QATAR-CHINA: A Developed Relations in a Perplexed Region

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Abstract

Qatar and China in the recent decades built a constant growing relations despite the troubles and complexities in the Middle East region. That relations based on the mutual interests for the both countries basically in the energy security and commerce, along with achieving a balanced relations for Qatar in opposite with United States, the main ally for the Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) in the Gulf peninsula. This paper tries to observe the main drivers of this bilateral relation, and to give an account about the development of this relations and what are the main quantum leaps to understand this ties. The paper tries to accompile the literature on the Chinese studies and the GCC countries and to fill the shortage in the academia about China-Arab, China- Middle East, and China and GCC political relations.

Keywords

China, Qatar, gulf cooperation council, middle east politics

Introduction

Qatar as member in the GCC countries, has playing a critical diplomatic role since the late of 90s, in a turmoiled zone like the Middle East. From many paths, the Qatari diplomacy is well-known from its active employing of the mediation role since its playing of a leading role in the region, as well as the humanitarian assistance and using its soft power (Khatib, 2013; Cooper & Momani, 2011). Not only in the politics and diplomacy, but Qatar has reinvented itself as tiny state in this region as a source of Liquified Natural Gas (LNG) (Babar, 2015; Meza et al., 2022), and that is boost its budget to build an infrastructure and economic capacity to initiate relation with the regional and global players. Qatar in its political doctrine in the last decades based on staying in an equal distance from all the regional and global powers in the Middle East amid of the disputes, like United States and Russia in the global sphere, and Iran and Saudi Arabia in the regional level. This paper tries to give an account about the development of mutual relations between Qatar and China, as it grows constantly in the last decades,

the paper will observe the main ways of the cooperation between the two countries and what kind of fields that engage them to boost their relations. The paper tries to be part of the literature that covers the China-Arab, China-Middle East, and China-GCC relations.

Qatar Foreign Relations

Qatar foreign relations in the last two decades based on employing several toolkits, even with its relations with the regional pillars or neighbors. In some of the instances used tis economic capacity like with China, as the follows will prove.

Qatar foreign policy can be divided in many levels, the regional, Arab and the global level. While the regional level Qatar were able to build a very stable relations with all the neighboring counties, including all the contradicted parties like Iran and Saudi Arabia. In the global level Qatar seeking to balance its relations with the United States and Russia, for instance.

Also, Qatar used its soft power in mediation for peacemaking and settling the conflicts the world. It's used its power for building peace in Afghanistan and facilitating the American troops withdrawal, building peace with Chadian parties, and managing the negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel during Gaza war since October 2023.

After the blockade on Qatar in June 2017, Qatar was forced to find new ways for its imports basically it was high dependent on the Jabal Ali port in UAE, and China was one of best preferences. For China, it was an important juncture to ensure its footstep in the region and promote its Belt and Road initiative and boost the relations with Qatar, as one of the key Liquefied Natural Gas exporters in the world, In general, China followed more open diplomacy and political plans in the region, after a decades of followed conservative policies in dealing with the Arab countries. Also, for Qatar, it was an implementation of its new politics of building the relations with the different parties and ensuring its dependency a far from the Saudi Arabia stream, after the blockade in 2017.

Qatar as a tiny state in a troubled region with a huge competition from the global powers, followed a balanced role and tried to handle the stick form the middle to preserve its relation. Qatar devoted its ties with the main powers to be a mediator and political players in conflict resolution in the region. In the recent decades, Qatar mediated successfully in many complicated issues in the region and the world, by using its soft power diplomacy and political relations.

China and Gulf Region

Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) which are consist of six members, located in a very vital geographical position in the world. For China, its relations not just with the GCC countries, but even before the establishment of the entity in 1979, with the whole Arab world, it was very conservative due to the American dominance in the region during the Cold war era, In a mid of the huge competition

between the Soviet Union and the United States to build their allies. In the 50s last century, when the Chinese leading party established, it inclined toward the Soviet Union policies, and that is therefore led to freeze the relations between China and Arabs, basically with the GCC countries relations. In the late 50s, the ideological contrast between China and Arab countries Iraq under the presidency of the Abdelkarim Qassim succeeded to build a relations with China, to be one of the first Arab country that successfully build a relation with China.

China's Belt and Road Initiative and the Gulf

Historically, China was very active commercially in the region thanks to its plans in building the silk road and running the trading lines among the Eurasian zone. Based on that, China in September 7, 2013, announced for the first time a plan that based on connecting China with the developing countries. The idea is lean on, as China confirmed, on a mutual advantages and economic privileges that can push the renaissance plans in their countries, and dubbed as "Belt and Road initiative".

China's Belt and Road initiative taking in consider benefiting China economy and encouraging the modernization of the whole creative model in industries and manufacture to be a source of growth. BRI focuses on many areas that related to the terms and roles of pushing the relations by setting the frameworks of understanding, building economic links with the countries and boosting the foundations, taking the investments between the countries to higher levels and exchanging goods and commercial ties. The initiative is encouraging the transactions through the financial collaboration, as well the cultural and social understanding and exchange, to understating the countries and cultures deeper. The BRI plan of the developing countries represents an opportunity to achieve many goals like boosting the domestic economies and building the internal infrastructure by leaning on the cooperation with the Chinese entities (Johnston, 2019; Ma çães, 2021; Huang, 2016).

This initiative will allow the countries to initiate more job opportunities through establishing new industries and factories for Chinese investments in several fields like infrastructure, automobile, construction and handling big projects. In addition, China though this initiative will enhance the connection and links with the countries that engaged in BRI, which could lead to more political understanding and dialogues that could be led by Chinese diplomacy. Though the mutual understanding between China and the membered counties in BRI the commercial stream of Chinese goods will be more seamless, and will empower the purchase power of the market. One of the remarkable outcomes of BRI is elevating the cultural understanding between China and other countries while its connecting three continents (Asia, Africa and Europe), basically after a huge historical gap happened in the last decades due to Chinese conservative diplomacy with the Middle East in general and the Western preference by the Arab countries in building their political relations (Lu et al., 2018; Hoh, 2019; Chaziza, 2020).

This initiative considers a reviving the historical Silk Road which was one of the more remarkable commercial nets and models between the Eurasian region in the 15 century. BRI model is also kept in consider the maritime connection alongside the ground routes. Chine seeking to strengthen the political relations and practice the economic diplomacy, by knocking the doors of the countries through the commercial understanding, by enticing the countries to join to achieve the development and ensuring the stability, as its insists that the initiative will be win-win calculus (Liu & Dunford, 2016; Chaisse, 2018).

The counties that got the membership of the BRI reached to 151 countries, including all the GCC countries where they have the full membership in the initiative, GCC countries expressed their appreciation to joining the agreement and cooperation with China, with some of the countries intending to join the initiative. The debates about what can GCC provide for China to activate the bilateral side of the agreements, going back to the historical relations between the GCC countries and China, the energy was the main leader in the bilateral relations with the GCC countries thanks to their huge oil and Liquified Natural Gas (LNG) reserves, and that was not with only China as it the main oil importer, but with the majority of the Asian countries. The GCC countries are putting efforts toward adopting diversification plans as the concerns of the Shale Revolution going higher in the West, and searching for alternatives like solar and nuclear energy (Konings, 2018; Qian & Fulton, 2017).

GCC countries and China have long bilateral relations to thousands of years, The relations was cooperative and constructive in general, the geopolitical importance of the gulf increased the increasing interests of the global powers and for BRI to connect the Asian and African and Europe contents. The eagerness to developing the two countries was a core pivot of the bilateral relations, Middle East is a part of the global political system and the competition of the global powers, while China is a part of the global powers that seek to put its footprint in the region (Lokhande, 2017; Ehteshami, 2014).

China politics toward the Gulf since the mid of the last century was started in the peak the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold war, and China was a country that ideologically had to take a decision to determine its position of the competition (Ross, 2015; Lokhande, 2017).

The policy of the republic of China since the 50s in the last century, was effected by the revolution and new liberation movement in the Arab world, while the Arab world was under many of the political changes and overthrows of the monarchies like in Egypt and Iraq, and later on in Iran 1979, also, in the GCC countries the Chinese policy was clear in supporting the leftist party in Oman to fight the Sultan of Oman. Notably, During Iran-Iraq was, China supported the both parties with arms and equipment's, in the attrition war for 8 years. In the stages after, China established its relation with GCC countries, and successfully reached to the build its relations and in the 90s reached established the diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia as a last country in GCC members (Edel & Brands, 2019; Lokhande, 2017). Gulf States are important in the Middle East with geostrategic location with the important maritime

routes, most importantly, the Gulf states are well-known as rich and developed countries, with a political stability amid the turmoil's where surrounds the Middle East and Arab states basically after the Arab Spring uprisings post 2011, keeping in consider that the population of the Gulf countries are less than other big countries in the Arab countries or Middle East. The initiative for China will be very critical in building the bridges between the rivalries in the Middle East like Iran and Saudi Arabia (Riad, 1986; Lokhande, 2017).

For China as it the biggest importer of the energy, as the 2015 data shows that reached to 336 million tons, with 170 million tons form middle east more than half of the portion, mainly the core 6 middle eastern countries are three of them from GCC members: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, that means China consider an important market for the GCC countries in importing the sources while the GCC countries can benefit from the relation from its diplomatic ties and trading, investments and the technologies (Chen, 2011; Lokhande, 2017).

Also, China for the GCC countries is a source for encouraging the industries and carrying the transportation technologies and mapping in the infrastructure, basically after their successful project in Iran's metro which build by Chinese technologies and the long pact between Iran & China which is a model in the agreements. The Chinese engineers could find a great room for taking big projects mainly the current GCC countries are under developing their infrastructure with financial strength (Nechi et al., 2022; Lokhande, 2017; Khanmohammadi & Sun, 2022).

China eagerly used many opportunities to build relations with the firms in GCC, mainly in Saudi Arabia (Electricity and Water Group), and UAE (Harbin Electrical Group), to run the electric power. In addition to electricity, the cooperation extended to the other kind of relation in the aerospace and nuclear energy (Lokhande, 2017; Calabrese, 1998).

China followed a opened policy with the middle eastern countries to build a trading relations and to benefit mutually, the both sides built an understandings for the exchanging the trading and ensuring the flow of energy, as well as boosting the products and industries. The understanding extended to elevating the investments level and using the Chinese experience in managing the financial system, like the sovereign wealth funds and shared currency deals as well as trading. These facilities sought to robust the relation between the two parties to higher levels (Scobell & Nader, 2016; Scobell, 2017; Lokhande, 2017).

The relations between GCC countries and China extended to the military relations which included boosting the military understanding to ensure the security in the Middle East. The deals history between China and GCC countries back to late 80s, when Saudi Arabia bought a ballistic missiles system. Other ties between China and Gulf counties included naval maneuvers with Gulf warships to run the security operation in the Somalia sea and Gulf of Aden, Beijing policies in this regard proved that could be a trust allies despite the presence of the United States in the region. Also, the Chinse

military commanders to discuss the ways to combat the piracy in the region. Frequently. China called for more sharing of the understanding between all parties in the region to boost the security and ensure the bilateral cooperation (Fulton, 2018; Liu, 2016; Lokhande, 2017).

Qatar and China: A Historical Overview

The official relations between Qatar and China were not very active in the 50s because it was affected by the general atmosphere of the global powers and the dominant ideologies, including naming Qatar as a supporter of the capitalist trend and British ally. China on that time was not eagerly reached to an agreement to build diplomatic relations with Qatar amid the British dominance in the region.

The first contact between the two countries occurred after the British withdrawal from Qatar in September 1971, on that time, the Chinese statesman Premier Zhou, cabled a letter to congratulate the Prince of Qatar on that time Sheikh Ahmad Bin Ali Al Thani on announcing the independence of Qatar, and he expressed the intensions of China to develop the relations with Qatar to higher levels. The exchanging of ambassadors occurred in late 80s, when Qatar became the fourth country that established relations with China, the main driver for Chinese development in relations with GCC was because of the need of energy security, which forced China to take new policy. Qatar in occasions announced its clear stance to reject any relations with Taiwan. Both foreign policy official exchanged visits in the late 80s and beginnings of 90s to enhance the communication and mutual understanding in several fields (Saidy, 2017). After decades foam that visits, in 2018, the two countries announced the strategic partnership in the "First Round of Strategic Dialogue", during the meeting, the two sides stressed the bilateral relations and discussed the ways of cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative and how can Qatar's activate its role in the "operational plan", that Is including the official announced of Visa requirement for visiting china by the Qatari citizens from December 2018 (mofa, 2018, December 12).

Cooperation in Energy Security

In general, for Asian countries Qatar is the main LNG exporter. In this context, Qatar and China built a very constructive ties during the last decade in energy field, basically in signing many treaties to develop the exports to China for the coming three decades generally in the energy field ensure its energy security (Chen, 2011; Yetiv & Lu, 2007; Al-Sarihi, 2023). The need for energy security increased after the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, as Russia consider one of exporters to European market, and to fulfill the energy needs and stability of flow even by finding new suppliers (Arab News, 2023, November 5). In June 2023, in one of the remarkable pacts, China and Qatar signed a deal to supply China with gas for three decades. (Al Jazeera, 2023, June 20)

Qatar Energy, the official entity in Qatar for managing the oil and gas for the country, unveiled the pact to be with the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC). The relations with China will prove for

the other countries than Qatar, basically for the central Asian countries which they looking for reliable ally for importing the oil like gas and oil. (Al Jazeera, 2023, June 20)

The last agreement between Qatar Energy and China's Sinopec in June 2023 aims to export 4 million metric tonnes of Qatari LNG to China, and in a reaction with the agreement, Saad al-Kaabi, the Gulf state's energy minister and CEO of QatarEnergy stressed about China'a market: "one of the most important gas markets in the world and key market for Qatari energy products" (Al Jazeera, 2023, June 20), the deal was one of the longest pacts between China and Qatar (Arab News, 2023, November 5). In the other side, China cooperates with Qatar in running the second phase of the Qatar's North Field South expansion project. One of the aims Qatar's energy policies that supports the environmental considerations in the world, as it selling the "cleanest hydrocarbon source" (Arab News, 2023, November 5). According to a data from 2022, it's illustrates that Qatar occupied the second ranking of the China's importers of the buyers by carrying 18 million tons. Also, there are some consideration about building relations with Qatar by China, mainly because of the oil category which is brent prices per barrel.

Looking in the strategic and geopolitical map, China want to find a parallel pipeline beside the Russian gas, to empower energy security, the Free-On-Board (FOB) window allows China to build commercial ties with other parties even in US or overseas, which could lead to build economic relations and industries, as well as the political standing. In the other side, for China its favoring the Qatari gas for its environmental considerations, which is helps its environmental plans domestically, and to increase the cooperation with Qatar in eco-friendly ways of energy like the solar energy and renewable sources.

In general China's looks to Qatar as a sources for expanding relations with the Whole GCC countries, This is a part of the Chinese firms are continues to expand its activities in the market in a several countries, including Gulf countries as it have advanced bilateral relations in several fields. In some cases that could give them an sophisticated standing in the list of the providers (energypolicy, 2023, July 10).

In the other side, the Qatar energy plans in the gas market is based on diversifying the outlets of the energy sources, so ensure the security. Alongside the relations with the GCC countries, China built relations with the Russia and central Asian countries in this regard, China policies in energy based on avoiding putting all the eggs in one basket and to be dependent on many sources. The environmental considerations also encourages China to increase its use of the energy sources from Qatar, to avoid air pollution and improve air quality (energypolicy, 2023, July 10). In addition, The prices that Qatar is given in the contracts with China is one of the considerations that encourages China to be one of the clients to the Qatari LNG, as it challenging with the raise of the renewable energy. (energypolicy, 2023, July 10)

There are some considerations about the dependence of China on Qatar in LNG for its future, basically the seeking to reach the edge of the carbon emission in 2030, and reaching carbon neutrality by 2060, as it one of the aims of the president Xi (energypolicy, 2023, July 10).

For Qatar, expanding the relations with China is also its important for many issues. Beside the interests in energy, as it the main pillar in the bilateral relations, the both parties expanded the sharing of the market for the LNG, the Qatar policy also concentration on building long relations with all the clients in the energy pacts in the last period (energypolicy, 2023, July 10).

Geopolitically, China as it expanding. Its political openness trend in the last decades, it proves its capabilities to be one of the reliable partners for any country, and to contribute in playing a role in mediation and support negotiations and conflict resolutions, and to expand its relations to be political beside the commercial and economic. Qatar and China successfully reached to a deal to sings a pact to be a longest deals in the energy market. But in energy market, illustrates the destabilizing and concerns over the energy market and political stability and foreign relations, to keep the porting of the needs of LNG (Dargin, 2022, December 29).

Chinese firms follows a different policy with westerns countries, which is based on staying on the agreement and maintaining the pacts, the benefits of the cooperation in the fields will enable China to look at the Qatari experience in operating energy facilities which were built by using the western technologies and expertise. For Qatar, this enduring relations in the energy field will promote its position as one of the core confident, clean and friendly environment LNG sources globally. Also, for Qatar as it aims to show its resiliency it proves tis capabilities to fill the needs of the countries very quickly despite all the possible troubles, even amid the troubles in the Red Sea during Gaza War as a result of the Houthi's attacks on the shipping lanes (Dargin, 2022, December 29).

Going back to before this energy deals, the relations as it focused on building political and economic relations, Qatar in its foreign policy adopted an open policy with all the parties and countries in the middle east, and involving deeply into the conflicts resolutions, like the Palestinians case, and keeping strong ties with US as it hosts the CENTCOM, and trying to be mediator between Iran and other Arab countries. For China, boosting the relations with Qatar will help them to increase their presence in the GCC countries, and will promote China's policy in the Arab world not only GCC countries (Dargin, 2022, December 29).

The cooperation context in energy sectors between China and Qatar cannot be far from what is happens in the Europe and basically Ukraine-Russia War, that affected the scenes over the energy and putted many scenarios about the energy needs in the market, and to ensure the stability of its making of any troubles in the future from suppliers or political tensions. The tendencies toward building relations with China by the GCC countries or Arab countries are growing in the recent years for many reasons, the vacuum that occurred as a result of the United States policies in the region and China's priorities in handling the relations which based on the mutual economic interests and leading the energy new trends including the clean sources (Dargin, 2022, December 29).

Commerce and Trading Relations

The development process in Qatar is pushing the openness policy with the other countries to entice them to invest in the infrastructure and local market, which is prevailed by a high purchase power. Also, Qatar diversification plans represents a opportunity for the firms to engage in the plans and increase the cooperation. Including the hosting of the mega events like the world cup 2022 and global conferences and exhibitions, all of these conferences will consider a prospect to exchange the expertise and sharing the capabilities, and knowledge, alongside trading which is exceeded 18 billion dollars. (Gulf Times, 2022, December 25)

The leader of the two countries are held many meeting to discuss the bilateral relations and to host summits, as well as other sort of multi purposes relations in the other fields. HH the Amir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani meet the president Xi Jinping in a vert remarkable occasion which was in the Beijing Winter Olympics in 2022, another meeting held again between the leaders after a short visit in Riyadh. The delegations of the two countries exchanged the visits in many fields, including the political entities, and parliamentary discussion as part of the "Parliamentary Diplomacy" between the two countries. Also, the foreign ministry of Qatar delegation attended the meeting on Afghanistan in March 2022, as Qatar played a critical role in the post United States withdrawal in August 2021. In addition, the two countries reached to a remarkable quantum leap in the bilateral relations during the China-GCC summit when president Xi and HH the Amir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani agreed to craft a long understanding could reach the next 25 years. Qatar expressed persistently in occasion that principle of One-China and rejected any interference of any country in the Chinese domestic issues, in the other side, China diplomatically expressed its supporting of Qatar's sovereign and independence, and respecting the charters of the international law. (Gulf Times, 2022, December 25).

The bilateral relations during the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic was an opportunity to deepening the cooperation and experiences about how to deal with the pandemic, and carrying the equipment's and capabilities to containing the pandemic, as Qatar employed it's huge fleet of planes for shipping goods and helping the passengers to return back to their homes. The two countries extended their cultural understanding and exchanged their interests to cooperate. In Qatar the Chinese year was celebrated, and Qatar hosted two of the giant pandas and dedicated a public park for them to translate its intention to develop the cultural understandings. (Gulf Times, 2022, December 25)

Military Understanding

Qatar and Chine extended their cooperation to the military field, which is achieve many objectives for the both countries in terms of taking the relations to a higher level or in supporting the military capabilities basically for Qatar. Despite Qatar military purchase policy is toward the West, it looks to China as an important ally to share experiences, and mutual knowledge. But even the Qatari preference to the West in the arms purchase, there many ways for cooperation in the military side that achieved during the last decades. (Helou, 2023, August 25)

China is working intensively to increase its weapons sells in Middle East, and to promote itself as a military ally. The military cooperation is not limited to selling and buying weapons, but it could be extended to joint maneuvers and operations, sharing experiences and training, while the arms sells is not in an advanced stage between Qatar & China, the two countries cooperating in other fields. (Helou, 2023, August 25)

In his response to a question about balancing the relations between Qatar and china amid many complications, Qatari Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammed Bin Abdulrahman al-Thani answered that Qatar foreign relations are based on openness toward any collaboration with any country and none of "any specific country will be at the account [expense] of the other". In the same occasion in at the IISS Raffles Lecture in Singapore on August 2023 he insisted that: "while maintaining our strategic alliance with the United States", he said. "In the same year, we were designated as a non-NATO ally to the US, we also signed three new energy deals with China. Our ability to navigate our relations with China and the US is grounded in our adoptability diplomatic engagement and pursue of mutually beneficial interests". (Helou, 2023, August 25)

The both parties in many occlusion achieved some of the milestones to push the military understanding. In November 2023 a Chinese delegation visited Doha to meet with the Chief of Staff of the Qatar Armed Forces H E Staff Lieutenant General (Pilot) Salem bin Hamad bin Aqeel Al Nabit, the delegation presided by the Lieutenant General (Pilot) Jing Jianfeng, the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Joint Staff Department of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China according to the readout after the meeting the discussion focused on boosting the military relations (The Peninsula Qatar, 2023, November 28).

China to develop its military relations with Qatar dedicated a defense Attache to Qatar in 2019, Col. He Botao, Defence Attache of People's Republic of China in Qatar who just before in the eve of the hosting of Qatar 2022 world cup announced that the bilateral relations between the two countries achieved remarkable milestones in developing the military relations, and reached to "strategic partnership" level, military official unveiled the intension of China to share its experience, technology, knowledge and even personnel, in hosting of the FIFA Qatar World Cup, and to support the security plans during the sport mega event. He insists that the collaboration will still continue in all fields, including doing bilateral visits for training, and providing cooperation in medical care in the military field. (Qatar Tribune, 2022, July 31)

In all terms, despite Qatar's eagerness to develop the relations with China, it's not looking to the issue as a reason to harm the relations with United States, thanks to the policy that Qatar's have developed in the recent years to keep its relations with all parties in the different conflicts, that policy Qatar's insists in different cases. (Reuters, August 25, p. 203)

In the last chapter in reflecting the growing cooperation between Qatar and China mainly in the military field, a hundreds of Chinese military industries and maritime companies have unveils in their Doha International Maritime Defense Exhibition and Conference (DIMDEX 2024), which is held in March 2024, with a huge global participation from well-known companies in the military industries. The Chinese military equipment's included warships, radar systems, cyberwarfare, and missiles systems (China Military Online, March 7, 2024).

What's Next?: The Prospects Of Qatar-China Relations

The bilateral relations between Qatar and Chine in the recent decades in constant grow in all fields, including the trading, investments, defense and security. Qatar and Chine following in parallel policy which is openness in building relations amid all the countries despite the disputes and conflicts in the region. Qatar following a pragmatic point of departure in its foreign policy relations, by preserving a relations with all parties in the region in part of its peacemaking diplomacy and building the bridges and empowering understanding. This Qatari role could be more active in any conflict according to the contemporary history of Qatar foreign policy which is with a remarkable portfolio in peace making and hosting negotiations with the different parties in Palestine, Sudan, Chad, Lebanon, and Afghanistan, as well the efforts to relive the nuclear deal between Iran and 5+1. The relations between the two countries could take a higher levels mainly in the energy, trading, commerce, and technology sectors, while the both countries are not engaged in a direct political conflicts over any case in the middle east, and have mutual understanding in all fields.

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