and Ahmed Al Khatib actively participated in the group. These individuals advocated for reforms, constitutional development, and the establishment of an assembly, ultimately striving for full Kuwaiti independence. Their stance demonstrably opposed both British influence and, initially, dynastic hegemony.[939]

The objectives of Al Rābiṭah, as stated in its policy statement, revolved around several national objectives, including studying the problems of Kuwait practically and scientifically, finding solutions to the problems suffered by Kuwaiti society, providing freedom of expression to any citizen in Kuwait, insisting on the Arabism of Kuwait, and calling for national unity.[940] Additionally, Al Rābiṭah organized various political activities, signed political statements with other national organizations, and sent a memorandum to Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim requesting that he join Kuwait with Egypt and Syria in The United Arab Republic.[941] In a related context, the Arab nationalist

[938] Takriti, Abdel Razzaq. *Monsoon Revolution: Republicans, Sultans, and Empires in Oman, 1965-1976*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 51
[939] Takriti, *Monsoon revolution: republicans, sultans, and empires in Oman, 1965- 1976*, p. 68
[940] al-Ghazālī, *al-jamā‘āt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007)*, p. 53.
[941] Al-Khafājī, Rāfid ‘Abd al-Riḍā ‘Aylān, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), *Journal of Basra research for Human Sciences*, Volume 37, Issue 3, (2012), p. 81-111.

movement in Kuwait refused the Hashemite Arab Federation project between Iraq and Jordan, which had been announced on February 14, 1958, and described it as a "fake union" that came as a parody union and a reactionary coalition during the rise of the United Arab Republic.[942]

While the literature of the Arab Nationalist Movement in Kuwait championed the ideal of pan-Arab unity, envisioning it as the Arabs' long-held objective and inextricably linking the struggle for liberation with the struggle for unification,[943] the movement surprisingly rejected the formation of the proposed union in 1968 following the British announcement of military withdrawal from the region. The Arab Nationalist Movement's Gulf political office issued a statement denouncing the proposed union as "an unnatural entity," arguing that its preparation had been unaccountable to the people most affected and would ultimately serve "the new imperialist plans to preserve their interests." Instead, the statement advocated for the revolutionary forces in the region to unite under a single progressive and revolutionary entity encompassing Oman and the Gulf emirates, from Dhofar to Kuwait.[944]

The Arab nationalist movement in Kuwait did not solely focus on resisting British influence; it also advocated for policies regulating foreign immigration, which it perceived as a threat to the nation's identity and aspirations. The movement's literature characterized uncontrolled immigration as a form of "new colonization" that jeopardized the very essence of Arab nationalism. They urged the Kuwaiti government to implement stricter policies to "filter Kuwait from the influx of Iranians" and expressed concern about the emergence of foreign-dominated districts. These districts, they argued, functioned as a "fifth column (Ṭābūr khāmis)," potentially undermining the Arab character of Kuwait over time.[945]

---

[942] Bārūt, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-ʻArab : al-nashʼah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣāʼr*, p. 137.
[943] Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 43.
[944] In March of 1968, the political office of the Arab nationalist movement in the Arab Gulf released a statement, as cited by: Al-Mudayris, al-muʻāraḍah al-siyāsīyah wa-al-tajārib al-wiḥdawīyah fī minṭaqat al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, p. 14-24.
[945] Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 41. Examples of articles published on the foreign immigration: “On Foreign immigration to Kuwait”, by “A Jealous Kuwaiti”, No. 6, (June 1963), Al Baʻthah journal, p. 300-301. About the issue of immigration see: Issue No. 9, (November 1952), al Baʻthah journal, p. 485.

Furthermore, the first issue of Al Īmān magazine published an article discussing foreign immigration, stating that "Kuwait was facing such a terrible foreign immigration problem that the Kuwaitis had become tired of their bigoted behavior towards anything related to the immigrants' countries of origin. Examples of such behavior include playing their country's music loudly on the radio, hanging pictures of their leaders in shops and cafes, and dominating the markets and competing with Kuwaitis for jobs" (the first time to mention Kuwaiti).[946] In addition, the second issue of the same magazine featured a section titled "Yuḍāyqny" (It bothers me), which included criticisms by the author regarding various circumstances in Kuwait, such as "foreigners hanging photos of their kings and leaders in their private and public shops, which offends the Arab national feeling in the Arab state," and "signs hanging in the main markets in a poor or foreign language, with Arabic below the foreign language in a smaller font size." The author also criticized the practice of sending non-Arabs to study abroad on Kuwaiti scholarships at the expense of the Ministry of Education.[947]

Amidst these concerns, however, Kuwaiti magazines also remained committed to highlighting the Palestinian cause and spread awareness about its events. Al Īmān in particular, featured a poignant article in 1953 detailing the "human catastrophe" inflicted upon Palestinian refugees, particularly children, women, and the elderly. The article stated that this was a "human catastrophe before the eyes of humanity and a disgrace to Arabism and the Arabs." The author challenged the term "refugee" itself, considering it a mischaracterization imposed by the perpetrators of the exodus. Instead, he urged for a more evocative term that captured the profound injustice and displacement suffered by the Palestinian people.[948]

The year 1956 witnessed the rise of Nasserism [949] as the dominant political current in Kuwait. Its dissemination was facilitated by Egyptian teachers working in the country,

[946] Al Īmān magazine, No. 01 January 1953, market speeches: immigration; by (anonymous), p. 29.
[947] Al Īmān, No 02, 01 February 1953, p. 89.
[948] Al Īmān, Issue No. 2, February 1953. Al Nazihun , p. 77.
[949] One example of the influence of the Voice of the Arab radio on political awareness in Kuwait was that the British translated and broadcasted many of its programs. On December 13th, the "Voice of the Arab" in Cairo commented on the sabotage in Kuwait, stating that the battle against British imperialist aggression was ongoing. This message was conveyed to the Arabs by blowing up the oil wells in Kuwait. Our Arab brothers in Kuwait wanted to inform us that the battle is not over yet. Remain vigilant, continue your struggle, and keep your weapons at hand. Always remember, brethren, those who detonated the explosives on the oil pipelines in Kuwait. "They did so to sound a warning and guide you towards the right path." FO 371/126899, 1957, Internal political situation in Kuwait, p.1-8

who introduced the ideology to various segments of society, including merchants, students, and workers. Radio broadcasts from the Voice of Arab Radio (Ṣawt al-ʻArab) further amplified its reach, effectively transmitting Nasserist principles to a receptive audience.[950] Following the establishment of the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee in 1954, a collaboration between the Nationalist Movement and the National Cultural Club, the movement gained significant political traction. Comprised of eight local clubs representing diverse segments of Kuwaiti society, including the National Cultural Club (Al Thaqāfī al-Waṭanī), Teachers' Club (Al Muʻallimīn), Al Jazeera Sports Club (Al Jazīrah), Al Uruba Club (Al ʻUrūbah), Graduates' Club (Al Khirrījīn), and Al Ittihad Club (Ittiḥād), the committee actively advocated for both internal and external Arab causes. Supporting Egypt and resisting British colonialism became their primary objectives, pursued through organized strikes, protests, and distribution of leaflets advocating anti-colonial struggle. These leaflets, often emblazoned with slogans like "Our nation today is living a new life characterized by revolutionism," served as rallying cries for public mobilization. They demonstrably showcased the committee's dedication to defending Arab rights, particularly the nationalization of the Suez Canal. One such slogan, "You are invited to attend the festival of Egypt Day (Yawm Miṣr)… this day shall be a starting point in the history of the Arab struggle… for unity and revenge," emphasized the pivotal nature of Egypt Day in the broader Arab narrative. Another, "Join the big Arab battle and prove your existence. Stand with your brothers in Egypt against the criminal British and French colonizers. Arab betrayal is unforgivable by both God and history. Don't stand idly by while your brothers in Egypt fight a bloody war. This war is not just against Egypt, but against all of us in Kuwait and our Arab identity. We invite you, fellow Arabs, to join us in a general strike", underscored the perceived urgency of collective action against colonialism and the shared Arab identity at stake.[951]

While the Kuwaiti nationalist movement led by Ahmed al-Khatib held reservations regarding the Egyptian military's political role, their initial response to the Egyptian

[950] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ʻalá al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1952-1971*, p.162.
[951] Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah," *Al Jarida*, Kuwait, no. No. 11 (July 13, 2007); Al-Mudayris, *Al-mujtamaʻ al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 24-26; al-Jubūrī, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah, p. 88; Smith, *Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*, p. 70

revolution wasn't one of outright opposition. This stance, however, underwent a noticeable evolution following key events. These included President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company on July 26, 1956, the subsequent tripartite aggression against Egypt on October 29, 1956, and the developing collaboration and rapport between Nasser and the Arab Nationalist Movement in Kuwait.[952]

Following Gamal Abdel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and the subsequent tripartite aggression, [953] public expressions of support for Egypt emerged in Kuwait. Concerns over the "imperialist threats" faced by Egypt fueled calls for demonstrations.[954] A gathering at the National Cultural Club produced a message of solidarity to Abdel Nasser, expressing "unwavering support for his defiant stance against the colonizers and his bold act of nationalizing the Suez Canal." They conveyed their well wishes for his success in achieving national unity and freedom, concluding with aspirations for the enduring strength of the Arab nation.[955] However, a planned protest on August 15, 1956, was prohibited by authorities, and clashes resulted in injuries among participants.[956] These harsh measures culminated in the temporary closure of the National Cultural Club, a decision that drew criticism and prompted its swift reopening the following day, potentially to mitigate damage to Kuwait's image.[957]

In the wake of the tripartite aggression against Egypt on October 29, 1956, the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee sought to organize a public demonstration in support of Egypt. To facilitate student participation, they sought approval from Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the then-director of education (Al- Maʿārif's) in Kuwait. He, in turn, consulted with Sheikh Abdullah Mubarak Al Sabah, head of the General Security

[952] Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah," *Al Jarida*, Kuwait, no. No. 9 (July 11, 2007).
[953] Al-Saddānī, *Riwāyat al-Kuwayt: Malḥamat al-tārīkh allatī lā tunas*, p. 97; Al-Saqqāf, *Taṭawwur al-Waʿy al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 38.
[954] Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*, p. 37-40; al-Jarīd, *al-Kuwayt wa-Muqāṭaʿat al-kiyān al-Ṣuhyūnī 1945-2016*, p. 96-97.
[955] Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p.85
[956] Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah," *Al Jarida*, Kuwait, no. No. 11 (13 June 2007)
[957] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtamaʿ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʿArabīyah*, p.140; Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p.85

Department, who ultimately denied permission for the protest.[958] Undeterred, the Kuwaiti branch of the Arab Nationalist Movement rallied their supporters to focus on alternative actions. This included advocating for targeting British interests within Kuwait and encouraging volunteer efforts to defend Egypt. Notably, Dr. Ahmed Al Khatib transformed his clinic into a registration center for both Kuwaiti and Arab volunteers wishing to aid in Egypt's defense.[959] Further demonstrating solidarity, the Kuwaiti Scholarships/Missions Union in Cairo (Ittiḥād Be'athat Al Kuwait) actively condemned the tripartite aggression. Several Kuwaiti students studying in Cairo even participated in the "symbolic" Arab Legion (al-Katībah al-ʻArabīyah), formed by Arab students residing in Egypt to oppose the aggression.[960]

Upon these events, the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee took many measures, such as distributing a statement on November 2 denouncing the British action towards Egypt, calling for a mass meeting and protest on the following day, addressing Kuwaiti merchants and commercial institutions to boycott goods of the aggressing states, considering those goods as forbidden, and labeling anyone who did not respond to the call as a traitor and enemy of the Arab nation. [961] However, the police responded with a statement broadcast, confirming that no protests or strikes were allowed. Nevertheless, this did not stop the Kuwaiti political elites from expressing their nationalist views. [962] On November 3, a public meeting was held at the Mosque of the Market (Masjid al-Sūq), shops were closed, and slogans supporting Egypt and Abdel Nasser were raised. However, the police intervened to separate the protestors, and some angry protestors walked into the city, throwing stones at governmental and British facilities. The Clubs Committee distributed leaflets inciting continual protests. On November 4, most of the schools and stores were closed, and a small group of people gathered and were immediately separated. The following day, people gathered

[958]Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p.89; al-Jubūrī, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah, p. 91

[959] Al-ʻAwaḍī, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-ʻArab fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī wa-taḥawwulātuhā al-yasārīyah wa al-jidhryah, Al- Ṭalīʻah (Kuwait), Issue No. 1873, 8 December 2010.

[960] On the 21st of December in 1956, the administrative board of the Union of Students from Kuwaiti Missions in Cairo released a report. For further information, see: Ittiḥād bʻthāt al-Kuwayt, maʻa al-Qawmīyah al-ʻArabīyah, (Cairo, n.d., 1957); Al-Saddānī, *Riwāyat al-Kuwayt: Malḥamat al-tārīkh allatī lā tunas*, p. 93-96.

[961] Shuʻayb, ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Munʻim, *Al-tadakhkhul al-ajnabī wa-azmāt al-ḥukm fī Tārīkh al-ʻArab al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir,* (Beirut: Dar Al-Fārābī, 2005), p. 367.

[962] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ʻalá al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1952-1971*, p. 164-165.

in al Ahmadi, and the police intervened to separate them. Meanwhile, a group of nationals gathered in front of the Mosque carrying Ahmed al-Khatib on their shoulders and moved to the commercial zone in al Ahmadi. This led to a quarrel with the police, resulting in four wounded and the arrest of some others. Additionally, some trucks took prominent Kuwaiti women and families to the palace of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah on Dasman Street, demanding to stop the oil flows to the "aggressing states," resulting in the arrest of the women, who were later released.[963]

Under these circumstances, the Clubs Committee formed sub-committees to lead the national effort against tripartite aggression. The most prominent of these was the Strike Committee (Lajnat al-iḍrāb), which was responsible for organizing and ensuring the continuity of the strike.[964] Additionally, there was the Boycott Committee (Lajnat al-Muqāṭaʿah), which led the boycott movement against British and French goods. The committee called on merchants and commercial institutions to boycott English goods and to avoid loading or unloading ships from the aggressing states or supplying their planes with fuel.[965] The committee distributed adhesive slogans in Arabic and English that incited people to boycott the countries of aggression. These slogans read: "Oh faithful and proud people, do not buy British and French goods, for your dignity and honor oblige you to do so. Each rupee you pay is a bullet in the bodies of your Arab brothers fighting in the honor arena. Do not tarnish your reputation and honor by buying French and British goods. Each rupee you pay to buy British and French goods is a stab in the back of your militant brothers." Additionally, there were slogans written on walls near the house of the British political agent that said, "Death to enemies." The committee also held meetings with all the directors of the government administrations, calling on them to cancel the commercial agreements made by the Kuwaiti government with Britain.[966]

---

[963]Al-Fāris, Muḥammad Fāris, *Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Imārāt wa-al-Khalīj : qirāʾah fī al-wathāʾiq al-Barīṭānīyah,* Vol. 1, (Amman: al-Maktabah al-Ahlīyah publication and distribution, 2009), p. 69.
[964] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 158; al-Jubūrī, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah, p. 92.
[965] al-Jarīd, *al-Kuwayt wa-Muqāṭaʿat al-kiyān al-Ṣuhyūnī 1945-2016,* p. 99; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah,* p. 139.
[966] Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*, p. 41; Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p. 89; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah,* p. 158; Ḥajlāwī, *Taʾthīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ʿalá al-Khalīj al-ʿArabī 1952-1971,* p. 166.

Moreover, the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee played a significant role among Kuwaitis in promoting nationalism. It continued to hold meetings with some directors of Kuwait administrations, urging them to cancel commercial agreements with Britain. As a result, the committee convinced the directorate of education to cancel a one-million-rupee contract with Britain. Hence, it managed to convince the directorate of education to cancel a contract of one million rupees with Britain. Therefore, the ruling family in Kuwait recognized the danger of the situation and issued orders to warn against gatherings and limit them.[967]

The Kuwait Clubs League further escalated its actions by advocating for a cessation of oil exports to the states involved in the tripartite aggression against Egypt. This aimed to exert economic pressure on the aggressors and demonstrate unwavering solidarity with Egypt. Notably, the League specifically urged workers at Al Ahmadi harbor to refuse service to French and British oil tankers, potentially contributing to the formation of a broader strike Indeed, workers at both Al Ahmadi and Al Maqwa ports responded favorably to the League's call, triggering a general strike. In the wake of reported explosions at several oil facilities in Al Ahmadi and Al Maqwa (Mīnā' al-Aḥmadī wa-mīnā' almqw'), exceeding ten in number according to some sources, authorities implemented a night curfew in the oil regions as a security measure.[968]

The mounting demonstrations in Kuwait, fueled by public sentiment against the tripartite aggression on Egypt, alarmed British authorities. This growing anti-colonial sentiment, expressed through various "acts of dissent," raised concerns about potential threats to British interests in the region and prompted them to formulate contingency plans for potential military intervention in case the situation escalated further. On November 8, 1956, protests erupted in Kuwait City. These demonstrations were met with a heavy police and army presence, leading to clashes between the security forces and the protestors.[969] When the governmental administration failed to act, it ordered

[967] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 139; Abū 'Uyūn al-Mayālī, Kāẓim 'Abd al-Zahrah, Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb wa-atharuhu fī al-mu'āraḍah al-niyābīyah fī al-Kuwayt ḥattá 'ām 1996, (Master's thesis, College of Education, Wāsiṭ University, 2016), p. 36.
[968] Al-Mudayris, Falāḥ 'Abd Allāh, Taṭawwur al-'Alāqāt al-Kuwaytīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (1921-2004), al-Qabas Newspaper, Kuwait, (12 November, 2004); Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p. 81-111; Qāsim, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir*, Vol. 4, p. 53.
[969] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 165 Al-Deyain, Ahmad, Malāmiḥ min al-tārīkh al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt, (al-*Ṭalī'ah*, Kuwait, 2012), p. 8.

the Chief of Police, Jasim al-Qatami, to suppress the demonstration even with the use of military force. However, al-Qatami, refused and submitted his resignation letter to the President of the Police Directorate, Sabah Al-Salim Al-Sabah (1953-1959), stating: "I would have preferred to continue serving as director for your esteemed police force. However, my disagreement with you in core issues related to the freedom and dignity of the people, which I cannot fight because I, myself, believe in these thoughts and am ready to sacrifice myself and money for their continuity and the achievement of their objectives, and therefore, I resign." Al-Qatami's courageous stance resonated with other officers, and sixteen additional police officers subsequently submitted their resignations in solidarity with him.[970] These events highlighted the growing tensions between the pro-Arab nationalist sentiment within Kuwait and the British administration. The subsequent formation of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958 through the union of Egypt and Syria further invigorated Arab nationalist aspirations in Kuwait. This development further strained relations with the British, who viewed the UAR with suspicion and saw its influence as a potential threat to their interests in the region. Consequently, the British authorities in Kuwait took repressive measures, shutting down cultural clubs and newspapers associated with the Arab nationalist movement.[971]

Throughout the 1960s, Kuwaiti civil society institutions remained actively engaged in supporting the Palestinian cause. This commitment was exemplified by a statement issued on January 21, 1964, by the "Israel" Boycott Office in Kuwait. The statement affirmed Kuwait's unwavering adherence to the principles and laws of the Arab boycott against “Israel”, expressing full support for any measures taken by other Arab states against foreign companies and institutions that violated these principles. Notably, the statement went beyond simple adherence by declaring Kuwait's profound identification with the Palestinian cause, characterizing it as a matter of national concern. [972]

[970] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 162; Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue No. 798, 22 June 1983.
[971] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama‘ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah*, p. 140-141.
[972] Al-ḥyāt, 22 January 1964, Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-‘ām 1964, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 147.

This chapter has unveiled a nuanced account of how the Kuwaiti public sphere witnessed a burgeoning political awareness, fostered by non-partisan entities like clubs, parties, and associations for public benefit. Despite the absence of formal party structures, diverse ideological currents - Nasserism, Ba'athism, the Muslim Brotherhood, and even Communism - permeated these spaces, shaping the political discourse.

Cultural publications served as crucial conduits, not just reflecting the leanings of these entities but actively influencing the political awareness of members and the broader public. The chapter illuminates how the activities of clandestine groups, the influential role of the press, and the impact of diverse ideologies, including Arab nationalism and Islamism, coalesced to foster a critical citizenry. These factors, even amidst official constraints, nurtured a sense of political agency and engagement within the Kuwaiti public sphere.

Ultimately, this chapter highlights the significance of non-partisan spaces as vital platforms for political participation in Kuwait. It demonstrates how professional, cultural, and religious associations facilitated the evolution of political awareness, paving the way for more organized forms of communication and engagement despite the absence of formalized party structures. This nuanced understanding contributes significantly to our comprehension of how political awareness transformed in Kuwait, shedding light on the complex interplay between cultural publications, political ideologies, and the evolving public sphere.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL AWARENESS AND NATIONALIST AND PATRIOTIC POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN KUWAIT

In the following section, the study delves into the role of the Arab Nationalist Trend in several significant events that took place in Kuwait and the Arab region during the 20th century. It examines their actions and contributions to the Shuwaikh Secondary School events, and their position on the Independence Crisis of 1961, following Qasim's declaration of sovereignty over Kuwait. Additionally, it explores the Arab Nationalist Trend's stance on the Palestine issue and their awareness of the challenges faced by the Arab region, as demonstrated by their involvement in the events of 1967. Through this analysis, the section aims to provide insight into the impact of the Arab Nationalist Trend on Kuwait's political landscape and its role in shaping the people's awareness.

7.1. Shuwaikh Secondary School Incident

In February 1959, tensions between Kuwaiti nationalists and communists came to a head during a festival celebrating the first anniversary of the Egyptian-Syrian union (the United Arab Republic). Held at Shuwaikh Secondary School, the event drew approximately 300 attendees, mainly Kuwaitis, Lebanese, and Palestinians. Marching through the streets, the crowd chanted slogans advocating for political awakening "awake from sleep" and displaying support for Iraqi leader Abd al-Karim Qasim through images and chants. This pro-Nasserist demonstration reportedly resulted in vandalism of local cafes.[973] Further highlighting nationalist aspirations, the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee petitioned Deputy Ruler Sheikh Abdullah Al-Mubarak Al-Sabah. Their letter, dated February 23, 1959, requested Kuwait's inclusion in the United Arab Republic. It stated, "Today marks the one-year anniversary of the United Arab Republic's establishment through the union of Syria and Egypt; the Arab world

[973] Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*, p. 54.

celebrates this momentous occasion. We, inspired by your esteemed Arab spirit, humbly request that you declare this day a holiday to commemorate this event. We eagerly anticipate your approval for joining our brothers in the United Arab Republic."[974]

Furthermore, several prominent Kuwaiti nationalist groups, including the Union of Kuwaiti Clubs, the Kuwaiti League "al-Rābiṭah al-Kuwaytīyah", the Kuwaiti Students Association "Jamʿīyat al-ṭullāb al-Kuwaytīyīn", the Literary League "Al-Rābiṭah Al-adabīyah", and the Employees Saving Fund "Ṣundūq tawfīr al-muwaẓẓafīn", issued a joint statement, in February 1959, commemorating the first anniversary of the United Arab Republic's formation. The statement expressed unwavering support for President Gamal Abdel Nasser and reaffirmed their commitment to resisting any forces seeking to oppress or destabilize the republic. Moreover, it urged other Arab states to consider joining the United Arab Republic, highlighting its success in demonstrating that even smaller nations could achieve liberation from "colonial oppression." Concluding with emphatic slogans praising both the republic and its leader, the statement served as a powerful declaration of nationalist ideals and aspirations within Kuwait.[975]

The statement demonstrates that the political awareness of the Kuwaiti political elites posed a threat to the ruling family, as they viewed Gamal Abdel Nasser as a leader of unity against foreign colonialism, particularly Britain, which saw such orientations as a danger to its interests in the region. Consequently, the government waited for a suitable opportunity to eliminate the political opposition. However, the Kuwaiti government authorized the festival, which was later held at the Shuwaikh Secondary School to support the Syrian-Egyptian unity, under the auspices of Al-Ma'arif's director, Sheikh Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, with the attendance of thousands of

[974] In February of 1956, Mohamed Qasim Al Saddah, the General Secretary of the Kuwaiti Clubs Committee, composed a letter addressed to the Kuwaiti vice-ruler. The letter pertained to an invitation extended to Kuwait to partake in the inaugural commemoration of the establishment of the United Arab Republic. Quoting from: Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah *Al Jarida*, Kuwait, no. No. 11 (July 13, 2007).

[975] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 203; The full text of the statement of the Kuwaiti nationalist groups on the first anniversary of the establishment of the United Arab Republic, dated February 1959, In: Al- Ṭalīʿah magazine, Kuwait, Issue No. 1863, 22 September 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20101220191857/http://www.taleea.com/newsdetails.php?id=13884&ISSUENO=1863

people.[976] Moreover, the renowned Egyptian broadcaster and director of Voice of the Arabs Radio in Cairo, Ahmed Said, attended the festival to celebrate the event, which attracted a significant crowd of around 20,000 people to the stadium of Shuwaikh Secondary School. When Ahmed Said arrived at the festival, the crowds erupted in support of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Arab nationalism. Therefore, the festival demonstrated the nationalists' competence in exploiting sports clubs, which they used as a cover to conceal their real objectives of influencing the public.[977]

During the meeting, the passionate speeches explicitly denounced the reactionary regimes, which they considered an obstacle to Arab unity. Ahmed al-Khatib spoke about the importance of unity and the Arab situation. In the same context, Jasim al-Qatami spoke in his sermon about the internal circumstances of Kuwait and called for Kuwait to be in "the state of unity, just like the Syrian cities of Homs and Hama, where the lovely flag of unity is high". Al-Qatami attacked the ruling family and stated that "they had been ruling Kuwait for 300 years, oppressively and coercively". He warned that the ruling family "should not think that they would continue to rule in the second half of the 20th century and called for necessary reforms to be made immediately". [978] He further called for "throwing down the tribal systems that hinder unity". [979] Al-Qatami mentioned the tribal system and emphasized the need for the democratic public rule, where people would have a constitution, ministers, and other governmental institutions by saying: " For 300 years the Sabah family has ruled Kuwait with tribal rules - these have long been out of date and against the tide of nationalism which it is time to follow. If this tide is not followed, we must please ourselves as to other action we will take". If the Kuwaitis have accepted to be ruled through a tribal rule since the era of Sabah the First, it's high time a democratic public rule took place where the

[976] Stables, Richard, Relations between Britain and Kuwait 1957-1963, (PhD dissertation, the department of Politics and international relations at the University of Warwick, 1996), p.143

[977] Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash'at al-tajammu'āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975)*, p. 27; Abū 'Uyūn al-Mayālī, Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb wa-atharuhu fī al-mu'āraḍah al-niyābīyah fī al-Kuwayt ḥattá 'ām 1996, p. 37; Al-Ṣabāḥ, *Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah,* p. 441.

[978] Quoted from: al-Ghazālī, *al-jamā'āt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007)*, p. 478.

[979] Quoted from: Bārūt, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab : al-nash'ah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣā'r,* p. 132; Al-Zayd, Khālid Sa'ūd, Jāsim al-Qaṭāmī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah al-mu'āṣirah fī al-Kuwayt, *al-Bayān Magazine*, Issue No. 188, Kuwait, (November 1981).

people would have a constitution and ministers.[980] Furthermore, he, on behalf of the Kuwaiti League, for the first time, called for abolishing the British protection agreement of 1899, freeing the oil wealth from the control of the British, nationalizing (Kuwaitization) the governmental institutions and the administration office of K.C.O, and ending the existence of the five British companies that supervised the execution of projects in the state.[981]

On February 2, 1959, following the discourse festival, Sheikh Abdullah Salem Al Sabah returned to Kuwait and held a meeting with the higher assembly. They viewed the statements made at the festival as disrespectful to the ruler of Kuwait and on February 3, the Department of Social Affairs announced the closure of all clubs and organizations, as well as newspapers except for the official one (al-Kuwayt al-Yawm) "Kuwait Today." [982] The attendees held Sheikh Abdullah Al Mubarak Al Sabah and Sheikh Sabah al Ahmed Al Sabah responsible for what had occurred in Kuwait due to their leniency towards the national forces.[983] The police department and general security stated on February 15, warning against anyone who tries to disrupt the system, whether publicly or secretly. The leaders of the national movement were arrested,[984] and there was a campaign to deport Arabs who were members of the Arab nationalist

[980] Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah," *Al Jarida*, Kuwait, no. No. 15 (18 June, 2007); Al-Khafājī, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), p.100; Falah Al-Mdairis, the Marxist orientations in Kuwait, p. 27; al-Qabas newspaper, Kuwait, 30 July 2012, p. 15; Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*, p. 54; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 203.

[981] Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash'at al-tajammu'āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975)*, p.15; Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 205.

[982]"Al-Kuwayt Al-Yawm" (Kuwait today) is an official weekly newspaper founded in 1945 in Kuwait. It was issued by the Department of Press & Publications. For further information, see: al-Rubay'ān, Yaḥyá, *Al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr fī al-Kuwayt: nash'atuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā,* (Kuwait: Al-Rubay'ān for publication and distribution, 1995), p. 45.

[983] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p.204; al-Ghazālī, *al-jamā'āt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007)*, p. 478.

[984] Al-'Abd Allāh, Fahd Ibrāhīm, *Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt; al-Ṭalī'ah fī Ma'rakat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah*, (Kuwait: Dār Kāẓimah, 1984), p. 10-12.

movement and its supporters in Kuwait.[985] This campaign led to the dissolution of the "Kuwaiti League," which was headed by al-Qatami.[986]

Furthermore, the Kuwaiti ruler quickly deported many of the Arabs who participated in the celebration and declared what appeared to be martial law in the state. As a result, Kuwait, particularly the national movement, experienced a short period of political recession due to the recent measures taken by the Kuwaiti government, which lasted until the declaration of independence in Kuwait. [987] According to various sources, the damage inflicted on the national movement in Kuwait was primarily the result of British intervention. This intervention was seen as a continuation of the British authorities' response to earlier incidents in Bahrain and Qatar in 1956 when they accused the United Arab Republic of involvement. For Britain, these incidents represented a significant challenge to its interests and even its very presence in Kuwait.[988]

Turning to the struggle between nationalist and communist currents in Kuwait, after the successful revolution on July 14, 1958, in Iraq that toppled the royal regime and the Baghdad Pact (1955) and forced the British to withdraw from the military bases of Al Habbaniya (Alḥbānyh) and al Shuaiba (Alsh'ybh), Kuwaiti nationalists in Kuwait celebrated the event and expressed their joy. They expected that the leaders of the revolution would join the United Arab Republic, as most of the main members who waged the revolution were nationalists. Therefore, the leaders of the nationalist current in Kuwait (Ahmed al-Khatib and Jasim al-Qatami) decided to visit Iraq to learn Abd al-Karim Qasim's attitude towards joining the United Arab Republic. They were the first Arab delegation to arrive in Baghdad within about two weeks after the success of the revolution. After their return to Kuwait, the Kuwaiti nationalists launched a press campaign against Abd al-Karim Qasim to support the ruling family in Kuwait. The

---

[985] Al-Mudayris, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash'at al-tajammu'āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975),* p. 16; Al-Saqqāf, *Taṭawwur al-Wa'y al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 38; Bārūt, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab : al-nash'ah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣā'r,* p. 132-134; Stables, Relations between Britain and Kuwait 1957-1963, p. 143.

[986] For more information see: Stables, Relations between Britain and Kuwait 1957-1963, p. 143; al-'Aqqād, Al-istiqrār wa-al-'awāmil al-muḍāddah fī al-Kuwayt, p. 150; Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 50; Ḥajlāwī, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971*, p. 205.

[987] Onley, *Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection,* p. 18.

[988] Al-Naqīb, *Al-mujtama' wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah,* p. 141; Al- Ṭalī'ah, Issue No. 799, 29 June 1983.

censorship in Kuwait did not ask them to stop the campaign as it had done previously because any enmity between political currents in Kuwait and any regime in Iraq might lower the Kuwaiti ruling family's fears of Iraq.[989]

During the conflict between the Iraqi Prime Minister, Abd al-Karim Qasim, and the communists against the Nationalist Movement, the Kuwaiti nationalists backed up the Nationalist Movement in Iraq. After the massacres committed by the communists, after the revolution of Abd al-Wahab al-Shawaf (ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shawwāf) in Mosul in 1959,[990] the nationalists held a discourse festival in Shuwaikh Secondary School, where the Iraqi Communist party was attacked along with the policies of Abd al-Karim Qasim towards the Nationalist Movement.[991] Abd al-Karim Qasim launched major murder campaigns against some of the nationalist and Nasserist forces inside Iraq using the Iraqi Communist party,[992] which pushed the Kuwaiti nationals to team up with the Kuwaiti government to root out the communists and take them away from Kuwait. They worked to collect their names and presented them to the government to take them away from Kuwait to avoid danger to the Nationalists and national movement. The nationalists called for a discourse festival in Shuwaikh Secondary School where they attacked the policy of Abd al-Karim Qasim which they believed was against Kuwait. Moreover, they denounced the British policy and supposed protection of Kuwait and asked the government to take the necessary measures to start negotiations with Britain about its supposed protection of Kuwait to end the agreement of 1899 that had a bad reputation. [993] It is worth noting that the Kuwaiti government saw these regional developments as serving the state because it ended the previous demands of the Nationalist Movement that called for union with Iraq. Therefore, it considered that event positive towards reforms in the state and preparation for independence.[994]

---

[989] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, Al Jarida, No. 18, 15 June 2007.
[990] On the Intervention and the Crisis of March-April 1959, see: Barrett, Roby, Intervention in Iraq, 1958-1959, *The Middle East Institute Policy Brief*, No. 11, (April 2008), p. 8 https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/intervention-in-iraq-roby-barrett.pdf
[991] Al-Saqqāf, *Taṭawwur al-Waʻy al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 38.
[992] Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 217
[993] Al-Yūsufī, *Al-Kuwayt min al-nash'ah ilá al-istiqlāl*, p. 281.
[994] al-Rikābī, ʻUkāb Yūsuf, Maḥmūd Ḥamūz Laftah : al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa nashāṭuhā al-dākhilī ibbāna marḥalat al-istiqlāl wa iʻlān al-Dustūr, *Journal of Education College*,

7.2. The Independence Crisis of 1961: Qasim's Declaration of Sovereignty over Kuwait

Following Kuwait's declaration of independence on June 19, 1961, the Iraqi leader Abd al-Karim Qasim issued a statement asserting Kuwait's historical and legal affiliation with Iraq, effectively claiming its annexation.[995] This claim met with strong opposition from various quarters within Kuwait, most notably the Arab Nationalist Movement. They actively defended the legitimacy of the newly established Kuwaiti government and its ruler, Sheikh Abdullah Al Salem.[996] Meanwhile, Britain seized upon the instability in the region to justify a significant military intervention.[997] On July 1, 1961, British forces landed in Kuwait at the request of Sheikh Abdullah, who sought their assistance in "protecting Kuwait." These concerns fueled widespread public demonstrations in support of national unity and sovereignty. Large crowds took to the streets, chanting slogans such as "Oh Abu Salem, give us the weapons!" This public outcry reflected their perception of Sheikh Abdullah as the embodiment of "national identity" and their desire to actively defend their newfound independence. Notably, women also played a significant role in these protests, voicing their opposition to Iraqi policies, colonialism, and the Iraqi president himself.[998] In response to these developments, Sheikh Abdullah embarked on a course of political reform. He sought to broaden political participation by appointing Jasim al-Qatami, a prominent leader of the Nasserist nationalist movement in Kuwait, as the undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This strategic move aimed to strengthen the government's legitimacy and establish a new foreign policy with a strong nationalist orientation.[999]

University of Wasit, Issue No. 84, (February 2019), p. 225-250; Al-Rayyis, *al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wa-riyāḥ al-taghyīr : dirāsah 'an Mustaqbal al-Qawmīyah al-'Arabīyah wa-al-wiḥdah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah*, p. 26; Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*,p. 180.

[995] al-'Aydarūs, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir*, p. 238.

[996] Al-Zaydī, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, p. 181.

[997] Al Ittiḥād newspaper 14, July1961, Issue No. 19, year 18, "Kuwait suggests changing the British forces with armed Arabic forces", p. 1.

[998] al-Ra'īs, 'Alī Ghalūm, *al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Sālim al-Ṣabāḥ: wathā'iq wa-ṣuwar min ḥayātuhu, al-Kuwayt*, (Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2013), p. 119.

[999] Al-Najjār, *Madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt*, p. 62; Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kuwayt min al-Imārah ilá al-dawlah*, p. 200-201, 206, 213-214; Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 390-391.

Following the achievement of independence in 1961, Kuwaiti civil society experienced a revival. The newly independent ruler relaxed restrictions on press freedom and approved the establishment of clubs and public associations. This paved the way for a period of increased civic engagement and political participation. Notably, the early years of independence saw the country's first free elections, held in 1962 to select a constitutional assembly tasked with drafting the inaugural constitution for the newly independent state. The subsequent 1963 elections marked the formation of the first National Assembly, which significantly included representatives from both the Arab nationalist coalition and the liberal merchant class. This composition reflected the diverse political landscape of the nascent independent Kuwait and indicated a willingness to incorporate various ideological viewpoints within the governing body.[1000]

7.3. The Question of Palestine and the Political Awareness in Kuwait after 1967

The Six-Day War of 1967, a watershed moment in Arab history, profoundly impacted Kuwait's political landscape, particularly regarding the Palestinian question and political awareness. The resounding defeat, often referred to as the "Naksah" (setback) in the Arab world, cast a long shadow over Arab nationalist aspirations. While the perceived impossibility of achieving the goals of classical Arab nationalism led to its decline, the concept itself did not entirely vanish. Instead, the 1970s witnessed its gradual transformation into an increasingly salient force under the umbrella of political Islam. This emerging influence of political Islam presented itself as a strong contender within the Kuwaiti political scene. Comprising elements of regionalism, tribalism, and sectarianism, it transcended national boundaries in its pursuit of political power, mirroring the broad ambitions of Arab nationalism. However, a key distinction lies in its inclusivity. Unlike the often secular outlook of traditional Arab nationalism, political Islam envisioned a government encompassing all Muslims, regardless of specific regional or ethnic identities.[1001]

[1000] Shuhaiber, Suhail, “Political Development in Kuwait: Continuity and Change in an Arab Independent Gulf State.” (PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1981).
[1001] Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, p. 252, 278

Al-Naksah had a profound impact on the national movement and political and intellectual organizations in Kuwait. This impact manifested in several key ways. Firstly, Kuwait's significant financial assistance to Egypt and other Arab states during the conflict led President Abdel Nasser to prioritize maintaining good relations with the Kuwaiti Emir instead of pressuring him on domestic issues. This resulted in the loss of a crucial external ally for the National Movement within Kuwait, hindering its ability to push for political reforms. Secondly, the government's economic policies, which favored merchants through preferential contracts and monopolies on commercial agencies, contributed to wealth accumulation among the elite. This economic disparity fostered a climate of political acquiescence among some segments of society, where political participation was traded for economic benefits. Thirdly, the Arab nationalist movement in Kuwait experienced internal divisions, reflecting similar schisms within the broader movement headquartered in Beirut. This led to the emergence of the Kuwaiti Progressive Movement (Democratic Rally/Mjmw'tu al-Ṭalī'ah), a group known for its liberal, democratic nationalist orientation. Led by figures like Dr. Ahmed al-Khatib, Sami Al-Munayyis, Abdullah Al-Nibari, Ahmed Al-Nafisi, and later Dr Ahmed al-Rubei the Progressive Movement advocated for upholding the fundamental constitutional guarantees enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, respecting constitutional demands, expanding public freedoms, promoting justice and equality, ensuring equal opportunities, and strengthening parliamentary life based on democratic principles. [1002]

The Democratic Progressivists movement participated in the 1967 and 1971 National Assembly elections, presenting a political program that addressed the absence of organized political work due to tribalism and sectarianism. The program also advocated for the establishment of parties and associations, support for the mixed sector (private and public), the state contribution to reducing private activity, recognition of Kuwait as a natural extension to the Gulf, and belief in people's rights, democracies, and public functions. The movement aimed to spread democracy in the state and ensure freedom of expression. Additionally, it advocated against authority

[1002] al-Baghdādī, al-Mudayris, "dirāsah taḥlīlīyah li-ittijāhāt al-ra'y al-'āmm al-Kuwaytī ḥawla mukhtalaf al-qaḍāyā al-siyāsīyah al-Maḥallīyah" p. 87-106; Al-Najjār, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī*, p. 79; al-Khaṭīb, Aḥmad Muḥammad, Barnāmaj mrshḥy al-Tajammu' al-dīmuqrāṭī, *Al- Ṭalī'ah*, 28 February 1981, p. 12-13.

intervention in the elections and advocated for granting women all their rights, including the right to vote, and run for office. [1003]

In a study conducted by Abd al-Nabi al-Ekry on the new leftist organizations in the Arabian Gulf and Peninsula, he mentions that the decision of the executive committee of the Arab nationalist movement to dissolve the movement created confusion for the nationalist leaders, leading them to reconstitute the movement in a new party called the Arab Socialist Action Party. This decision aimed to give the movement a new shape that depended on local national work and established close relations with the labor party organizations, mainly in the Palestinian arena, represented by The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.[1004]

Following his departure from the Democratic Progressive Movement, Dr. Ahmed al-Rubei established the "People's Revolutionary Movement" in Kuwait. Notably, after 1969, this group shifted away from purely peaceful means of struggle and prioritized parliamentary engagement as a strategy for political change. They reasoned that the ruling authorities had successfully co-opted the National Movement by establishing a parliamentary system, exploiting its internal weaknesses and inconsistent tactics. To counter this, the People's Revolutionary Movement advocated for a "stratal approach," focusing on mobilizing grassroots groups like workers, students, and the underprivileged. This strategy aimed to build a more robust and sustainable revolutionary movement from the ground up. Notably, the group's founding conference in Kuwait was attended by a representative from the "People's Revolutionary Movement in Oman and the Arabian Gulf," suggesting wider regional ties and aspirations. [1005]

The second major departure from the Arab nationalist movement in Kuwait was the emergence of the National Rally, a party that explicitly aligned itself with

---

[1003] Al-Rumayḥī, *Al-judhūr al-ijtimā'īyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtama'āt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣirah*, p. 37-38.

[1004] Al-'Akarī, 'Abd al-Nabī, "al-munaẓẓamāt al-yasārīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah : al-nash'ah, al-tafarāt, al-taḥawwulāt, In : *Nash'at al-Ḥizb al-siyāsī wa-taṭawwuruh wa-maṣā'iruh fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn,* the 1st section, edited by: Fayṣal Darrāj & Muḥammad Jamāl Bārūt, Vol. 2, p. 729-730.

[1005] Quoted from: Al-'Awaḍī, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wa-taḥawwulātuhā al-yasārīyah wa al-jidhryah, Al- Ṭalī'ah (Kuwait), Issue No. 1873, 8 December 2010; Makkī, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-'Arab fī al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah ,p. 471

Nasserism.[1006] This party's formation stemmed from a perceived deviation within the broader movement, which, according to the National Rally, strayed from its original Nasserist principles and shifted towards a Marxist-Leninist ideology.[1007] Under the leadership of Jasim al-Qatami, Abdulmohsen Alduwaisan, Abdullah Zakaria al-Ansari, Faisal Al Mashaan, and Rashid Abdullah Al Farhan, the party successfully garnered support among specific segments of Kuwaiti society. Its appeal largely resonated with the intellectual elite, including teachers, civil servants, graduates, and students. Notably, the National Rally's influence extended beyond party membership, as it managed to gain control over key professional associations for teachers, graduates, and even the Kuwaiti Employees Savings Fund.[1008]

Reflecting on the regional impact of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, an article in the influential periodical Al Arabi poignantly titled "Twenty Months After the June defeat: What Did We Prepare? Are we satisfied with what happened?" analyzed the conflict's aftermath The article characterized the defeat as "painful," emphasizing the shock that reverberated through Arab societies. Al Arabi highlighted the public's dismay at the heavy casualties and the stark realization of the disparity in military capabilities, amplified by widespread radio broadcasts showcasing the “Israeli” army's advanced training and equipment. Critically evaluating the Arab military preparedness, the article pointed out a significant gap between reality and the expectations for such a crucial battle against a well-trained and technologically superior foe. Notably, it referenced a previous article that had urged Arab governments to prioritize military training and ensure that every citizen possesses basic weapon proficiency. Building upon this argument, the author, Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, advocated for the universal integration of military training into educational curricula across the Arab world, emphasizing equal participation for both male and female students at all levels, from high schools to universities and higher institutions. Al-Saqqaf further emphasized the collective responsibility of Arab citizens, "from the Gulf to the Ocean," to critically

[1006] Al-Nafīsī, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra’y al-ākhar* ,p. 47-48; Mubārak, Walīd, tajribat al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wtāthyrhā ‘alá Dawlat al-Imārāt, p. 222; Al-Kutubī, Al-taḥawwulāt al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī minṭaqat duwal Majlis al-Ta‘āwun al-Khalījī, p. 220-222; Al-Rumayḥī, al-Nāṣirīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, p. 13; al-Baghdādī, al-Mudayris, "dirāsah taḥlīlīyah li-ittijāhāt al-ra’y al-‘āmm al-Kuwaytī ḥawla mukhtalaf al-qaḍāyā al-siyāsīyah al-Maḥallīyah” p. 89.
[1007] Ḥajlāwī, *Ta’thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī ‘alá al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī 1952-1971,* p. 221; Bārūt, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab: al-nash’ah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣā’r,* p. 131.
[1008] Al-Nafīsī, *al-Kuwayt: al-ra’y al-ākhar*, p. 215-217.

examine their contributions to the struggle and identify further avenues for support. He underscored that nationalist efforts extend beyond simply providing financial assistance, encouraging active engagement through volunteering with the Palestinian paramilitary units known as the Fedayeen (Al-Fidā'īyīn).[1009]

Moreover, Kuwait hosted the annual forums and conference of the Arab unions such as the eleventh Arab Engineering conference, which was held in the mid of March 1969 where a set of important political decisions had been taken mainly supporting the union of the Arab engineers in "adopting the project of reconstructing the town of Al Karama" to commemorate and appreciate the sacrifices of the militant (Fidā'īyah) action, asking the union to start the first stage of the executive works after the detailed studies and plans had ended, asking the union to prepare technical studies for the shelters of the citizens and migrants and their temporary houses with what goes with the strategy of defense of each state, working to found the largest number of shelters to protect the inhabitants from the dangers of the bombardment, and asking the union to collaborate with the stakeholders of the militant (Fidā'īyah) action and to put its specialized technical expertise to overcome the engineering problems that face the development of the militant work and its escalation [1010].

In addition, political awareness of the Palestinian cause and its importance continued in the 1970s. The progressive and national forces and organizations in the Arabian Peninsula that participated in the Popular Congress to support the Palestinian revolution, held on 27 and 28 November 1972 in Beirut, issued a statement. The statement read, "The national progressive forces in the Arabian Peninsula consider that the two-armed revolutions in Palestine and Dhofar were the expression of the will of the Arab nation to fight for the end of the reactionary imperialist and Zionist domination on the Arab nation. The Palestinian struggle was the legitimate expression

[1009] Palestinian fedayeen or fida'iyyun: The term originates from the Arabic word "fida'i," which translates to "the one who sacrifices their life." This term was utilized alongside "mujahideen," meaning "jihad fighter," to refer to Palestinian guerrilla fighters during the periods of 1936-39 and 1947-48. For more information on the Palestinian National Movement see: Filiu, Jean-Pierre. "The Origins of Hamas: Militant Legacy or Israeli Tool?" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 3 (June 1, 2012): 54–70; Sayigh, Yazid Yusuf. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. (Oxford: Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, D.C., Clarendon Press, 1997); al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad, "Twenty Months After the June defeat: What Did We Prepare? Are we satisfied with what happened?" al-'Arabī, Issue No. 123, (February 1969).
[1010] Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-'ām 1969, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972), p. 50.

of the Palestinian people… the struggle of our people in the Arabian Peninsula had a fatal link to the struggle of Palestine and was a part of the struggle of the Arab nation for the construction of a united socialist progressive Arab society." The following organizations participated in the issuance of the statement: the Political Organization-the Nationalist Front (Aden) of Democratic Yemen, the Bahraini National Liberation Front, the Popular Front of the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, the Movement of the Democratic Progressivists in Kuwait, the People's Democratic Party in the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia), the League of the Sons of the Arabian Gulf and Peninsula Abroad (Saudi Arabia), the Democratic Youth in Yemen, and the Organization of the Revolutionist Resistance (Northern Yemen).[1011]

The 1970s brought about a significant transformation in Kuwaiti politics, coinciding with the dramatic oil price hike triggered by the 1973 crisis. This windfall of oil revenue had a multifaceted impact, contributing to a noticeable decline in political activism and democratic aspirations within the country. Several factors coalesced to drive this trend. Al Sabah ruling family, no longer reliant on financial support from the merchant class, gained increased autonomy and control over national resources. Additionally, the influx of oil revenue enabled the government to pursue ambitious economic welfare programs for Kuwaiti citizens, effectively disincentivizing their engagement in the political sphere. This confluence of factors culminated in the government's decisive and swift actions to dissolve the parliament and suspend the constitution, showcasing its willingness to curtail political openness in favor of economic stability and social appeasement. In light of these developments, it becomes evident that the abundance of oil resources played a key role in impeding the development of political awareness and democratic life in Kuwait.[1012] The economic security it provided rendered political participation less essential for many citizens, while simultaneously empowering the government to pursue policies that prioritized resource distribution over political reform.

[1011] Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-'ām 1972, (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1976)f, p.215-216.

[1012] On the issue of the impact of oil on the course of democracy, see: al-Janāḥī, 'Abd Allāh, 'aqalīyah al-ray'yah wa ta'āruḍuhā ma'a muqaddimāt al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah, *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī,* Beirut, Issue No. 288, (February 2003); Ross, Michael L. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 325–61.

Despite a noticeable decline in overall political awareness, notable examples of public engagement with regional issues arose during the 1970s. One such instance was the general strike that gripped Kuwait on September 15, 1975, in response to the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement on Disengagement of Forces (Sinai).[1013] This strike, organized by Palestinian groups and Kuwaiti unions, effectively halted activity across warehouses, industries, businesses, and institutions. The strike's impact extended beyond its immediate disruption. Public meetings hosted by Palestinian and Kuwaiti organizations at the Kuwaiti Teachers' Union headquarters solidified opposition to the agreement, culminating in letters sent to Arab leaders expressing solidarity with the Palestinian cause. The strike's success resonated deeply within Egyptian political circles, triggering concern and highlighting the broader Arab skepticism towards the agreement. Sources in Cairo acknowledged the strike's significance, interpreting it as evidence of "deep Arab objection" to the deal, even within a state generally regarded as sympathetic to Egypt. This concern extended to the potential impact on Egypt's regional standing, with anxieties expressed about securing Kuwait's and potentially other Gulf states' continued support. Similarly, reports from Riyadh indicated worries within Saudi Arabia, particularly regarding the strike's potential to embolden Palestinian influence in the region, including within the Kingdom itself.[1014]

Contrary to the perception of a stagnant political landscape, closer examination reveals that Kuwaiti nationals continued to demonstrate political awareness and engagement throughout the period in question. Despite the restrictions on formal political activity, individuals and groups channeled their involvement through various avenues, such as national clubs, cultural organizations, and professional associations. These platforms served as outlets for expressing ideological stances, both on domestic and regional issues, often reflecting the affiliations and perspectives of various political and social forces within Kuwaiti society. Furthermore, national and nationalist sentiments manifested through vocal critiques of oil companies across the region, including those operating in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia. This opposition arose from a concern regarding the potential exploitation of Arab resources, reflecting an awareness of

[1013] The partial separate settlement by the Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat (1970-1981) and the Prime Minister of “Israel” Menachem Begin.
[1014] Al Ittiḥād newspaper, Friday 19 September 1975, Issue No. 31/37, main headline: the front page: A general strike in Kuwait: triggers the concerns of the Arab reactionaries.

"colonial plans" and a desire to preserve national wealth for the benefit of the people. Consequently, these groups actively denounced the presence of foreign entities like the British and opposed policies pursued by Western allies, perceived as detrimental to Arab interests. However, it is undeniable that the influx of oil revenue during this period played a significant role in the gradual decline of political activism and public movements in Kuwait. The economic security it provided and the government's ability to implement social welfare programs rendered political participation less essential for many citizens, contributing to a decrease in collective mobilization and dissent.

In conclusion, Kuwait's history reveals a persistent strand of political awareness and activism, particularly regarding the Palestinian cause and broader Arab nationalist aspirations. This engagement manifested in multifaceted ways throughout the 20th century, particularly during the Arab-Israeli conflicts. Kuwaiti newspapers, civil society institutions, and even the government consistently voiced their support for Palestine and denounced perceived “Israeli” aggression. Beyond vocal support, Kuwaiti citizens actively demonstrably expressed their solidarity through street protests and organized donation campaigns. These actions, focused not only on Palestine but on various Arab causes, highlighted the deep regional awareness and sense of interdependence felt by many within Kuwaiti society. This sustained engagement serves as a powerful illustration of how political awareness can resonate and exert influence within the broader Arabian Gulf context.

CONCLUSION

Despite the abundance of scholarly studies and historical research on the topic of Kuwait's historical development, there is still a lack of comprehensive and accurate understanding. This is a result of the topic's complexity and sensitivity as well as the limitations of earlier research projects, whether carried out with a Eurocentric bias or by Arab researchers. The studies conducted thus far have not provided a convincing and accurate account that fully captures the nuances and specificities of political awareness and its historical progression in Kuwait. This dissertation delves into this gap, offering a fresh reexamination of the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait from 1938 to the 1970s. Drawing on a case study approach, it unravels the multi-faceted tapestry of historical, cultural, economic, and societal factors that orchestrated this transformation, focusing on diverse social categories and their unique contributions.

The period from the end of World War II to the 1970s witnessed profound socio-political transformations in Kuwait, fundamentally reshaping the population's social fabric and igniting aspirations for democratic accountability. These transformations included the rise of a vibrant merchant class, the emergence of student activism, and the rapid influx of oil wealth, each of which contributed to a growing political awareness. Notably, the broader Arab context played a significant role in shaping this evolution. Shared cultural values, pan-Arabist ideology, and the unfolding events in neighboring nations all exerted a direct or indirect influence on Kuwait's social, economic, and political landscape.

By juxtaposing the experiences of merchants, students, laborers, parliamentarians, and diverse political actors such as established parties, emergent clubs, and other civil society organizations, we witness the birth and variability of political awareness. Their distinct perspectives, interwoven with internal pressures and external influences, paint a vivid picture of a society grappling with newfound political agency.

The early chapters establish the foundational forces that shaped and fostered the gradual rise of different levels of political awareness in Kuwait. While its strategic location granted trade benefits, initial exposure to political ideas came from

interactions with neighboring regions. Intellectuals, media, and cultural exchange from countries like Iraq played a crucial role in exposing Kuwaitis to critical discourse on political systems and facilitating the circulation of nationalist ideas. Merchants, empowered by their economic influence, emerged as early agents of change, advocating for education, reform, and even independence. Their participation in public forums and private gatherings helped cultivate a climate of political engagement. Modern education proved to be a transformative force. Schools established by merchants not only provided essential skills but also exposed students to diverse perspectives and ignited a sense of "Arabness." This led to the emergence of an informed and politically aware student body, actively engaged in issues like the Palestinian struggle and nationalist movements. Their protests, strikes, and publications challenged the status quo and advocated for greater freedoms, contributing significantly to the evolving political awareness.

This study identifies five distinct stages in the transformation of political awareness in Kuwait between 1938 and the 1970s. The first stage, characterized by the emergence of the merchant elite as a potent political force, spanned the 1920s and 1940s. However, as their focus shifted to other activities, their political activity and influence on Kuwaiti society waned. They chose to indirectly influence the political scene in Kuwait rather than through confrontation. Analysis of early 20th-century events reveals the merchant elite to have been a remarkably active and effective political force. Notably, their opposition, though possessing an oligarchic and pragmatic character, exhibited the capacity to challenge the ruler's autonomy in decision-making. Furthermore, despite voicing anti-British slogans in solidarity with Arab revolutions, a pragmatic calculus underlay their stance. This stemmed from recognizing the crucial role of British support in establishing their preferred state, the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq. Additionally, a desire to avoid antagonizing Britain, particularly post-World War II, further tempered their approach.

The second stage was marked by the emergence of a student movement that championed the tenets of Arab nationalism. Their active engagement in local and regional political events serves as concrete evidence of the movement's significant impact on political awareness. The introduction of modern education played a pivotal role in fostering the development of an "intellectual elite" or "intelligentsia." Notably,

the students of the 1950s demonstrated heightened awareness and actively participated in various events and strikes during this period. Education during this era was selective, prioritizing the sons of ruling families, merchants, and dignitaries.

According to some historical sources, the political turmoil in Kuwait during this period was not unrelated to social conflict. Even though the conflict's consequences had political repercussions, politics was not the only factor. Socioeconomic factors played a significant role in shaping political events. Some argue that due to circumstances such as isolationism, underdevelopment, and a lack of media outlets, Kuwaiti youth was somewhat disconnected from the armed resistance movements occurring in other parts of the Arab world. However, well-educated young Kuwaitis were fully aware of the events happening in their nation and the broader Arab world. This can be seen in the reading of Kuwaiti poetry during this era, which shows the extent of interaction and awareness among Kuwaitis. The two stages under consideration are intertwined as they both pertain to the evolution of Kuwait's political awareness from the 1920s to the 1950s. The awareness of merchants and students is interlinked owing to the correlation between the stages of awareness of these two groups, with the students' awareness being a derivative of the merchants' awareness. This is because the merchants played a pivotal role in promoting the modern education movement in Kuwait, and a significant proportion of students were offspring of merchants, thereby establishing the merchants as the primary driving force behind these two phases.

The third stage witnessed the emergence of political awareness among Kuwaiti workers, particularly maritime and oil sector employees, during the 1940s and 1950s. This period coincided with a transformative shift in the Kuwaiti economy, transitioning from a semi-feudal, maritime-based system towards an oil-driven one, managed by international companies and integrated into the global capitalist market. This rapid economic reconfiguration significantly impacted the political awareness of workers in these sectors. Amidst challenging conditions in the oil industry, the labor force initiated a spontaneous demand for enhanced working conditions and remuneration. The areas surrounding the oil fields experienced numerous labor strikes. The arrival of leftist and communist individuals from neighboring nations, including Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran, exerted a notable influence on the dissemination of Marxist ideology among the laborers and certain intellectual

Kuwaitis. These Marxist groups, which were operational in neighboring countries, sought to extend their operations to encompass the Kuwaiti domain.

Despite a ban on labor unions, the oil workers formed a founding assembly in 1953 to communicate their demands to the government and the oil company. In addition to this spontaneous awareness of the workers, there was also a nationalist political awareness among the Kuwaiti workers. They supported the Algerian revolution through fundraising and responded to calls from the Committee of Kuwaiti Clubs “Lajnat al-andiyah al-Kuwaytīyah” to support the Egyptian government during the Suez Crisis. Furthermore, Kuwait witnessed a strong labor movement when the labor unions called for the nationalization of oil and the stopping of its flows to the USA in 1973. The labor movement also played a role in supporting Arab issues, as demonstrated by the successful strike organized by oil and chemical workers on October 23, 1973, which stopped the flow of oil for three days.

It is important to note that when examining political and social activity in the Gulf and the Arab world, the label "communism" was often employed as a tool of repression and marginalization by Arab regimes against opposition groups. Although many of these groups were actively engaged in revolutionary socialism, Marxism, and Arab nationalism and were fighting against colonialism and imperialism, this does not necessarily mean that they subscribed to communism as a political ideology. Many Arab regimes have utilized the accusation of communism to repress and demonize opposition groups, not only by accusing them of being communist insurgents but also by accusing them of being against religion, to alienate the general population from joining or supporting them in any political or national struggles. This policy of labelling opposition groups as "communists" was a way of discrediting them and preventing them from gaining popular support. This study highlighted the importance of understanding the historical context and nuances of political ideologies in the Gulf and Arab region and how labels and accusations are used as tools of repression and marginalization by ruling regimes.

The fourth stage witnessed the emergence of a politically aware National Assembly (Majlis al-'Umma) that directly impacted the political landscape and played a crucial role in decision-making processes. The political awareness led to significant

achievements in Kuwaiti society. Supported by the public, parliament members actively pursued the liberation of the country's oil wealth from foreign monopolies and the ruling family's exclusive control. Consequently, a labor code was established, fostering the flourishing of unions, associations, and legal bodies. Ministerial positions were no longer solely reserved for the ruling family, with the middle class, bolstered by merchant support, gaining access to government roles. Furthermore, the Constitution enshrined a substantial degree of political expression for representatives of the national movement, enabling them to critique ministers, even members of Al-Sabah family.

The tribal factor undoubtedly impacted the parliamentary experience in Kuwait. It manifested in elections through the formation of electoral blocs by large tribes, serving as both a platform for collective interests and a means of exerting pressure on the government. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, heightened activity among groups and blocs within the National Assembly was particularly evident in the competition for seats in the 1967 elections. Notably, Kuwaiti parliament members demonstrated a sophisticated awareness of national and regional Arab issues, reflected in their discussions with the government and debates within parliamentary sessions.

Kuwait's experiment with parliamentary democracy from 1963 to 1975 offers a valuable case study in the challenges of establishing democratic principles in the Arab world. The National Assembly served as a platform for diverse voices – intellectuals, merchants, nationalists – to challenge the government's policies, advocate for political freedoms, and promote social reforms. However, tribalism, sectarianism, and the omnipresent influence of the ruling family posed constant obstacles, highlighting the fragility of this nascent democracy and the struggle to balance traditional social structures with modern democratic ideals.

The Institutional awareness stage marks the fifth stage of political awareness in Kuwait, characterized by the emergence of clubs, parties, and associations for public benefit. In Kuwait, literary and cultural journals were utilized as indicators of political awareness due to the cultural facades adopted by many associations and clubs in the Gulf, including Kuwait, to conceal their political activities from authorities who banned political parties and associations. Consequently, these associations served the

role of parties in terms of their objectives and goals, as reflected in their articles and publications. The publication of articles in these newspapers and magazines can be considered an indicator of political awareness in Kuwait. However, it is noteworthy that these magazines often used the term "nation" without providing a clear definition and spoke about the liberation of the region's people from domination that lasted for six centuries without acknowledging the British presence in the region, which was contradictory to what was stated in their literature. During this phase, the activity of leftist, progressive forces, parties, and secret groups in Kuwait increased significantly, including notable groups such as the Kuwaiti Democratic League, the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace, the Arab Socialist Baʿath Party, Islamic parties, and Arab Nationalist parties. These groups were largely an extension of mother movements that had appeared in the Arab Mashreq region.

Despite the absence of formal political parties, a vibrant public sphere flourished through non-partisan entities like clubs, associations, and cultural publications. These spaces served as crucibles for diverse ideologies, including Nasserism, Ba'athism, and Arab nationalism, to permeate and shape critical discourse, influencing the broader public. Clandestine groups, the press, and cultural events further fostered a sense of political agency within the Kuwaiti public, demonstrating the significance of these non-formal platforms in driving political awareness and challenging the hegemony of traditional power structures.

It is noteworthy that, unlike several other colonized regions that achieved independence through popular uprisings, the Gulf states, including Kuwait, secured their freedom primarily through a British strategic decision rather than sustained domestic pressure or organized national movements. In January 1968, Britain announced its intention to withdraw military forces from the Persian Gulf, culminating in their complete departure by December 1971. This shift stemmed from a broader policy of retrenchment, as Britain sought to refocus its resources on domestic defense and reduce its global military commitments. It is important to note that this context strongly suggests that while political awareness in Kuwait likely facilitated the acceptance of independence, it did not directly lead to a sustained popular movement demanding it at any point during the period under examination.

However, the 1970s witnessed a transformation in the Kuwaiti political scene. The sharp rise in oil prices following the 1973 crisis led to a decline in political awareness and democratic engagement. Increased oil revenue enabled Al Sabah family to sever their financial dependence on merchants, allowing the government to provide greater economic welfare to Kuwaiti society at the expense of political openness. Consequently, the government dissolved the parliament and suspended the constitution.

Despite this setback, the political landscape was not devoid of activity. "National members," individuals with strong national sentiments, continued to demonstrate their political awareness of national and Arab affairs. Unable to engage in open political work, they sought alternative outlets for their views through clubs, cultural associations, and professional guilds. These platforms became their venues for expressing political and social stances, as well as national and nationalist ideas. Contrary to the perception of a stagnant political landscape, Kuwaitis maintained a steady undercurrent of engagement throughout this period. National and cultural organizations became conduits for expressing views on domestic and regional issues, particularly regarding perceived exploitation by oil companies and Western interference. Moreover, the Palestinian cause resonated deeply with Kuwaitis, who consistently voiced their support through newspapers, protests, and donation campaigns, reaffirming their deep-seated regional awareness and solidarity with fellow Arabs.

Thirty-three years after Iraq's 1990 invasion, echoes of that conflict and the earlier 1961 crisis triggered by Iraqi leader Qasim's declaration of sovereignty over Kuwait continue to resonate in the Gulf region. These events profoundly reshaped Kuwait's political awareness, leaving an indelible mark on the country's identity and its relationship with the wider Arab world.

One of the most significant consequences of the invasion was the erosion of Arab nationalism as a unifying force in the region. It deeply disillusioned many Kuwaitis and led to a questioning of the fundamental tenets of pan-Arabism which they were strong supporters of. The Gulf War marked a watershed moment in the history of Arab

nationalism, exposing its deep fissures and undermining its claim to represent the collective will of the Arab people.

Furthermore, the expulsion of a large number of Palestinians from Kuwait, many of whom were educators, had a detrimental impact on the country's education system. This exodus resulted in the loss of experienced teachers and created a temporary gap in educational expertise.

The Gulf War also had a profound impact on Kuwait's relationship with the United States. The US-led coalition that liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation engendered a sense of gratitude and indebtedness among many Kuwaitis. This sentiment translated into a strengthening of the Kuwaiti-American alliance, which has been a cornerstone of regional security in the decades since the war. The US military presence in Kuwait, which was expanded after the war, serves as a symbol of this alliance and a deterrent against future aggression.

Navigating the intricate social dynamics that shaped political awareness in Kuwait remains a complex endeavor. The interwoven identities and perspectives of various social groups, coupled with the limited availability of detailed local records, present inherent challenges to piecing together a comprehensive understanding of the political landscape. However, this dissertation not only offers valuable insights into this dynamic process but also lays the groundwork for further exploration of the multifaceted transformations in Kuwaiti political awareness. It invites future scholars to delve deeper into these complexities, enriching our understanding of the region's political evolution and offering valuable lessons for other resource-rich societies grappling with similar dynamics.

BIBLIOGRAPH

Archival Sources:

The Indian Office records in Qatar Digital Library:

'Treaties and undertakings in force between the British Government and the Rulers of Kuwait, 1841-1913' [4r] (14/90), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/739, in Qatar Digital Library https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023403539.0x00000f [accessed 30 September 2021]

Telegram From H. M. Ambassador, Baghdad To Foreign Office, London Date: 25th March, 1939 , No. 91, 'File 53/99 II (D 149) Kuwait Reforms' [185v] (381/444), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/549, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100024192326.0x0000b5> [accessed 30 September 2021]

'File 2/9 Anti-British propaganda' [329r] (662/748), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/162, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100045730365.0x00003f> [accessed 30 September 2021]

'File 53/7 C (D 6) Koweit [Kuwait] Affairs, 1903-1904' [67r] (147/611), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/476, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023576129.0x000094> [accessed 27 December 2022]

'Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf. Vol I. Historical. Part IA & IB. J G Lorimer. 1915' [349] (492/1782), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/20/C91/1, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023575943.0x00005d> [accessed 28 December 2022]

'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [11r] (21/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library

'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [9r] (17/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100022842087.0x000012> [accessed 27 December 2022]

Palestine Disturbances, Coll 30/45 'Persian Gulf Diaries: Kuwait Intelligence Summaries, 1932-1936' [34r] (78/1208), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/3757, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100057214323.0x00004f> [accessed 26 January 2022]

Coll 30/45 'Persian Gulf Diaries: Kuwait Intelligence Summaries, 1932-1936' [26r] (62/1208), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/3757, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100057214323.0x00003f> [accessed 26 January 2022]

'File 4/20 I Koweit Situation' [88r] (179/707), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers; IOR/R/15/5/205, Al- Zamān , Iraqi newspaper, Baghdad, April 11, 1938, in: Koweit Situation 20/file 4/ 205/5/IOR R/15; IOR, 15/5/205: From Political Agent Kuwait to Political Resident in the Persian Gulf 13th June 1938 Political Resident in the Persian Gulf to Secretary of State for India, 12th May 1938. In Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100044487753.0x0000b4> [accessed 1 April 2022]

'File 4/26 Izzat Jaffer' [39r] (77/274), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/214, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042408152.0x00004e> [accessed 1 April 2022]

'A Collection of Treaties and Engagements relating to the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in force up to the End of 1953' [9r] (17/92), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/738, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023550810.0x000012> [accessed 21 January 2022]

Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' [187r] (373/607), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042256962.0x0000b0> [accessed 7 January 2022]

IOR/R/15/5/127, File 2/1 II IRAQ PROPAGANDA. (Absorption of Kuwait by Iraq). Relations etc, 20 Feb 1939-29 Feb 1948. the Qatar Digital Library: http://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100046245823.0x000003

Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' [63r] (125/607), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042256961.0x000080> [accessed 1 April 2022]

'A Collection of Treaties and Engagements relating to the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in force up to the End of 1953' [11r] (23/92), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/738, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023550810.0x000018> [accessed 21 January 2022]

'File 53/7 C (D 6) Koweit [Kuwait] Affairs, 1903-1904' [66r] (146/611), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/476, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023576129.0x000093> [accessed 28 December 2022]

'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [11r] (21/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library

'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [193r] (385/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x0000ba> [accessed 1 April 2022]

'Treaty and Undertakings in force between the Government of Iraq and H. H. the Sultan of Najd' [5v] (10/16), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers,

IOR/R/15/5/389, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/get-highlighted-words/81055/vdc_100048833297.0x00000b> [accessed 20 November 2023]

Arabian Gulf Digital Archives:

FO 371/126899, Internal political situation in Kuwait, the oil well explosions on 10 December, https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/126899/n/4

FO 371/140089 Communism in Kuwait (1959) Alleged communism in Kuwait. Code BA file 10113: https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/140089/n/7

FO 1016/468, p. 225, https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/1016/468/n/225

FO 371/126873, The Local Press, p. 73 https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/126873/n/89

FO 371/109810, p. 102, 16th September 1954. https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/102

FO 371/109811, p. 9-10 “Appeal by the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait” https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109811/n/9

FO 371/109810, Political Agency, Kuwait, August 26, 1954, “Pamphlets signed by a body known as the Kuwait Democratic League”, p. 95 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/95

F.O.,371/109810/69213.

FO 371/109810, Political Agency, Kuwait, August 5, 1954, p. 86 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/86

FO 371/109810, A Call from the Free Democrats to the People of Kuwait”, p. 98 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/98

FO 371/109810, p. 99 https://www.agda.ae/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810/n/99

F. O. 37/1/109810-Confudential 107/3/33/54, British Embassy, Washington D. C., to Eastern Department, F. O., London, 20 Nov 1954. https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109810

F. O./ 101/1258, “Kuwait League” taken from Arabic newspaper Al-Fajr, from H. M. Political Agency, Kuwait, 27 August 1958.

F. O. , 371/109811, Letter from The National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait to the Chief-Editor of Al-Waqt, March 2, 1954

F. O. , 371/109811, Letter from The National Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Kuwait to the Noble Citizens and Organizations, March 2, 1954 https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/109811/n/9

FO 371/126899, 1957, Internal political situation in Kuwait, p.1-8 https://www.agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/371/126899

U.S. Documents:

Kuwait Despatch 50, August 25, 1953, Communist activity in Kuwait, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20115.pdf

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976 Volume XXIV Middle East Region and Arabian Peninsula, 1969–1972; Jordan, September 1970, Document72, March 11, 1969,72. Memorandum of Conversation, Afternoon Session Washington, March 11, 1969

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976 Volume XXIV, Middle East Region, and Arabian Peninsula, 1969–1972; Jordan, September 1970, Document 110, Washington, December 1, 1971

The Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions (Box 5 - September 1, 1975 - Sinai Disengagement Agreement - Documents (1)) at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0331/1553990.pdf

Department of State, Central Intelligence Bulletin, 1 December 1971, Issue 0287/71, p.8-9

"Kuwait: Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy." *Congressional Research Service*. Congressional Research Service, May 12, 2021. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS21513.pdf

Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945, The Near East and Africa, Volume VIII Document 2, Memorandum of Conversation Between the King of Saudi Arabia (Abdul Aziz Al Saud) and President Roosevelt, February 14, 1945, Aboard the U.S.S. "Quincy", February 14, 1945.

Published Documents:

Rush, Alan de L., Recorders of Kuwait 1899-1961, London: Archive Cambridge Editions, Cambridge Archive Editions Ser. Cambridge Archive Editions Ser., 1989.

The Kuwaiti Constitution, Issued at the Seif Palace on the: 11th of November, 1962
https://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-library-files/Kuwait_Constitution_1962_en.pdf (20.7.2022)

Arabic Primary Sources:

'Adasani Al-, Khalid, *Nisf 'Am Li al-Hukm al-Niyabi Fi al-Kuwayt (Half a Year of Parliamentary Rule in Kuwait),* 1947.

'Adasani Al-, Khalid. '*Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī sikritīr majlis al-'umma at-tashrī'ī al-awwal wa ath-thānī' (Memoirs of Khalid Sulaiman al-'Adasani, secretary of the first and second National Legislative Councils),* n.d. electronic copy of manuscript. https://archive.org/details/3488p.d.f2745/page/n5/mode/2up

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-'ām 1964, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1964) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1966.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-'ām 1965, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1965) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1967, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1967) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1968, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1968) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1969, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1969) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1971, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1971) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1972, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1972) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1976.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1973, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1973) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1976.

Al-Kitāb al-Sanawī lil-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah li-ʻām 1975, (Yearbook of the Palestine Cause, annual editions for 1975) Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978.

Ittiḥād bʻthāt al-Kuwayt, maʻa al-Qawmīyah al-ʻArabīyah, (With Arab Nationalism), Cairo, n.d., 1957.

Jamʻīyat al-Khirrījīn, al-niẓām al-asāsī (Alumni Association, Statute), 1964.

Sijill al-ārāʾ ḥawla al-waqāʾiʻ al-siyāsīyah fī al-bilād al-ʻArabīyah li-ʻām 1966 : al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, (Record of Opinions on Political Realities in the Arab world for the year 1966: Kuwait and the Arab Gulf) Beirut: Sijill al-ʻArab , 1966.

Al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī li-ṭalabat al-Kuwayt (the National Union of Kuwaiti Students), al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī aw, Filasṭīn thānīyah (The Arab Gulf or The Second Palestine), July 1969.

Sijill al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī : wathāʾiq, aḥdāth, Ārāʾ siyāsīyah (The Arab World Record, Documents, Events, Political Opinions), Beirut: Dār al-Abḥāth wa-al-Nashr, 1975.

Ittiḥād al-Shabībah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-niḍāl al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt (The union of the democratic youth in Kuwait, an overview of the democratic struggle in Kuwait), Kuwait, 1982.

Jam‘īyat al-Khirrījīn, al-niẓām al-asāsī (Alumni Association, Statute), 1964.

Al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī li-ṭalabat al-Kuwayt (the National Union of Kuwaiti Students), al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī aw, Filasṭīn thānīyah (The Arab Gulf or The Second Palestine), July 1969.

Ittiḥād al-Shabībah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-niḍāl al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt (The union of the democratic youth in Kuwait, an overview of the democratic struggle in Kuwait), Kuwait, 1982,

Magazines and Newspapers:

- **Al Mashriq Magazine**, 7th year, Issue No. 10, May 15, 1904, pp. 449-450. https://archive.alsharekh.org/MagazinePages/MagazineBook/AL_Machriq/AL_Machriq_7/Issue_10/index.html
- **Al-Iraq** Newspaper, Issue No. 390, September 3, 1921, p. 2

  Al-Iraq Newspaper, Issue No. 389, September 1921

  https://www.loc.gov/item/2020741457/
- **Al-Shūrá,** Issue No. 81, Cairo, 21 May 1926.

  Al-Shūrá, Issue No. 96, Cairo, 9 September 1926.

  Al-Shūrá, Issue No. 103, Cairo, 28 October 1926

  Al-Shūrá, Issue No., 112, Cairo, 30 December 1926

  Al-Shūrá, Issue No. 113, Cairo, 6 January 1927

  Al-Shūrá, Issue No. 128, Cairo, 28 April 1927. https://eltaher.org/publications/newspapers/english/newspaper_ashoura_en.html
- **Al-Jāmi‘ah al-‘Arabīyah** (Newspaper), March 13, 1934, Al-Quds, Heading on the main page: Kuwait’s sympathy for the Palestinian cause, p. 1.
- **Al Ba‘thah magazine**: https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/122

Al-Ba‘thah, Bayt al-Kuwayt bi-Miṣr, (The Kuwait House in Cairo) Issue No 1, January 1946, p. 4-5

Al-Ba‘thah, Al-Zayd, Khālid Sa‘ūd, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ḥusayn wa-masīrat al-Ta‘līm fī Al-Kuwayt (Education in Kuwait), Issue No. 6, June 1952

Al Ba‘thah“On Foreign immigration to Kuwait”, by “A Jealous Kuwaiti”, Issue No. 6, June 1963, , p. 300-301.

Al Ba‘thah, Issue No. 9, November 1952, journal, p. 485.

- **Al Īmān magazine**: https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/258

Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 1, January 1953, p. 12.

Al Īmān, Issue No. 1, January 1953, The Kuwaiti Radio/Broadcasting: Some of what must be provided. Observations and Notes by Kamel Al Aasli, p. 15.

Al Īmān magazine, Issue No. 1 January 1953, The Woman Corner: Freedom of The Woman (Ḥurrīyat al-mar’ah): by Ghanima Al Marzouk, p. 23

Al Īmān Magazine, Ahmed al Khatib, Al Īmān, Issue No. 1, January1953, p.14.

Al Īmān, Issue No. 1, 1953, “The Sons of the Arab world”, p. 65.

Al Īmān, Issue No. 2, February 1953, “Our Need for Belief”, by Abdul Majid Mustafa, p. 84

Al Īmān, No 02, 01 February 1953, p. 89.

Al Īmān, Issue No. 2, February 1953. Al Nazihun, p. 77

Al Īmān, Issue No. 3, 1 March 1953, "Aden is Intellectual Boom Center in The Arab South", p. 213-215.

Al-Īmān magazine, 1st year, Issue No., April 1953, " al-Ta‘dād al-‘āmm lil-sukkān" (Population Census) by Abdullah Al-Sayed Abdul-Mohsin Al-Refaii, Cairo University, Faculty of Commerce, pp. 238-240.

Al Īmān, Issue No .4, April 1953, 1st year; market speeches/ Faylakā and the migration of the non-Arabs, p.255

Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April 1953, year 1,“The girl and the impact of education” (al-Fatāh wa-āthār al-Ta‘līm), by Hessa Al Ghanim, p. 254

Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April 1953, year 1. P. 283

Al Īmān, Issue No. 4, April1953, year 1, p. 223-224

Al Īmān, Issue No. 5, May 1953, year 1 “Sharja and its sisters”, p. 312-316.

Al Īmān, year 1, Issue No. 6, July 1953, p.6.

Al Īmān magazine, Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, The Nationalist Club in Kuwait, Issue No. 13, March 1954, p. 282

Al Īmān magazine, Aḥmad al-Saqqāf, Naḥwa Mu’tamar Ḥurr, (Towards a Free Forum), Issue No. 14, April 1954.

Al Īmān, Issue No. 14, 1 April 1954, “Towards a Free Forum”, by Ahmed Al-Saqqaf, p. 367-369

Al Īmān, “In my hand, not in the hands of Amr”, Issue No. 15, May 1954, p. 445-446.

Al Īmān magazine, No. 01 January 1953, market speeches: immigration; by (anonymous), p. 29.

Filasṭīn Newspaper**,** “al-Kuwayt al-‘Arabīyah trfḍ Hijrat al-ajnabīyah : sha‘b ‘Arabī ytṭl‘ llmjd” (The Arabian Kuwait Stands Against Foreign Immigration: An Arab Nation Looking for Glory), April 14, 1938.

Filasṭīn newspaper: Wednesday, February 22, 1939, Jaffa, Muharram 3, 1358, year 22, headline: Kuwait seeks help from the Iraqi kingdom and requests to join it.

Filasṭīn newspaper, Saturday, 3 April 1948, Issue No.6881-29, headline: One million rupees from Kuwait to Palestine

https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP119-1-22

- **Al-Jihād, daily newspaper**, Jaffa, Tuesday 21st of February 1939

Al-Jihād, Sunday 5th of February 1939

Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Friday,4th of March 1939, Jaffa, main title: The condition in Kuwait, subtitle: Kuwaiti people demands its freedom and independence, another subtitle: Declaration of the emergency protocol and post surveillance.

Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Friday,4th of March 1939, Jaffa

Al-Jihād, daily newspaper, Jaffa, Friday,4th of March 1939, Tuesday, 28th of March 1939

- **Al-Shabāb,** Jarīdat siyāsīyah sharqīyah ijtimāʻīyah (Eastern socio-political newspaper interested in the Arab countries' affairs and the oppressed diagonals), Cairo, Wednesday, 12th of April 1939.

  Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 22nd of March 1939, Main title: Disturbances in Kuwait

  Al-Shabāb," March 29, 1939.

  Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 8 Safar 1358, March 29, 1939, "What in Kuwait, brutal atrocities"

  Al-Shabāb newspaper, Cairo, Wednesday, 1 Safar 1358, March 22, 1939, headline: Unrest in Kuwait

  https://eltaher.org/publications/newspapers/english/newspaper_alshabab_en.html

- **Alf Bā' newspaper** (Syria), 18 December 1947, Issue No. 7653, headline: Kuwait donates half a million rupees.

  Alf Bā' newspaper (Syria), January 6, 1948, Issue 7666,

  Alf Bā' newspaper (Syria), January 6, 1948, Issue 7666, a party in Bombay where 95 thousand rupees were collected.

- **Al-'Ilm al-Miṣrī newspaper**, Cairo, Wednesday, 3rd of May 1939, the main title: al-Madhbaḥah alfẓy'h fī Dubayy bi-al-Khalīj : allatī awq'hā Amīr Dubayy bqwmh – 'amal fẓy' huwa sbh lil-tārīkh" literally "The Horrible Slaughter in Dubai In Gulf: Perpetuated by the ruler of Dubai against his People –a Horrible action is an Insult to History".

  Al-'Ilm al-Miṣrī (Newspaper), Cairo, Wednesday, 27 Rabi' al-Awwal 1358, 17 May 1939, headline: The Kuwaitis in India.

  https://eltaher.org/publications/newspapers/english/newspaper_alalam_en.html

- **Al-Difā' newspaper**, Sunday, February 3, 1935, Shawwal 29, 1353, Jaffa, Address: The Travel of Kuwaiti Youth to Iraq.

Al-Difā‘ newspaper, 7 Sha’ban 1355, October 23, 1936, third year, Issue No. 726, Headline: A meeting in Kuwait for Palestine / sub-heading: Arab women provoke determination to help the afflicted.

Al-Difā‘, Thursday 18 December1 1947, Issue No. 3833, Yafa

https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP119-1-21/search

- **Al Fajr,** (Kuwait), 13 May 1958.

  Al Fajr,(Kuwait) 3 August 1958.

  Al Fajr, (Kuwait) 2 November 1958.

- **Sijill al-Kuwayt al-yawm,** Al-‘Adasānī, Khālid Sulaymān, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt (The history of intellectual movement in Kuwait), publications organization, Kuwait, January 1956. https://memoryofkuwait.nlk.gov.kw/zoom/708/view?page=17&p=separate&tool=info&view=93,810,2432,2335

- **Al-Bayān Magazine**, Ismā‘īl Fahd Ismā‘īl, ‘an al-qiṣṣah fī al-Kuwayt (on the story in Kuwait), , (Kuwait), Issue No 106, January 1975, p. 10-12.

  Al-Bayān Magazine, Al-Zayd, Khālid Sa‘ūd, Jāsim al-Qaṭāmī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah al-mu‘āṣirah fī al-Kuwayt (Jasim al-Qatami and the contemporary national movement in Kuwait), , Issue No. 188, Kuwait, November 1981. https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/219

- **Al-Qalam,** Al-Baṣīr, ‘Abd-al-Razzāq "Nash’at al-Ḥarakah al-Thaqāfīyah al-adabīyah fī al-Kuwayt"(The Origin of the Cultural and Literary Movement in Kuwait), , issue 7, July 1975, p. 36-38 https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/163/15494/345239

- **Al- Rā’id Magazine**, Khālid al-Khurāfī, al-Ta‘līm fī al-Kuwayt (Education in Kuwait), Issue No. 10, March 1953.

  https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/257

  https://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%8A+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%86+%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%AA%22

- **Mawāqif Magazine,** Barakāt, Ḥalīm, al-Ḥarakah al-ṭullābīyah : al-Fikr – al-ʻamal, (The Student Movement: Thought – Action) Issue No. 19-20, January 1972, p. 3-5

  https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/11/15735/350915

- **Ḥawlīyat al-Thaqāfah al-ʻArabīyah Magazine** Al-ṭullāb al-ʻArab fī mukhtalif al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah (Arab Students in Various Arab Countries), , Issue No. 1, January, 1949, p. 38-39 https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/256/18742/423806

- **Al- Ṭalīʻah,** Algeria on the path of Arab struggle, Wednesday 8 August 1962, issue no. 10, first year

  Al-Ṭalīʻah, Dissenting against the election results, Wednesday 6 February 1963, Issue No. 17, first year, p.1.

  Al-Ṭalīʻah, MPs demand recognition of the Yemeni Revolution, Wednesday 20 February 1963, Issue No. 19, first year.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, al-Kuwayt bilād al-ʻArab, alam taʻud bilād al-ʻArab", (Kuwait the Land of the Arabs, isn't it the Land of the Arabs), Kuwait, 23 March 1963.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 8 January 1965, p.6.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, Kuwaiti workers celebrate 1 May, 4 May 1966, fourth year, issue no. 177, pages 10-11.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 03 April 1968, p.04.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, Issue No.277, 29 April 1970

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, Names of political detainees and prisoners in Saudi Arabia, Wednesday 15 July 1970, ninth year, issue no. 288, p. 23.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 04 November 1970.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 11 November 1970.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, The birth of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf, 5 February 1972, issue no. 360, page 10.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 9 April 1980, p.8, 95.

  Al- Ṭalīʻah, 11 March 1981, p. 9

Al- Ṭalī‘ah, al-Khaṭīb, Aḥmad Muḥammad, Barnāmaj mrshḥy al-Tajammu‘ al-dīmuqrāṭī (The program of the Democratic Gathering candidates), 28 February 1981, p. 12-13.

Al-Ṭalī‘ah, Al-‘Abd Allāh, Fahd Ibrāhīm, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt (2): al iḍrābāt al-‘ummālīyah al-ūlá, (Glimpses of the History of the Nationalist and Democratic Movement in Kuwait (2): the 1st labor strike), Issue No. 796, 8 June 1983.

Al- Ṭalī‘ah, Al-‘Abd Allāh, Fahd Ibrāhīm, Lamaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt (4): (Glimpses of the History of the Nationalist and Democratic Movement in Kuwait) For the Constitution: No. Issue 799, 29 June 1983.

Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue No. 796, 8 June 1983

Al- Ṭalī‘ah, Issue No. 799, 29 June 1983

Al- Ṭalī‘ah: Issue No. 798, 22 June 1983.

Al-‘Awaḍī, ‘Alī Ḥusayn, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wa-taḥawwulātuhā al-yasārīyah wa al-jidhryah, (The Arab Nationalist Movement in the Arab Gulf and its leftist and radical transformations: Sharp Divisions and struggles that led to the development of a revolutionary movement in Kuwait), Al- Ṭalī‘ah (Kuwait), Issue No. 1873, 8 December 2010.

The full text of the statement of the Kuwaiti nationalist groups on the first anniversary of the establishment of the United Arab Republic, dated February 1959, In: Al- Ṭalī‘ah magazine, Kuwait, Issue No. 1863, 22 September 2010.

https://web.archive.org/web/20101220191857/http://www.taleea.com/newsdetails.php?id=13884&ISSUENO=1863

Al-*Ṭalī‘ah*, Al-Deyain, Ahmad, Malāmiḥ min al-tārīkh al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt, (Features of The Political History in Kuwait) Kuwait, 2012, p. 8. https://taqadomi.com/

Al-‘Awaḍī, ‘Alī Ḥusayn, al-‘amal al-Ṭullābī .. al-Qā‘idah al-asāsīyah lil-‘amal al-taṭawwu‘ī wa-al-madanī, (Student activism: The Basic Rule of Voluntary and Civil

Work) December 26, 2012, al-Ṭalī‘ah al-Kuwaytīyah newspaper https://alialawadhi.com/?p=111

- **al-Jarīdah Newspaper**, Al-Hindī, Hānī, Al-Naṣrāwī, ‘Abd al-Ilāh, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab nash’atuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā ‘abra wathā’iqihā, (1951-1968), (The Arab Nationalist Movement, Its Origin and Development through its Documents, (1951-1968)) Baghdad, issued by the Arab Socialist Movement, March 12, 2006.

  Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. “Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State), ” *Al Jarida, Kuwait*, no. No. 9 (July 11, 2007).

  Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. “Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State).” *Al Jarida, Kuwait*, no. No. 11 (July 13, 2007).

- **Al-Qabas Newspaper**, the National Assembly, Issue No. 505, Second Year, 11 October 1973, p.1.

  Al-Qabas Newspaper, No. 509, 14 October 1973, Al-Jurid, Ayed Ateeq (2019), Kuwait and the Boycott of the Zionist Entity: 1364 h- 1437 h (1945-2016), Kuwait, p. 153

  Al-Qabas, Newspaper, Iḍrāb Ṭullābī fī Jāmi‘at al-Kuwayt (Student Strike at Kuwait University), Issue 521, October 26, 1973, Issue 520, October 25, 1973

  Al-Qabas Newspaper, Al-Mudayris, Falāḥ ‘Abd Allāh, Taṭawwur al-‘Alāqāt al-Kuwaytīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (The Development of the Kuwaiti-Palestinian Relations (1921-2004), Kuwait, 12 November, 2004

  Al Qabas newspaper, Kuwait, 30 July 2012, p. 15 https://d1wnoevxju5lec.cloudfront.net/storage/pdfs/2012/14070.pdf

- **Akhbār Al Kuwait newspaper**: Issue No. 1, 1963, a political daily newspaper, Thursday 1 March 1963.

- **Al Akhbār newspaper**, 22 September 1968, The Inauguration meeting of the Arab lawyers congress that issued a set of important decisions supporting the Arab struggle

against “imperialism and Zionism”, headline: The Memorandum of the National Liberation Front in “Saudi Arabia” to the congress of the Arab lawyers.

- **Al-ḥyāt**, 22 January 1964

- **Al Ahram**, 15 March 1965

- **Al Muqaṭṭam**, Cairo, Wednesday 10 March 1948, heading: the Arabs of Kuwait contribute to support Palestine

  Al-Muqaṭṭam newspaper, Cairo, 20 November 1948 Main heading: The importance of the Middle Eastern oil, while a separate article in the same newspaper on 6 November 1948, issue 18537, highlighted the increase in Kuwaiti oil production.

- **Al-Nahj Magazine,** Al-Ṣāliḥ, ʻAbd al-Laṭīf, bayna mafhumyn lil-Ḥizb wa-ḍarūratuhu (between two concepts of the party and its necessity), February 1985, No 7, P. 105.
- **Al Ittiḥād**, Haifa, Friday 21 January 1955, Heading: people of Bahrain island struggle with poverty and need

  Al Ittiḥād newspaper 14, July1961, Issue No. 19, year 18, “Kuwait suggests changing the British forces with armed Arabic forces”, p. 1

  Al Ittiḥād**,** Tuesday, 26 November 1963.

  Al Ittiḥād, Friday, 21 October 1966, No 47, the section of “In the Arab World”: The National Liberation Front in Bahrain discloses the plans of the colonizers and their agents in the region.

  Al Ittiḥād, Tuesday, 21 June 1966, main heading: From Here and There, Prisons and Prostitution in Bahrain

  Al Ittiḥād newspaper, Friday 19 September 1975, Issue No. 31/37, main headline: the front page: A general strike in Kuwait triggers the concerns of the Arab reactionaries.

- **Al Balāgh** newspaper, 12 April 1947, main heading: the modern projects in Saudi Arabia.

  Al Balāgh, 4 September 1947.

- **Al-Hadaf,** a weekly comprehensive Arab newspaper, issue No. 83, second year, Wednesday 24 October 1963, p.1

- **(Majallat al-Kuwayt)** Kuwait Magazine, Issue No. 239, 16 May 1973, p.4

  (Majallat al-Kuwayt) Kuwait Magazine, Issue No. 323, 1 July 1977.

- **Kāẓimah Magazine (Kadhima**): https://archive.alsharekh.org/magazineYears/259

  Kāẓimah Magazine, Aḥmad al-Saqqāf, al-Tawjīh al-Qawmī fī al-Taʻlīm (Nationalist Orientation in Education), No. 4, 1948

  Kāẓimah Magazine, Issue No. 8, February 1949, " Fīmā yataḥaddathūn", (As They Talk), Ahmed Al-Saqqaf .

- **Al Jarida,** Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State)," Kuwait, Issue no. No. 15 (18 June, 2007)

  Al Jarida, Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State)," Kuwait, Issue no. No. 11 (13 June, 2007)

  Al Jarida, Al-Khaṭīb, Ahmed. "Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State)," Kuwait, Issue no. No. 9 (July 11, 2007)

- **Al-ʻArabī,** al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad, "Twenty Months After the June defeat: What Did We Prepare? Are we satisfied with what happened?" Issue No. 123, February 1969. https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/142/14471/323338

Secondary Sources:

English Secondary Resources:

Abdo-Katsipis, Carla B. "Women, Political Participation, and the Arab Spring: Political Awareness and Participation in Democratizing Tunisia." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 38, no. 4 (February 16, 2017): 413–29.

Abdul Rahman, L., “The Influence of Oil on the Kuwaiti Economic Development (1967-1972).” *Journal Of Historical and Cultural Studies* 7, no. 22 (2019): 337–267.

Abir, Mordechai, *Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era: Regime and Elites; Conflict and Collaboration*, New York: Routledge, 2019.

Adams, Sue; Krolak, Lisa; Kupidura, Eva; Pangerc Pahernik, Zvonka: Libraries and Resource Centres: Celebrating Adult Learners every week of the year, *Convergence*, Vol. XXV, Nr. 2-3, 2002.

Agha-Mohammadi, Morteza, and Jamei Masjed. “Kuwaiti Shia as a Lever of Balance for the Ruling Family of Kuwait.” *Kom : Casopis Za Religijske Nauke* 9, no. 3 (2020): 31–48.

Ala, Michael, and Rasoul Sorkhabi. “The Modern Oil Industry in Iran: A Historical Perspective and Review”, *Journal of Petroleum Geology*, (December 29, 2023).

Alan de Lacy Rush, Al-*Sabah: History & Genealogy of Kuwait’s Ruling Family 1752-1987*, London: Ithaca Press, 1987.

Alebrahim, Abdulrahman, Kuwaiti-Zubayri Intellectual Relations until the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Rushayd as an Example, in: Marc Owen Jones, Ross Porter and Marc Valeri, *Gulfization of the Arab World*, Berlin: Gerlach Press, 2018

——————, *Kuwait’s Politics Before Independence: The Role of the Balancing Powers*. Vol. 2. Exeter Critical Gulf Ser. Gerlach Press, 2019.

——————, “The Balancing Powers in Kuwait in the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Minutes of the Legislative Council.” *AlMuntaqa* 4, no. 2 (2021): 8–26.

—————— , ‘Problematising the Eurocentric Terminology in the Social History of the Gulf States’, LSE Middle East Centre Blog, 12 October 2020 https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2020/10/12/problematising-the-eurocentricterminology-in-the-social-history-of-the-gulf-states/

Amin, Abd al-Amir Muhammad, *British Interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden: E.J Brill, 1967**.**

Amin, Galal A. "Dependent development." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 2,* no. 4 (1976): 379-403.

Anderson, Benedict, *Census, Map, Museum, Excerpt from: Imagined Communities*. Verso: London, 1991.

———————. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso, 2006.

Anzi Al-, Khalid. "*Role of Education in Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: A Study of Kuwait*." Ph.D. dissertation, Aligarh Muslim University, Department of Political Science, 2009**.**

Aruri, Nasser H., Politics in Kuwait, in: Jacob M. Landau, ed., *Man, State, and Society in the Contemporary Middle Eas*t, London: Routledge, 2016.

Ayish, Muhammad I., Foreign Voices as People's Choices; BBC Popularity in the Arab World, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 3 (Jul. 1991), p. 374-389**.**

Ayoob, Mohammed. *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*. Emerging Global Issues Ser. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1995.

Azoulay, R., The politics of Shai'I Merchants in Kuwait, In: Business Politics in the Middle East, Steffen Hertog, Giacomo Luciani Merc Valeri, (Ed.) London: Hurts and Company, 2013.

———————, *Kuwait and Al-Sabah: Tribal politics and power in an oil state*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2020.

Baaklini, Abdo I. "Legislatures in the Gulf Area: The Experience of Kuwait, 1961-1976." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no. 3 (1982): 359–79.

Barrett, Roby, Intervention in Iraq, 1958-1959, *The Middle East Institute Policy Brief*, No. 11, April 2008, https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/intervention-in-iraq-roby-barrett.pdf

Bartle, John. “Political Awareness, Opinion Constraint and the Stability of Ideological Positions.” *Political Studies* 48, no. 3 (June 2000): 467–84.

Baz, Ahmed A. S. "Political Elite and Political Development in Kuwait." Doctoral Dissertation, George Washington University, 1981.

Beblawi, Hazem, The Rentier State in the Arab World. in Giacomo Luciani, *The Arab State*, London: Routledge, 1990.

Berinsky, A. J. “American Public Opinion in the 1930s and 1940s: The Analysis of Quota-Controlled Sample Survey Data.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 499–529.

Bierschenk, Thomas. “Religion and Political Structure: Remarks on Ibadism in Oman and the Mzab (Algeria).” *Studia Islamica*, no. 68 (1988): 107–127.

Bishara, F.A., Haykel, B., Hertog, S., Holes, C., & Onley, J. (2016). The Economic Transformation of the Gulf. In J. Peterson (Eds.), *The Emergence of the Gulf States: Studies in Modern History*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, p. 187-222

Bonine, Michael E., Abbas Amanat, and Michael Ezekiel Gasper, eds. *Is There a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Bosworth, C. Edmund. “The Nomenclature of the Persian Gulf.” *Iranian Studies* 30, no. 1/2 (1997): 77–94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311029

Braudel, Fernand, and Sian Reynolds. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Braudel, Fernand. *Civilization and Capitalism*. Translated by Siân Reynold. London: Collins, 1984.

Broeze, F., Kuwait before oil: the dynamics and morphology of an Arab port city, In F. Broeze (ed.) *Gateways of Asia: port cities of Asia in the 13th–20th centuries*, London: Kegan Paul International, 1997.

Brown, R. H.; Davis-Brown, B., “The making of memory: the politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness,” *History of the Human Sciences*, 11(4), 1998, p. 17–32.

Buderi, Charles L.O., and Luciana T. Ricart. "Chapter 5 The Kingdom of Hormuz, Its Conquest by Portugal in 1515 and Portugal’s Defeat at the Hands of Persia and Britain in 1622". In *The Iran-UAE Gulf Islands Dispute*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Nijhoff, 2018)

Calhoun, Craig. “The Importance of Imagined Communities – and Benedict Anderson.” *Annual Review. Debats. Revista de Cultura, Poder i Societat* 1 (December 15, 2016): 11–16.

Casale, Giancarlo, "The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-century Red Sea and Persian Gulf", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, 2, 2006, p. 170-198**.**

Casey, Michael S. *The History of Kuwait*. The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations Ser. London: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Cavell, Colin S. *A Marxist Critique of Alasdair MacIntyre’s After Virtue.* Master Theses. University of New Orleans, 1987.

Chalcraft, John. “Migration and Popular Protest in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s.” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 79, no. 1 (2011): 28–47.

Choueiri, Youssef M. *Arab Nationalism: A History Nation and State in the Arab World*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000.

Çiçek, M. Talha. *Negotiating the Empire in the Middle East: Ottomans and Arab Nomads in the Modern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Cole, D. . “Tribal and Non-Tribal Structures among the Bedouin of Saudi Arabia.” *Al-Abhath* , no. 30 (1982): 77–93.

Coon, Carleton Stevens. *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East*. New York: Holt, 1961.

Costen, Michael, Philip Slavin, Helen Paul, Patrick Walsh, Tom Crook, Aashish Velkar, and Christopher Godden. “Review of Periodical Literature Published in 2013.” *The Economic History Review* 68, no. 1 (2015): 286–353.

Cottrell, Alvin J., C. Edmund Bosworth, R. Michael Burrell, Keith McLachlan, and Roger M. Savory, eds. *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Crystal, Jill, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, Cambridge Middle East Library, Cambridge (UK), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

————————, *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

————————, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

————————, Civil Society in the Arabian Gulf, In *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Volume Two, ed., Augustus Richard Norton, Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1996.

Davidson, Christopher M. “Arab Nationalism and British Opposition in Dubai, 1920–66.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 6 (November 2007): 879–92.

Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Ernest Dawn, The Rise of Arabism in Syria. *Middle East Journal*, 16(2), (1962) 145–168.

Dawn, Ernest, From Ottomanism to Arabism, in: C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism, Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Dawn, C. Ernest. “The Formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Interwar Years.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 1 (February 1988): 67–91.

DeNovo, John A. *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963.

Druckman, Daniel. “Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective.” *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, no. 1 (April 1994): 43–68.

Duri, A. A. *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation: A Study in Identity and Consciousness*. Translated by Lawrence I. Conrad. London: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Croom Helm, 1987.

Endacott, G. B., ed, *An Eastern Entrapot: A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong*, London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1964.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E., and M. Fortes. “The Nuer of the Southern Sudan.” In *African Political Systems*, edited by E. E. Evans-Prichard. London: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Fain, W. Taylor. *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Farah, Caesar E. “Anglo-Ottoman Confrontation in the Persian Gulf in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries.” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 33, 2003, p. 117–32.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517–1683*, London: I. B. Tauris, 1994

Field, James A. *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882*. N.J: Princeton University Press, 1969.

Field, Michael. *The Merchants: The Big Business Families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States*. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1985.

Filiu, Jean-Pierre. “The Origins of Hamas: Militant Legacy or Israeli Tool?” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 3 (June 1, 2012): 54–70.

Fortes, Meyer. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. London: Oxford University Press, 1945.

———————— “The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups.” *American Anthropologist* 55, no. 1 (1953): 17–41.

Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Fuccaro, Nelida. “Pear Towns and Early Oil Cities: Migration and Integration in the Arab Coast of the Persian Gulf.” In *Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity in the Ottoman Empire and Beyond*, edited by Ulrike Freitage. London: Routledge, 2011.

Galston, William A. “Civic Education and Political Participation.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 37, no. 2 (April 2004): 263–66.

Gardiner, Stephen, *Kuwait: The Making of a City*, Essex, England: Longman Group Limited, 1983.

Gardner, Andrew. “The New Calculus of Bedouin Pastoralism in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.” *Human Organization* 62, no. 3 (2003): 267–76.

Gause, F. Gregory. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994.

Gellner, Ernest. “Political and Religious Organization of the Berbers of the Central High Atlas’.” In *Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa*, edited by Kevin A. Avruch and Charles Micaud, 25–58. London: Duckworth, 1972.

————*Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

————*Nationalism*, Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1997.

Gershoni, Israel, James P. Jankowski, and James Jankowski, eds. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Ghabra, Shafeeq. “Kuwait and the Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change.” *Middle East Journal 51*, no. 3 (1997): 358–72.

————*Kuwait: At the Crossroads of Change or Political Stagnation*, Middle East Institute , May 20, 2014, https://www.mei.edu/publications/kuwait-crossroads-change-or-political-stagnation

Al-Ghanem, Salwa, *The Reign of Mubarak Al-Sabah: Sheikh of Kuwait, 1896-1915*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

Ghasimi, Reza. “Iran’s Oil Nationalization and Mossadegh’s Involvement with the World Bank.” *The Middle East Journal* 65, no. 3 (July 20, 2011): 442–56.

Green, Arnold H., “The History of Libraries in the Arab World: A Diffusionist Model”. *Libraries & Culture*, 23(4), 1988, p. 454–473.

Habib Al-, Mohammad. "The Formation of the Shi'a Communities in Kuwait: Migration, Settlement and Contribution between 1880 and 1938." PhD dissertation, University of London, 2016.

Halliday, Fred. *Arabia Without Sultans*. Pelican Ser. England: Penguin Books, 1974.

Hanieh, Adam, *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Hayes, H., Carlton J. *Nationalism: A Religion*. New York, Chicago: The Macmillan Company, 1960.

Haywood, John A., *Arabic lexicography*, Leiden: Brill, 1960.

Herb, Michael, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1999.

————————. *The Wages of Oil: Parliaments and Economic Development in Kuwait and the UAE*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2014.

————————*'The Origins of Kuwait's National Assembly*.' LSE Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, Paper Series 39, London, UK, March 2016.

Al-Hijji, Yacoub Yusuf, *Kuwait and the Sea: A Brief Social and Economic History*, London: Arabian Publishing Ltd, 2010.

Hinnebusch, R., "Identity and sovereignty in the regional system". In The international politics of the Middle East, Manchester, England: Manchester University

Press, 2018, https://www.manchesteropenhive.com/view/9781526137760/978152613776

Holden, David. “The Persian Gulf: After the British Raj.” *Foreign Affairs* 49, no. 4 (July 1971).

Hourani, Albert. “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables.” In *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981.

————————. *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*. St. Antony’s Ser. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981.

————————. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

————————. *The Arab Awakening: Forty Years After, The Emergence of The Modem Middle East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981

————————. *A History of the Arab Peoples: with a new afterword by Malise Ruthven*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002.

Hudson, Michael C., *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

————————"Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East." *Contention 5,* 1995, p. 81–106.

Hutchinson, John, Smith, Anthony D, *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994

Ismael, Jacqueline S., *Kuwait: Dependency and Class in a Rentier State*, USA: University of Florida Press, 1993**.**

Al-Jamri, Mansoor, State and Civil Society in Bahrain, Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, 6 December 1998 https://bahrain.fandom.com/wiki/State_and_Civil_Society_in_Bahrain

Jones, Toby Craig, *Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Joyce, Miriam. *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Kamrava, Mehran, *International Politics of the Persian Gulf,* New York: Syracuse University Press, 2011.

Karolak, Magdalena, *Gulf Countries: The Struggle for a Common Identity in a Divided GCC*, ISPA Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Commentary, 16 May 2019 https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/commentary_karolak_16.05.2019.pdf

Kayali, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.

Kazziha, Walid W. *Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World: Habash and His Comrades from Nationalism to Marxism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.

Kelly, J. B., *Britain, and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

————————A Prevalence of Furies: Tribes, Politics and Religion in Oman and Trucial Oman, in: Derek Hopwood, ed., *The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics, Studies in Modern Asia and Africa*, 8, London: Allen and Unwin; Totowa, N. J.: Rowman, 1972.

———————— Arabia, the Gulf, and the West: A Critical View of Arabs and Their Oil Policy, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980.

Khalaf, Sulayman, and Hassan Hammoud. "The Emergence of the Oil Welfare State: The Case of Kuwait." *Dialectical Anthropology 12*, no. 3 (1987), p. 349-353.

Al-Khaldi, Salem, *Education Policies in the GCC States*, the

GRC Research Papers Series, the Gulf Research Center: Dubai, 2007, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/97639/2007-01_Education_Policies_in_GCC_States_Digital_5830.pdf

Khalidi, Rashid. Social Factors in the Rise of the Arab Movement in Syria, in Said Arjomand (ed.) *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986.

——————— "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature." *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991): 1363.

———————: "Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria Before 1914: A Reassessment," in Rashid Khalidi, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

———————*Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Khan, Mohd Naseem. "The U.S Policy Towards the Persian Gulf: Continuity and Change." *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* XXXV, no. 2 (May 2001). https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/sa/sa_may01khm01.html.

Khuri, Fuad I., *Tribe and State in Bahrain: The Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State*, Chicago, London: the University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Knauerhase, Ramon. "Saudi Arabia." *Current History* 68, no. 402 (February 1, 1975): 74–79.

Korany, Bahgat, Defending the Faith: The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia, In: Bahgat Korany, Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, *The Foreign Policies of Arab States*, Boulder, Co: Westview Press, Cairo, Egypt: American University of Cairo Press, 1984.

Krolak, Lisa, *The role of libraries in the creation of literate environment*. A paper prepared for the UNESCO education for all global monitoring report, literacy for life, Hamburg, Germany, 2006.

Kurşun, Zekeriya, Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanli Hakimiyeti: Vehhabi Hareketi ve Suud Devleti'nin Ortaya Çıkışı, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basie, 1998.

———————, Katar'da Osmanlılar 1871-1916: Basra Körferzi'nde Osmanlı – İngiliz Çekişmesi, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004.

Kurzman, Charles, ed. *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Al-Kuwari, Maryam, *Tribal Revival in the Gulf: A Trojan Horse or a Threat to National Identities?*, the LSE Middle East Centre, August 31st, 2018, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/08/31/tribal-revival-in-the-gulf-a-trojan-horse-or-a-threat-to-national-identities/

Lange, Oskar, *Political Economy*, translated from Polish: A. H. Walker, New York: Macmillan, 1963, vol. 1 (General Problems)**.**

Laurence Louër, The Transformation of Shia Politics in the Gulf Monarchies, POMEPS, *Studies 28: New Analysis of Shia Politics*, December 2017, p. 39-42 https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/POMEPS_Studies_28_NewAnalysis_Web.pdf

Lawson, Fred, "Labor Politics, Economic Change and the Modern Nation of Autocracy in Contemporary Bahrain" in Peter J. Pranger (ed) *Ideology and Power in the Middle East*, Studies in Honor of George Lenczwski, London: Dake University Press, 1988.

Levinson, Martin H. "Mapping the Persian Gulf Naming Dispute." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 68, no. 3 (2011): 279–87.

Levon H. Malikian, Gulf Reaction to Western Culture Pressures, in B. R. Pridham (ed) *The Arab Gulf and the West*, London: Center for Arab Gulf Studies, University of Exeter, 1985.

Lewis, Bernard, Patriotism and Nationalism, In t*he Middle East and the West*, New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Long, David E. *The Persian Gulf: An Introduction to Its Peoples, Politics, and Economics*. Westview Special Studies on the Middle East 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978.

Longva, Anh Nga. "Nationalism in Pre-Modern Guise: The Discourse on Hadhar and Badu in Kuwait." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 02 (May 2006): 171–87.

Louis, William Roger. *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Lowi, Miriam R. “Identity, Community and Belonging in GCC States: Reflections on the Foreigner.” *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 4 (December 2018): 401–28. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333436715_Identity_Community_and_Belonging_in_gcc_States

Luti, William J. "Ends Versus Means: A Critical Analysis of The Persian Gulf Crisis (1987-1988)," PhD dissertation, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1990.

MacIntyre, Alasdair Chalmers. *The Unconscious: A Conceptual Analysis*. Routledge, 2004.

Mansfield, Peter. *Kuwait Vanguard of the Gulf*. London: Hutchinson Publishing Co Ltd., 1990.

Marlowe John, *The Persian Gulf in the 20th century*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962.

Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engles. *Marx and Engels Collected Works: Marx and Engels 1845-47*. Vol. 5. Lawrence & Wishart Electric Book, 2010. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/cw/index.htm.

Matthiesen, Toby. “Migration, Minorities, and Radical Networks: Labour Movements and Opposition Groups in Saudi Arabia, 1950–1975.” *International Review of Social History* 59, no. 3 (December 2014): 473–504. https://www.tobymatthiesen.com/wp/academic-articles/migration-minorities-and-radical-networks-labour-movements-and-opposition-groups-in-saudi-arabia-1950-1975/

———————. The Other Saudis: Shiism , Dissent and Sectarianism. Vol. Series Number 46. Cambridge Middle East Studies, 2014.

McCourt, David M. “The Suez Crisis, 1956.” In *Britain and World Power since 1945: Constructing a Nation’s Role in International Politics*, 58–85. University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Mehran Kamrava, *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, Published Association With the Center for International and regional studies, Georgetown, School of Foreign Service in Qatar, New York: Syracuse University Press University, 2011.

Mestyan, Adam. *Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Moore, Pete W. *Doing Business in the Middle East: Politics and Economic Crisis in Jordan and Kuwait*. Vol. Series Number 20. Cambridge Middle East Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Munais Al-, Waleed. "Social and Ethnic Differentiation in Kuwait: A Social Geography of an Indigenous Society." Doctoral Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1981, p. 55, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161529063.pdf

Munson Jr., Henry. *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

Nag, Moni. "Political Awareness as a Factor in Accessibility of Health Services: A Case Study of Rural Kerala and West Bengal." *Economic and Political Weekly 24*, no. 8 (1989): 417-26.

Alnajjar, Ghanim, "The Challenges Facing Kuwaiti Democracy." *Middle East Journal 54*, no. 2, 2000, p. 242–258.

Nakhle, Emile A, *Bahrain Political Development in Modernization Society*, London: Lexington Mass, Lamington Books, 1976.

Naqeeb Al-, Khaldoun. "*Political Tribalism and Legitimacy in the Arab Peninsula*". Paper presented to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, January 1992.

Nelson, Cynthia, ed. *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society*. Vol. No. 21. Research Ser. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies., 1973.

Nosova, Anastasia, The Merchant Elite and Parliamentary Politics in Kuwait: The Dynamics of Business Political Participation in a Rentier State, Ph.D. Dissertation, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2016.

Onley, James. "Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820-–1971." *Journal of Social Affairs* 22, no. 87 (Fall 2005): 29–44.

———————. *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth Century Gulf*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

———————, *Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820–1971: The Politics of Protection*, Qatar: Center for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, 2009.

Owen, Roderic, *The Golden Bubble: Arabian Gulf Documentary*, London: Collins, 1957.

Özbaran, Salih, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century*, İstanbul: Analecta Isisiana XII, 1994.

Partrick, Neil, *Nationalism in the Gulf States*, Research Paper, Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, October 2009, Number 5. https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/55257/1/Patrick_2009.pdf

Palmer, Michael A., *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1893-1992*, New York: Macmillan, 1992.

Pauly, Robert J., Robert J. Pauly, and Jr. *US Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf: Safeguarding American Interests Through Selective Multilateralism*. US Foreign Policy and Conflict in the Islamic World Ser. Routledge, 2005.

Peterson, John. "Britain and the Gulf: At the Periphery of Empire." In *The Persian Gulf in History*, edited by Lawrence Potter. London: Macmillan, 2008.

Petras, James F., and Mark Selden. "Social Classes, the State and the World System in the Transition to Socialism." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 11, no. 2 (January 1981): 189–207.

Polanyi, K., C. M. Arensberg, and H. W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, New York: Free Press, 1957.

Potter, Lawrence G., "Introduction", in *The Persian Gulf in History*, ed. Lawrence G. Potter, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Al-Qasimi, Sultan bin Muhammad, *Power struggles and trade in the Gulf 1620-1820*, Durham theses, Durham University, 1999 Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9521/

Rashoud Al-, Talal, *Modern education and Arab nationalism in Kuwait (1911-1961)*, Ph.D. Thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2017.

Renan, Ernest. "What Is a Nation?" In *Nation and Narration*, edited by K. Bhabha Homi, 8–22. London: Routledge, 1990.

Riddell, Carol, and Margaret A. Coulson. *Approaching Sociology: A Critical Introduction*. Students Library of Sociology. Routledge: Thoemms Press, 1970.

Robert B. Revere, No Man's Coast: Ports of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, In: Karl Polanyi, C.M. Arnesberg and W. H. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, New York: Free Press, 1957.

Robert J. Pauly, JR, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf: safeguarding American Interests Through Selective Multilateralism*, UK: Routledge, 2005.

Roberts, Peri, and Peter Sutch. *An Introduction to Political Thought: A Conceptual Toolkit*. UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Ross, Michael L. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 325–61.

Rugh, William, Emergence of a New Middle Class in Saudi Arabia, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 27, Issue 1, (Winter 1973), p. 7-20.

Rumaihi Al-, Mohamed, Factors of Social and Economic Development in the Gulf in the Eighties, in: *Palestine and the Gulf: Proceedings of an International Seminar* November 2-5, 1981, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1982.

Rupavath, Ramdas. *Democracy of the Oppressed: Adivasi Poverty and Hunger*. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.

Russell, Sharon Stanton, Migration and Political Integration in the Arab World, In: Luciani, G., & Salamé, G. (Eds.) *The Politics of Arab Integration*, London: Routledge, 1988.

Sabah Al-, Ebraheem Duaij Al-Ebraheem, *Shari'ah, Democracy and the Kuwaiti Constitution*, London: Arabian Publishing Ltd, 2017.

Sabah Al-, Souad M., *Abdullah Mubarak Al-Sabah: The Transformation of Kuwait*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2015**.**

Sadik, Muhammad, and W. Snavely. *Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates: Colonial Past, Present Problems, and Future Prospects*. London: Lexington Books, 1972.

Sagher, Mostafa Ahmed, The impact of economic activities on the social and political structures of Kuwait (1896-1946) Ph.D. Dissertation, Durham University, 2004.

Salih, Kamal Osman. "Kuwait: Political Consequences of Modernization, 1750-1986." *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1 (1991), 46–66.

————————"The 1938 Kuwait Legislative Council." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (January 1992): 66–100.

———————— "Kuwait's Parliamentary Elections: An Appraisal", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 16, Issue 2, Winter 1995, p. 185-195.

Sanger, Jodi. "Political Reform & Economic Diversification in the Gulf: Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates." (PDF) Political Reform & Economic Diversification in the Gulf: Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates | Jodi Sanger - Academia.edu, n.d. https://www.academia.edu/22393932/Political_Reform_and_Economic_Diversification_in_the_Gulf_Kuwait_and_the_United_Arab_Emirates

Sato, S., *Britain and the formation of the Gulf States*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Sayigh, Yazid Yusuf. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. Oxford: Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, D.C.: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Seccombe, Ian J., Richard I. Lawless, *Work Camps and Company Towns: Settlement Patterns and the Gulf Oil Industry*, England: University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, 1987.

Segal, Eran. "Merchants' Networks in Kuwait: The Story of Yusuf al-Marzuk." *Middle Eastern Studies 45*, no. 5 (September 2009): 709–719.

Shalaby, Marwa. "Women's Political Representation, in *Kuwait: An Untold Story."* A Report by the Women's Rights in the Middle East Program. Houston: James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, 2015. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327945530_Women's_Political_Representation_in_Kuwait_An_Untold_Story

Shamlan Al-, Saif Marzooq, *Pearling in the Arabian Gulf: A Kuwaiti memoir*, London: LCAS, London Centre of Arab Studies, 2000.

Sharabi, Hisham Bashir. *Arab Intellectuals and the West: The Formative Years, 1875-1914*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970.

AlShehabi, Omar, 'Histories of Migration to the Gulf,' in Abdulhadi Khalaf, Omar AlShehabi, and Adam Hanieh (eds.), *Transit States: Labour, Migration & Citizenship in the Gulf*, London: Pluto Press, 2015.

————————, "Contested Modernity: Divided Rule and the Birth of Sectarianism, Nationalism, and Absolutism in Bahrain." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 3 (2016): 1–32.

————————, C*ontested Modernity. Sectarianism, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Bahrain*, London, One World Academic, 2019**.**

Shiloh, Ailon ed, *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, New York: Random House, 1969.

Shuhaiber, Suhail, "Political Development in Kuwait: Continuity and Change in an Arab Independent Gulf State." PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1981.

SingerMan, Diane, Civil Society in the Shadow of the Egyptian State: The Role of informal Networks in the Construction of public life. In: Norton, Augustus Richard, Roger Owen, Diane Singerman, and James Gelvin, *The Civil Society Debate in Middle Eastern Studies*, Los Angeles: UCLA Near East Center Colloquium Series, 1996.

Sirriyeh, Hussein. *U. S. Policy in the Gulf, 1968-1977: Aftermath of British Withdrawal*. Vol. No. 24. Political Studies of the Middle East. London: Ithaca Press, 1984.

Slot, B. J., *Mubarak al-Sabah: founder of modern Kuwait, 1896-1915*, London: Arabian Publishing, 2005.

Smith, Simon C. *Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*. Oxford, 1999.

———————— "The Making of a Neo-Colony? Anglo-Kuwaiti Relations in the Era of Decolonization." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 1, 2001: 159–72.

Solhaug, T., T. Denk, M. Olson, and N. N. Kristensen, *Political Awareness, Concept and Measurement*. Hamborg, Germany: Paper presented at ECPR General Conference, 2018.

Stables, Richard, Relations between Britain and Kuwait 1957-1963, PhD dissertation, the department of Politics and international relations at the University of Warwick, 1996.

Stocking, George Ward, *Middle East oil; a study in political and economic controversy*, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1971.

Sulaiman, Hassan Sayed. "The Nationalist Movements in the Maghrib: A comparative approach", *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, Uppsala, Research Report Issue 78, 1987.

Suleiman, Yasir, "Nationalism and the Arabic language: A historical overview," in Yasir Suleiman, ed., *Arabic sociolinguistics: Issues and perspectives.* Surrey: Curzon Press.

Tachau, Frank. *Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa*. The Greenwood Historical Encyclopaedia of the World's Political Parties Ser. Greenwood, 1994.

Takriti, Abdel Razzaq. *Monsoon Revolution: Republicans, Sultans, and Empires in Oman, 1965-1976*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

———— Political Praxis in the Gulf: Ahmad al-Khatib and the Movement of Arab Nationalists, 1948–1969. In J. Hanssen & M. Weiss (Eds.), *Arabic Thought against the Authoritarian Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Talahma, Asil A. A. "Inter-imperial Rivalry in the Gulf at the Turn of the 20th Century: The Case of Kuwait." Master's thesis, İstanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi, 2021.

Tauber, Eliezer, *The Emergence of Arab Movements*, London: Routledge, 1993.

Tétreault, Mary Ann. *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Toth, Anthony B. "Tribes and Tribulations: Bedouin Losses in the Saudi and Iraqi Struggles Over Kuwait's Frontiers, 1921–1943." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (November 2005): 145–67.

Tsupokyemla. "Sati Al-Husri's Contribution on Arab Nationalism."" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75, no. Platinum Jubilee (2014): 975–81.

Valencia, Miriam. "Libraries, Nationalism, and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century." *Libri* 52, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–15.

Vassiliev, Alexei. *The History of Saudi Arabia*. Saqi Books, 2013.

Wilczynski, J. *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Marxism, Socialism and Communism: Economic, Philosophical, Political and Sociological Theories, Concepts, Institutions and Practices - Classical and Modern, East-West Relations Included*. The Macmillan Press Ltd London and Basingstoke, 1981.

Yanai, Shaul. *The Political Transformation of Gulf Tribal States: Elitism and the Social Contract in Kuwait, Bahrain and Dubai, 1918-1970s*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

Zahlan, R. Said. *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1978.

————————. "The Gulf States and the Palestine Problem, 1936-48." *Arab Studies Quarterly 3*, no. 1 (1981): 1–21**.**

————————. *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*. Routledge Library Editions: The Gulf Ser. NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

————————. *The Making of the Modern Gulf states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, The United Arab Emirates and Oman.* London: Unwin Hyman inc., 1989.

Al-Zaidi, Mufeed, Political reform attempts in Saudi Arabia, *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 8:4, 2015, 553-567.

Zaller, John R. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology Ser. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

———————— "Political Awareness, Elite Opinion Leadership, and the Mass Survey Response." *Social Cognition* 8, no. 1 (March 1990): 125–53.

Arabic Secondary Sources:

ʻAbd Al-Jawwād, Muḥammad, *Al-taṭawwur al-tashrīʻī fī al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah (The Legislative Development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia),* Alexandria: Munshaʾat al-Maʻārif, 1985.

ʻAbd Allāh, ʻAbd āl- Khāliq, Al-ʻAlāqāt alʻarbyah-ālkhalyjyah (The Arab-Gulf relations) (1996), *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī,* issue 18, no. 205, March 1996.

ʻAbd Allāh, Ḥamad ʻAlī, *al-Mushkilah al-Tijārīyah bayna al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jābir wa-al-malik ʻAbd-al-ʻAzīz Āl Saʻūd : Mushkilat Almusāblh1922-1942 (The*

commercial problem between Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber and King Abdulaziz Al Saud: The problem of Almusāblh 1922-1942), Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 2023.

‘Abd Allāh, Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Ṣiḥāfat al-Kuwayt: ru’yah ‘āmmah bayna al-dawāfi‘ wa-al-natā’ij, (Kuwait Press: A General View between the motives and results)* Kuwait: Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies, 1985.

‘Abd Allāh, Ṭaybah Khalaf, Al-taṭawwur al-tārīkhī lil-Majālis al-tashrī‘īyah fī al-Kuwayt, 1921-1971, (The Historical Development of the Legislative Councils in Kuwait 1921-1971) Master’s thesis, Basra University, Faculty of Letters, 1986.

Al-‘Abd Allāh, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, Al-Ta‘līm fī Qaṭar fī marḥalat taḥawwul (1954-1964) (Education in Qatar in a Transitional Stage (1954-1964)), *Majallat Markaz al-wathā’iq wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Insānīyah*, Qatar University, Issue 10, 1998, p. 61-93

——————————, *Tārīkh al-Ta‘līm fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (1913-1971) (History of Education in the Arab Gulf (1913-1971))* Doha, n.d., 2009.

‘Abd-al-‘Azīz Ḥusayn et al. , *Tārīkh al-Ta‘līm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tawthīqīyah, (History of Education in the State of Kuwait: A Documentary Study*), Vol. 1, Kuwait : Center for Research and Studies On Kuwait, 2002.

‘Abd al-Majīd Muṣṭafá, ‘Uthmān fyẓ Allāh, *Dirāsāt ‘an al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (Studies on Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf),* Cairo: Mktbh Nahḍat Miṣr, 1965.

‘Abd al-Mālik, Anwar, *Al-Fikr al-‘Arabī fī Ma‘rakat al-Nahḍah (Arab Thought in the Battle for Revival*), translated by: Badr al-Dīn ‘Arodky, Beirut: Dar al-Ādāb, 1964.

‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī , ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ . *Al-Wa‘y al-Tanmawī al-‘Arabī, (The Arab Development Awareness)*. Vol. 02. Beirut: Ma‘had al-Inmā’ al-‘Arabī, 1989.

‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī Yūsuf, *al-Kuwayt bi-‘uyūn al-ākharīn : Malāmiḥ min ḥayāt mujtama‘ al-Kuwayt wa-khaṣā’iṣuhu qabla al-nafṭ (Kuwait In the Eyes of Others: Features of the life of Kuwaiti Society and its characteristics Pre Oil),*Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2002.

‘Abd-al-Raḥmān, Usāmah, *Al-Muthaqqafūn wa-al-Baḥth ‘an masār : Dawr al-muthaqqafīn fī aqṭār al-Khalīj al-‘Arabīyah fī al-tanmiyah (the intellectual and the search for a path: The role of intellectuals in development in the Arab Gulf states),* series of the National Culture (9), Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987.

Abū al-Jabīn, Khayrī *Qiṣṣat ḥayātī fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Kuwayt (The story of my life in Palestine and Kuwait),* Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 2002.

http://www.abuljebain.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/my-life.pdf

Abū Ḥākimah, Muṣṭafá Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (1750-1965) (The modern history of Kuwait, 1750-1965)*, Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1984.

Abū al-‘Ulā, Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, "Khaṣā’iṣ al-bī’ah al-jughrāfīyah li-Ḥawḍ al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī" (Characteristics of the geographical environment of the Arabian Gulf), In *al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī muwājahat al-taḥaddiyāt (Facing the challenges in the Arabian Gulf),* Seasonal cultural lectures 7th and 8th 1974-1975 intellectual symposium, sociologist’s committee, Kuwait, 1975.

Abū ‘Uyūn al-Mayālī, Kāẓim ‘Abd al-Zahrah, Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb wa-atharuhu fī al-mu‘āraḍah al-niyābīyah fī al-Kuwayt ḥattá ‘ām 1996 (Ahmed Al-Khatib and its impact on the parliamentary opposition in Kuwait until 1996), Master’s thesis, College of Education, Wāsiṭ University, 2016.

Aḥmad Shaḥādhah Muḥammad ‘Alī, Al-tajribah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt dirāsah fī ḍaw’ al-azamāt al-dustūrīyah (Kuwait's Democratic Experiment: A Study in Light of Constitutional Crises), *Journal of International Politics*, Cairo, Issue 30, March 2016.

Al-‘Ajamī, Ẓāfir Muḥammad, *Amn al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, taṭawwuruh wa-ishkālīyātuh min manẓūr al-‘Alāqāt al-iqlīmīyah wa-al-dawlīyah (Security of the Arabian Gulf: Its Development and Problems from the Perspective of Regional and International Relations),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2006.

Al-‘Ajīl, Farīd Mashārī, *Al-nafṭ fī al-Kuwayt : dirāsah taḥlīlīyah shāmilah (Oil in Kuwait: Comprehensive Analytical Study),* Kuwait: Maqahwī Press, n.d.

Akādīmīyat al-ʻUlūm fī al-Ittiḥād al-Sūvyatī, al-istishrāq institute, Tārīkh al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah 1917-1970 (the academy of sciences in the USSR, the modern history of the Arab countries 1970- 1971), Dar al-Fārābī, n.d., part 01.

Al-ʻAkarī, ʻAbd al-Nabī, "al-munaẓẓamāt al-yasārīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah : al-nashʾah, al-tafarāt, al-taḥawwulāt (The Leftist Organizations in the Arab gulf and peninsula: Emergence, Branches, and Transformations), In : *Nashʾat al-Ḥizb al-siyāsī wa-taṭawwuruh wa-maṣāʾiruh fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī fī al-qarn al-ʻishrīn, (The Emergence of The Political Party, Its Development, and Destinies in the Arab World in the 20th century)*, the 1st section, edited by: Fayṣal Darrāj & Muḥammad Jamāl Bārūt, Vol. 2, Damascus: Arab Centre for Strategic Studies, 2000.

————————, *"al-munaẓẓamāt al-yasārīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah (Leftist organizations in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf),* Beirut: Dār al-Kunūz al-adabīyah, 2003.

ʻAlī, ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Khāliq, Al-Ittijāh al-wijdānī fī shiʻr Khālid al-Faraj wa-atharuhu fī Baʻth al-rūḥ al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-tarbiyah (Emotional trend in Khaled Al-Faraj's poetry and its effect on the revival of Arab spirit and upbringing 1898-1954), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Yearbook, issue 4, Doha: Qatar University, 1981.

ʻAlī, Ḥaydar Ibrāhīm, *al-Tayyārāt al-Islāmīyah wa-qaḍīyat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah (the Islamic currents and the issue of democracy)*, Vol. 2, Arab unity studies center, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999.

Amʻḍshw, Farīd "al-Ittijāh al-Qawmī fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī al-ḥadīth" (Nationalism in the modern Kuwaiti poetry), *Al-Bayān-Al-Kuwaytīyah magazine,* issue 492, July 2011.

"'An Al-Qāfilah | Majallat al-Qāfilah." Accessed April 9, 2023. https://qafilah.com/ar/about/

Al-Anṣārī, Jalāl Khālid al-Hārūn, *Tārīkh ʻArab al-Huwalah wāl'twb (The History of Arab Al- Huwala and Al- Utub)*, Beirut: Al-Dar Al-Arabia for encyclopaedias.

Al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Jābir, *Lamaḥāt min al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (Glimpses from the Arabian Gulf)* , Bahrain: Arab Company for distribution agencies, 1970.

————————, Fuṣūl min Tārīkh Ṣiḥāfat al-Khalīj : qiṣṣat al-Muḥāwalāt wālbidāyāt al-ūlá 1920-1930 (Chapters from the history of Gulf journalism: Story of First Attempts and Beginnings, 1920-1930), *Doha Journal,* No. 10, October 1976.

————————, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-ūlá fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : al-Baḥrayn wa al-Kuwayt fatrat mā bayna 1920-1940 (History of the First Democratic Movement in the Arabian Gulf: Bahrain and Kuwait 1920-1940), *al-Mu'arrikh al-ʻArabī,* vol. 15, 1980, p. 64-80.

————————, Adab al-iṣlāḥ al-ijtimāʻī fī al-Khalīj, 1920-1950 (Social Reform Literature in the Gulf (1920-1950)), In: *Malāmiḥ al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, (features of the literary movement in the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula),* Basra: The centre for Arabian Gulf studies of the University of Basra, 1980.

Anṭwān Mattá, *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī: min al-istiʻmār al-Barīṭānī ḥattá al-thawrah al-Īrānīyah 1798-1978 (Arabian Gulf from British colonialism until the Iranian revolution (1798-1978)),* Beirut: Dar al-Jīl,1993.

ʻAqīl Yūsuf ʻĪdān, *Maʻṣiyat Fahd al-ʻAskar: al-wujūdīyah fī al-Waʻy al-Kuwaytī (Fahd al-Askar's "disobedience", Existentialism in Kuwait Awareness),* Cairo: Dar Al-ʻAyn, 2013.

ʻAqqād Al-, Ṣalāḥ, *Maʻālim al-taghyīr fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī,(Signposts of change in the Arabian Gulf states),* the Arab League's Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization, Cairo: Institute of Arab Research and Studies,1972.

————————, Al-istiqrār wa-al-ʻawāmil al-muḍāddah fī al-Kuwayt (Satiability and the counter-factors in Kuwait), *al-siyāsah al-Dawlīyah Journal,* Issue No. 43, Jan 1976.

————————, *al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khālīj al-ʻArabī : min bidāyat al-ʻuṣūr al-ḥadīthah ḥattá azmat 1990-1991 (Political currents in the Arabian Gulf),* Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjilū al-Miṣrīyah (Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop), 1983.

Al-Aṣbaḥī, Aḥmad, *al-Ḥarakah al-naqābīyah al-Kuwaytīyah lamḥah tārīkhīyah (the Kuwaiti labor movement: a historical overview),* Kuwait: al-Ittiḥād al-ʻāmm li-ʻummāl al-Kuwayt, 2009.

Ashkanānī, Jāsim ʻAbbās, *Ṣafaḥāt min al-dhākirah, (Pages from Memory)* Part 04, Kuwait: al-Qabas, 2011.

Asīrī, ʻAbd al-Riḍā, *Al-niẓām al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt : Mabādi' wa-mumārasāt (The political system in Kuwait. principles and practices),* Edition 12, Kuwait: al-waṭan Press, 2012.

Asīrī, ʻAbd al-Riḍā, Kamāl al-Munūfī "al-Intikhābāt al-niyābīyah al-sādisah (1985) fī al-Kuwayt : taḥlīl siyāsī"(The Sixth Parliamentary Elections (1985) in Kuwait: A Political Analysis), *Journal of Social Sciences (Majallat al-ʻUlūm al-ijtimāʻīyah*), Year 14, Issue No 1, Spring of 1986.

Al-ʻAskarī, Sulaymān Ibrāhīm wa Khiḍr, Aḥmad Ḥasan, *Al-Kuwayt wa-al-tanmiyah al-Thaqāfīyah, (Kuwait and Cultural Development),* Kuwait: National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature, 1998.

ʻAṭāllāh, Samīr, *Qāfilat al-Ḥibr: al-raḥḥālah al-Gharbīyūn ilá al-Jazīrah wa-al-Khalīj (1762-1950*) *(The Ink Caravan: The Western Travelers to the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf (1762-1950)),* Beirut: Dar Al-Sāqī, 1994.

Al-ʻAṭṭār, ʻAdnān, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-taḥarrurīyah fī al-Ḥijāz wa-Najd, 1901-1973 (the Liberation Movements in Hijaz and Najd, 1901-1973),* Beirut: Maʻtūq Ikhwān Press, 1974.

Al-Awaḍi, Ali Ḥusayn, *Ru'yah lil-wāqiʻ al-Ṭullābī: al-Ḥarakah al-ṭullabiyah al-Kuwaytiyah wa-al-tayyarat,(A vision of the student reality: The Kuwaiti Student Movement and Political Currents),* 2000, n.d..

Al-ʻAydarūs, Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir (the contemporary and modern history of Kuwait),* Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ḥadīth, 2002.

Al-ʻAysamī, Shiblī, *Ḥizb al-Baʻth al-ʻArabī al-Ishtirākī : marḥalat al-Arbaʻīnāt al-ta'sīsīyah, 1940-1949 (Arab Socialist Ba'ath party, The founding period in the 1940s, 1940-19459*), Beirut: Dar al-Ṭalīʻah, 1983.

Al-A‘ẓamī, Walīd Ḥamdī, *Al-Kuwayt fī al-wathā’iq al-Barīṭānīyah min 1752 ilá 1960 (The Political History of Kuwait Through British Documents (1752-1960)),* UK: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 1991.

Al-Badr, Badr Khālid, *Riḥlat ma‘a Qāfilat al-ḥayāh (Journey with the convoy of life),* Kuwait, n.d., 2004.

Al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad,and al-Mudayris, flāḥ, "dirāsah taḥlīlīyah li-ittijāhāt al-ra’y al-‘āmm al-Kuwaytī ḥawla mukhtalaf al-qaḍāyā al-siyāsīyah al-Maḥallīyah" (An Analytical Study of the Trends of Kuwaiti public opinion on various local political issues), *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Beirut, Vol 15, Issue No. 169, March 1993, p. 87-106.

Al-Baḥārnah, Ḥusayn Muḥammad, *Duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī al-ḥadīthah : ‘alāqātuhā al-Dawlīyah wa-taṭawwur al-Awḍā‘ al-siyāsīyah wa-al-qānūnīyah wa-al-dustūrīyah fīhā (The Modern Arab Gulf States: Their International Relations and the Evolution of the Political, Legal and Constitutional Conditions in them),* Beirut: Al-ḥayāh, Foundation block, 1973.

Al-Bākir, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *min al-Baḥrayn ilá al-manfá "Saint Helena"(from Bahrain to exile “St. Halana”),* Beirut, n.d., 1965.

Ba‘labakkī, Aḥmad et al., *Jadalīyāt al-indimāj al-ijtimā‘ī wa-binā’ al-dawlah wa-al-ummah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī (The Dialectics of Social Integration and the Construction of the Nation-State within the Arab Homeland)* Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2014.

Barāhīmī, ‘Abd-al-Ḥamīd, *Ab‘ād al-indimāj al-iqtiṣādī al-‘Arabī wa-iḥtimālāt al-mustaqbal, (Dimensions of Arab Economic Integration and Future Possibilities)* Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1980.

Barakāt, Ḥalīm, *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir : baḥth istiṭlā‘ī ijtimā‘ī (Contemporary Arab Society: a comprehensive social survey),* Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1984.

——————— *Al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī fī al-qarn al-‘ishrīn : baḥth fī Taghayyuri al-aḥwāl wa-al-‘alāqāt, (Arab society in the twentieth century: research into changing conditions and relationships)* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2000.

———————. *Al-Mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī Fī al-Qarn al-‘ishrīn (Arab Society in the Twentieth Century: Research into Changing Conditions and Relationships)*. Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2008.

Barbūtī, Ḥaqqī Ismā‘īl, Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyah al-‘Arabīyah fī mīzān al-Taqyīm al-tārīkhī ba‘da naksat Ḥuzairān 1967 (The Movement of the Arab Nationalism in the Balance of Historical Evaluation after the Setback), *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Issue No. 137, July 1990.

Barrāk, Wāthiq Muḥammad, *Ṣun‘ al-qarār al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt (Policy Making In Kuwait),* Mosul: Regional Studies Center, University of Mosul, 2010.

Bārūt, Muḥammad Jamāl, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab : al-nash’ah- al-taṭawur-al-maṣā’r, (The Movement of Arab Nationalists: Formation, Evolution, and Destinies)* Damascus: al-Markaz al-'Arabi lil-Dirasat al-Istratijiyya, 1997.

Al-Bassām, Khālid, *Tilka al-Ayyām: Ḥikāyāt wa-ṣuwar min Bidāyāt al-Baḥrayn, (Those Days: Tales and Pictures from the Beginnings of Bahrain),* Manama: Gulf panorama publications, 1986.

Al-Dajānī, Aḥmad Ṣidqī, Al-Fikr al-‘Arabī wa-al-taghyīr fī al-mujtama‘ al-‘Arabī (The Arab thought and the shift in the Arab Society), In*: al-Sayyid Yāsīn el al. (Al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-‘aṣr fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī : al-aṣālah wa-al-mu‘āṣarah) Heritage and the challenges of the time in the Arab world (originality and modernity),* Research and discussion at the intellectual symposium, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985.

Al-Dhāydy, Mashārī, *min al-Islām al-taqlīdī ilá al-Islām al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt, in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, (From the Traditional Islam to Political Islam in Kuwait: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab Gulf),* Dubai: al-Misbār Studies & Research Center, 2011.

Al-Dūrī, ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, *Hawla al-taṭawwur al-tārīkhī lil-ummah al-‘Arabīyah (On the historical development of the Arab nation)* A paper presented to: al-Qawmīyah al-‘Arabīyah fī al-Fikr wa-al-mumārasah : Buḥūth wa-munāqashāt al-nadwah al-fikrīyah (Arab Nationalism in thought and practice, Research and Discussion at the Intellectual Symposium), Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1980.

Darwaza , Al-Hakam. *Fi Al-Tathqif al-Qawmi (On Nationalist Education)*. n.d.: n.d., 1960.

Dhahabīyah Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *jughrāfīyat al-waṭan al-ʻArabī (Geography of the Arab World),* Amman: Arab society Library for Publishing & Distribution, 2010.

Dickson Harold Richard, *al-Kuwayt wa-jārātahā, (Kuwait and Her Neighbors),* Translated by: Jassim Mubarak al Jassim, Vol. 2, Kuwait, 1964.

Dickson, H.R.P., *al-Kuwayt wa-jārātahā, (Kuwait and Her Neighbors),* Vol.1, Ṣaḥārá for printing and publishing, n.d., 1990.

Dukas, Martha, *Azmat al-Kuwayt: al-ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwaytīyah al-ʻIrāqīyah, 1961-1963 (Kuwait's Crisis: the Kuwaiti-Iraqi Relations 1961-1963),* Beirut: Dar al-Nahār, 1973.

Al-Faḍālah, Nāṣir Muḥammad Sanad, *Al-ḥālah wa-al-ḥall : faraḍīyāt awwalīyah litaṣwyb al-ṣirāʻ al-siyāsī ilá uṭurihi al-ijtimāʻīyah (Status and Solution: Preliminary Hypotheses for Correcting the Political Conflict to its Social Frameworks),* Kuwait, n.d., 2010.

Al-Fahd, ʻAbd al-Rāziq Muṭlak, Tārīkh al-Ḥarakah al-ʻummālīyah fī al-Baḥrayn (History of the Labor Movement in Bahrain), *Dirāsāt ʻArabīyah,* Issue 10-11, August / September 1985.

Al-Farḥān, Rāshid ʻAbd Allāh, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kuwayt wa-ʻalāqatuhā bi-al-ḥukūmah al-Barīṭānīyah wa al-duwal al-ʻArabīyah (A Brief History of Kuwait and its relations with the British Government and the Arab countries),* revised by: ʻAbd Allāh Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, Kuwait: Dar al-ʻUrūbah Bookstore, 1960.

Al-Farḥān, Rāshid, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Kuwayt, (Brief of history of Kuwait)* Cairo, n.d., 1960.

Al-Fāris, Muḥammad Fāris, *Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Imārāt wa-al-Khalīj : qirāʼah fī al-wathāʼiq al-Barīṭānīyah (Pages From The History of Emirates and the Gulf: a Reading in the British Documents),* Vol. 1, Amman: al-Maktabah al-Ahlīyah publication and distribution, 2009.

Al-Faylī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Al-aḥzāb al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt wāqi‘ qā’im wa-mustaqbal manẓūr, Ḥarakat al-tawāfuq al-Waṭanī al-Islāmīyah,(Political Parties in Kuwait : A Happening status-quo and a foreseeable future, the Islamic national consensus movement (Harakat Al-Tawafuq Al-Watani Al-Islamiah*)) Kuwait, n.d., 2006.

Al-Fīl, Muḥammad Rashīd, *Sukkān al-Kuwayt (People of Kuwait*), Kuwait: Publications Company for Publishing & Distribution, 1969.

————————, *Al-jughrāfīyah al-tārīkhīyah lil-Kuwayt (Historical Geography of Kuwait),* Kuwait, n.d., 1972.

————————. *al-ahammīyah al-Istirātījīyah lil-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī fī muwājahat al-taḥaddiyāt*, lectures of the 07th and 08th cultural seasons (1974-1975) (intellectual seminar), (The Strategic Importance of the Arabian Gulf Region: the Gulf in the face of challenges), 7th and 8th Cultural Seasons Lectures (1974-1975), Kuwait: Kuwait Social Association, 1975.

————————, *al-tanmiyah al-zirā‘īyah fī al-Kuwayt(Agricultural Development in Kuwait),* Scientific series published by the Research and Translation Unit, Geography Department, Kuwait University, 1983.

————————, al-ahammīyah al-Istirātījīyah lil-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, (The Strategic Importance of the Arabian Gulf Region), Vol. 02, Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1988.

Fāyid, Bashīr, Al-da‘m al-Kuwaytī lil-thawrah al-Jazā’irīyah 1954-1962, (The Kuwaiti Support to The Algerian Revolution 1954-1962) *al-Amīr ‘Abd al-Qādir University for Islamic studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 2017, p. 319-351.

Al-Ghabrā, Shafīq *al-nakbah wa nushu’ al-shatāt al-Filasṭīnī fī al-Kuwayt, (The Nakba and the Emergence of the Palestinian Diaspora in Kuwait)* Beirut: the ACRPS as part of its 'Palestinian Memory' series, 2018.

Al-Ghanīm, Ya‘qūb Yūsuf *, al-Kuwayt ‘abra al-qurūn (Kuwait through the Centuries),* al-Amal library, 2001.

Al-Ghanīm, Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh Yūsuf, *Al-ghawṣ ʻalá al-Luʼlu' fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : maqālāt wa-taqārīr min al-wathāʼiq al-Barīṭānīyah* , Kuwait: The Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2018.

Al-Ghazālī, Ṣalāḥ, *al-jamāʻāt al-siyāsīyah al-Kuwaytīyah fī qarn (1910 – 2007) (Kuwaiti Political Groups in a Century (1910 - 2007))*, Kuwait, n.d., 2007.

Al-Ghunaym, ʻAbd Allāh Yūsuf, *Al-Kuwayt: qirāʼah fī al-kharāʼiṭ al-tārīkhīyah (Kuwait: A Reading of Historical Maps)* Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2000.

———————, *al-Kuwayt wa-Rūsīyā fī ʻahd al-Shaykh Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ,(Kuwait and Russia under Sheik Mubarak Al-Sabah)*, Kuwait: Center For Research And studies On Kuwait, 2011.

Al-Ghunaym, Yaʻqūb Yūsuf. *Dawlat al-Kuwayt al-Amākin wa-al-Maʻālim (State of Kuwait: Places and Monuments).* Kuwait: Kuwaiti Research and Studies Center, 2004.

Ghayth , Muḥammad ʻĀṭif . *Qāmūs ʻilm Al-Ijtimāʻ, (Dictionary of Sociology)* . Alexandria: Dar Al-Marefa, 1997.

Ghubāsh, Ḥusayn, *Al-judhūr al-Thaqāfīyah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-Khalīj: al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn Tārīkh al-shuʻūb al-ṣaghīrah (The Cultural Roots of Democracy in the Gulf: Kuwait and Bahrain, History of Small Nations)*, Beirut: Dar al-Fārābī, 2010.

Al-Hājirī, ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad, Taṭawwur al-ʻalāqah al-tārīkhīyah bayna Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-al-tujjār fī al-Kuwayt mundhu al-nashʼah wa-ḥattá ʻahd al-Shaykh ʻAbd Allāh al-Sālim, (the development of the historical relationship between the Al-Sabah family and the merchants in Kuwait from its inception until the era of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem) *The Arab Journal for the Humanities*, Vol. 27, No. 106, Spring 2009.

———————, Barīṭānyā wa-al-musāʻadāt al-taʻlīmīyah al-Kuwaytīyah li-Imārāt al-Sāḥil al-mutaṣāliḥ, 1953-1971 (Britain and Kuwaiti Educational Efforts to the Sahel Almitsaleh (the emirates of the Trucial States) (1953-1971)), *Annals of Arts*

and Social Sciences, Kuwait University, Monograph 330, Kuwait, Issue 31, March 2011, (8-62)

———————, Ishkālīyat Lajnat kitābat Tārīkh al-Kuwayt 1959-1967, Mashrū‘ tārīkhī lam yaktamil,(Problem of Kuwait History: Writing Committee 1959-1967 An unfinished historical project) *Annals Journal of the Faculty of Arts,* Ain Shams University, Issue No. 4, October/December, Volume - 44, 2015.

Al-Hājirī, ‘Abd Allāh, Al-‘Anzī, Muḥammad, *Madkhal ilá Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu‘āṣir (Introduction to the Modern and Contemporary History of Kuwait*), Kuwait: Center of al-Qarīn for historical studies, 2006.

Al-Hājirī, Manṣūr Khalaf ‘Abd Allāh, *Ṣafaḥāt Kuwaytīyah bayna al-māḍī wa-al-ḥāḍir : ‘alá Lisān min ‘āyashuhā waṣana‘uhā min abnā’ al-dīrah wa ikhwānihim al-‘Arab (Kuwaiti pages between the past and the present: told by the inhabitants of Addira and their Arab brothers who lived and made the pages)*, Kuwait: Manṣūr al-Hājirī, 2010.

Al-Ḥajjī, Ya‘qūb Yūsuf, *Nawākhidhat al-safar al-shirā‘ī fī al-Kuwayt (Sailing Ship Captains (Nūkhadhah) in Kuwait),* Kuwait: The Centre for Research and Studies in Kuwait, 2005.

Al-Ḥamad, Turkī, "Tawḥīd al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah: Dawr al-aydiyūlūjiyā wa-al-tanẓīm fī taḥṭīm al-Buná al-ijtimā’iah‘-āl-iqtiṣādyāt almu‘iqah lil-Wiḥdah (Uniting the Arabian Peninsula: The Role of Ideology and Organization in Breaking the Social-economic Structures that Impeding Unity) *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Beirut, November 1986, p. 28-40.

Al-Ḥamadī Ṣabrī Fāliḥ, Al-quwá al-qabalīyah fī Qaṭar wa-atharuhā fī nushū’ al-Imārah 1700-1868 (Tribal Forces in Qatar and their Influence on the Rise of the Emirate 1700-1868*), The Journal of the Faculty of Basic Education,* Mustansiriyah university, vol. 19, issue 81, 2015.

Al-Ḥātim, ‘Abd Allāh. *min hunā bada’at al-Kuwayt (From Here Kuwait Begins).* Lebanon: The Modern Printing House, n.d..

Ḥabīb, ‘Azīz Muḥammad, *al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī min al-Khalīj ilá al-muḥīṭ, (The Arab World: From the Gulf to the Ocean)*, Cairo: Anglo- Egyptian Bookshop, 1971.

Habib, John S., *Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of The Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Ḥajlāwī, Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥabīb, *Ta'thīr al-Fikr al-Nāṣirī 'alá al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1952-1971, (The Influence of (Nasseriam) Nasser's Thoughts on the Arabian Gulf (1951-1971))*, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2003.

Ḥāmid, Ra'ūf 'Abbās, "Amrīkā wa-al-'Arab : Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī- al-ḥarb al-'Ālamīyah al-thāniyah"(America and the Arabs: the Evolution of American Policy in the Arab World, World War II,), *Al-Mustakbal Al-Arabi magazine*, Issue 29, 1981.

Ḥasan, 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad, *Al-Ḥarakah al-adabīyah wa-al-fikrīyah fī al-Kuwayt (The Literary and Intellectual Movement in Kuwait)*, Kuwait: Association of Writers in Kuwait, 2014.

Hay, Sir Robert. *Duwal Al-Khalīj al-Fārisī (Persian Gulf States)*. Translated by Yūsuf al-Shārūnī. Cairo: Supreme Council of Culture, 2004.

Ḥusayn, 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-taṭawwur al-iqtiṣādī al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt wa-atharuhu fī Niẓām al-'amal wa-ḥayāt al-'Ummāl (Modern Economic Development in Kuwait and its Impact on the Work System, Workers' Lives) *al-waḍ' al-ijtimā'ī (Social Status)*, January 1954.

———————, *Muḥāḍarāt 'an al-mujtama' al-'Arabī fī al-Kuwayt (Lectures on Arab Society in Kuwait)*, Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1994.

Ḥusayn, Najlā' 'Adnān, Fāḍl Jāsim, Al-Ḥarakah al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-ūlá fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī : al-Kuwayt namūdhajan 1920-1940 (The First Democratic Movement in the Arabian Gulf: Kuwait as a Model 1920-1940), *Kullīyat al-Tarbiyah al-asāsīyah Magazine,* Al-Mustansiriya University,No. 96, 2016.

Ḥusayn, Rahbah Asūdī, *Al-Muthaqqaf wa al-Sulṭah fī al-'Irāq 1921-1958: dirāsah ijtimā'īyah siyāsīyah, (The Intellectual and Power in Iraq 1921-1958: A Socio-political Study*) Baghdad: Iraqi Ministry of Culture, 2013.

Ḥuṭayṭ, Nasīb*, Ta'thīr al-huwīyah wa-al-intimā' 'alá furaṣ al-taghyīr al-siyāsī fī duwal Majlis al-Ta'āwun al-Khalījī,* (The Impact of Identity and Affiliation on

Opportunities for Political Change in GCC Countries), *Hammurabi Studies*, ، AlNnasib For Studies, 2014.

Al-Ibrāhīm, ʻAbd-al-Raḥmān, The Balancing Powers in Kuwait During the 1938 Majlis Movement: New Insights from the Legislative Council's Minutes (al-Quwá almrajjiḥ fī al-Kuwayt khilāl Ḥarrāk Majlis 1938), *Ostour*, issue 14, July 2021, p. 69-95

Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan, *al-Kuwayt dirāsah siyāsīyah (Kuwait: A Political Study),* Kuwait: Kuwait University, 1975.

Ibrāhīm, Ibrāhīm Athar al-nafṭ ʻalá qiyām Dawlat al-Imārāt. In: *al-tajārib al-waḥdawīyah al-ʻArabīyah al-muʻāṣirah : tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-ʻArabīyah al-Muttaḥidah,* (The impact of oil on the establishment of the United Arab Emirates, in Contemporary Arab unionist experiences: UAE's experience), Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999.

Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad ʻAbbās, al-abʻād al-ijtimāʻīyah wa-al-thaqāfīyah al-ḥaḍarīyah fī mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabīyah ", (Urban Social and Cultural Dimensions in the Arabian Gulf Societies), *al-Shu'ūn al-ijtimāʻīyah*, vol 6, issue 21, 1989, (169-210).

Ibrāhīm, Saʻd al-Dīn, Al-Mas'alah al-ijtimāʻīyah bayna al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-ʻaṣr, (The Social Issue between Heritage and the Challenges of the modern times), In: al-Sayyid Yāsīn el al. (*Al-Turāth wa-taḥaddiyāt al-ʻaṣr fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī : al-aṣālah wa-al-muʻāṣarah) Heritage and the challenges of the time in the Arab world (originality and modernity),* Research and discussion at the intellectual symposium, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985.

Ibrāhīm, Zāhidah, *Dalīl al-jarā'id wa-al-majallāt al-ʻIrāqīyah, 1969-1978 (Directory of Iraqi Newspapers and Magazines, 1969 - 1978*), Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbūʻāt al-Kuwaytīyah, 1982.

ʻImād, ʻAbd al-Ghanī, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Kuwayt (The Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait), In : *al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī(The Islamic Movements in the Arab world),* Vol. 01, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2013.

Iskandar, Marwān, *Ghuyūm fawqa al-Kuwayt (The Cloud over Kuwait),* translated by: Maḥmūd Zāyid, Beirut: Publications Company for Publishing & Distribution, 1991.

ʻIzzat, ʻAzzah ʻAlī, *Al-Ṣiḥāfah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (Journalism in the Arabian Gulf States),* Baghdad: Gulf States Information Documentation Center, 1983.

Al-Jābirī, Muḥammad ʻĀbid, *al-khiṭāb al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir : dirāsah taḥlīlīyah naqdīyah, (Contemporary Arab Discourse: An Analytical and Critical Study),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1994.

Al-Jamal, Yaḥyá, "anẓimat al-ḥukm fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī" (the Systems of Rule in the Arab world), A paper submitted to: A*zmat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī (The Crisis of Democracy in the Arab World)* : Researches and Discussions of the Intellectual symposium, Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2002.

Jamʻīyat al-Khirrījīn, masīrat al-taʾsīs wa-al-ʻaṭāʾ 1964-1994 (Alumni Association: The Path of Foundation and Giving Process 1964-1994), Kuwait: Qirṭās House for publication and distribution, 1995.

Al-Janāḥī, ʻAbd Allāh, ʻaqalīyah al-rayʻyah wa taʻāruḍuhā maʻa muqaddimāt al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah (The 'rentier mentality and its conflict with the introductions of democracy*), al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī,* Beirut, Issue No. 288, February 2003.

Al-Jarīd, ʻĀyid ʻAtīq *al-Kuwayt wa-Muqāṭaʻat al-kiyān al-Ṣuhyūnī 1945-2016 (Kuwait and the Boycott of the Zionist entity: 1945-2016),* Kuwait: the author, 2019.

Al-jaṣānī, Iyād, *Al-nafṭ wa al-taṭawwur al-iqtiṣādī wa al-siyāsī fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (Petrol and the economic and political development in the Arabian Gulf*), Kuwait: Dār Al-Maʻrifah, 1982.

Al-Jāsim, Najāt ʻAbd-al-Qādir, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn (Political and economic development of Kuwait between the wars (1914-1939)),* Cairo: Modern Technical Press, 1973.

———————, *Baladīyat al-Kuwayt fī khamsīn ʻāman,(Kuwait Municipality in Fifty Years),* Kuwait: municipality of Kuwait, 1980.

————————, "al-ʻAlāqāt al-kuwaytyah-al-baryṭānyah : Dawr al-nafṭ wa-al-mutaghayyirāt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wa-al-khārijīyah fī taḥawwulātihā, 1946-1954, (the British-Kuwaiti relations: the role of oil and the internal and external variables in their changes, 1946-1954), *the Arab journal for human sciences,* year 10, issue No. 37 (winter 1990).

————————, *Al-taṭawwur al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-Kuwayt bayna al-ḥarbayn (Political and economic development of Kuwait between the wars (1914-1939))*, Kuwait, 1997.

————————, *Al-qaḍāyā al-Qawmīyah fī Majlis al-ummah al-Kuwaytī 1963-1976 (The Nationalist issues in the Kuwaiti National Assembly 1963-1976)*, Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 2006.

————————, *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir, (Kuwait's modern and contemporary history)* Kuwait: Kuwaiti government printing house, 2010.

Al-Jubūrī, Khālid Yaḥyá, *Al-Kuwayt wa-muḥāwalāt istiʻādtihā fī al-tārīkh al-muʻāṣir (Kuwait and the Attempts to Restore it in the Contemporary History)*, Baghdad: publications of Dar al-Kalimah for publication, 1993.

Al-Jubūrī, Maytham Majīd ʻAbd Saʻdūn, al-Kuwayt 1950-1961 dirāsah fī aḥwālihā al-siyāsīyah (Kuwait 1961-1950 a study of its political circumstances), Master's thesis, University of Thi Qar, Iraq, 2018.

Al-Jumyarī, Sulṭān, Ḥadīth ʻan al-tajribah al-niḍālīyah al-ʻummālīyah fī al-Saʻūdīyah (A Talk About The Labor Struggle Experience in Saudi Arabia) (5/1), Al-ʻaṣr Magazine, February 2013, https://gulfpolicies.org/2019-05-18-07-14-32/93-2019-06-26-10-11-31/998-5-1

Jallūl, Fayṣal, Kulayb, Sāmī, *al-rasā'il al-Dimashqyah : wāḥid wa-ʻishrūn kātiban ʻArabīyan yarwun yawmyātihim al-Shāmīyah, (The Damascene Letters: Twenty-One Arab Writers Tell Their Levantine Diaries)* Beirut: Dar al-Fārābī, 2017.

Jamāl, ʻAbd al-Muḥsin, *Al-muʻāraḍah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (Political opposition in Kuwait)* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2007.

Jawdah, Aḥmad Ḥasan, *Al-maṣāliḥ al-Barīṭānīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (British Interests in Kuwait),* Basra: Arab Gulf Studies Centre publications, Basrah University, 1979.

Jean-jacques Berreby, Jazīrat al-ʻArab,(The Arab Peninsula), The commercial office. n.d., n.d..

Juḥā Shafīq, *al-Ḥarakah al-ʻArabīyah al-sirrīyah (Jamāʻat al-Kitāb al-Aḥmar) 1935-1945, (The secret Arab movement: the group of the Red Book 1935-1945)* Beirut: Al-Furāt Publishing and Distribution, 2004.

Al-Kandarī , Fayṣal ʻAbd Allāh, *Al-Ḥamlah al-ʻUthmānīyah ʻalá al-Aḥsā' ʻām 1288h-1871m min khilāl al-wathā'iq al-ʻUthmānīyah (Ottoman military campaign to conquer the El-Hasa 1288 AH/ 1871),* Kuwait: Jāmiʻat al-Kuwayt. Markaz Dirāsāt al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, 2003.

Al-Kawwārī, ʻAlī Khalīfah, *Naḥwa istirātījīyah badīlah lil-Tanmiyah al-shāmilah, al-malāmiḥ al-ʻĀmmah li-istirātījīyat al-tanmiyah fī iṭār Ittiḥād aqṭār Majlis al-Taʻāwun wa takāmulihā maʻa baqīyat al-aqṭār al-ʻArabīyah,* (Towards an alternative comprehensive development strategy), Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985.

Al-Kayyālī ʻAbd-al-Wahhāb, *al-Mawsūʻah al-siyāsīyah (Political Encyclopedia),* Vol. 03, Beirut: Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1979.

Al-Khafājī, Rāfid ʻAbd al-Riḍā ʻAylān, Mawqif al-Kuwayt min al-qaḍāyā al-Miṣrīyah (1952-1961), (The Positions of Kuwait to Egyptian Issues (1952-1961)) *Journal of Basra researches for Human Sciences,* Volume 37, Issue 3, 2012, p. 81-111

Al-Khālidī, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad, *Dakhalnā baladan yuqāl la-hā al-Kuwayt: siyāḥah tārīkhīyah wa-jughrāfīyah wa-adabīyah fī Māḍī al-waṭan (We entered a country called Kuwait, Historical, geographical and literary tourism in the nation's past),* Kuwait: Al Qabas Printing House, 2011.

Al-Khālidī, Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Qabīlat Banī Khālid fī al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah (Bani Khalid in The Arabian Peninsula),* Beirut: Al-Dar Al-Arabia for encyclopedias, 2010.

Al-Khamīs, Māḍī , *masīrat al-dīmūqrāṭīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1938,(The March of Democracy in Kuwait 1938),* Third Edition, n.d.

Al-Khaṭīb, Aḥmad. *Al-Kuwayt Min al-Imārah Ilá al-Dawlah (Kuwait: From Emirate to State)*. Casablanca: Al markaz al thaqafi al 'arabi, 2007.

Al-khāṭir, Mubārak Rāshid, *al-mu'assasāt al-Thaqāfīyah al-ūlá fī al-Kuwayt (The first cultural institutions in Kuwait),* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1997.

Al-khāṭir, Mubārak, *al-kitābāt al-ūlá al-ḥadīthah limothaqafy al-Baḥrayn (The First Most Recent Writings of Bahrain's Intellectuals*), Manama, n.d., p. 57-58, https://archive.org/details/alkhalter-alketabat-aloola-ocr/page/n61/mode/2up

Al-Khatrash Fattūḥ ʻAbd al-Muḥsin, *Tārīkh al-ʻAlāqāt al-siyāsīyah albryṭānya-ālkowaytyah 1890-1921,* (History of British-Kuwaiti Political Relations (1890-1921)), Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications,1974.

Al-Khatrash, Fattūḥ, al-Kuwayt bayna al-ṣirāʻāt al-Dawlīyah wtwāznāthā mundhu muntaṣaf al-qarn al-tāsiʻ ʻashar ilá maṭlaʻ qarn al-ʻishrīn, (Kuwait between International Conflicts and their Balances (from the Mid-19th Century to the Turn of the 20th Century), in: *Al-ghazw al-ʻIrāqī (The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait)*, Research Symposium, Kuwait: ʻĀlam al-Maʻrifah, 1995.

Al-Khūrī, Fu'ād Isḥāq, *Al-qabīlah wa-al-dawlah fī al-Baḥrayn, Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Sulṭah wa-mumārasatuhā (Tribe and state in Bahrain: the development of the political system and its practices*), Beirut: Arab development center, 1983.

Al-Khuṣūṣī, Badr al-Dīn, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ijtimāʻī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī al-ʻaṣr al-ḥadīth (Studies in Kuwait's Social and Economic History in Modern era),* Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1983.

Al-Kutubī, Ibtisām Suhayl, Al-taḥawwulāt al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī minṭaqat duwal Majlis al-Taʻāwun al-Khalījī, (Democratic Transformations in the GCC Region), *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī* , Issue 23, No, 257, 2000.

Al-Kuwayt, Wa-Barīṭāniyā Ṣadāqah Tārīkhīyah (Kuwait and Britain: A Historic Friendship). The Centre for Research and Studies on Kuwait. Kuwait, 2007.

Al-Kuwayt wa-al-ṣirā‘ al-‘Uthmānī-ālbryṭāny (1896-1915), Kuwait and the Ottoman-British Conflict (1896-1915), prepared by Markaz Dirāsāt al-Mu’assasah, Beirut: Dār al-Mawsū‘ah al-‘Arabīyah, 2008.

Khalīl, Aḥmad Khalīl, Al-Kibsī, Muḥammad ‘Alī, *Mustaqbal al-‘alāqah bayna al-muthaqqaf wa al-Sulṭah, (the future of the relationship between the intellectual and the authority)* Damascus: Dar Al-Fikr, 2001.

Al-Lawghānī, Bāsim ‘Īsá ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *ḥukkām al-Kuwayt Tārīkh wa-ṣuwar (Rulers of Kuwait: History and Pictures)* Kuwait, n,d., 2006.

Al-Lawghānī, Bāsim ‘Īsá ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, *Al-Shaykh Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ 1896-1951: majmū‘ah min al-wathā’iq wa-al-Rasā’il (Al-Sheikh Mubarak Al Sabah (1896-1951): Collection of documents and letters)*, Kuwait: Dār Su‘ād al-Ṣabāḥ lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2015.

Longa, Anne Nga, Ta’ammulāt fī Qaḍīyat al-ḥaḍar wa-al-badū fī al-Kuwayt (Reflections on the Urban and Bedouin Issue in Kuwait), in: Faraḥ al-Naqīb et al., *Ishkālīyat al-ḥaḍar wa-al-badū fī al-Kuwayt: wa-asbāb istimrār al-Inqisām al-ḥaḍary-ālbadawy ḥattá al-ān (The issue of Al-Hadar and Al-Badu in Kuwait: The reasons for the continuing urban Bedouin divide so far)*, translated by: Ḥamad al-‘Īsá, n.d. 2020
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CHw9JH9u5irtyMHDvWFLxSNK7iYIy2Lm/view

Lorimer, John Gordon *Dalīl al-Khalīj, al-qism al-tārīkhī (Gazetteer of the Gulf, the Historical section),* trans. Office of the Emir of Qatar, vol. 6, Doha, 1967.

————————, *Dalīl al-Khalīj : al-qism al-jughrāfī,(Gazetteer of the Gulf, the Geographical section)* trans. Office of the Emir of Qatar, vol. 1, Doha, 1975.

————————· Al-Kuwayt fī Dalīl al-Khalīj (Kuwait in The Gazetteer of the Gulf). Vol. 2 of Al-Safar Al-Jughrāfī. Kuwait: Al-Rubay‘ān Company for Publication and Distribution, 1981.

Al-Manīs, Sāmī *al-Ṭalī‘ah fī Ma‘rakat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah (The Vanguard in the struggle for democracy)*, Kuwait: Dār Kāẓimah, 1984.

Al-Manūfī, Kamāl, Al-‘ā’ilah wa-al-siyāsah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī (Family and Politics in the Arab World), *Al-Fikr al-istirātījī al-‘Arabī Journal*, Issue 8-9, July 1983.

Al-Mawṣilī, Mundhir, *Al-usrah wa-al-dawlah: Dawr al-Kuwayt wa Āl al-Ṣabāḥ fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (Family and State: The Role of Kuwait and Al-Sabah in the Arabian Gulf)*, London: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis Books and Publishing, 1999.

Al-Mudayris, Falāḥ ‘Abd Allāh, al-Dawr al-siyāsī lil-ḥarakah al-‘ummālīyah fī al-Kuwayt (The political role of the labor movement in Kuwait), *Social issues (Shu’ūn ijtimā‘īyah),* Vol. 11, No. 44, 1994, p.27-74.

————————, *Malāmiḥ awwalīyah ḥawla Nash’at al-tajammu‘āt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt (1938-1975) (Initial Features about the Emergence of Political Gatherings and Organizations in Kuwait (1938-1975)),* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1994.

————————, Jamā‘at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt : al-nash’ah wa al-taṭawwur 1947-1992 (The Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait: Emergence and development 1947-1992), *Al- Bāḥith Journal,* Beirut, Issue No. 63, October-December, 1994.

————————, al-Nādī al-Thaqāfī al-Qawmī wa-Tanmiyat al-Thaqāfah al-siyāsīyah fī al-mujtama‘ al-Kuwaytī, (The National Cultural Club and the development of political culture in Kuwaiti society) *‘Ālam al-Fikr*, Issue 4, April 1996, p. 49-75.

————————, al-Jamā‘ah al-Salafīyah fī al-Kuwayt (the Salafist group in Kuwait), *social affairs (al-Shu’ūn al-ijtimā‘īyah*), No. 58, Summer 1998, p. 57-89.

————————, al-mu‘āraḍah al-siyāsīyah wa-al-tajārib al-wiḥdawīyah fī minṭaqat al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah wa-al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (muqaddimah awwalīyah), (The Political Opposition and Unity Experiences in the Region of the Arab Gulf and Peninsula (primary introduction)), *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī,* Vol. 22, No. 245, July 1999.

————————, *Jamā‘at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī al-Kuwayt, (The Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait)*, Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 1999.

———————,, *al-Ḥarakah al-Shī'īyah fī al-Kuwayt (The Shiite movement in Kuwait)*, Kuwait: Dār Qirṭās, 1999.

———————, Al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah fī al-mujtama' al-Kuwaytī, muqaddimah awwalīyah 1950-1959, (the Marxist orientations in the Kuwaiti society, a primary introduction: 1950-1959) *the journal of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula studies*, Kuwait, No 96, February 2000, p.55-82.

———————, *Al-mujtama' al-madanī wa-al-ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt (Civil Society and the National Movement in Kuwait),* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2000.

———————, *Al-Ḥarakah al-dustūrīyah fī al-Kuwayt (The Constitutional Movement in Kuwait),* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2002.

———————, al-Tayyār al-fikrī li-Ḥizb al-Ba'th wa-al-mujtama' al-Khalījī ḥattá 'ām 1975 (The intellectual current of Ba'ath Party and the Gulf society till 1975), *Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Kuwait University, year 28, Issue No. 106, July 2002.

———————, alb'thywn fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah, (The Ba'athists in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula) Kuwait : Dār Qirṭās, 2002.

———————, *al-Tawajjuhāt al-Mārkisīyah al-Kuwaytīyah (the Kuwaiti Marxist orientations)*, Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2003.

Maghāmis, Khālid Muḥammad, *Al-Dīwānīyah al-Kuwaytīyah ta'thyruhā al-siyāsī wa al- ijtimā'i' wa al-thaqāfī, (The Kuwaiti Dīwānīyah: it's political, social, and cultural),* Kuwait: Dār al-siyāsah, 1992.

Maḥmūd, Ḥasan Sulaymān, *Al-Kuwayt māḍīhā wa ḥāḍiruhā (Kuwait: Past and present),* Publications of the National Library, n.d..

Makkī, Yūsuf, Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī fī al-Khalīj (The Arab Socialist Baʿath Party in the Gulf), In: *al-aḥzāb wa-al-ḥarakāt wa-al-tanẓīmāt al-Qawmīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī,(National Parties, Movements, and Organizations in the Arab World),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2012.

———————— Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-‘Arab fī al-Khalīj wa al-Jazīrah al-‘Arabīyah (The Movement of the Arab nationalists in the Arab Gulf and Arabian Peninsula), In: *al-aḥzāb wa al-Ḥarakāt wa al-Tanẓīmāt al-Qawmīyah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī (The Parties, movements and national organizations in the Arab world),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2012.

Marshall Gordon, *Mawsū‘at ‘ilm al-ijtimā‘, (A Dictionary of Sociology*), translated by: Muḥammad al-Jawharī and others, Cairo: Supreme Council of Culture, 2012.

Maṭar, Fu’ād, *Ḥakīm al-thawrah, sīrat Jūrj Ḥabash wa-niḍāluhu, (Sage of the Revolution: The Life Story of Dr. George Habash*), London: Highlight Publications, 1984.

Maṭar, Muḥammad, Ishkālīyat al-huwīyah wa-al-qiyam fī duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabīyah (the issue of Identity and values in the Gulf States), The 5th session of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies Forum, 1-2 December 2018, Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy studies.

Mikchellim Alex, *Al-huwīyah (The Identity*), translated by : ‘Alī Waṭfah, Damascus: Dar al-wasīm,, 1993.

Mubārak, Walīd, tajribat al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah al-dākhilīyah wtāthyrhā ‘alá Dawlat al-Imārāt (Kuwait’s internal political experience and its impact on the UAE), In: *al-Tajārib al-waḥdawīyah al-‘Arabīyah al-mu‘āṣirah : tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-‘Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah (Contemporary Arab Unity Experiences: The Experience of the United Arab Emirates),* Research and Discussions of the Intellectual Symposium, Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1999.

Muḥammad, Jāsim Muḥammad, *man yhdd Amn al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (Who threatening the Security of the Arabian Gulf),* Basra: Arab Gulf studies center, University of Basra, 1982.

Muḥammad, Walīd Sālim, taḥaddiyāt al-tajribah al-barlamānīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (The Challenges of The Parliamentary Experience in Kuwait) *Abḥāth Magazine,* College Of Basic Education Research Journal, Vol.11, No. 4, 2012.

Muhannā, Muḥammad *Naṣr, Dalīl al-Khalīj al-'Arabī dirāsah fī Tārīkh al-'Alāqāt al-Dawlīyah wa-al-iqlīmīyah, (The Arab Gulf Guide: A Study on the History of International and Regional Relations)* Alexandria: The modern university office, n.d..

Murād, Khalīl 'Alī, *Taṭawwur al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-'Arabī 1941-1947 (Evolution of U.S. Policy in the Arabian Gulf Region 1941-1947),* Basra: University of Basra, 1980.

————————, al-Wilāyāt al-Muttaḥidah : al-nafṭ, wa-amn al-Khalīj al-'Arabī fī al-sab'īnāt (US, Oil, and Security of the Arabian Gulf*), al-Khalīj al-'Arabī Magazine,* Volume 14, No. 1, 1982.

Muṣṭafá, 'Umar Dhīb. *Jazīrat Filkā: Dirāsah iqlīmīyah (Faylakā Island: Regional study).* Kuwait: The Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences. 1988.

Al-Nafīsī, 'Abd Allāh, *al-Kuwayt : al-ra'y al-ākhar (Kuwait: The Other Opinion),* London, n.d., 1978.

————————, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Miṣr: al-tajribah wa-al-khaṭa',(The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the experience and the mistake) In: *al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah : ru'yah mustaqbalīyah Awrāq fī al-naqd al-dhātī,(The Islamic Movement a Future Vision, papers in the self-criticism)* Kuwait: Āfāq for distribution and publication, 2013.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir Sulaymān " Antljnsyā am Muthaqqafūn : qirā'ah fī al-uṣūl al-ijtimā'īyah llmthqfyn fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī (Intelligentsia or intellectuals: Reading on the social origins of intellectuals in the Arabian Gulf), *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī,* Issue 14, No. 150, August 1991.

————————, "Al-mujtama' al-madanī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wa-al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah" (Civil Society in the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula), In: *Al-mujtama' al-madanī fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī wa-dawruhu fī taḥqīq al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah (Civil Society in the Arab World and its Role in Achieving Democracy*), (intellectual seminar) Sa'īd Binsa'īd al-'Alawī et al., Vol. 01, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1992.

Al-Najjār, Ghānim, *Mudhakkirāt fī al-iqtiṣād al-siyāsī al-Kuwaytī (Memoranda on Kuwaiti Political Economy),* Kuwait: Faculty of commerce, economics and political science,1985.

————————, *madkhal lil-taṭawwur al-siyāsī fī al-Kuwayt (Introduction to Kuwaiti Political Development),* Vol. 01, Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 1995.

Al-Najjār, Muḥammad Bāqir, al-ʻAmālah al-ajnabīyah wa-qaḍāyā al-huwīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, ʻUmrān, (Foreign Labor and Questions of Identity in the Arabian Gulf), *OMRAN*, the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), N.3, Winter 2013, p. 109-123.

Al-Najjār, Muṣṭafá ʻAbd-al-Qādir , *Al-tārīkh al-siyāsī li-ʻalāqāt al-ʻIrāq al-Dawlīyah bi-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī dirāsah wathā'iqīyah fī al-tārīkh al-dawlī (Political History of Iraq's International Relations with the Arabian Gulf),* Basra: University of Basra Press, 1975.

Al-Najjār, Muṣṭafá et al. *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-muʻāṣir,(Modern and Contemporary History of the Arabian Gul)* Basra: Basra University, Arab Gulf studies center, 1984.

Al-Naqīb, Khaldūn Ḥasan, Binā' al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī: baʻḍ al-furūḍ al-baḥthīyah, (Building Arab Society: Some Research Assignments) *Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi*, vol 8, issue 79, 1985, p. 4-41

————————, *Al-mujtamaʻ wa-al-dawlah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah : min manẓūr mukhtalif, Mashrūʻ istishrāf Mustaqbal al-waṭan al-ʻArabī, miḥwar al-mujtamaʻ wa-al-dawlah, (State and Society in the Gulf and Arab Peninsula: A Different Perspective),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987.

————————, "Miḥnat al-Dustūr fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī : al-ʻAlmānīyah wa-al-uṣūlīyah wa-azmat al-ḥurrīyah"(The plight of the constitution in the Arab world: secularism and fundamentalism and the crisis of freedom,), *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī,* vol 17, Issue No. 184, 1994.

————————, *ṣirāʻ al-qabīlah wa al-dīmūqrāṭīyah : ḥālat al-Kuwayt (The Conflict between Tribalism and Democracy: the case of Kuwait),* Beirut: Dar al-Sāqī House, 1996.

———————, *Taṭawwur al-Wa'y al-ijtimā'ī wa-al-siyāsī fī al-mujtama' al-madanī (Development of Social and Political Awareness in Civil Society),* A paper presented to the 5th Social and Cultural Forum of Social Associations and Associations in the GCC States,21-23 November 1998, Kuwait.

———————, *Al-dawlah al-tasalluṭīyah fī al-Mashriq al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir, dirāsah binā'īyah muqāranah (The Authoritarian State in the Contemporary Arab Orient: A Comparative Structural),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1999.

Al-Nūrī, 'Abd Allāh, *Mudhakkirāt 'an ḥayāt al-marḥūm al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jābir, (Memoirs on the Life of the Late Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber)* Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1978.

———————, *qiṣṣat al-Ta'līm fī al-Kuwayt fī niṣf qarn min sanat 1300-1360 (The story of education in Kuwait in half a century 1300-1360),* Cairo, n.d.

Nāṣir, Hānī, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Khalīj al-'Arabī (the Muslim Brotherhood in the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabian Gulf), In *: al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī(The Islamic Movements in the Arab world),* Vol. 01, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2013.

Nawfal, Sayyid, *al-Awḍā' al-siyāsīyah li-Imārāt al-Khalīj al-'Arabī(The political situation of the Arabian Gulf Emirates),* Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifah, 1961.

———————. *Al-Khalīj al-'Arabī Aw al-Ḥudūd al-Sharqīyah Lil-Waṭan al-'Arabī (Arabian Gulf or Eastern Borders of the Arab World)*. Beirut: Dar al-Ṭalī'ah for publication and distribution, 1969.

Al-Qaḥṭānī, 'Abd-al-Qādir Ḥammūd, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir (Studies in the Modern and Contemporary History of the Arabian Gulf),* Qatar: National Council for Culture, Arts & Heritage, 2008.

Al-Qenaei, Badr Khalid Al-Bader . *Rihlatun Ma'a Qafilat Alhayat, (Trip with the Caravan of Life) in Three Parts.*, n.d.

Al-Qinā'ī, Yūsuf ibn 'Īsá. *Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt (Pages from the History of Kuwait),* vol. 05. Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1987.

Qal‘ajī, Qadrī, *Al-niẓām al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt, (The Political and Economic System in the State of Kuwait*) Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb, 1975.

————————, *al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī Baḥr al-asāṭīr (Arabian Gulf: Sea of Legends),* Beirut: Publications Company for distribution and publication, 1992.

Qāsim, Jamāl Zakarīyā, Al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī : dirāsah li-Tārīkh al-Imārāt al-‘Arabīyah, 1914-1945 (The Arabian Gulf: A Study of the History of the Arab Emirates, 1914 - 1945), Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian library, 1971.

————————, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu‘āṣir (The Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Gulf)* (5 volumes), Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1996.

Qāsim, Jamāl, *Al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī : dirāsah li-tārīkhuh al-mu‘āṣir, 1945-1971 (Arab Gulf: A Study of its Contemporary History, 1945-1971)* Cairo: Institute of Arab Research and Studies, 1974.

————————, *al-‘Alāqāt bayna Īrān wa-duwal Majlis al-Ta‘āwun,* Nadwat Naḥwa Āfāq jadīdah lil-‘alāqāt bayna duwal Majlis al-Ta‘āwun al-Khalījī wa-Īrān : al-mustajaddāt al-iqlīmīyah wa-al-dawlīyah wa-mutaṭallabāt al-taghyīr (The Relations Between Iran and the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: a seminar towards a new horizon for relations between the GCC countries and Iran, Regional and International Developments and Requirements for change, 15-17 May 1999), 02 volumes, Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Islands studies center, Kuwait University, 2000.

Al-Ra’īs, ‘Alī Ghalūm, *al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Sālim al-Ṣabāḥ: wathā’iq wa-ṣuwar min ḥayātuhu, al-Kuwayt (Sheikh Abdullah Salem Al Sabah, documents and pictures from his life),* Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2013.

Al-Rajīb, Ḥamad, *Musāfir fī sharāyīn al-waṭan, (A Passenger in the Arteries (depths) of the Homeland),* Kuwait: Ministry of Information Press, 1994.

Al-Rashīd, ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz. Tārīkh al-Kuwayt. Edited by Ya‘qūb ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz al-Rashīd. Beirut: Maktabat al-ḥayāh house, n.d..

Al-Rashīd, Ya‘qūb ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, Al-Kuwayt fī mīzān al-ḥaqīqah wa-al-tārīkh (Kuwait in the Balance of Truth and History), Kuwait: n.d., 1963.

Al-Rayyis, Riyāḍ Najīb, *al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī wa-riyāḥ al-taghyīr : dirāsah ʻan Mustaqbal al-Qawmīyah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-wiḥdah wa-al-dīmuqrāṭīyah (The Arabian Gulf: Winds of Change, the future of the Arab nationalism, unity, and democracy)*, Beirut, London: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis Books Ltd., 1987.

Al-Rikābī, ʻUkāb Yūsuf, Maḥmūd Ḥamūz Laftah : al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa nashāṭuhā al-dākhilī ibbāna marḥalat al-istiqlāl wa iʻlān al-Dustūr (The National Movement in Kuwait and its internal activity during the stage of independence and the declaration of the constitution), *Journal of Education College,* University of Wasit, Issue No. 84, February 2019, p. 225-250.

Al-Rubayʻān, Yaḥyá, *Al-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr fī al-Kuwayt: nashʼatuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā (Printing and Publishing in Kuwait: Emergence and Development),* Kuwait: Al-Rubayʻān for publication and distribution, 1995.

Al-Rumayḥī, Muḥammad, al-Nāṣirīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī, (Nasserism in the Arab Gulf) *al-Thaqāfah al-ʻArabīyah,* Issue 12, October 1974.

————————, Ḥarakat 1938 al-iṣlāḥīyah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn wa Dubayy, (the 1938 Reform Movement in Kuwait, Bahrain and Dubai) *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, vol 4, 1975.

————————, *Al-Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimāʻī fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (Oil and Social Change in the Arab Gulf),* Kuwait: Al Wehda Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, 1975.

_____, *Qaḍāyā al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimāʻī fī al-Baḥrayn 1920-1970 (Issues of Political and Social Change in Bahrain, 1920-1970)* Kuwait: Al Wehdah Publications of the Publishing and Distribution,1976.

———————— , *Al-judhūr al-ijtimāʻīyah lil-dīmuqrāṭīyah fī mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣirah (The Social Roots of Democracy in the Contemporary Arabian Gulf Societies),* Kuwait: Kāẓimah press, 1977.

————————, *Muʻawwiqāt al-tanmiyah al-ijtimāʻīyah wa-al-iqtiṣādīyah fī mujtamaʻāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī al-muʻāṣir,* (Obstacles to Socio-Economic Development in Contemporary Gulf Societies), Kuwait: Dār al-siyāsah, 1977.

————————, Al-‘awāmil al-tārīkhīyah wa-al-Ijtimā‘īyah al-mu’aththirah fī al-Takāmul al-iqtiṣādī li-aqṭār al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, (Historical factors affecting the economic dealings of the Arab Gulf states), *Majallat al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī,* vol 12, Issue 1, 1980, Basra.

————————, wāqi‘ al-Thaqāfah wa-mustaqbaluhā fī aqṭār al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (Realities of culture and its future in the Arabian Gulf states), the, *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Beirut, No, 49, March 1983.

————————, ‘Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt : 1962-1981’ (The Experience of Political Participation in Kuwait: 1962-1981), *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, vol. 7, Issue No. 64, 1984, p.91-107.

————————, *Al-Khalīj laysa nifṭā : dirāsah fī Ishkālīyat al-tanmiyah wa-al-waḥdah (The Gulf is Not Only Oil),* Kuwait :Kāẓimah Company, 1987.

————————, Tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt 1962-1981 (The political participation in Kuwait 1962-1981), In: Buḥūth wa-munāqashāt al-nadwah al-fikrīyah : *Azmat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī (The Crisis of Democracy in the Arab Nation),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1987.

————————, *Al-Baḥrayn : Mushkilāt al-taghyīr al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā‘ī (Bahrain: Problems of Political and Social Change*), Beirut: Dar al-jadīd, 1995.

———————— Al-*Pitrūl wa-al-Taghyīr al-Ijtimā‘ī fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (Oil and Social Change in the Arab Gulf)*. Beirut: Dar Al-jadīd, 1995.

Rajib, Hamad al-. *Mothakarat Hamad Al-Rajib Musafir Fy Sharayin al-Watan, Traveller in the Veins of the Home*. Kuwait, 1994.

Al-Rūmī Nūrīyah Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Ḥarakah al-shi‘rīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī bayna al-taqlīd wa-al-taṭawwur (The Poetic Movement in the Arabian Gulf Between Tradition and Development*), Kuwait, n.d., 1976.

Ramaḍānī, R. K., *al-maḍāyiq al-Dawlīyah fī al-‘ālam: al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wmḍyq Hurmuz (The Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz),* Translated by: ‘Abd al-Ṣāḥib al-Shaykh, Basra: Publications of the Center for Arab Gulf Studies, University of Basra, 1984.

Rāshid,‘Alī Muḥammad, *Dawlat al-Imārāt al-‘Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah fī Majallat al-‘Arabī, (United Arab Emirates in Al-Arabi Magazine),* Abu Dhabi: al-Majma‘ al-Thaqāfī : Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭanīyah, 1988.

Rushdī, Rāsim, *Kuwayt wa kuwaytyun : Dirāsāt fī al-māḍī al-Kuwayt wa-ḥāḍiruhā, (Kuwait and Kuwaitis: Studies in Kuwait's Past and Present*) Beirut: al-Rahbānīyah Lebanese printing house, 1955.

Al-Ṣabāḥ, Maymūnah al-Khalīfah*, Al-Kuwayt fī ẓill al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah (Kuwait under British protection),* Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1988.

————————, Rudūd al-fi‘l al-Turkīyah ‘alá Ittifāqīyat al-Ḥimāyah al-Barīṭānīyah lil-Kuwayt : dirāsah muqāranah bayna al-wathā’iq alānklyzyh wa-al-‘Uthmānīyah (Turkish reactions to the British protection conventions on Kuwait: Comparison Study between English and Ottoman documents), *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies,* Kuwait, issue 59, July 1989.

————————, al-‘Adhabī, *Al-Kuwayt fī al-Ittifāqīyah al-Injilīzīyah-āltrkyh li-‘ām 1913, (Kuwait in the Anglo-Turkish Agreement of 1913),* Kuwait: Institute for Arab Research and Studies, 1992.

————————, Al-istiqrār Ẓāhira siyāsīyah hāmmah fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīth (Stability: An important political phenomenon in the modern history of Kuwait), *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies,* issue 17, May 1992.

Al-Saddānī, Nūrīyah, *Al-jamā‘āt alḍāghṭh: al-quwá al-ṭullābīyah al-Kuwaytīyah (1943-1984) (Lobbying Groups: Kuwaiti Student Forces (1943-1984)),* Kuwait, Maṭbū‘āt Dār al-siyāsah, 1985.

————————, *Riwāyat al-Kuwayt : Malḥamat al-tārīkh allatī lā tunas (The Tale of Kuwait: An unforgettable saga of history),* Kuwait: al-Qabas, 1988.

Al-Sa‘dūn, Khālid Ḥammūd. “*al-‘Alāqāt bayna Najd wa-al-Kuwayt 1902-1922” (Relations between Najd and Kuwait),* Master’s thesis, Umm Al-Qura University, 1981.

Al-Sa‘dūn, Khālid, *Al-‘Alāqāt al-siyāsīyah al-‘irāqyah-al-kuwaytyah zaman al-Malik Ghāzī 1933-1939 kamā ṣawaratehā al-wathā’iq al-Barīṭānīyah (Iraqi-*

Kuwaiti political relations during the time of King Ghazi (1933- 1939), as portrayed in the British documents) London: Dar Al-Ḥikmah, 2013.

Al-Saʻīd, Nāṣir *Tārīkh Āl Saʻūd, (The History of the Al-Saud*), Publications of Ittiḥād shaʻb al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah, 1979.

Al-Saʻīdān, Ḥamad Muḥammad, *Al-Mawsūʻah al-Kuwaytīyah al-mukhtaṣarah, (Abridged Encyclopedia of Kuwait),* Vol. 02, Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1981.

————————, *Al-Mawsūʻah al-Kuwaytīyah al-mukhtaṣarah (The Concise Encyclopedia of Kuwait),* 2nd edition, Kuwait: Wakalet al Matboaat, 1981.

Alsajāry, Mashārī ʻAbd Allāh, *Al-shiʻr al-ḥadīth fī al-Kuwayt ilá sanat 1950 (Modern Kuwaiti Poetry until 1950),* Vol. 01, Beirut: al-Aʻlamī institution for publications, 1978.

Al-Ṣāliḥ, Nūrīyah Muḥammad Nāṣir, *ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah bi-Sharq al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah wa-al-ʻIrāq al-ʻUthmānī 1866-1902 (Kuwait Political Relations with Eastern Arabian Peninsula and Ottoman Iraq (1866-1902)),* Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1977.

Al-Ṣāliḥ, ʻUthmān ʻAbd al-Malik, "Ḥuqūq al-insān wa-Ḍamānātuhā: dirāsah muqārinah fī Dasātīr al-Khalīj wa-al-iʻlānāt al-ʻĀlamīyah wa-uṣūl Hādhihi al-Ḥuqūq fī al-Islām, (Human Rights and their Guarantees: A comparative Study in the Constitutions of the Gulf, The International Declarations, And The Origins Of These Rights In Islam), *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Year 5, No. 18, April 1979.

Al-Ṣamad, Riyāḍ, *al-ʻAlāqāt al-Dawlīyah fī al-qarn al-ʻishrīn (fatrat mā baʻda al-ḥarb al-ʻĀlamīyah al-thāniyah), (International Relations in the Twentieth Century, The Post-World War II Period)* Beirut: University Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, 1983.

Al-Saqqāf, Aḥmad, *Taṭawwur al-Waʻy al-Qawmī fī al-Kuwayt (National awareness development in Kuwait),* Kuwait: Association of Writers in Kuwait, 1983.

————————, *aḥādīth al-ʻUrūbah wa-al-qawmīyah (Speeches of Arabism and Nationalism),* Kuwait: Dar al-khaṭṭ, 1997.

Al-Shalaq, Aḥmad Zakarīyā wa ‘aqyl, Muṣṭafá wa shahdād, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad wa al-‘abdāllh Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī li-Duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabīyah al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu‘āṣir,(The political history of the Gulf Countries: the modern and the contemporary)* Doha: Renauld modern printing press, 2005.

Al-Shamlān, Sayf Marzūq, Min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt (From the History of Kuwait), Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr Library, 1959.

————————, *Tārīkh al-ghawṣ ‘alá al-Lu’lu’ fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (The History of Pearl Diving in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf),* Kuwait: Kuwait Government Press, 1975.

————————, *Tārīkh al-ghawṣ ‘alá al-Lu’lu’ fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (History of the Pearling in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf)*, Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1978.

————————, *A‘lām al-Kuwayt, Farḥān ibn Fahd al-khālid (Kuwaiti prominent figures: Farhan Bin Fahd Al Khaled),* Vol. 01, Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil publications, 1985.

————————, *min Tārīkh al-Kuwayt (From the History of Kuwait),* Kuwait: Dhāt al-Salāsil, 1986.

Al-Shammarī, Khalaf ibn Ṣaghīr, almstwd‘ wālmstḥḍr fī asbāb al-nizā‘ bayna Mubārak Āl al-Ṣabāḥ wa-Yūsuf Āl Ibrāhīm 1896-1906 (The Causes of The Conflict Between Mubarak Al Sabah And Youssef Al Ibrahim), n.d., 2006.

Al-Sharabāṣī, Aḥmad*, Ayyām al-Kuwayt, (The Days of Kuwait*), Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1953.

Al-Sharqāwī, Ibrāhīm ‘Abdālftāḥ, *‘āshiq al-Baḥr ‘Alī Aḥmad al-Sharqāwī (Ali Ahmed Al-Sharqawi, the lover of the sea.),* Kuwait, n.d, 2020.

Al-Shāyijī, Hilāl, al-Ṣiḥāfah fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Baḥrayn mundhu nash’atuhā ḥattá ‘ahd al-istiqlāl (Press in Kuwait and Bahrain from its Inception to the Era of Independence), Bahrain: Maṭbū‘āt Bānūrāmā al-Khalīj, 1989.

Al-Shaykh Khaz‘al. Ḥusayn. *Tārīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī (Kuwait Political History),* part 01, vol. 05. Beirut: Dar al-Hilāl, 1962.

Al-Shaykh, Tawfīq, *al-pitrūl wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah (Oil and the politics in Saudi Arabia)*, London: Dār al-Ṣafā, 1988.

Al-Shihāb Yūsuf , *al-Kuwayt ʻabra al-tārīkh, (Kuwait Through History),* n.d., 1992.

Al-Ṣubayḥī, Ḥasan Qāyid, *al-Kuwayt 1756-1992, Ibḥār fī al-siyāsah wa-al-tārīkh (Kuwait 1756-1992: sailing in politics and history),* Kuwait: al-Fadjr printing houses, 1993.

Saʻd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Ed.) Ghassān Salāmah, ʻAbd al-Bāqī al-Hirmāsī, Khaldūn al-Naqīb, al-Mujtamaʻ wa-al-dawlah fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī (Society and State in the Arab World) Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1988.

Ṣādiq, Muḥammad Tawfīq, *Taṭawwur al-ḥukm wa-al-idārah fī al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah (The Development of the Governance and administration in Saudi Arabia, Institute of Public Administration),* Riyadh: General administration institute, 1965.

Salāmah, Ghassān "al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah ka-adāh lil-Salām al-madanī"(Democracy as an instrument of civil peace) In: *dīmuqrāṭīyah min Dawwin dymqrāṭyyn : Siyāsāt al-infitāḥ fī al-ʻālam al-ʻArabī / al-Islāmī" (Democracy without Democrats: Policies of Openness to the Arab/Islamic World):* Research of the intellectual Symposium Organized by the Italian institute "Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM), Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1995.

Ṣaqr, Ḥasan, *Riḥlah dākhil al-dhākirah maʻa al-Ḥarakah al-ʻummālīyah al-Kuwaytīyah (a journey inside the memory with the Kuwaiti labor movement),* Kuwait, n.d.

Sarḥān, ʻAbd Rajā, *Ḥarakat al-Qawmīyīn al-ʻArab : nash'atuhā, taṭawwuruhā wa-mawqifuhā min al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah 1948-1969 (The Arab Nationalist Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Position on the Palestinian Cause 1948-1969),* Damascus: Markaz al-Ghad al-ʻArabī, 2008.

Shahdād, Ibrāhīm, Rudūd al-fiʻl al-shaʻbīyah fī Imārāt al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī tujāha al-ʻAdwān al-thulāthī ʻalá Miṣr ʻām 1956, (The Public Reactions in the Emirates

of the Arab Gulf towards the Tripartite Aggression in 1956), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Qatar University, 1992, No. 15, p. 213-235.

Shākir, Maḥmūd. *Shibh Jazīrat al-'Arab al-iḥsā'- al-Kuwayt - ālbaḥryn- qaṭar (Arabian Peninsula Al-Ahsa - Kuwait - Bahrain – Qatar*). Beirut: The Islamic Office, 1981.

Shaqalīyah, Aḥmad Ramaḍān, "ṣinā'at al-ghawṣ fī al-Imārāt al-'Arabīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī", (Pearl Diving industry in the Arab Emirates and Arabian Gulf), *al-Khalīj al-'Arabī magazine,* Arab Gulf studies center, Basra University, issue 8, 1977.

Sharābī, Hishām, *Muqaddimāt li-Dirāsat al-mujtama' al-'Arabī, (Introductions to the study of Arab society)* Beirut: Al-Ahlīyah for publication and distribution, 1977.

————————, *Al-binyah alboṭrokyah: baḥth fī al-mujtama' al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir, (Neopatriarchy structure: A Study in the Contemporary Arab Society)* politics and society series, Beirut: Dar Al-Ṭalī'ah, 1987.

————————, *Al-Niẓām al-abawī wa-ishkālīyat takhalluf al-mujtama' al-'Arabī, (Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1993.

Shihāb, Ṣāliḥ Jāsim, *Tārīkh al-Ta'līm fī al-Kuwayt wa-al-Khalīj Ayyām Zamān, (The History of Education in Kuwait and the Gulf in the Past)*, Vol. 01, Kuwait: Kuwaiti government printing house, 1984.

Shu'ayb, 'Alī 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Al-tadakhkhul al-ajnabī wa-azmāt al-ḥukm fī Tārīkh al-'Arab al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir (The Foreign Intervention and The Rule Crises In The Modern And Contemporary Arab History)*, Beirut: Dar Al-Fārābī, 2005.

Shukr, Zuhayr , *al-siyāsah al-Amrīkīyah fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī "Mabda' Carter (US policy in the Persian Gulf (Carter principle),* Beirut: the Arab Development Institute,1982.

Slot, B. J., The Origins of Kuwait, (Nash'at al-Kuwayt), Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 2003.

————————, *Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ mu'assis al-Kuwayt al-ḥadīthah 1896-1915 (Mubarak Al-Sabah: Founder of Modern Kuwait 1896–1915),* translated by: ʻĪsá Ayyūb, Kuwait: Center for Research and Studies, 2008.

Al-Ṭabaṭabā'ī, ʻĀdil, *al-Sulṭah al-tashrīʻīyah fī duwal al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī : nash'atuhā, taṭawwuruhā, wa-al-ʻawāmil al-mu'aththirah fīhā (The Legislative Authority in the Arab Gulf States: Its Origin, Development, and the Affecting Factors)* Kuwait: Kuwait University Press, 1985.

Al-Ṭā'ī, Hāshim ʻAbd al-Razzāq Ṣāliḥ, "al-Tayyār al-Islāmī fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (1945-1991) (the Islamic Current in The Arab Gulf (1945-1991))", Doctoral Dissertation, University of Mosul, College of Arts, 2006.

Ṭalāl al-Rashūd, al-Taʻlīm wa-Munāhaḍat al-istiʻmār bʻthāt al-Kuwayt lil-Ṭalabah al-ʻArab 1953-1961 (Education and anti-colonialism: Kuwait scholarships to Arab students 1953-1961), Department of History and Archeology - Kuwait University- YouTube channel https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LjvhvzCHsxA&t=924s (February 2022).

Al-Ṭalīʻah fī Maʻrakat al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah (Al- Ṭalīʻah in the battle of democracy), al-Kuwayt : Dār Kāẓimah, 1984.

Al-Tamīmī, ʻAbd āl-Mālik Khalaf, "Al-istiʻmār al-Thaqāfī fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī" (Cultural Colonialism in the Arabian Gulf), *Al-bāḥith Magazine*, Beirut, first issue, September 1980.

————————, "al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī: dirāsah fī al-tārīkh al-iqtiṣādī wa-al-ijtimāʻī (Arabian Gulf: A Study in Economic and Social History), *Social Sciences Journal*, Vol 2, Kuwait, June 1981,(9-44).

————————, Taṭawwur ʻAlāqāt al-Kuwayt maʻa al-Duwal al-ʻArabīyah qabla al-istiqlāl (The Development of Kuwait's Relations with the Arab Countries Before Independence), *Historical Studies,* No. 9-10 (October 1982).

————————, *Al-Istīṭān al-ajnabī fī al-waṭan al-ʻArabī : al-Maghrib al-ʻArabī-Filasṭīn-al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī dirāsah tārīkhīyah muqāranah, (Foreign settlement in the Arab world (Maghreb · Palestine and the Arab Gulf),* Kuwait: ʻĀlam al-Maʻrifah, 1983.

————————, "ba‘ḍ Qaḍāyā al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī"(Some of the Issues of the National Movement in the Arabian Gulf), *al-Mustaqbal al-‘Arabī*, Year 6, Issue 61, March 1984.

————————, *Al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī wa-al-Maghrib al-‘Arabī: Dirāsāt fī al-tārīkh al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā‘ī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (The Arabian Gulf and Arab Maghreb: Studies in Political, Social and Economic History)*, Beirut: Dār al-Shabāb, 1986.

————————, *Abḥāth fī Tārīkh al-Kuwayt (Studies in the History of Kuwait)*, Kuwait: Qirṭās house for publication, 1998.

Al-Tamīmī, Yūsuf Ḥ. D. " al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tajribat al-mushārakah al-siyāsīyah (Kuwait: The Study of the Experience of the Political Participation)." Master's thesis, Baghdad University, College of Political Science, 1991.

Al-Ṭanāḥī, Maḥmūd Muḥammad, *Al-nafṭ wa-‘alāqāt al-Kuwayt al-siyāsīyah bi-Duwal al-jiwār 1911-1990 (Oil and Kuwait's Political Relations with Neighboring Countries (1911-1990))*, Kuwait: The Centre for Research and Studies in Kuwait, 2011.

————————, Al-Tujjār wa-al-ḥarāk al-dīmuqrāṭī fī al-Kuwayt (1921-1939) (Merchants and the Drive for Democracy in Kuwait (1921-1939)), *Ostour*, Issue 5, Jan 2017.

Tārīkh al-Ta‘līm fī Dawlat al-Kuwayt : dirāsah tawthīqīyah (History of Education in the State of Kuwait: A Documentary Study) Volume 2, , Kuwait: Ministry of Education, 2002.

Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh (1953-1973)(History of Shuwaikh Secondary School (1953-1973)), Golden jubilee, Kuwait, n.d, 2005, Documentary Committee emanating from the Supreme Committee for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Al-Shuwaikh high-school, Ministry of Education.

Al-Tayyār al-Taqaddumī al-Kuwaytī, al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Kuwayt, (The Kuwaiti Progressive Movement), Office of Preparation and Education, Kuwait, p. 1 Link

Al-Tikrītī, brzān . *Al-Ṣirā‘ al-Dawlī Fī Minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī Wa-al-Muḥīṭ al-Hindī Wa-Ta’thīruhu ‘alá Aqṭār al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī (International Conflict*

in the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and Its Impact on the Arab Gulf States). Baghdad, 1982.

Al-Turkī, Yūsuf ʻAbd al-Muḥsin, *Lamaḥāt min Māḍī al-Kuwayt (Profiles from Kuwait's Past),* n.d. 1979.

Tomanovic Natalia Nikolaevna, *al-Duwal al-Ūrūbbīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī min al-qarn al-sādis ʻashar ilá al-qarn al-tāsiʻ ʻashar (European powers in the Arabian Gulf in the 16th and 19th centuries),* translated by Samir Najm al-Dīn sṭās, Dubai: Jumʻah al-Mājid center for culture and heritage, 2006.

Al-ʻUbaydī Ibrāhīm Khalaf, *Al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn 1914-1971 (The National Movement in Bahrain 1914-1971),* Baghdad: Dar Al-Andalus, 1976.

——————— ,"al-Tayyārāt al-siyāsīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī" (Political Currents in the Arab Gulf), *al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻIrāqī magazine,* Bagdad, April 1998, vol 45.

Al-ʻUbaydī, Samīr Judhūr al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭanīyah fī al-Baḥrayn (1932-1939), (The Roots of the National Movement in Bahrain (1932-1939)), *Al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī*, vol 32, issue 364, June 2009, p. 89-107.

Al-Wāʾilī, Shadhá Munʻim Khalaf, *Al-ṣirāʻ alʻothmāny-al-Barīṭānī fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī 1871-1914,* (*Ottoman-British Conflict in the Arab Gulf Region 1871-1914),* Master's thesis, Al-Mustansiriyah University, 2011.

Al-Waqayyān, Khalīfah, *Al-qaḍīyah al-ʻArabīyah fī al-shiʻr al-Kuwaytī, (The Arab Issue in Kuwaiti Poetry*), Kuwait, n.d., 1977.

————————, *Al-Thaqāfah fī al-Kuwayt : bawākīr-ātjāhāt-ryādāt (Culture of Kuwait: first works, trends, and leaderships),* Kuwait, n.d., 2010.

Al-Wardī, ʻAlī, Dirāsah fī ṭabīʻat al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻIrāqī : muḥāwalah tamhīdīyah li-Dirāsat al-mujtamaʻ al-ʻArabī al-akbar fī ḍawʾ ʻilm al-ijtimāʻ al-ḥadīth, (A Study into the Nature of Iraqi Society: Preliminary Attempt to Study the Larger Arab Community in Light of Modern Sociology) Bagdad: al-ʻānī Press, (196?).

Al-Wasmī, Khālid, *Tārīkh al-Khalīj al-'Arabī fī al-'aṣr al-ḥadīth wa-al-mu'āṣir : dirāsah 'an al-Tanāfus al-Ūrūbbī fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī wa-al-'alāqāt al-Ūrūbbīyah al-'Umānīyah, (History of the Arabian Gulf in the modern and contemporary era: A study on Europe powers rivalry in the Arabian Gulf and European-Omani relations)* Kuwait: Dar Qirṭās, 2006.

Waṭfah, 'Alī Sa'd, Ishkālīyat al-huwīyah wa-al-intimā' fī al-mujtama'āt al-'Arabīyah al-mu'āṣirah (The problem of identity and affiliation in contemporary Arab societies), In : Aḥmad Ba'labakkī et el., al-huwīyah wa-qaḍāyāhā fī al-Wa'y al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir (Identity and its issues in contemporary Arab awareness), The Arab Future (68) series, Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2014, p. 153-172.

Al-Wazzān, Fayṣal 'Ādil*, 'Abd Allāh Ḥamad al-Ṣaqr : Aḍwā' 'alá sīratihi wa-dawrihi al-siyāsī wa-al-iqtiṣādī (1910-1974) (Abdullah Hamad Al-Saqer: Spotlight on his Biography and Political and Economic Role (1910-1974))*, Kuwait: The Kuwait Research and Studies Center in Kuwait, 2019.

Yāghī, Ismā'īl Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-'ālam al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir (Contemporary Arab World History)*, Kuwait: al-'abikān Bookshop, 2000.

Al-Yūsufī, Muḥammad, *Al-Kuwayt min al-nash'ah ilá al-istiqlāl (Kuwait from its inception until independence)*, Beirut: Arabic institution for studies and publications, 2013.

Zaḥlān,Rosemary Sa'īd, Al-Khalīj wa-al-qaḍīyah al-Filasṭīnīyah (1936-1948), (The Arab Gulf and the Palestinian case 1936-1948) *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabī*, vol. 26, April 1981 (6-22).

————————, Al-Wiḥdah wa-al-Ḥokm al-Barīṭānī, ḥālat al-Imārāt al-'Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah", (Union and British Government: the case of the United Arab Emirates) in*: tajribat Dawlat al-Imārāt al-'Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah, (The UAE Experience),*) symposium, Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1982.

Zakarīyā, Fu'ād, *Al-ḥaqīqah wa al-wahm fī al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah al-mu'āṣirah, (Truth and Illusion in the Contemporary Islamic Movement)* Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr, 1986.

Zarnūqah, Ṣalāḥ Sālim, Namaṭ intiqāl al-Sulṭah fī al-nuẓum al-wirāthīyah al-ʻArabīyah (1950-1985) (The pattern of power transition in the Arab hereditary monarchies (1950-1985)), *al-Mustaqbal al-ʻArabī,* vol 140, October 1990.

Al-Zayd Khālid Saʻūd, *Udabā' al-Kuwayt fī qarnayn (Kuwaiti Writers in Two centuries),* Vol. 1, Kuwait: al-Rubayʻān Publication and Distribution Company, 1987.

Al-Zayd, Khālid Saʻūd, ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Ḥusayn wa-masīrat al-Taʻlīm fī al-Kuwayt,(Abd Al-Aziz Hussein and the Educational Process in Kuwait) *Al-Bayan Al-Kuwaitiah Magazine,* Issue 171, June 1980 (https://archive.alsharekh.org/Articles/219/17459/393397

Al-Zaydī, Mufīd, *Bidāyāt al-Nahḍah al-Thaqāfīyah fī minṭaqat al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī fī al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-ʻishrīn, (The beginnings of cultural renaissance in the Arabian Gulf region in the first half of the twentieth century),* Issue15, Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies Research, 1998.

————————, *Al-Tayyārāt al-fikrīyah fī al-Khalīj al-ʻArabī (Intellectual movements in the Arabian Gulf),* Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2000.

————————, *Al-tārīkh al-ʻArabī bayna al-ḥadāthah wa-al-muʻāṣarah,* (Arab History Between Modernity and Modernity) Amman: Dar Usāmah, 2010.

Al-Zayyānī, Amal Ibrāhīm, *Al-Baḥrayn bayna al-istiqlāl al-siyāsī wa-al-inṭilāq al-dawlī, (Bahrain between political independence and the international launch*), Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub, 1977.

Al-Zubaydī, ʻAbd al-Karīm, *Al-Ahāzīj al-shaʻbīyah fī al-Khalīj wa-al-Jazīrah al-ʻArabīyah (Folk Songs in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula),* Cairo: Shams Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, 2021.

Al-Zumayʻ, ʻAlī, *Al-Ḥarakāt al-Islāmīyah al-Sunnah wa al-Shīʻīyah fī al-Kuwayt : dirāsah fikrīyah wa-siyāsīyah, (Sunni and Shiite Islamic Movements in Kuwait: Intellectual and Political Studies)* Part One, Center of Nuhūḍ for Studies and Research, 2018.

Zureiq, Constantin, *al-Waʻy al-Qawmī : Naẓarāt fī al-ḥayāh al-Qawmīyah al-mutafattiḥah fī al-Sharq al-ʻArabī, (The Nationalist Awareness: Perspectives on the open national life in the Arab Orient (Sharq Arabi)),* Beirut: Dar al-Makshūf, 1939.

———————, *Naḥnu wa-al-tārīkh: maṭālib wa-tasāwulāt fī ṣinā'at al-ta'rīkh wa ṣina'at al-tārīkh (We and History: Demands and Questions in the making of history*), Lebanon: Dar al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1985.

Al-Zuwayr, Badr 'Abd Allāh, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah (Al-Ahmadiya School),* Kuwait, n.d., 2016.

Other Sources:

An interview with Shihab al-Din Ahmad conducted by Reda Al-Faili and available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTMmGSloj2U

The Kuwait Politics Database, a project of Michael Herb at Georgia State University, http://www.kuwaitpolitics.org/positions7.htm

Monograph Series: The Shura Councils in the Gulf, Durham University and College of Arts and Science, Qatar University, Number 1: July 2019 https://www.qu.edu.qa/research/gulfstudies-center/publications/the-shura-councils-in-the-gulf

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Exemplars derived from the Al- Ṭalī‘ah newspaper:

MPs demand recognition of the Yemeni Revolution. [1015]

مملة عالمية شرسة ضد ثورة العراق

الشعب العربي يقف صفاً واحداً لحماية الثورة

نواب الشعب يطالبون بالاعتراف بثورة اليمن

الطليعة

مؤامرات بريطانية رديئة لحماية الكويت

طرد بريطانيا من اليمن

[1015] Al-Ṭalī‘ah newspaper, Wednesday 20 February 1963, issue no. 19, first year.

Expressing opposition to the outcome of the electoral process.[1016]

الاعتراف بثورة اليمن

الطليعة

اعدات بغداد تعجل نهاية قاسم

قاسم يدعم الحكم الانفصالي المنهار في سوريا

[1016] Al-Ṭalīʿah newspaper, Wednesday 6 February 1963, issue no. 17, first year, p.1

Algeria on the path of Arab struggle. [1017]

الجزائر في طريق النضال العربي

ثورة الجزائر ثورة إشتراكية

الطليعة

اسبوعية سياسية جامعة

الاربعاء ٨ اب ١٩٦٢ العدد العاشر السنة الاولى

الثمن ٥٠ فلسا

في هذا العدد

الجزائريون الثورة والحل الوسط

تجدد الاضطرابات في سوريا

وزارة الارشاد والانباء تنفي

محاولة اغتيال الملك حسين

شعب عدن لن يسكت عن الاتحاد الفيدرالي

الثورة الجزائرية في طريقها الطبيعي

[1017] Al- Ṭalīʿah newspaper, Wednesday 8 August 1962, issue no. 10, first year.

Kuwaiti workers observe May 1st.[1018]

[1018] Al- Ṭalīʿah newspaper, 4 May 1966, fourth year, issue no. 177, pages 10-11.

هاشم العمال العرب اسبقوا على الذكرى معان جديدة

اليوحه الاتحاد رغم حداثة سنه حقق الكثير من المكاسب

بلعوس عمال فلسطين يحتفلون معكم لأن الحرية لا تتجزأ

نايفي طموحنا كعمال لا يقف عند حد

عدنان اليوحيه

ناجي سعيد

دور العمال بالنسبة لقضية فلسطين

طموح العمال

رحلة النضال بين شيكاغو وكليوباتره

السيد الوزير قال :

وصف السيد الوزير علاقة

السيد وزير العمل ع.ع.م. يتحدث الى الطليعة

أنور سلامه

The birth of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf. [1019]

الجزيرة العربية

مؤتمر أطلس ينتهي بتوحيد حركتي الثورة في عمان والخليج العربي

بيان عن المؤتمر التأسيسي يعلن:

ولادة الجبهة الشعبية لتحرير عمان والخليج العربي

اعلن في عدن عن قيام الجبهة الشعبية لتحرير عمان والخليج العربي كمنظمة ثورية منبثقة عن اندماج كل من الجبهة الشعبية لتحرير الخليج العربي المحتل ، والجبهة الوطنية الديمقراطية لتحرير عمان والخليج العربي ..

جاء هذا الاعلان في مؤتمر صحفي عقد في مكتب الجبهة الشعبية في عدن حيث القى عضو القيادة العامة محمد عبد الله البيان التالي :

انطلاقا من القواعد والاهداف المشتركة ، وردا على مجمل المخططات الاستعمارية والرجعية في منطقة ميان والخليج العربي ، وتوجها لشكل القنوات والخطوات العملية الكفيلة بحد بتصدي قيادات الحركة الشعبية لتحرير الخليج العربي المحتل ، والجبهة الوطنية الديمقراطية لتحرير عمان والخليج العربي ، مؤتمرا توحيديا في نهاية عام ١٩٧١ م لتوحيد وحدة الجهدين في جبهة واحدة ، تصب كل المجهودات والطاقات ، من اجل تصعيد النضال ضد الاستعمار البريطاني وعملائه ، وقطع اساسية مهمة على طريق اقامة جبهة الشعب الجريحة على امتداد ساحة عمان والخليج العربي ..

ولقد وقف المؤتمر مطولا امام التراكمات والتراجعات التي خلفتها الدوائر الاستعمارية في الاونة الاخيرة على ضوء الانسحاب البريطاني المزعوم والتحركات السياسية والعسكرية العالمية والعربية الواسعة التي تقوم بها الامبريالية والرجعية وما تهدف اليه هذه التحركات والمخططات من عرقلة لمسيرة الثورة الوطنية وتزييف لشعاراتها واهدافها وتصفية لمواقع الامبريالية وحلفائها في هذه المنطقة .

انه امام ازدياد الثورة الشعبية المسلحة وصمودها في اقليم ظفار ، وتنامي القوة الشعبية والمد الثوري المتعاظم في عموم الساحة ، وخطورة ذلك على مجمل المصالح الامبريالية الراسمة والاوضاع العنصرية المتخلفة في عمان والخليج العربي ، فقد طرح الاستعمار البريطاني مسالة انسحابه المزيف جلبا ، لتضمن له مرتب اوضاعه واوضاع عملائه في هذه الساحة ، ممهدا بالامبريالية الامريكية وحلفائها في (....) وايران لمواجهة مجمل التطورات الثورية فيها .

ولقد نشطت كل القوى الاستعمارية والرجعية بشكل ملحوظ وكثرت الاجتماعات والوفود والزيارات المشبوهة التي قام بها العملاء والمحتوين الامبرياليون للمنطقة طيلة الفترة الماضية ، كما نفذت عبقرية الامبرياليين من طرح العديد من المشاريع الاجرائية لاحكام قبضتهم على شعبنا ومنعه بكل الوسائل من استلام مقدرات ثروته بنفسه . وبعد ان تصاعد الامبرياليون ووزراء الخمس بنهم والانوار على عملائهم املوا من الاستقلالات القريبة واشتروا في ترقيع الاوضاع المهترئة في الجزء الشمالي من القطر العماني .

الا ان الدوائر الاستعمارية لم تكتف

وفي معرض التعليق على اتفاقية الولايات المتحدة والبحرين كانت صحيفة (نيويورك تايمس) تقول (ان هذه القاعدة ضرورية للولايات المتحدة لكي تتمكن المجموعة البحرية العسكرية الخاصة بالشرق الادنى من مواصلة رفع علمها هناك لحماية المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة) .

ويرى المراقبون ان الاتفاقية الممهورة بين واشنطن والبحرين ستجعل ، بموجب برنامج الستراتيجيين العسكريين الامريكان ، توسيع الوجود العسكري الامريكي في هذه المنطقة . وتجدر الاشارة الى ان هذه المعاهدة قد صيغت على شكل اتفاقية لا معاهدة اذ ان المعاهدة تتطلب الابرام من قبل الكونغرس وبالتالي المثارة في لجان الهيئة التشريعية ، حيث يتوجب على سلطي الحكومة تقديم التوضيحات عن منهج الحكومة المغامر . ومما دعا الى صياغة تلك الصفقة على هذا النحو تزايد المقاومة في الكونغرس بتقليص الوجود العسكري الامريكي في جميع انحاء العالم .

وتدرى الولايات المتحدة في الوقت نفسه مواصلة انتهاج سياستها العدوانية في منطقة المحيط الهندي. وتغري لهذا الغرض من (وجودها) العسكري هناك. وتواصل مجموعة من سفن الاسطول السابع تطوافها في خليج البنغال . وعند ارسال هذه المجموعة من السفن بقيادة (انتربرايز) اكبر حاملة للطائرات الامريكية الى مياه خليج البنغال ابان النزاع الهندي الباكستاني ، اشاعت واشنطن رواية رسمية تزعم ان باكستان الشرقية . واتضح من تسجيلات محاضر جلسات البيت الابيض التي قام بنشرها الصحفي الشطن انفرسون ان ما يسمى (باخلاء) لم يكن الا هذا العمل ضروري لاخلاء المواطنين الامريكان من خليج البنغال على ان لدى البنتاغون مخططات ستراتيجية بعيدة المدى في المحيط الهندي . وبكل وقاحة اعترف الناطق باسم البنتاغون بان احد الاسباب التي دعت البنتاغون الى اتخاذ هذا القرار هو الرغبة في منح (الاسطول السابع امكانية الحصول على خبرة كبيرة العمليات في المحيط الهندي) .

القواعد العسكرية في البحرين والمصالح الامريكية في المنطقة

ذكرت وزارة الخارجية الامريكية ان الولايات المتحدة والبحرين عقدتا اتفاقية تنص على (نقل) الاشراف على القاعدة البحرية العسكرية في البحرين الى الولايات المتحدة . واوضح ممثل دائرة السياسة الخارجية أن السفن الامريكية حظيت بان اكثر من عشرين مئة فيكم ضيافة» بريطانيا التي « تطوى الان التزاماتها » ازاء منطقة شرق السويس .

ونتيجة لانتقال الاشراف على القاعدة الى الولايات المتحدة فمن المحتمل ان يزداد تعداد البحارة على سفن ما يسمى « بمجموعة الشرق الادنى » الامريكية ، ومن المحتمل كذلك زيادة عدد هذه المجموعة وتوسيع القاعدة البحرية العسكرية .

[1019] Al- Ṭalīʿah newspaper, 5 February 1972, issue no. 360, page 10.

Names of political detainees and prisoners in Saudi Arabia.[1020]

بيان لجبهة التحرير الوطني في السعودية .. دفاعاً عن السجناء والمعتقلين السياسيين

في نداء للرأي العام العربي والأجنبي وقعته « جبهة التحرير الوطني في السعودية » طالبت الجبهة في بيان تسلمنا نسخة منه مضبورة التدخل لإطلاق سراح المعتقلين والسجناء السياسيين في السعودية .. وقد جاء في البيان :

« يا رجال القانون .. أيها المدافعون الشجعان عن الديمقراطيون في العالم كله في العالم .. أيها الشخصيات الوطنية والديموقراطية الثورية في العالم .. أيها الأحزاب والهيئات السياسية والنقابات والاتحادات العمالية ، والاتحادات الطلابية ، ومنظماته الثورية .. أيها الكتاب والأدباء والفنانون .. أيتها القوى الحرة والانسانية في العالم .. انا نتوجه اليكم بصرخة المدعوا أسوأ نظام عالمي بدويا يوجد الآن من حيث الاستغلال والتعذيب والبشاعة بعد الاتحاد متو ضم من جميع المعتقلين والسجناء والمثقفين السياسيين في السعودية » .

وقد أرفقت الجبهة بيانها بأسماء بعض المعتقلين والسجناء السعوديين تنشره في مكان آخر .

والجدير بالذكر أن لجنة مركزية قد تكونت للدفاع عن المعتقلين والسجناء السياسيين في الجزيرة العربية وقد أصدرت حتى الآن ثلاث نشرات كان أولاها قد خصصت للحديث عن أحداث الكويت الأخيرة ، طالبت في احداها كافة المعتقلين العرب والأجانب بأن يتضوعوا للدفاع عن هؤلاء المعتقلين والسجناء السياسيين . عنوان اللجنة :

ص . ب ٢٤١٤

اسماء المعتقلين والسجناء السياسيين في السعودية

محمد عبد الله الخليفة ، إبراهيم بالطيور ، عبد الله العلوان ، عبد الله سلطان الراشد ، فهد عبد العزيز العريني ، صالح الفالح ، ناصر محمد الشبري ، صالح محمد البادي ، فهد الشبري ، محمد ربح العوامي ، منصور صالح صالات ، سليمان حبيب ، عبد الكريم ناجي ، سعيد ناجي ، حميد الحلق ، احمد حسن الصفار ، محمد جاسم ، صالح الزاير ، محمد القحطاني ، عبد العزيز سنيل ، منصور سنيل ، عبد القادر حسن القدي ، احمد مكي ممدن ، عبد الرؤف سنان ، حسن الجشي ، احمد عبد الجليل الزهيري ، سعيد الشماسي ، جعفر الشماسي ، كامل الفارسي ، عبد الغني الشماسي ، محمد السبيعي ، احمد عبد النبي الشلفي ، باقر عبد الجبار ، عبد الواحد عبد الجبار ، محمود سليم الأشخر ، عبد الغني قلوم ، سعيد البريكي ، عبد الشهيد عبد النبي ، عبد الله المحقل ، عبد المحسن المحقل ، احمد علمان ابو سرير ، سعيد العمران ، محمد العمران ، عبد الرزاق القصيد ، مهنا الشماسي ، عبد الشهيد الاجلي ، سعيد باقر الفنيزي ، توفيق الجشي ، سليمان العباسي ، عبد الرسول الحيلي ، علي محميد ، عبد الغني الجشي ، عبد الرسول الزاير ، جميل عبد المحسن سنان ، محمد علي بحطلي ، عبد الرسول علي بحطلي ، سعيد حسن باقر ، خلف الوتنان ، احمد بشوك ، علي الدغان ، عبد الله نور ، عبد الله الحوري وزوجته ، علي بازون وزوجته وولده ، خليل ابراهيم ، الدكتور نوري كشبري ، الدكتور صالح ابيه ، سعيد الماجد ، حسن الماجد خليل الماجد ، عبد الله الماجد ، ماجد الماجد ، علي الماجد ، عبد الواحد المطير ، عبد الله ابن احمد ، ابراهيم العبيثي ، ابراهيم الربيع ، محمد العيسى وزوجته واخته ، محمد بو علي ، عبد الله الطيل ، عبد الرسول الشماس ، علي الزاير ، حسن حجاج ، حسن مديفع ، يوسف مكي ، عبد العزيز العوجي ، عبد العزيز المبارك ، عبد الله السالم ، سالم القنيدي ، سعيد الزهراني ، عوض العوفي ، مسعود العوفي ، فهد السويمي ، عبد الله بلوزير ، عقيل علي الغابدي ، محمد العامر ، عبد الرحمن القريري ، عقيل ابراهيم عقيل ، عبد العزيز الصويلم ، مجيد الماجد عبد الرزاق البريكي ، احمد الصانع ، ابراهيم داوود الربيع ، عبد الرحمن بكري ، ياسين طه خصيفان ، محمد ابن الشيخ ، عصمت نجيب ، عبد الوهاب اصيل ، عبد الوهاب الزهراني ، عبد الله المقرن ، احمد عبد الله ، حسن عبد الله ، عبد الرحمن المقلد ، شويرخ الشبري ، احمد العربي ، احمد زين المليحين ، وصفي حداد احمد موسى الشماخ ، هاشم صالح الحلوي ، عبد العزيز المصبر ، مسعود المصبر ، خالد الحريص ، خلوي الحريص ، عبد الله الخالدي ، مبارك بشيط ، خليفة خلفان ، صالح الزيد،سيد علي العوامي،يوسف الشيخ يعقوب ، عبد الرؤوف الفنيزي ، منصور الغران ، عيسى الرسول العلي ، عبد الحميد الزائر ، باقر علي الشماسي ، موسى الشيخ علي ، حسين علي الشماسي ، محمد سعيد الصالم ، محمد سجيد الجشي ، عبد العزيز العصيني ، عبد العزيز الدرسوني ، سعد الشبري ، عبد القحطاني ، مايض القحطاني ، عبد الرحمن التاجم ، عاشق بناع الهوملي ، عبد العزيز الصقعبي ، عبد الله الثقيل ، عبد الرحمن الثقيل ، فريح فرحان الشبري ، عبد الله راشي الشبري ، محمد علي أبيلي ، مبارك عبد الله الشبري ، محمد بجاش الهاجري ، احمد بشمان ، عبد الخريص ، احمد الهلوي ، بطلان الشبري ، ذياب الهلوي ، علي حسين خميس ، يونس هزا ، يحيى اليلبي ، الشيخ سعد طليق ، الشيخ عبد الله طليق ، حليفي بعمن الظويد ، رشا الشماسي ، خليفة ابراهيم ، عبد الله بدن ، عبد الرحمن سعد السعاري ، عبد المجيد سليمان ابو السعود ، محمد احمد المجيري ، مهدي الحلق ، محمد البكاي ، عبد المجيد البكاي ، وحيد مجيد نوبرت ، محمد الكبير ، سيد نعمة ، سعد الثقيل ، عبد العزيز السابياني ، عبد العزيز الماجد ، عبد الله الطل ، عبد الرحمن محمد الملا ، حجزا الفنيزي .

[1020] Al- Ṭalīʿah newspaper, Wednesday 15 July 1970, ninth year, issue no. 288, p. 23.

Appendix 2:

Mohammed Ahmed Al-Rouijeh founded a commercial establishment called the "National Library" (al-Maktabah al-Waṭanīyah) that specializes in the sale of books and stationery.[1021]

[1021] Al-Ḥātim, min hunā bada'at al-Kuwayt, p. 252-253

Appendix 3: The roster of individuals who played a role in the founding of Al Ahmadiya School in Kuwait.[1022]

No. 390

AL IRAQ
A DAILY ARABIC NEWSPAPER

العراق
جريدة يومية سياسية ادبية اقتصادية

BAGHDAD SATURDAY, 24th SEPTEMBER 1921

بغداد السبت في ٢٤ ايلول ١٩٢١

مشكلة ايرلندا

برقيات دولية

[1022] Al-Iraq Newspaper, Issue No. 1921, p. 2 (https://www.wdl.org/ar/item/10486/); Al-Rashīd, Tārīkh al-Kuwayt, p. 291; Al-zuwayr, *Al-Madrasah al-Aḥmadīyah*, p. 33

No. 389 — السنة الثانية — ثمن النسخة أنة واحدة — العـــدد ٣٨٩

AL 'IRAQ
A DAILY ARASIC NEWSPAPER
EDITOR & PROPRIETOR
RAZZOQ D. A. GHANNAM
All communications must be addressed to the Editor AL 'IRAQ, Bridge Street, Baghdad
Telegraphic Address: AL 'IRAQ
Rates of Advertisement on application
English Advertisements translated into Arabic free of charge
Advertisements in English also published.

العراق

صاحب الجريدة ومديرها
رزوق داود غنام

العراق
جريدة يومية سياسية ادبية اقتصادية
بدل الاشتراك وهو سلفاً
في بغداد — في الخارج
من سنة كاملة ٢٠ ربية — ٢٨ ربية
من ستة اشهر ١٠ ربيات — ١٤ ربية
من ثلاثة اشهر ٦ ربيات — ٨ ربيات
اجرة الاعلانات
من اسطر الواحد اضعف ربية او بيتلا من العقد من العامود في الصفحة الرابعة . واذا اريد نشر الاعلان عدة طوايق قل الحق في ذلك مدير الجريدة
العنوان : جريدة العراق ببغداد

BAGHDAD FRIDAY, 3rd SEPTEMBER 1921 — بغداد الجمعة في ٣ ايلول ١٩٢١ الموافق ٢٨ ذي الحجة ١٣٣٩

العراق وبريطانية

اوضحنا في مقال سابق تطور السياسة البريطانية الحالية والاسباب التي ادت الى ذلك التحول العظيم . فلما كان الكلام على بعض القواعد العمومية التي سارت عليها السياسة البريطانية نحو مختلف بلادها في الماضي والامور التي حرصت على السير عليها في المستقبل . ولم يقتصر هذا التطور على ما ذكرنا بل تجاوز الى علاقات بريطانية بحلفائها ايضا ففي اليوم باذا تجيدها في تحقيق عقد الاتحاف مع كل شعب ترتبط به اواصر المودة او عادة المصلحة المشتركة .

فمن جملة الاقطار التي مدت لها بريطانية يد المصادقة والاخاء هو قطرنا — العراق العربي — مقارنة كل نظريات لاستبدار القديم عرض الحائط غير مالفة الى المطامع الاشعبية التي ايدها بعض الدول . فاذا سارت الامور هذا السير الحسن وقدر الشعب هذا العمل حق قدره وجعل الحكمة والانتباه رائده فانه لاريب سيجني ثمرات ثابتة في المستقبل القريب

كل متابع ان العلاقة بين الشعب العراقي وبين بريطانية قد توترت في السنوات الماضي وكل يعلم ان الاسباب المؤدية الى ذلك الاخير ناشئة على الاغلب من النظام الاستثنائي الذي تضطر كل حكومة محتلة لقطر غريب عنها على تنفيذ مقاذا امثالنا الى ذلك الضرورة الحربية فيكون النظام الاستثنائي ضروري التنفيذ

ثم فوق هذا فان لسوء التفاهم اثراً يذكر لذا الحقيقة التي لاشبهة فيها ان العراقيين لم يفهموا الانكليز ولم يطمئنوا من نواياهم كما ان الانكليز كان قسم مهم منهم قليل خبرة باحوال العراق واغلب القائمين برئاسون انهم يعرفون كانت معرفتهم لا تتجاوز القشور على ان سوء التفاهم قد زال بزوال الاسباب فتصادت اطنابه في علاقات الطرفين .

بدأ الاتهام بتلاشي والتمويض يتجلى منذ وفد السر برسي كوكس على العراق بهمة (مك وب سام) فهدأ الروع وسكنت الروح الثائرة تلفت شوة الغامضة بفضل ما له من الحكمة السامية والخبرة الصادقة فتمكن من تاليف حكومة موقتة استطاعت ان تردالياء الى مجاريها فاقامت البلاد خدمة لا بأس بها استعملت عليها القناء وانتدت كفاءة من العراق في ادارة بلده ثم جاءت خطبة السكرتير شل فاوضحت لمالة اكثر من ذي قبل فبرهنت على ان الانكليز لايصادرون حرية ولا يغصبون حقوقاً او استقولا وجيل ما يطلبون هو ان يقوموا بما فرضته عليهم مهمة حضرة الامم نحو العراق من المشورة والارشاد .

ليعلم الشعب العراقي جيداً ان من يتطلب النهوض ويبغي التقدم بسرعة ثابت وارادة قوية لا يحول دون بلوغه التي حائل وان بريطانية العظمى واثقة ان العراق موفق الصديق ولا تأمل منه اكثر من الصداقة .

ان من تدبير معالي برقية جريدة للملك جورج الى جريدة الملك فيصل يجدها صادرة عن قلب مفعم بعواطف الولاء للعراق والايمزل لعاصمة العرب القديمة .

وصارة القول ان مركز العراق السياسي اليوم احسن مركز وجد فيه منذ زوال الدولة العربية القديمة الى اليوم ولا يقصنا لادراك لعاينا للقمة الا الحزم والانتباه وتقدير صداقة امتنا قائما .

ان نائب الايام غير الامور وخلق العراقيين غاية لابد ان يسيروا نحوها ولابدان يذكروها ان احسنوا سيرهم وهي الاستقلال فلا عمل للتخوف والتذمر وليس على الشعب الا ان يتسلح بصفاء الغيرة واقتحام العقبات .

برقيات دوبتر

نبأ من الصين

قال (لوكي سيندسون) في مرض خطبة القاها على مؤتمر الغاية الصليبية في (سواتيك) من الحالة السياسية والصناعية في الصين . ان حل مسألة (قانتون) اقرب مما كان يتوقعه اهل الصين . فبدلا من ان تؤسس هناك حكومة انفصالية تو لسس نبأ من قبيل حق للمتلكات البريطانية مع عاصمة مركزية لكان اول . وقد ارشد (سيندسون) الصين ارشادات كثيرة فقال : ان الصين تتوقع اشياء كثيرة من مؤتمر واشنطن التي تنتظران تحصل منه على تأييد بريطانية .

معاهدة الصلح

بين الولايات المتحدة والمانية

لندن مدة اجراء التوقيع في برلن على معاهدة الصلح بين المانية وامريكة مشر دقائق وكان البرلمان قد صادق على المعاهدة للتحد الامريكي في برلن ووزير خارجية المانية

جمهورية جديدة في البحر

لندن ٢٦ آب : باترلد — اعلنت منطقة برلنا في البحر وقد كان ذلك على طالب مؤتمر السفراء بعد ان ثابت باستقلالها حكومة جمهورية .

النقاد (٣٨)

لندن ٢٦ آب — يصرح ارباب الحل والعقد في واشنطن ان الولايات المتحدة وبريطانية ستحدان منافسة خطار للنقاد (٣٨) وكانت قد ادت الولايات المتحدة قسما من قيمة النقاد .

رئيس وزراء ايطالية

في مؤتمر وشنطن

رومة . سيحضر السنيور بونو رئيس وزراء ايطالية مؤتمر نزع السلاح في وشنطن

عصبة الامم تنظر في مسألة سارة العليا

لندن في ٢٨ آب : جنيف : يجتمع غداً مجلس عصبة الامم للنظر في مسألة سارة العليا . ومما يجعل اهمية هذا الاجتماع ان جميع اعضائه هم جديدون ولم يتدخلوا في هذه المسألة قبل وقد اجتمعوا وغايتهم القصوى ان يتوصلوا الى حل لهذا المشكل . وسيرفع الميكونت بيشي القائم باعمال رئيس المجلس تقريراً من الموقف ويتوقع ان يطلب الى الالمان والبولونيين ان يسلموا قضيتهم .

انباء شتى

واشنطن — تأجل اجتماع دار الندوة الامريكي حتى اليوم الـ ٢١ من شهر ايلول .

جنيف — صدقت دولا سيام واروكوي الاتفاق على تأليف عصبة ملل دولية .

لندن ٢٥ آب — سلم الى ديوان رئاسة الوزارة اليوم بعد الظهر جواب (دي فالرا) على شروط الحكومة .

***

الأخبار المحلية

هدية للمعارف

أهدت نظارة المعارف حضرة الأديب الفاضل نجيب أفندي القشطيني مدير المدرسة البارودية النشيط (مجموعة دائرة معارف الأستاذ فريد وجدي) جزاء سعيه في النجاح مدرسته أدى ظهر محافظتها على الأسبقية بين مدارس القطر ثلاث سنوات متوالية، فنهنئ حضرة المدير بهذا النجاح ونؤمل أن يضاعف همته إتقاناً بمدرسته وباقي المدارس، كما أننا نثني على المعارف لتقديرها أتعاب العاملين فيها.

قدوم

قدم الخاصة حضرة الفاضل نهاد أفندي الصالح من موظفي دائرة المعارف في الموصل لقضاء بضعة أيام ترويحاً للنفس فأهلاً به.

سفر

يودع بغداد الى انكلترة حضرة ناظر المعارف الكبير صوت راقته السهمة.

مفتش البريد

تعين حضرة شريف أفندي آل ملا يوسف مفتشاً للبريد في منطقة ديالى فهنيئاً بذلك ونسأل له النجاح.

المرشحون للدخول في دار المعلمين

قدم من الموصل ١٧ شاباً وهم مرشحون للدخول دار المعلمين في بغداد وسيقدمون لامتحان القبول غداً.

الأدب العربي

يوشر بطبع المحاضرات التي ألقاها حضرة الأستاذ الرصافي على معلمي المدارس وفريق من المتأدبين في العاصمة في الاستانة العلية. وستصدر قريباً. فنوجه اليها الانظار.

— عقد قران —

عقد يوم الميس قران حضرة الوجيه عبد الرزاق أفندي الأمير على كريمة المرحوم ابراهيم أفندي الجوزه حي وقد حضر احتفال العقد جمع من معالي الوزراء واعيان البلاد فالعراق تهنئ للعروسين رغد الحياة وطيبها.

قد احتفل البارحة أيضاً بمراسم عقد نكاح حضرة المحترم نوري أفندي آل الشيخ قاسم على كريمة حضرة سعدي أفندي آل الشيخ قاسم وقد حضر هذا الاحتفال جم كبير من الفاضل القوم والاعيان فنسأل للعروسين السعادة والتوفيق.

— في طلب العلم —

من رام ان يستنهض الثروة
ويهذب الأخلاق والعلما
فالعرق مهما بالجهاد رقى
يسمو فروات المجد لا يرقى
وعلى يد الام جاهلة
يبقى البنون يجهلهم غرقى

يا ايها الشبان حسبكم
حظاً لقد ما رمتم الحقا
لا تعطيوا الا مهذبة
تهدي البنين وتحسن الخلقا
حيث انتساء مدارك هدى
وعلومهن الى البقا ابقى
فاذا السباق جرى بمحضرة
احرزن في اشواطه السبقا
فا منهج للفوز منضح
لا تسلكوا من غيره طرقا
الالكواعب كالكواكب في
جو السماء بها تجد عمقا
واذا طلعن بافق مدرسة
شهباً اسأن الغرب والشرقا

الام مدرسة غفلتها
كالشمس يبهج نورها الافقا
ان الريب لانه تبسم
فيها يلهما ترى قرقا
يفشأ على متوالي ما شأت
طبقاً الى اسبالها طبقا
ان عشتم اصلاح نشأكم
فتعهدوا النهج الذي الحقا
بل طوهن العلوم لكي
يعلومهن الى العلى ترقى
فتنا بارشاد النساء على
تهذيبهن يزدنا وقعا
ماوهت بالتهذيب فاسفة
وترجماً يختاره الاشقى
كلا ولا اعني لها مرجماً
كي انظر الوجنات والحدقا
بل خفة ابغي ومحتشمة
وزاهة لا تحتقر الحمقا
وارید تحصیل العلوم لها
كي بالفنون تحصل الرزقا
بل تلتقي التحرير محكمة
في الحل تفشأ يلتقي الاقنى
وتخيط اثوابها الحرير كما
شئت سيور مقانها شئتا
وتكون فاضلة مؤدبة
وعلى النساء بمصرها ترقى
تهتم في تدبير منزلها
بوسائل هي عروة وثقى
ولولدها تعدو مهذبة
وتجيد في تثقيفهم حذقا
وهي الطبيب لهم اذا مرضوا
لهم الطبيب الام لن تلقى
تحميت اخلاق وتربية
تستخلص الاخلاص والصدقا
عن خشية تبقى مزعة
تبدي المثال وتألف الرفقا
ليس التكبر من طبائعها
ترد الصفاء وتقبل الرفقا
ما لا ترى لتكشف برقعها
لتكشفها فانت به الرقا

فلك الزلال اذا تم لها
وتزوجت كل الذي تلقى
لسعادة زوج في معيشته
هيهات طول حياته بشقى
وتزوج بغلم من مودتها
يبدي لها في من هذا الرقا
كالورد يغدو وهو يهجاً
وبها يطيب سعودها يبقى
ليس التعلم ناقصاً ابداً
الا اذا يمم العقل والخلقا
فالبعض نلتمس العلى لابنه
عاراً ورغبة شانها حمقا
اني نصحت منصفاً
او ما تراه مكابراً ملقى
قد انهك التقليد كاهله
فغدا اسيراً يرتمي الفقا

البناء

الاحتفال بالتاج في زاخو

نشرت صيفتنا الموصل الغراء البرقية الآتية وقد بعث بها فخامة زاخو الى سعادة حضرة مشاور لواء الموصل:

بمناسبة رسم تتويج جلالة الملك فيصل المعظم نهار ٢٣ الجاري رفع العلم العربي واقيمت حفلة شائقة في دائرة الحكومة حضرها العلماء والرؤساء الروحانيون والاشراف والمأمورون وبالوقت نادت الاصوات بالادعية والقيت خطب بليغة يتخللها تصفيق وهتاف فحيي الملك وقد اديرت الزجاجات على المدعوين واطلقت العيرة في انحاء القضاء. وزينت القصبة وضربت الطبول والزمامير واوقدت المصابيح في الليل بدون أمر الحكومة والقصبة عموما وقد جرت هذه الحفلة بدار حضرة معاون المشاور مع وجود الضباط الانكليز وهنا انا رفع التبريكات الخالصة مني وعن كافة ابناء القضاء.

التزام مطبعة دنكور

بشارع الجديد نومرو ١

نعرض الى العموم بان مطبعة دنكور التي هي تحت التزام الخواجة صيون عيزر يلتمس التزامها أمر محرم سنة ١٣٤٠ وتحتوي على ثلاث مكائن للطبع وحروف مختلفة عربي، عبراني، انكليزي، فرنساوي وكذلك من قريب يصلنا مكائن وحروف جديدة فعسى الراغب بالتزامها يراجع على الياهر عزرا دنكور في محلة الرواق نومرو ٩-٣٢ قرب محل الخواجات الياهر د. ساسون.

المحامي

محمد علي محمود

يتوكل عن جميع الدعاوى الحقوقية والتجارية والجزائية والشرعية. على اشتماله زقاق الكراك في خان السيد احمد البحراني قرب الصفارين.

رسائل الجمعيات

اسماء المشتركين

نشرنا في العدد امس رسالة حضرة مراسلنا الكويتي عن المدرسة الاهلية هناك وها نحن نتمها بجدول التبرعات لتلك المدرسة:

روبية		روبية	
٢٠٠٠	الشيخ احمد الجابر	٢٥	عبد الرحمن السلم العبد الرزاق
١٠٠٠	احمد ناصر	٢٠	زيد المرحال
١٠٠٠	آل خالد	٢٥	محمد الطبر
٥٠٠	السيد عتيق الخيب	١٠٠	فريد الحمود
٥٠٠	احمد الحميلي	٥٠	فهد الفوزان
٣٠٠	الشيخ يوسف بن عيسى	٢٠	عبد الرحمن البرجس
٢٥٠	مشعان الحضير	٢٠	علي المبارك
٢٥٠	عبد الرزاق الدوسري	٢٠	السيد عبد بن صالح
١٠٠	السيد زين السيد احمد	٥٠	سلمان ارديمان
١٠٠	علي الابراهيم وسلمان	٢٥	عمر العلي
٥٠	عبد العزيز الحماوي	٥٠	عبد الله الفهيمي
٣٥٠	عبد الرحمن البحر	٥٠	راشد القرعان
٢٠٠	محمد الراشد	١٠٠	عثمان الراشد
٢٠٠	عبد الله السلمي	١٥٠	السيد عبد الله السيد يوسف
٥١	شاري بن صالح المطوع	٣٠٠	قاسم بودي
٢٥	احمد بن عبد العزيز	٤٠	عبد العزيز الرزوق
٢٠	عبد العزيز الرشيد	٥٠	عبد العزيز الرميح
١٠٠	السيد علي السيد سليمان	٣٠	سليمان بن عثمان
١٠٠	سلمان بن محمد	٢٠	يوسف النصر الله وأخوانه
٥٠	سليمان بن عيسى	٢٠	عبد المحسن العقيل
٢٥٠	صالح الملا	٢٥	عبد العزيز الياقوت
١٠٠	عبد الله السلطان	١٠٠	فلاح الحراق
١٠٠	ابراهيم بن عثمان القاضي	٣٠	محمد السيد الحسن الدامرجي
٥٠	مساعد البدر	٥٠	محمد عقيل ومحمد سعيد زمان
١٠٠	محمد الحمود الشالي	٣٠٠	ناصر البدر
٥٠	علي الابراهيم الحومان	١٠	عبد الحميد ومحمد جمعة
٨٠	يوسف الرشيد	١٠	خليفة الزعل
٥٠	احمد الراشد الجاسم	١٠	محمد العثمان
٣٠	الشيخ عبد الله خلف	١٠	يوسف عبد القادر
١٠٠	مشاري السعد العزيز	٥	داود الحمود
٢٠	عبد الحسن المدوش	١٠	صقر الشاعر
٥٠	يوسف الحسين	١٠	عبد الحسن القارس
٢٥٠	محمد ابو يوسف الحجي	١٠	سعود الزين
٩٠٠	سليمان الابراهيم	١٠	ابراهيم العدوان
٥٠	محمد احمد المارشي	١٥	عبد العزيز السعد الجليل
٥٢	ناصر عيسى الحمد	١٠	يوسف الزين
٥٠	عبد الرزاق السيد الرزاق	١٠	ابراهيم الجاسر
١٠٠	خلف الحجي	١٥	علي بن السيد عبد الله
٣٠	محمد الفلاح	١٠	سليمان الحمداني
		٥٠	جاسم المبارك
		١٠٨٧٣	المجموع

الكويت — عبد العزيز الرشيد

قائمقام شهربان

لقد نما الى مسامعنا في (شهربان) بان حضرة قائمقامها الوطني الفاضل عبد الله بك مظفر على أثر وصوله مقره هناك اخذ يسعى في ترقية القضاء المذكور بهمة ونشاط فقدر هذا العمل ونسأل لحضرته النجاح والتوفيق

الاجتماعات المحلية

استقالة المعلمين

بلغنا الآن من معلمي المدارس الرسمية قدموا الى النظارة استقالتهم لاسباب يمكن تلخيصها فيما يأتي :

(١) التشكي من قلة الراتب

(٢) الزيادة في دوس الحقوق

(٣) التشكي من المراكز الذين يعين فيه لانه وعلى الامل ان نظارة المعارف تهتم بهذه المسألة وتحلها بشكل مرضي ، اما ملاحظتنا في هذا الشان فهي كما يأتي : جواباً على النقاط الثلاث .

(١) على الذين الآن يحصل بوقوة الرواتب هذي الذين (اعضاء سوم)

(٢) لا يمكن الجمع بين الوظيفتين فمن خلق ليكون معلماً يستحيل عليه ان يصبح حقوقياً .

(٣) حينما لو جعل للمعلم اكرامية خاصة بين تعليمهم في مدارس الاطراف وبين قرارهم العملي اكرامية ولكنها جزئية .

— قدوم —

قدم بالباخرة من عمان سعادة الزعيم داود بك الشهرزوري وحضرة العالم محمود بك الشهواني وحضرة الرئيس رؤف بك الشهواني وحضراتهم من شيان الموصل الواصل ومن جاهدوا في الجانب الغربي

وقدم من اوربة مضرة الاديب الظريف ثابت افندي عبد النور وحضرته من الشرقية الناهضة ومن حلوا في النهضة العربية وذاقوا الامرين من الحكومة السابقة في سبيل الاستقلال وقد قدم بصحبته شقيقه منير افندي عبد النور من طلبة الجامعة الاميركانية في بيروت فنرحب بجميعهم ونسأل لهم كل توفيق ونجاح .

— سفر —

بارحنا الى الموصل قبة العضاء الوفد الموصل الموقر وهم حضرات : عبد الغني افندي النقيب مصطفى جلبي العمري ، امين افندي ، الدكتور يحيى افندي ، وقد رافقهم حضرة احمد شوقي افندي مهندس دائرة الموصل راقتهم السلامة .

اعلان

١ — حرمة الشهر محرم الحرام ستعطل جميع مسارح الرقص والات الطرب (عدا السينما) من ابتداء الشهر المذكور الى نهاية يوم عاشوراء .

٢ — يلزم على الذين يريدون ان يقيموا مراسم للاتم المقامة خلال العشرة الايام المذكورة ان يقدموا يوم السبت الموافق ٣ ايلول ٩٢١ منهاجاً الى المتصرفية بذلك ليتداولوا التعليمات اللازمة .

متصرف لواء بغداد

٥٥٥

رسائل الجهات

لحضرة مراسلنا المفاضل

حول المدرسة الاحمدية في الكويت

اختار القائمون بشأن (المدرسة الاحمدية للناشئة الوطنية) ان يكون مركزها الجمعية الخيرية التي اسسها الشاب الفقيد المرحوم المبرور فرحان بن فهد الخالد الحميدي سامحا الله وتغمد فيها السالم الفاضل المحدث المحقق الشيخ محمد الشنقيطي واعطا ومدرسا فيها ايام كان مقيما في الكويت وانما اختير لها هذا المركز لانه على شاطئ البحر وهو في هواء وطيبة اما ولانه ايضا واقف على مصالح المسلمين وستباشر بما تحتاجه اليه من التصليح قريباً ان شاء الله تعالى وقد انتهى الاكتتاب عندنا فبلغ ١٠٨٧٣ روبية وسيكتتب الى الكويتيين القيمين في الخارج كبمبي وكراچي وغيرها ليشتركوا مع اخوانهم في هذا المشروع النفيس وان الامل فيهم عظيم جدا لما لهم من الدراية في مثل تلك الاعمال .

فيا اهل الكويت هذه مدرستكم لي حياتكم فجدوا واعملوا واجتهدوا في ترقيتها ولا تجعلوا للتعبة سبيلا عليكم سبيلا في تقاعسكم وتكاسلكم عن احياء مشروعكم فيصح توهمهم فيكم انكم تقولون مالا تفعلون وتفعلون ولا تثابرون وتنفقون ولكنكم كارهون فانهضوا بأقوى عزائمكم بالثبات على مبدئكم الشريف والسعي الحثيث وراء ترقيته واتركم عما قليل ان شاء الله تعالى وانتم تجنون ثمار الاجر التام والثواب الجزيل والذكر الطيب والشهرة الحسنة .

يا قومي انا لا نضرب لكم الامثال بما يراه البعض من المحال فما طالبكم بمجاراة مصر بدرايتها او الشام بحضارتها او العراق بمجالها فاني ان طالبتكم بذلك عد البعض مني استهزاء في القول وتلاعبا في المثل فما اني اكيف من سلوك هذا المسلك وانتهاج هذا الطريق ولكن اضرب لكم المثل في بلدة قريبة منكم الا وهي البحرين قام حكامها والمتمرنون من اهلها خير قيام لما علموا حاجتهم الضرورية الى العلوم والمعارف فاسسوا مدرسة كبرى بذلوا فيها الاموال الطائلة بطيب نفس وانشرح صدر يقدمهم حكامهم الكرام في ذلك فارخصوا المال الكثير في هذا المشروع الكبير ثم تلاهم الناس كل بما سمحت به نفسه ولا زالوا الى الان وهمهم طامحة الى التقدم راغبة في الكمال والارتقاء وعما قليل سيجلون

حول صحتنا

الكحول ومضراتها

٣

ولكن العلوم الاخيرة والتجارب الدقيقة العديدة قد برهنت بان القوى الحيوية ، والحرارة الشديدة التي تولدها الكحول لا يمكن الانتفاع والاعتماد عليها ابداً . لانها اولاً وقتية فانية ، وثانياً غير طبيعية ، فضلاً عن انها تتولد في الجسم برغم ارادة الجسم وتضر الجسم اكثر من انتفاعها كما قلنا آنفاً (وانها اكثر من نفعها)

فالتجارب العلمية الصحيحة قد برهنت لنا على ان كل رجل قوي يحتاج يومياً الى ٣٠٠٠ قالوري وسطياً ، يستمدها من العناصر الاربعة الغذائية المذكورة في الجدول ولا يمكنه الاستغناء عن احداهن الا بصورة موقتة . فاذا اردنا القاء مقام احد ، تلك العناصر ومثلا بدل الجوهر السكري جوهر الكحول نرى ان يمر آجل في الايام الاولية على ذلك الرجل الذي الغا مقام غذاءه السكري المادة الكحولية ، ولكننا لا نابث الذي يعتريه ايام معدودات اعتراطوة ذلك الرجل واحتياجه الى مواد غذائية اكثر مما كان يأخذه في الاول لسد حاجياته الحياتية وقيامه بالاعمال اليومية التي يتطلب ما تحتاجه من الحرارة ٣٠٠٠ قالوري ، فاذا سكتنا هذه الزيادة الفتاة نرى قواه تنحط يوما فيوما حتى يصبح عاجزا من القيام بالاعمال التي كان يقوم بها قبل ان يبدل جوهر غذاءه السكري بالجوهر الكحولي .

واسباب ذلك الانحطاط ترجع الى خاصيته (المرافق للقوى) التي توجد في الكحول وجملة اخرى ان المادة الكحولية لا يمكنها التغيير الجسم لتوليد صورة مائية منظمة . بل يرى ذلك الرجل الذي كان يقوم بالاعمال لمقدار ٣٠٠٠ واحد قالوري لا يمكنه ان يقوم بها من بعد المهم اذا زدنا عليه المقدار وجعلناه مثلا ٣٥٠٠ قالوري ، ٣٥٠٠ حتى ٤٠٠٠ قالوري ، فهذه القضية ، لا تحتمل اذا فيها ايضا بضعتين (طبيعتين) قوة كل واحدة منها عشرة حسن فرضا ، ولكن الاولى صحيحة فتستخرج مائة كيلو ماء فرضا بصرف كيلو واحد من القطر والثانية فيها خمل فتستخرج ٥٠ كيلو ماء يصرف ايضا كيلو واحد من الماء وهو المقدار الذي صرفته اخواتها . فمن هنا تتضح لنا الاسباب التي تدعي الحاذرين من يكونوا اكوين اكثر من جاهم الطبيعي ، ووجود سبب ثان غير هذا في هذه القضية وهو تنبه المعدة من استحكول خاصيتها المرهقة والكارثة ، فتصبح المعدة من تأثير هذا التنبه تشتغل فوق طاقتها بصورة غير طبيعية وغير معتادة حتى اذا دام هذا التنبه مدة من الزمن تصاب المعدة ضعفاً عديما تنهيا الزائد فيتولد فيها انواع الامراض بحيث تمنع صاحبها من الاكل حتى والشرب .

ثانياً نرى المدينة مائياً حمر الوجوه والاعضاء كثيري الحرارة الجلدية حتى يتراآى للناظر في اول وهلة بان هذا الاحمرار والحرارة مما دليلا العافية والنشاط ، والحال بالعكس ، نعم ان الكحول يحمر اول تاثيره ويحسن وجودها ولكن على يزيد مقدار دمهم او يتقوته بالرى اكثر من خواصه السيئة حتى ان يحدر ويهيج الاعصاب المقبضة الوعائية ، في الجلد ، (الاكل وماء في الجلد وهو عبارة عن البوب من الغلاظ) عصبان مخصوصان احدهما يضيق والاخر يوسعه عند اللزوم . فهذان العصبان يسمان مائياً فعل قطر الوعاء بصورة متوازنة مع قوة القلب) فتصبح الاوعية مفلوجة لاحراك لها تستقبل ما يرد اليها بلا ادنى تضييق القلب وتتسع فيصبح الرجل احمر محمراً من انتشار الدم على سطح جلده ، ولكن من الجهة الثانية نرى القلب يضعف ضعفاً شديداً بنتيجة هبوط التضييق الذي يلحق

اعلان

سنفتح قريبا في بغداد مدرسة للخرز وقد عين لها ثلاثون خوين من الاهالي .

فعلى الراغبين في الانتظام في هذا الصنف الاتقدموا عرائضهم الى مدير الزراعة في بغداد حتى اليوم الـ ١٥ من شهر ايلول ويطلب من الراغب الذي يكون حائزاً على الصفات الآتية :

الاتمام باللغة الانكليزية وبالحساب الابتدائي

ان يكون عمره اقل من ١٨ سنة .

الاعضاء ب . ج . سايم

القائم بالاعمال مدير الزراعة

Appendix 4: One of the old maps published by Alexander Keith Johnston 1803-1871 used "The Republic of Kuwait"[1023]

[1023] Al-Ghunaym, Al-Kuwayt: qirā'ah fī al-kharā'iṭ al-tārīkhīyah, p. 35

Appendix 5: The demands for reform in Kuwait were summarized in an article titled "Kuwait and the Reform Demands for Their Country," which was published in the Iraqi newspaper "Al-Zamān" on April 11, 1938. The article outlines the key points of these demands.[1024]

Internal affairs 1921-1950

الكويت ومطالب الاصلاح لبلدهم

اشرنا في عدد سابق الى مطالب الكويتيين التي رفعوها الى سمو امير الكويت لاصلاح بلادهم من الوجهة الاقتصادية والعمرانية والثقافية . وقد اضافت جريدة النجل البصرية مواد اخرى رفعها الكويتيون الى سمو الامير نشرها كما يلي : —

١ — تشكيل محكمتين محكمة شرعية ومحكمة استئنافية تتوفر فيهما الشروط الشرعية وعدم اطلاق العنان للافراد يفتون بافراد الشعب ويطبقون عليهم قوانين (كيفية) وانتخاب عضوين آخرين في كل محكمة ووضع سجلات منظمة يرجع اليها عند الحاجة على ان تكون الاحكام التي تصدر كتابة التسجيل بصورة لا تدع مجالا للطعن

٢ — تأسيس ادارة للامن تمثل دائرة الشرطة في العراق يعرف افرادها باشارات معينة وهي تتولى التحقيق الابتدائي البت فيها .

٣ — ضبط واردات الكمارك والمكوس ضبطا يوميا تشرف على اعمال المديرية وضع حد للقروض المالية وتعيين مدير عام المالية يتولى الاشراف على جميع الاعمال .

٤ — تأسيس مجلس شورى تعرض عليه اعمال الامارة ويرجع اليه في المداولات الدولية التي لها مساس مباشر بمصلحة البلد وتنظيم مكتب خاص يرفد المجلس بدون جميع ما يتصل به من اعمال .

٥ — تأسيس ادارة لجوازات السفر والاقامة وربطها بادارة الامن وفصل صلاحية التأشير على الجوازات من قبل القنصل الانكليزي بالبصرة . اذ ان امتناع القنصلية الانكليزية من جوازات رجالات العرب بسبب الكويت مهمة سيئة في حين ان الكويت لا تعترف بأي تدخل اجنبي فيما يخص شؤونها الداخلية والخارجية

٦ — الاستعانة بانظمة الحكومة العراقية المتعلقة بشؤون المالية والتعليم ومسايرة النهضة العربية جنباً لجنب في جميع انظمتها وقوانينها

٧ — عقد معاهدات دفاعية هجومية مع الحكومات العربية المجاورة منعاً لما عساه ان ينجم عن المطامع لدى دولة اجنبية تريد بالكويت شراً

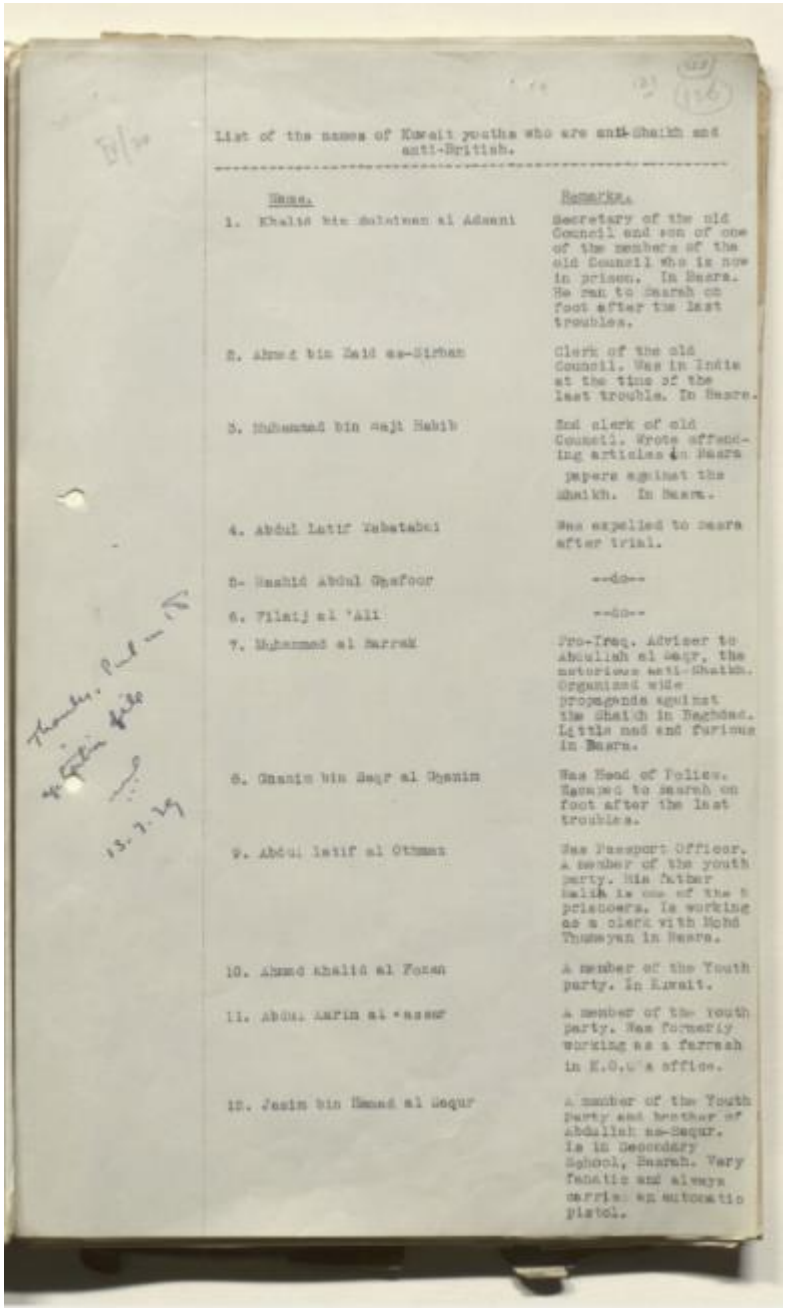
٨ — حصر المهن والاعمال بالكويتيين واذا لم تتوفر هذه الكفاءة فيوجح العربي على من سواه من الهنود والايرانيين وغيرهم من الغرباء

٩ — تخصيص مبلغ في الميزانية لايفاد بعثات علمية وصناعية تتمكن من الاشتغال في ادارة النفط وتمريد الكويتيين على الاضطلاع بالمشاريع المفيدة .

•••

[1024] Rush, A., ed. Records of Kuwait, 1899-1961, Vol. 2, p. 124

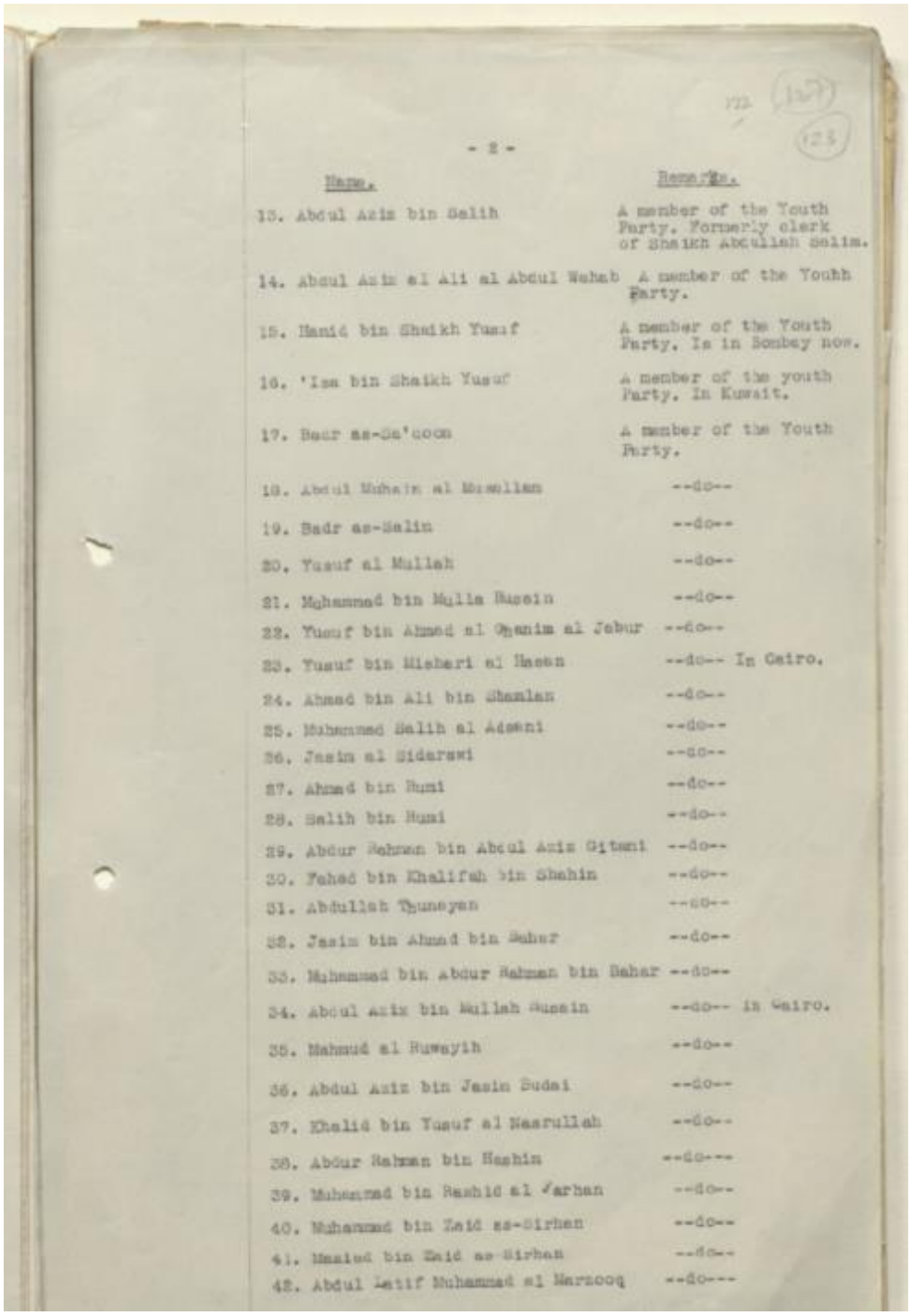
Appendix 6: List of the names of Kuwait youths who held oppositional views towards both the Shaikh and the British.[1025]



List of the names of Kuwait youths who are anti-Shaikh and anti-British.

Name.	Remarks.
1. Khalid bin Sulaiman al Adsani	Secretary of the old Council and son of one of the members of the old Council who is now in prison. In Basra. He ran to Basrah on foot after the last troubles.
2. Ahmed bin Zaid as-Sirhan	Clerk of the old Council. Was in India at the time of the last trouble. In Basra.
3. Muhammad bin Hajji Habib	2nd clerk of old Council. Wrote offending articles in Basra papers against the Shaikh. In Basra.
4. Abdul Latif Tabatabai	Was expelled to Basra after trial.
5. Rashid Abdul Ghafoor	--do--
6. Filaij al 'Ali	--do--
7. Muhammad al Farrak	Pro-Iraq. Adviser to Abdullah al Qaqr, the notorious anti-Shaikh. Organised wide propaganda against the Shaikh in Baghdad. Little mad and furious in Basra.
8. Ghanim bin Saqr al Ghanim	Was Head of Police. Managed to search on foot after the last troubles.
9. Abdul latif al Othman	Was Passport Officer. A member of the youth party. His father Salih is one of the 5 prisoners. Is working as a clerk with Mohd Thunayan in Basra.
10. Ahmad Khalid al Foran	A member of the Youth party. In Kuwait.
11. Abdul Karim al •asser	A member of the Youth party. Was formerly working as a farrash in K.O.C. a office.
12. Jasim bin Hamad al Saqur	A member of the Youth party and brother of Abdullah as-Saqur. Is in Secondary School, Basrah. Very fanatic and always carries an automatic pistol.

[1025] 'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [122r] (243/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x00002c> [accessed 14 April 2023]



- 2 -

Name.	Remarks.
13. Abdul Aziz bin Salih	A member of the Youth Party. Formerly clerk of Shaikh Abdullah Salim.
14. Abdul Aziz al Ali al Abdul Wahab	A member of the Youth Party.
15. Hamid bin Shaikh Yusuf	A member of the Youth Party. Is in Bombay now.
16. 'Isa bin Shaikh Yusuf	A member of the youth Party. In Kuwait.
17. Badr as-Sa'coon	A member of the Youth Party.
18. Abdul Muhsin al Musallam	--do--
19. Badr as-Salim	--do--
20. Yusuf al Mullah	--do--
21. Muhammad bin Mulla Husain	--do--
22. Yusuf bin Ahmad al Ghanim al Jabur	--do--
23. Yusuf bin Misheri al Hasan	--do-- In Cairo.
24. Ahmad bin Ali bin Ghanlan	--do--
25. Muhammad Salih al Adsani	--do--
26. Jasim al Sidarawi	--do--
27. Ahmad bin Rumi	--do--
28. Salih bin Rumi	--do--
29. Abdur Rahman bin Abdul Aziz Qitami	--do--
30. Fahad bin Khalifah bin Shahin	--do--
31. Abdullah Thunayan	--do--
32. Jasim bin Ahmad bin Bahar	--do--
33. Muhammad bin Abdur Rahman bin Bahar	--do--
34. Abdul Aziz bin Mullah Husain	--do-- in Cairo.
35. Mahmud al Ruwayih	--do--
36. Abdul Aziz bin Jasim Sudai	--do--
37. Khalid bin Yusuf al Nasrullah	--do--
38. Abdur Rahman bin Hashim	--do--
39. Muhammad bin Rashid al Farhan	--do--
40. Muhammad bin Zaid as-Sirhan	--do--
41. Hamad bin Zaid as-Sirhan	--do--
42. Abdul Latif Muhammad al Marzooq	--do--

Appendix 7:

From 1934 onwards, a group of articles was placed in major Iraqi newspapers about the internal situation in Kuwait. The Iraqi press supported the Kuwaiti reform movement and promoted the idea of modernization and development of Kuwait through uniting with Iraq. One article in Al-Istiqlal suggested, "Iraq is in a position to help turn the backward principality of Kuwait into a prosperous, progressive, and civilized country." Regarding its geographical and commercial position, Kuwait, if annexed to Iraq, would become a junction of international communications and an excellent port. We leave it to the people of Kuwait themselves to appreciate this fact. "At the same time, we are entitled to sympathize with the present movement in Kuwait and will be glad to see it yield the desired results and attain the objects sought."[1026]

[1026] 'File 2/1 II IRAQ PROPAGANDA. (Absorption of Kuwait by Iraq). Relations etc.', British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/127, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100000000831.0x00004a> [accessed 1 April 2022]

أيها العرب
اغيثوا اخوانكم في الخليج

تهم على البلدان الخليج العربية مداهم
يوم للاستعداد والاستعداد وطلبها من
يوم بها زيادة الاستعمار مداها على
الروح الوطنية المتينة في صدور أبنائها
في كل البلاد وطنها النداء على كل زنة
تحريرها بمثابي يبق هذا الاستعمار الغاشم
موطد الأركان مشيد البنيان . ويعاني
هؤلاء الاخوان مرارة وشرقه
الأمرين ومع ذلك فهم ثابتون قوية لو
إن قلم قلة . وهم في مواقفهم الصامدة عند
مبادئهم يهونون الثورات والهبات يكلفون
كل ثمن في مرة لا يسع قلم موت ولا
ويرتجن اخوانهم العربية نتيجة لما يجدون من
تردد حدوى استنادهم من مطالع الاستعمار
ومناوراته الخطيرة الخادعة .

اسوا المكائد التي العرب في الخليج
يستطيعون بكل عليها شدادهم ويقودوا الى
مصائرهم ويقرروا لها بأسرها ان
العرب لا يمكنون على شيء يستهدف له
من الوراء ويقيم الكثير فلا تكثر
يؤمنون أحلامهم اذا يحققون على هو شيء
وعدم اهتمام العرب بما يجري في تلك
البقاع الشاكة بشر استهار عرفه شارع
قبل يصح الكوت انها العرب — بالبلد
الذاهبين ويعدو في الامور الواقعية وتزال
الإنان — على هذه امثلة والعبر على هذا
الخطر الداهم الذي يهدد عرب الخليج
بالاشر فس ؟

هذه الكوت عربي الخليج وكان
الزعام الدين والاقتصادي لعظم كانت
قد حدت بعد من الغزو والاحتلال حيث
قيام الغاشي القاتم على الأول في نواحي
نور الساعي قيمة الذي الأبي العام
الكويتي ومنشأه على السواحل — الى
الواحة الخضراء التي الغاشي عاصما على
هذا الغاشي بأسرع من الآخرين . وقد قام
هذا الغاشي بأعمال اعلامية كبيرة في
الادارة الحكومية وعلم الخلافة الثانية
والحيل الدائمة العليا الى العراق وعلى
على يطلب حمراء فيزين العراق تالوم
صغر التصرين الذين يراهنون فرقاس

حالة آل صباح وأنه سيعرض صبره
من حقه الى الغاش .

ويسود الكويت الآن حكم كلي
استبدادي غاشي الشريعي لا يتقيد
بأي مبادئ أو — التي مرة يراعي
يوجب عليه أن يأخذ هذين عرض به
الكويتيون حرصهم على أرواحهم —
والضغط على الرئيسين والشاب الغاشي في
البلاد . وان الحالة التي تسود الكويت
الآن تشبه أرض الصومال وروح الاستعمار
في العراق قد خلقت خلافاً بين
والكويتيون رون أن بلادهم ليست لا
قراءة عراقياً والكويتيون سيعودون
الوطن القديس مشر . فضي ان تلك
الكويت التي انها في هذا الأمر وتعمل
في سياسة هؤلاء القوم الذين يعتبرون
فيها قلة كبرى .

وان موقف الكويت الحقيقي بصفاتها
الأمية العربية ذات أهمية تعلى . فهي
تتحكم بالخليج وهي كذلك مفتاح الجزيرة
فرضها في شرق الجزيرة تزيد بوضاعة
العظيم في قارتها ، فلا عجب ان ان زعماء
الانكليز يعتبرون جزيرة البلاد فيها
يستطيعوا استغلال من جهة وواسطة
الغاشي من جهة ثانية للحكم برقاب عرب
الجزيرة . وهم لا يزيدون ايام هذه الغاية
من الضغط بطريق مباشر على الكويت
واعطاء الدين في الخليل الفرس وكثير
العناصر الأجنبية الاستغلالها في عمارة الشاه
على العنصر العربي

والضغط في الكويت على أساسها الحالة
سنة التأسيس والتي الغاشي الأول والمؤسس الثاني
الرئيس في تأمين الأول والتأسيس الثاني
عصب الحروب الخارجية ومن مؤسسات الحضارة
واستغل هذا الساكن الذين شركة الكويت
تساعدت مع الأمير وكانت الشركة الواسطة
كلها . وتعمل هذه الشركة لتنفيذ السياسة
البريطانية على أعداء العنصر العربي من
الوطنية فيما يتكثر بين سطوتهم من
العناصر الأجنبية التي تتعاطا ركنا تتكون
هذه عالم بعض الموظفين من الهندية
لتطبيق النعم العربي وإنارة كل زنة

حركة احرار الكويت
والنهضة القومية الحديثة
واجب العراق نحو الامارات العربية

الاستعمار وتحولون الامارات وأنعم الانتظارات
وتستطيع بعض الدول ان تعارض الكويت
بريطان معلم وحدارة وخبرة ، والا فالعنصر
الخير والقوي وهذه عملية لاتقاس الشاه
والارتياب وتشل ان تتحرك القوى القاصرة
والتي استعانت الشكوى والاستعانة بالقوات
والوقائع الخصوصية ، وهذه التي تتصر
الشركات الغربية ستعمل الى الحصول على مؤون
الكويت وتنظم بقضي البيت في كل وقت ،
وهو لا يتحسكر لغير الآخرة والروابط التي
تجمعه بها ، والكويت من عدم الزمن متعلقة
على تلك الامارة ، ثم ليس من مصلحة العرب
ان تحدد نفوذ الكويت لانها اصبحت
مثار يقظة بقية الامارات العربية الواقعة على
الخليج ، وكلما نجحت الى تهمة العراق في
القضاء الزمن ، وتقييد سياسته العامة ، وكل
العراقيين أبوا على الكويت لانها اصبحت
في الحقيقة الغرب والاحرار . وكان الاجنبي
ما زالت بالأمس الغربية ، وكانت الاجنبي
الغربية في الواقع ، ليعيش بها يقيم
ويطلع على الاتجاهات القومية ، ومقاصد ،
والمناهج الاجنبية كثيرة في تلك الموطن
العربية وهي دائما على مناصة الشكك
وتضمر في سرها مطامع سياسية واسعة ،
فيها اليوم بأنواع الوسائل ، والعراق
أعلى برعاية الامارات وحفظها عروبتها
الصافية من زراع الاجانب وتشكلهم ،
وهذه التبعة تقع على جميع حكومات العراق
المتعاقبة ، وعلى الخصوص الحكومة الحاضرة

الكويت ومطالب الديمقراطية

قد حدد سابق الى مطالب
من الى رغبوها الى حد أنهم
ك الاصلاح الأمم من الوجها
ية بالحرية والدستور . ولقد
حد هذا السبيل العربية بناء
هم الكويتيون الى حد الآن
الى : —

الكثير هكذا من محكا الدرجة
الشقيقة الأم وهي الشريعة الغراء
الذي الفتن الاكثر ان يكون بكراً
يعتقدون منهم فرادى (كيف)
حصون الدوري في كل محكا
حالات دقيقة يرجع اليها هذه
ان تكون الاحكام التي تصدر
هي صورة لا تتم به الاكثرين
السبيل الدائرة في حالة
العراق يرى الزعماء الدستوريون
في اجمل الحقوق الانسانية

ضعة بالدين الكلالة والخلافة
ان الشرف في العراق الدستوري
الفرنسي الحالية وتعيين مدير
يتولى الاشراف في جميع

ليس يخفى شوق الجوهر
الأمة ورغبتها في الحالات
قبل سابق مباشر بصفة

١ — تأسيس فوراً مجلس تشريعي
بالانتخاب على أساس الدستور الحالي
الشعب في الجهات من قبل الفصل
الانكليزي بالحرية . انا لمن لم يتابع
الفصلة الانكليز في جرائم رجالات
العرب بسبب الكويت مجاراة في من
ان الكويت لا تطيق أي مقاومة أجنبي
فما يجري الجهات الداخلية بالجهاز

٢ — الاستعانة بالف المقترض
السلطة بالدين المالية والتسليم بمساية
البحر بالبر جداً لعب في جميع القضايا
والجنايا

٣ — عقد معاهدة بين جلالة الملك
الحكومات البريطانية تحدد بموجبها
ان يتم من النظام في دولة أجنبية
تربه والكويت فقراً

٤ — حصر البيع والاحتلال بالكويتيين
والغاء جميع هذه الكفالة توضيح الفرق
في من مواد من الجنية والأمين وجوهم
من القرن .

٥ — تخصيص مبلغ في الميزانية لايجاد
حالة طيبة بصناعتها ليمكن من الاستغلال
في الداخلة وتعويد الكويتيين في
الانتخاب بالتشاريع الجدية .

***

حركة احرار الكويت
والنهضة القومية الحديثة

Translation of an article appeared in an Iraqi newspaper "al-Zaman" dated, Baghdad 11th April 1938.

KUWAIT AND THE DEMANDS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY.

We, in a previous issue, published the demands of the Kuwaitis, which they submitted to His Highness the Emir of Kuwait for the improvement of their country from the economical, civilized, and educational point of view.

The "al-Nas" newspaper of Basra added some other demands made by Kuwaitis of His Highness the Emir, and which we publish below:-

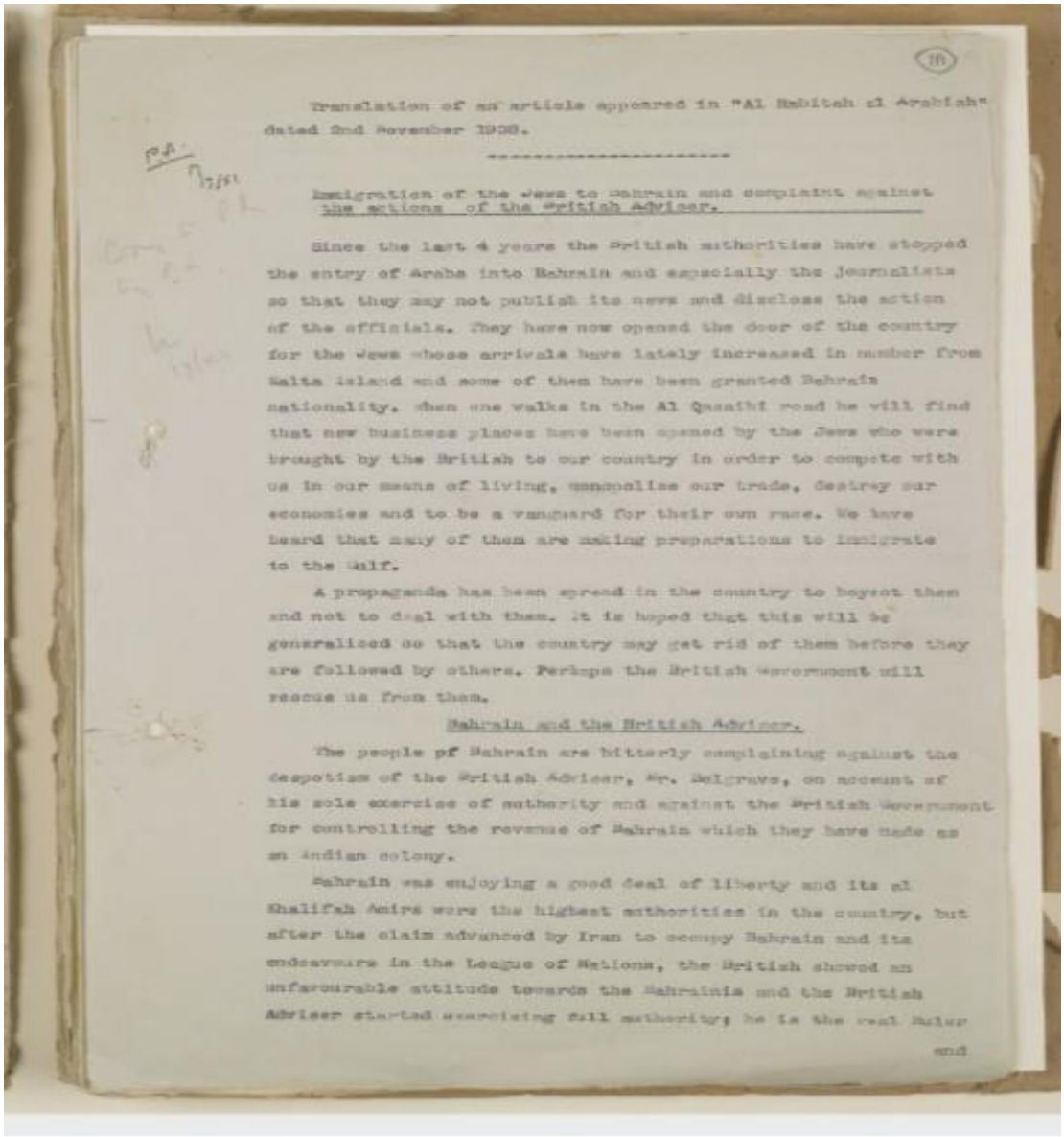
1. The establishment of two Courts, one Legal and the other an Appeal Court, in which the Laws and Rules are to be complete, and restraint put upon those who punish the nationals and execute judgements as they wish upon them. The election of two other members in each Court, and proper Registers should be kept, to which a reference could be made when necessary.

Judgements, before execution, should be subjected to examination in such a way that no injustice being done.

2. The establishment of a "Security Department" like the Police stations in Iraq, and its members to be distinguished by special badges, and responsible for general supervision and town security work.

3. The proper administration of the Customs revenues. A committee should be appointed to

This is a translation of an article that appeared in "Al-Rābiṭah Al-ʻArabīyah" on November 2, 1938. "For the past four years, British authorities have prohibited Arabs, particularly journalists, from entering Bahrain in order to prevent them from reporting on its news and revealing the actions of officials."[1027]



(18)

Translation of an article appeared in "Al Rabitah al Arabiah" dated 2nd November 1938.

Immigration of the Jews to Bahrain and complaint against the actions of the British Adviser.

Since the last 4 years the British authorities have stopped the entry of Arabs into Bahrain and especially the Journalists so that they may not publish its news and disclose the action of the officials. They have now opened the door of the country for the Jews whose arrivals have lately increased in number from Malta island and some of them have been granted Bahrain nationality. When one walks in the Al Qasaibi road he will find that new business places have been opened by the Jews who were brought by the British to our country in order to compete with us in our means of living, monopolise our trade, destroy our economies and to be a vanguard for their own race. We have heard that many of them are making preparations to immigrate to the Gulf.

A propaganda has been spread in the country to boycot them and not to deal with them. It is hoped that this will be generalised so that the country may get rid of them before they are followed by others. Perhaps the British Government will rescue us from them.

Bahrain and the British Adviser.

The people of Bahrain are bitterly complaining against the despotism of the British Adviser, Mr. Belgrave, on account of his sole exercise of authority and against the British Government for controlling the revenue of Bahrain which they have made as an Indian colony.

Bahrain was enjoying a good deal of liberty and its al Khalifah Amirs were the highest authorities in the country, but after the claim advanced by Iran to occupy Bahrain and its endeavours in the League of Nations, the British showed an unfavourable attitude towards the Bahrainis and the British Adviser started exercising full authority; he is the real Ruler and

[1027] 'Articles in Press on Gulf Affairs' [1ar] (3/728), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/178, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023625573.0x000004> [accessed 14 April 2023]

Appendix 8: Results of Legislative Council elections 1939: [1028]

نتيجة انتخابات المجلس التشريعي الثاني: 56

333 صوتا يوسف بن عيسى

265 صوتا مشعان الخضير

252 صوتا عبدالله الصقر

246 صوتا السيد علي السيد سليمان

258 صوتا محمد بن شاهين

275 صوتا حمد الداوود

270 صوتا خالد العبداللطيف الحمد

254 صوتا سلطان الكليب

250 صوتا مشاري الحسن البدر

248 صوتا عبداللطيف محمد الثنيان

237 صوتا أحمد بن خميس

233 صوتا يوسف الحميضي

209 صوتا علي البنوان

205 صوتا سليمان خالد العدساني

204 صوتا صالح عثمان الراشد

202 صوتا علي العبدالوهاب المطوع

198 صوتا مشاري هلال المطيري

185 صوتا محمد أحمد الغانم

172 صوتا نصف يوسف النصف

169 صوتا يوسف عبدالوهاب العدساني

الاحتياط:

168 صوتا سرحان زيد السرحان

[1028] Al-'Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-'Adsānī*, p. 90-91

158 صوتا عبدالرحمن محمد البحر

156 صوتا ثنيان الغانم

154 صوتا عبدالمحسن الناصر الخرافي

150 صوتا عمر العلي العمر

148 صوتا محمد حمود الشايع

143 صوتا يوسف أحمد الغانم

- Al-Adsani delineates the dispositions of the individuals comprising the secondary municipal council in the ensuing manner: [1029]

- الشيخ يوسف بن عيسى: رجل دين وخير يشايع الإصلاح بصورة عامة ولكنه مضطرب المواقف في مواجهة السلطة وحاشيتها على الدوام.

- مشعان الخضير، سليمان العدساني، السيد علي السيد سليمان الرفاعي، السيد زيد السيد محمد الرفاعي هؤلاء تجمعهم وحدة الفكرة والمبدأ يتصفون بالجرأة ونكران الذات، ويؤيدهم بصورة عامة كل من خليفة بن شاهين الغانم، مشاري الحسن البدر، حمد الداود المرزوق، يوسف الصالح الحميضي.

- محمد الأحمد الغانم من الشباب الوطني النابه يشايع الإصلاح دائما إلا أنه وأخوته كانت لهم مصالح تجارية كبيرة مرتبطة مع شركة النفط (B.P.) تضطرهم أحيانا إلى مداراة الملا صالح الملا فضلا عن ارتباط محمد بصداقة قوية مع العضو نصف اليوسف النصف الذي كان يتعاون مع الملا صالح على طول الخط.

- نصف اليوسف النصف من عائلة كبيرة بارع الرأي والدهاء كان يرشح نفسه لكرسي مديرية البلدية في الدورة الثانية لمجلس البلدية، فلما خسر الكرسي عمد إلى مسايرة الملا صالح الملا ضد مدير البلدية القائم وعضو المجلس البلدي سليمان العدساني والوقوف ضد بعض مشاريع الاصلاحية ومحاولة اكتساب ود السلطة. ولكن يعود العدساني ليؤكد أن رأيه بالسيد نصف تغير بأنه أصبح يعتبره رجل كفؤ له مكانته البارزة في المجتمع الكويتي، بعد أن تطورت مع الأحداث آراء الرجل وتبلورت أفكاره الوطنية حتى أصبح من الدعامات القوية التي لا يستغنى عنها في حركات الإصلاح والتنظيم في الكويت كما اتضح ذلك في عهود التنظيم والمجلس المشترك).

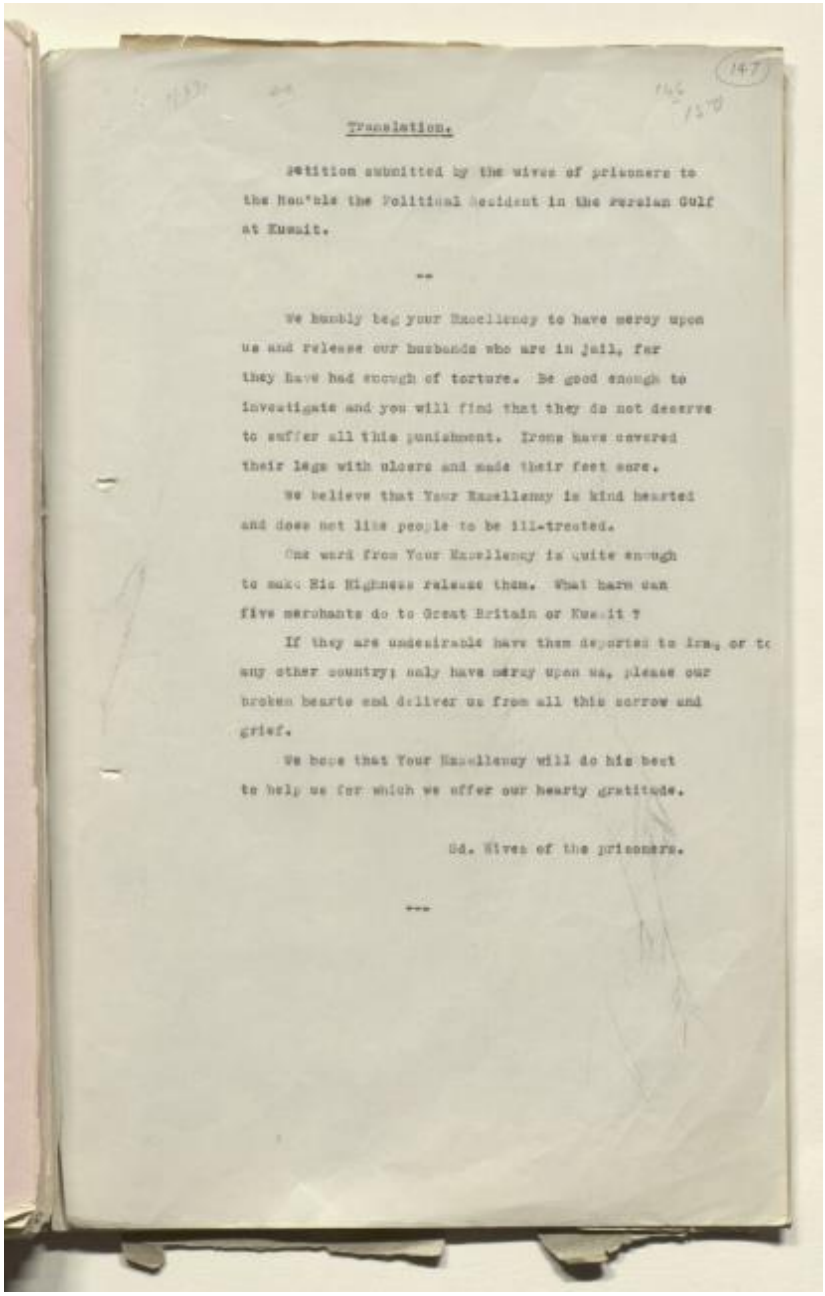
- مشاري الروضان شيخ طيب مسن غير أنه من العقلية القديمة التي ليس لديها المام في معالجة الشئون العامة، ينقاد دائما إلى آراء وتعليمات الملا صالح الملا وابن اخته السيد نصف اليوسف النصف.

- الشيخ عبدالله الجابرالصباح الرئيس الفخري الدائم المختار من قبل الحاكم فقد كان بطبيعة الحال يمثل الجانب الحكومي في المجلس.

[1029] Al-‘Adasani, *Mudhakkarāt Khālid Sulaimān al-‘Adsānī*, p. 10-11

Appendix 9:

The Political Resident in the Persian Gulf received a petition from the spouses of several political detainees in Kuwait, which was presented in both its original Arabic form and an English translation.[1030]



Translation.

Petition submitted by the wives of prisoners to the Hon'ble the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf at Kuwait.

--

We humbly beg your Excellency to have mercy upon us and release our husbands who are in jail, for they have had enough of torture. Be good enough to investigate and you will find that they do not deserve to suffer all this punishment. Irons have covered their legs with ulcers and made their feet sore.

We believe that Your Excellency is kind hearted and does not like people to be ill-treated.

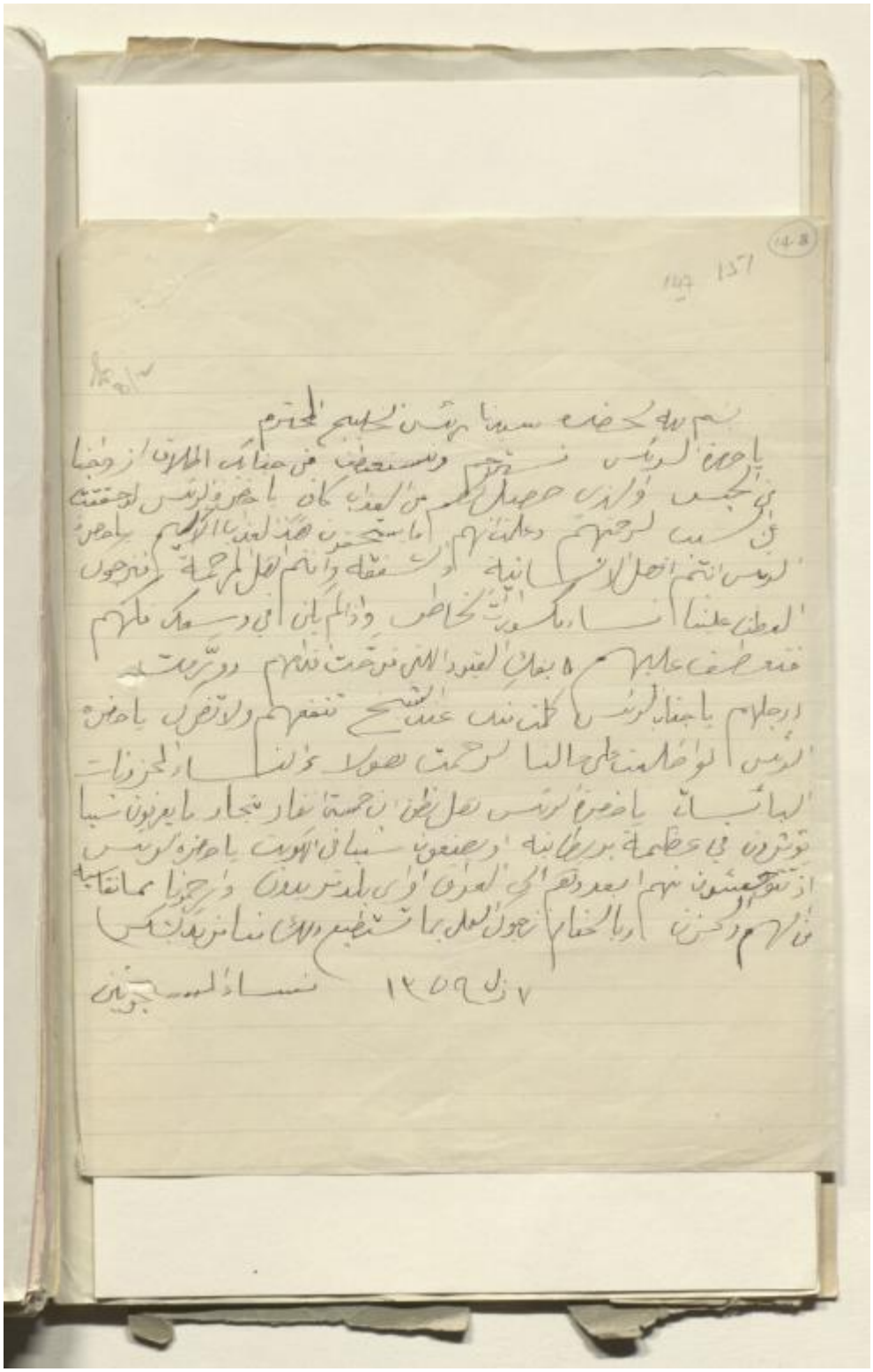
One word from Your Excellency is quite enough to make His Highness release them. What harm can five merchants do to Great Britain or Kuwait ?

If they are undesirable have them deported to Iraq or to any other country; only have mercy upon us, please our broken hearts and deliver us from all this sorrow and grief.

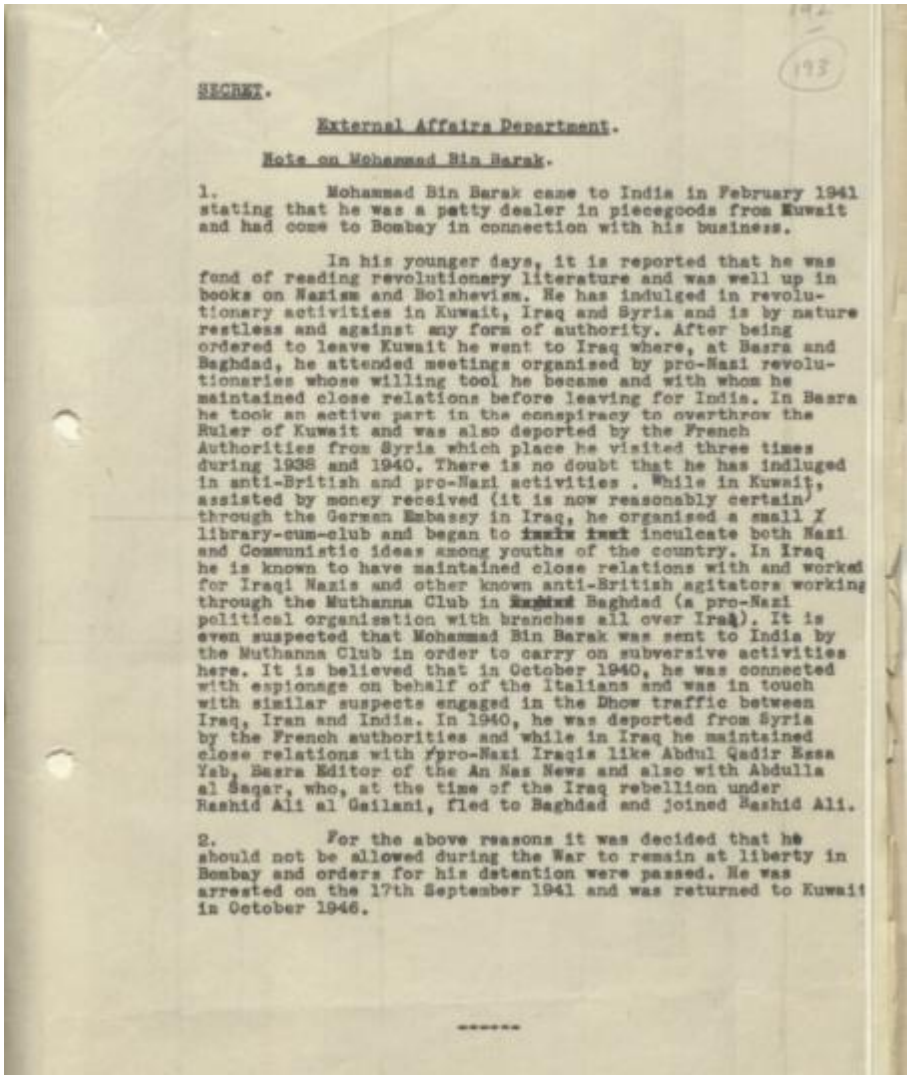
We hope that Your Excellency will do his best to help us for which we offer our hearty gratitude.

Sd. Wives of the prisoners.

[1030] 'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [147r] (293/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x00005e> [accessed 14 April 2023]



Appendix 11: Note on Mohammad Bin Barak**:**[1031]



SECRET.

External Affairs Department.

Note on Mohammad Bin Barak.

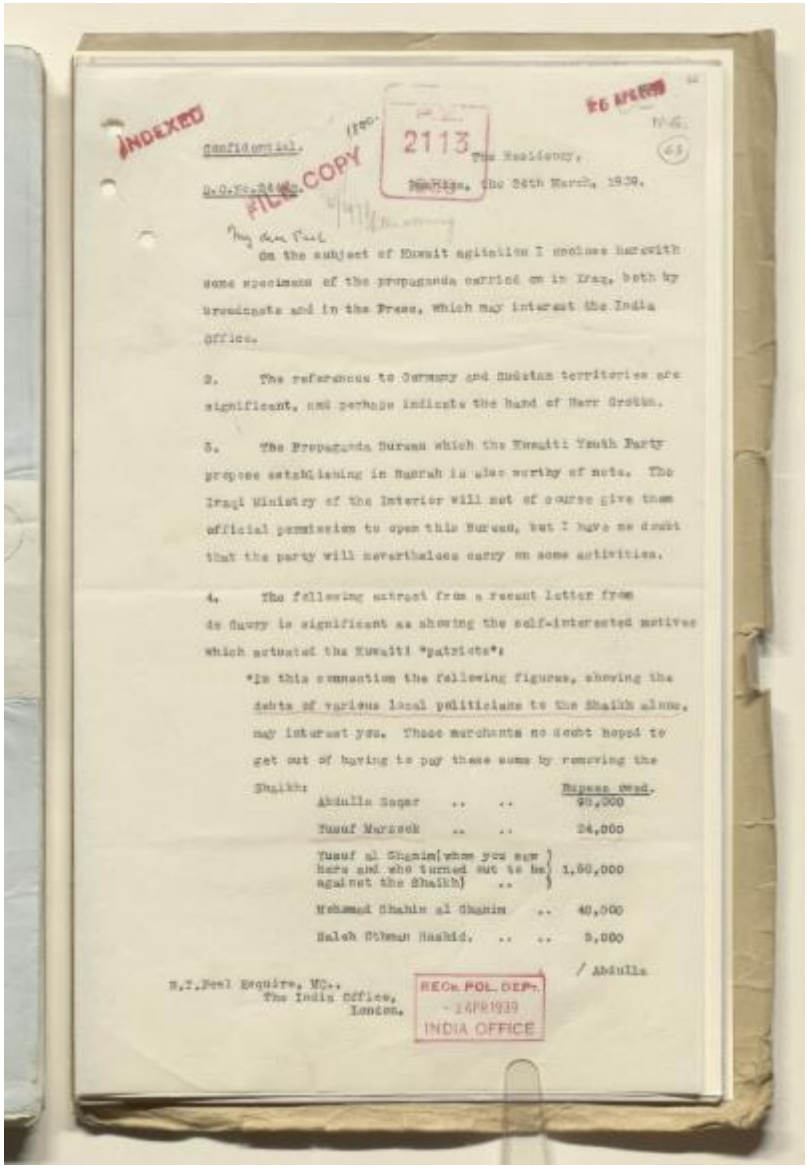
1. Mohammad Bin Barak came to India in February 1941 stating that he was a petty dealer in piecegoods from Kuwait and had come to Bombay in connection with his business.

In his younger days, it is reported that he was fond of reading revolutionary literature and was well up in books on Nazism and Bolshevism. He has indulged in revolutionary activities in Kuwait, Iraq and Syria and is by nature restless and against any form of authority. After being ordered to leave Kuwait he went to Iraq where, at Basra and Baghdad, he attended meetings organised by pro-Nazi revolutionaries whose willing tool he became and with whom he maintained close relations before leaving for India. In Basra he took an active part in the conspiracy to overthrow the Ruler of Kuwait and was also deported by the French Authorities from Syria which place he visited three times during 1938 and 1940. There is no doubt that he has indluged in anti-British and pro-Nazi activities . While in Kuwait, assisted by money received (it is now reasonably certain) through the German Embassy in Iraq, he organised a small library-cum-club and began to inculcate both Nazi and Communistic ideas among youths of the country. In Iraq he is known to have maintained close relations with and worked for Iraqi Nazis and other known anti-British agitators working through the Muthanna Club in Baghdad (a pro-Nazi political organisation with branches all over Iraq). It is even suspected that Mohammad Bin Barak was sent to India by the Muthanna Club in order to carry on subversive activities here. It is believed that in October 1940, he was connected with espionage on behalf of the Italians and was in touch with similar suspects engaged in the Dhow traffic between Iraq, Iran and India. In 1940, he was deported from Syria by the French authorities and while in Iraq he maintained close relations with pro-Nazi Iraqis like Abdul Qadir Essa Yab, Basra Editor of the An Nas News and also with Abdulla al Saqar, who, at the time of the Iraq rebellion under Rashid Ali al Gailani, fled to Baghdad and joined Rashid Ali.

2. For the above reasons it was decided that he should not be allowed during the War to remain at liberty in Bombay and orders for his detention were passed. He was arrested on the 17th September 1941 and was returned to Kuwait in October 1946.

[1031] 'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [193r] (385/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x0000ba> [accessed 14 April 2023]

Appendix 11: [1032]



INDEXED

FILE COPY

2113

Confidential.

The Residency,

Bushire, the 26th March, 1939.

My dear Peel

On the subject of Kuwait agitation I enclose herewith some specimens of the propaganda carried on in Iraq, both by broadcasts and in the Press, which may interest the India Office.

2. The references to Germany and Eastern territories are significant, and perhaps indicate the hand of Herr Grobba.

3. The Propaganda Bureau which the Kuwaiti Youth Party propose establishing in Basrah is also worthy of note. The Iraqi Ministry of the Interior will not of course give them official permission to open this Bureau, but I have no doubt that the party will nevertheless carry on some activities.

4. The following extract from a recent letter from de Gaury is significant as showing the self-interested motives which actuated the Kuwaiti "patriots":

"In this connection the following figures, showing the debts of various local politicians to the Shaikh alone, may interest you. These merchants no doubt hoped to get out of having to pay these sums by removing the Shaikh:

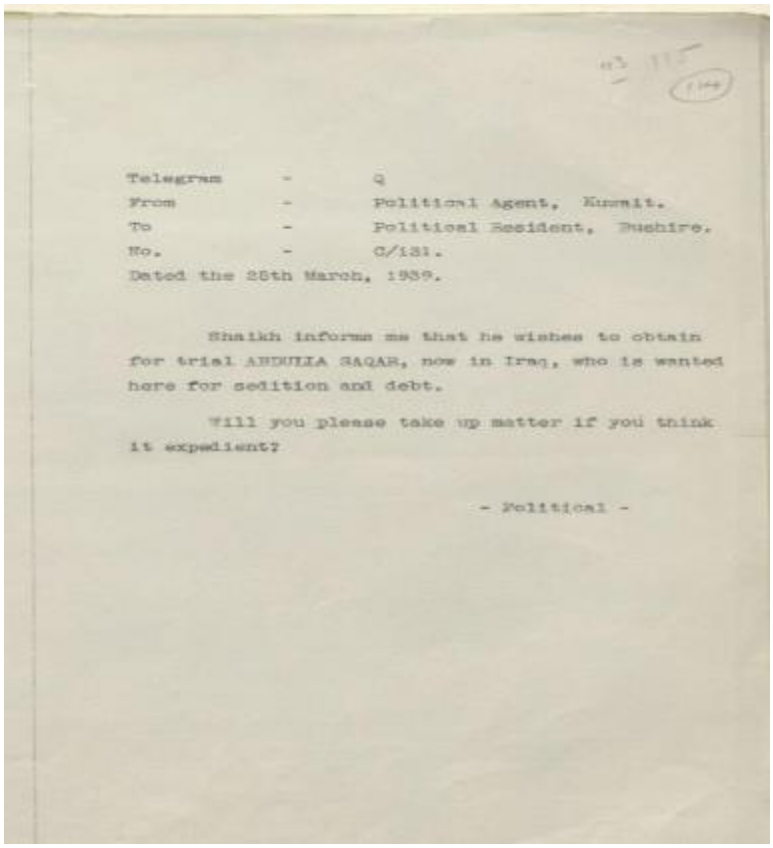
	Rupees owed.
Abdulla Zager	90,000
Yusuf Marzook	24,000
Yusuf al Ghanim(whom you saw here and who turned out to be against the Shaikh) ..	1,50,000
Mohamed Shahin al Ghanim ..	40,000
Saleh Othman Rashid.	9,000

/ Abdulla

R.I.Peel Esquire, M.C.,
The India Office,
London.

REGD. POL. DEPT.
- 14FEB1939
INDIA OFFICE

[1032] Coll 17/11 'Iraq. Relations with Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Propaganda against Kuwait' [63r] (125/607), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2864, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100042256961.0x000080> [accessed 14 April 2023]; 'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [114r] (227/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x00001c> [accessed 14 April 2023]; 'File 4/20 II Kuwait Situation: Constitution and Council' [115r] (229/400), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/5/206, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100040483853.0x00001e> [accessed 14 April 2023]

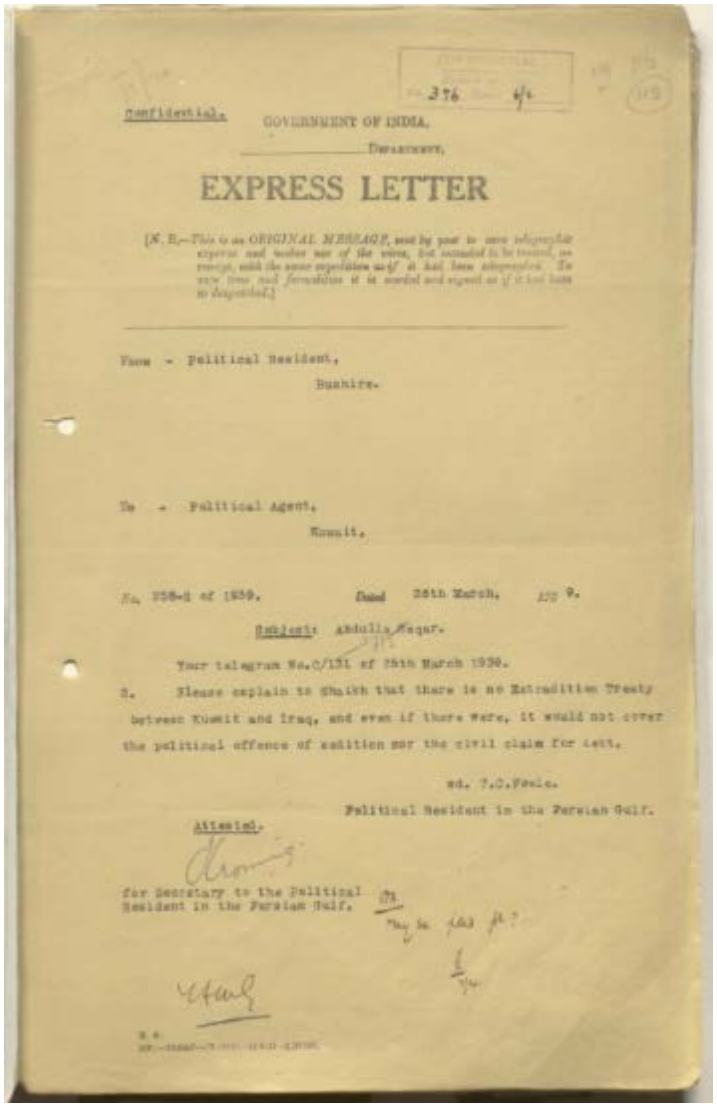


Telegram - Q
From - Political Agent, Kuwait.
To - Political Resident, Bushire.
No. - C/131.
Dated the 28th March, 1939.

Shaikh informs me that he wishes to obtain for trial ABDULLA SAQAR, now in Iraq, who is wanted here for sedition and debt.

Will you please take up matter if you think it expedient?

- Political -



Confidential. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Department.

EXPRESS LETTER

[*N. B.—This is an ORIGINAL MESSAGE, sent by post to save telegraphic expense and under use of the words, but intended to be treated, on receipt, with the same expedition as if it had been telegraphed. To save time and formalities it is worded and signed as if it had been to be telegraphed.*]

From - Political Resident,
Bushire.

To - Political Agent,
Kuwait.

No. 358-S of 1930. Dated 28th March, 1930.

Subject: Abdulla Nagar.

Your telegram No.C/131 of 28th March 1930.

2. Please explain to Shaikh that there is no Extradition Treaty between Kuwait and Iraq, and even if there were, it would not cover the political offence of sedition nor the civil claim for rent.

sd. F.C.Peile.
Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Attested.

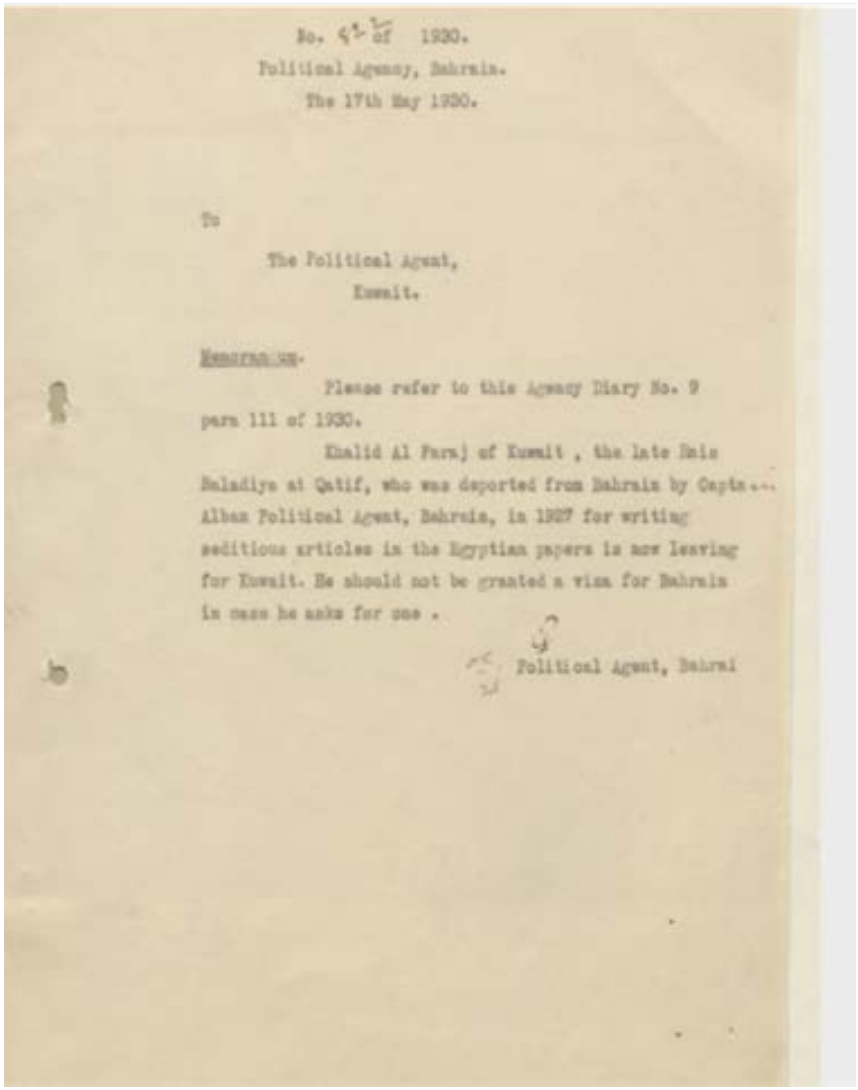
for Secretary to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Appendix 12:

The photographs depict students engaging in demonstrations in favor of President Abdul Salam Arif, who spearheaded a revolution against Abd al-Karim Qasim in 1963. Kasem had previously initiated hostile actions against Kuwait. The protests served as a platform for the students to express their elation and endorsement of the revolution. These images date back to 1963. [1033]

[1033] Tārīkh thānawyat al-Shuwaykh 1953-1973, p. 228

Appendix 13: Khalid Al Faraj.[1034]



No. 9 of 1930.
Political Agency, Bahrain.
The 17th May 1930.

To

The Political Agent,
Kuwait.

Memorandum-

Please refer to this Agency Diary No. 9 para 111 of 1930.

Khalid Al Faraj of Kuwait, the late Naib Baladiya at Qatif, who was deported from Bahrain by Capta... Alban Political Agent, Bahrain, in 1927 for writing seditious articles in the Egyptian papers is now leaving for Kuwait. He should not be granted a visa for Bahrain in case he asks for one.

Political Agent, Bahrai

[1034] 'File 5/24 Khalid bin Mohamed Al Faraj' [11r] (21/24), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/114, in Qatar Digital Library
This file contains correspondence between the British Political Agent at Bahrain; the British Political Agent at Kuwait; Charles Belgrave, Adviser to the Bahrain Government; Muḥammad ʻAlī al-Ṭāhir, Editor of the Cairo-based al-Shūrá newspaper; and Khālid bin Muḥammad al-Faraj.

Appendix 14: Al-Liwa Newspaper:[1035]

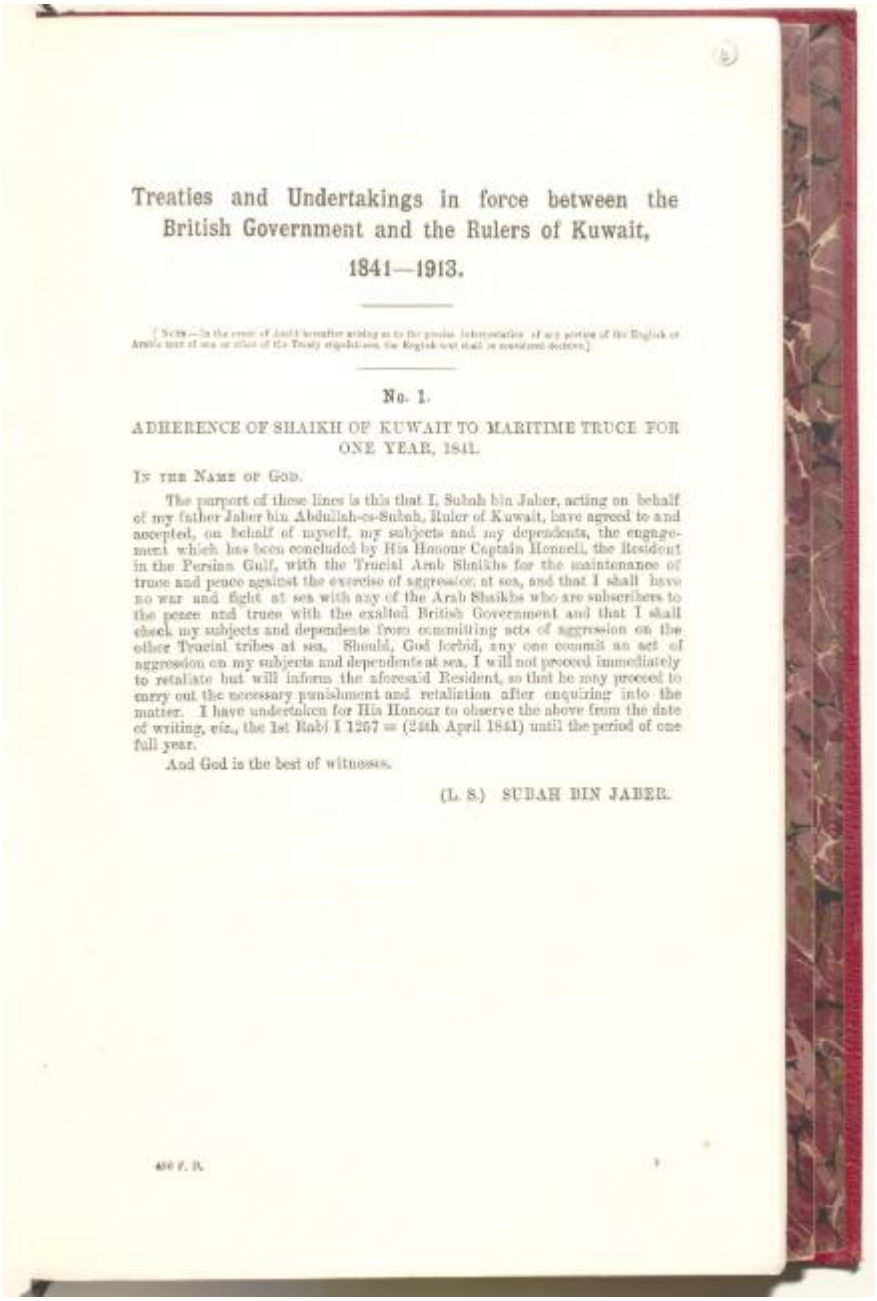
اللواء

١٣١٧

فهرست

[1035] 'File 53/7 C (D 6) Koweit [Kuwait] Affairs, 1903-1904' [66r] (146/611), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/476, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023576129.0x000093> [accessed 28 December 2022]

Appendix 15:[1036]



Treaties and Undertakings in force between the British Government and the Rulers of Kuwait, 1841—1913.

[NOTE.—In the event of doubt hereafter arising as to the precise interpretation of any portion of the English or Arabic text of one or other of the Treaty stipulations, the English text shall be considered decisive.]

No. 1.

ADHERENCE OF SHAIKH OF KUWAIT TO MARITIME TRUCE FOR ONE YEAR, 1841.

IN THE NAME OF GOD.

The purport of these lines is this that I, Subah bin Jaber, acting on behalf of my father Jaber bin Abdullah-es-Subah, Ruler of Kuwait, have agreed to and accepted, on behalf of myself, my subjects and my dependents, the engagement which has been concluded by His Honour Captain Hennell, the Resident in the Persian Gulf, with the Trucial Arab Shaikhs for the maintenance of truce and peace against the exercise of aggression at sea, and that I shall have no war and fight at sea with any of the Arab Shaikhs who are subscribers to the peace and truce with the exalted British Government and that I shall check my subjects and dependents from committing acts of aggression on the other Trucial tribes at sea. Should, God forbid, any one commit an act of aggression on my subjects and dependents at sea, I will not proceed immediately to retaliate but will inform the aforesaid Resident, so that he may proceed to carry out the necessary punishment and retaliation after enquiring into the matter. I have undertaken for His Honour to observe the above from the date of writing, viz., the 1st Rabi I 1257 = (24th April 1841) until the period of one full year.

And God is the best of witnesses.

(L. S.) SUBAH BIN JABER.

400 F. D.

[1036] 'Treaties and undertakings in force between the British Government and the Rulers of Kuwait, 1841-1913' [4r] (14/90), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/1/739, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100023403539.0x00000f> [accessed 14 April 2023]