

THE LINK

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Saudi Arabia

Kingdom's Foreign Policy Remains Unchanged

In the wake of the tragic events which took place in Saudi Arabia in late March, His Royal Highness Prince Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, Crown Prince, Deputy Premier and Minister of Interior, issued a statement of policy in behalf of King Khalid. The official statement underlines the fact that Saudi Arabia's foreign policy will not undergo any change. It notes categorically that Saudi Arabia's foreign policy is rooted in the country's deep interest in world peace and "our desire to strengthen it." The statement continues:

"We still believe in this according to our religion and our traditions. In this respect we strongly believe in disarmament, self-determination for all countries and the solution of disputes through peaceful means.

"The call for Islamic solidarity has been one of the main pillars of our foreign policy in order to improve the status of the Moslem people in their respective countries and to strengthen the links of cooperation between them.

"Experience has demonstrated that dissension was a source of danger while unity of ranks guards against it. Our Government will work with utmost sincerity to put into effect the words of His late Majesty that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia considers itself a source of support to every Arab and in the service of every Arab, and it seeks cooperation, solidarity and fraternity.

"From these two pillars, Islamic solidarity and Arab unity, the efforts of the Kingdom lead toward the restoration of the rights of the people of Palestine and the return of the Arab occupied lands. . . .

"Our Government does not restrict its international relations to the Arabs and Islamic countries, but extends itself to all nations and countries that believe in God and the principles of justice and righteousness.

"Our Government reiterates the words of our dead leader:

"We want a world where liberty, peace, cooperation and love prevail. What has been done by our Government in the past and what our Government will do in the future in defense of its rights and the rights of the Aab and Islamic nations, utilizing all

its potentials, is not contradictory to our call for peace and love, but it is in line with the words of His late Majesty when he said that we do not intend to be aggressors and we do not intend to do harm to the rights of any individual or group, but at the same time, we will not accept or tolerate aggression, because the desire for peace and reform does not mean weakness."

On March 31st, Prince Saud al-Faisal, the country's Foreign Minister, issued a statement to the heads of foreign diplomatic missions in Riyadh. It said in part:

"Strong ties founded on friendship and mutual respect in the political, economic and cultural fields bind us to your countries. We will carefully develop and strengthen those ties, and we will promote that friendship. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia welcomes constructive cooperation on your part, for we seek only to spread prosperity and well being within our country, throughout the region we live in and in the world at large. The principle of constructive cooperation will continue to govern our economic and foreign policy. . . .

"His Majesty King Faisal not only established the objectives of our kingdom's policy, but also the guidelines for carrying out that policy. Faisal's program or the Islamic program . . . employs the instruments of quiet and judicious diplomacy to achieve political ends which are founded on faith, principles and morality, and is based on deeds not words. . . . This program provides that Saudi Arabia will not remain neutral between right and wrong . . . and upholds the right of self-determination for every nation. . . ."

KING KHALID



On March 25, 1975, Khalid Ibn Abd al-Aziz became the fourth ruler of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. King Khalid assumed his role as reigning monarch under tragic circumstances, following upon the murder of his elder brother Faisal by a nephew said to be mentally unbalanced at a reception marking the birthday anniversary of the Prophet Mohammed.

When a much-respected and able leader like King Faisal disappears from the scene, there is a natural human tendency to question the ability of any successor to replace him. The new king, however, is a man with a distinguished career in public affairs which fully qualifies him for the duties of his position. Additionally, he has the able assistance and valuable counsel of his brother Crown Prince Fahd, as well as of other experienced relatives and advisors.

Born in Riyadh, probably in 1914, Khalid is one of the older sons of the famous Abd al-Aziz — better known abroad as Ibn Saud — who established in this century the state that grew under his leadership into the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. As a youth, Khalid participated with his older brothers in the expeditions which moulded a disorganized tribal Arabia into a centrally controlled kingdom. At the early age of 20, Khalid initialled, on his father's behalf, a treaty establishing peace with the Imam of Yemen after two outbreaks of warfare.

In the traditional way, Khalid learned the art of government through firsthand observation and practical experience. How well he had learned those lessons became known in 1943 when he was chosen by his father to accompany Faisal on a visit to the United States in response to an invitation from President Roosevelt. Faisal and Khalid spent almost six weeks in America. They were guests of honor at a state dinner in the White House. They visited New York, San Francisco, and Denver before traveling to Britain to meet with officials there.

After the war, as significant income from oil royalties began to flow in, a new structure was needed for the growing government tasks. In addition to the traditional councils of family and notables, a more formal Council of Ministers was established, though the family council has continued to be very important.

Prince Khalid was no novice in government and diplomacy when he was appointed Vice-President of the Council of

Ministers in 1962 and then Crown Prince in 1964. Throughout his adult life he had been involved in affairs of state, and after 1964 he increasingly gained responsibility when he became Deputy Prime Minister under King Faisal. Indeed, during his reigning brother's absences from the country, Khalid conducted the affairs of state in the name of his brother.

The basic policies of the Government of Saudi Arabia are collectively shaped by the leading members of the royal family, who receive counsel from religious leaders and are guided by traditional values, and public opinion. This fact accounts in part for the smooth transition from the reign of Faisal to that of Khalid. As the new king assumed the role of first official, various of his previous responsibilities passed to the new Crown Prince, Fahd, who had been serving as Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior.

King Khalid now presides over the entire apparatus of government, but he knows how and where to delegate responsibility to others. He also is aware that his directives and decisions must satisfy the consensus of the family and meet the needs of public opinion in general. In theory full power rests in the hands of this one man. In practice authority derives from the wide support and the participation of a very large number of responsible people.

At the end of his first week as reigning monarch, King Khalid issued a formal policy statement. In that document, which was read over radio and television by Crown Prince Fahd, the continuation of the policies of King Faisal were stressed throughout. Yet nothing in history remains changeless, and over the coming years new challenges and experiences will produce gradual modifications — not in basic policies, but in day-to-day functioning of state and society. The reign of King Khalid promises to be one of progress based on what has already been achieved. In the words of King Faisal, quoted by King Khalid, "We want a world where liberty, peace, cooperation and love prevail," and "The desire for peace and reformation does not mean weakness."

THE LATE KING FAISAL



The reign of King Faisal (1964-1975) may be characterized as the most constructive period in the history of Saudi Arabia. His father, Abd al-Aziz, aided by retainers and allies, built the kingdom on the ideological base of purist faith in God and the Holy Koran. In his latter years, however, Abd al-Aziz could not cope with the responsibilities of ruling his realm, the stress of new ideas in a changing world, or the effects of money flowing into his treasury as royalties from oil exports. Faisal's elder brother and predecessor, King Saud (1953-1964), lacked the qualities necessary to lead the nation in organizing efficient administration and in channeling revenues into development projects.

Faisal was brought to power by widespread demand in the country for better government and for progress. Using this popular mandate and the respect he commanded, this man of deep religious and social conviction was able to effect many of the desired reforms and to restore public confidence in the monarchy. When Faisal died suddenly this spring, the country he left behind was very different from the one he knew as a boy.

Faisal was born in Riyadh about 1905, only three years after his father had returned from exile in Kuwait to recapture the family's ancestral territory which had fallen into rival hands. As Faisal, the third son, was growing up, his father's little principality was growing into a kingdom. Faisal's earliest impressions of the world were moulded in the home. His mother, Queen Tarfa, had no other sons. She was descended from Muhammad Abd al-

Wahhab, the great purist preacher and theologian of the 18th century. (His teachings were later to be adopted by the House of Saud and spread over much of Arabia.) The influence of Faisal's mother and that of her father, in whose household they lived, accounted for Faisal's deep religious faith.

The talented young prince's first important foreign mission for his father was as head of a delegation to London in 1919. It was of little diplomatic consequence, but gave valuable experience to the fourteen-year-old youth from Arabia. That mission marked the beginning of his career in international affairs. He, more than any other single person, was to be responsible for the formulation of foreign policy for the kingdom then being built.

Faisal also helped expand the territory of the state as an army commander. His first important victory was against Asir, a principality on the borders of Yemen. Then in 1925 he led one of the armies which completed the conquest of Hijaz, where the Muslims' Holy Cities of Mecca and Madina are located. In 1926, Faisal was appointed Governor of Najd, the heartland of Arabia. In that year and again in 1932, he toured Europe as his father's representative. When the state was named the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 (Abd al-Aziz had earlier called himself Sultan of Najd and King of Hijaz), Faisal became Secretary of State. The following year he signed the treaty which established relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States, though diplomatic representation was not then required.

Faisal's preeminence in the field of foreign relations was fully recognized in 1934 when he was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. His labors in that area led in 1945 to his appointment as the chief representative of Saudi Arabia to the San Francisco conference which established the United Nations Organization. The support which his delegation gave to the United States in its struggle with the Soviet Union at that time was typical of Saudi Arabia's international orientation.

Early in his career Faisal developed habits of life characterized by hard work and relatively austere living. In comparison with his nearly forty half brothers, he was almost ascetic in adhering to the simpler life of the people of the desert. In his father's old age, when the affairs of the kingdom suffered, those people who wanted

effective use of the money began turning to Faisal as their main hope.

With the death of Abd al-Aziz in 1953 and the accession to the throne of Saud, the eldest surviving son, much-needed reform was delayed. As the financial affairs of the family and the country became chaotic, Faisal was put in charge of reestablishing fiscal responsibility. King Saud interfered with the reforms underway, sometimes jeopardizing the work being done under the guidance of Crown Prince Faisal. So it was in 1964 that the notables of the land, including the religious jurists, prompted by public dissatisfaction over the situation, took the necessary action. Saud was forced to abdicate and go into exile and Faisal became the third ruler of the new country. Khalid his own long-time advisor (and half-brother) was named Crown Prince.

The accomplishments of Faisal as king were a distinguished addition to his earlier contributions to the country. Under his direction, large percentages of the budget went into development. His wife Queen Iffat, one of the most enlightened women of the land, led in the struggle for education of girls. Though facilities for female education (public attitudes would not accept co-education) have not caught up with those for boys, the education of girls has been expanding rapidly. Queen Iffat is an example of the freedom and influence a woman can have in a country where women are beginning to emerge into public life.

When King Faisal was assassinated on March 25, 1975, the people of Saudi Arabia lost a great benefactor. The fruits of his labors were just beginning to become manifest. Progress was becoming apparent in every part of the country. Schools were opening and hospitals were being built. Highways were stretching across the country. Saudi Arabia was gaining a respected place among the nations of the world. In the true spirit of Islamic almsgiving, government provision was made for those unable to earn their own livelihood, and aid was made available to distressed pilgrims. Saudi Arabia also became a substantial contributor to voluntary United Nations appeals, such as UNRWA, the agency which offers minimal care to Palestinian refugees. King Faisal indeed gave of himself to his people as a religious duty. He was not a dramatic politician, but he served his country and nation with wisdom and humility. He departed as a leader who was not only admired by his people, but who was loved as well.

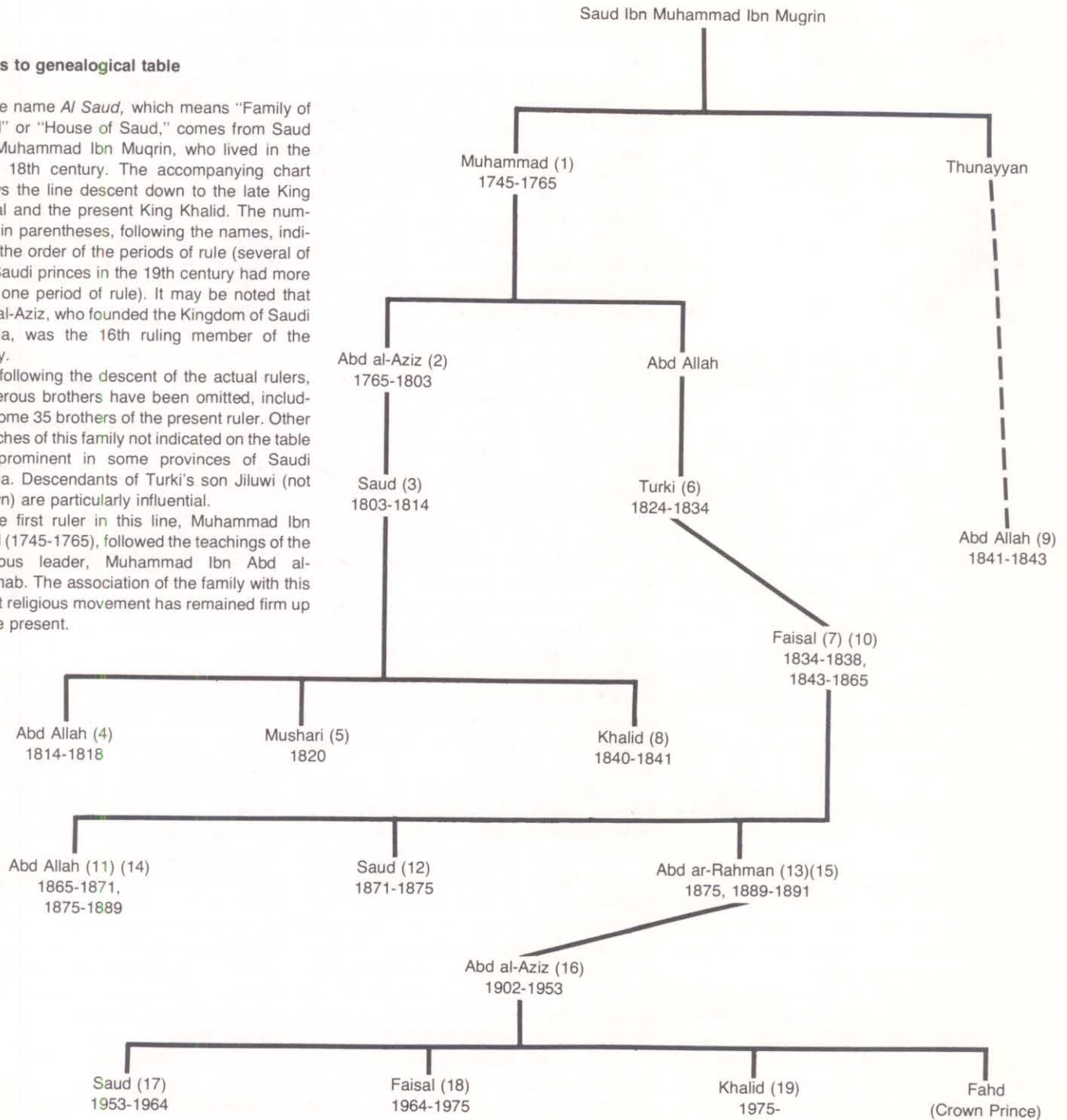
Lineage of King Khalid and the Late King Faisal

Notes to genealogical table

The name *Al Saud*, which means "Family of Saud" or "House of Saud," comes from Saud Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muqrin, who lived in the early 18th century. The accompanying chart shows the line descent down to the late King Faisal and the present King Khalid. The numbers in parentheses, following the names, indicate the order of the periods of rule (several of the Saudi princes in the 19th century had more than one period of rule). It may be noted that Abd al-Aziz, who founded the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, was the 16th ruling member of the family.

In following the descent of the actual rulers, numerous brothers have been omitted, including some 35 brothers of the present ruler. Other branches of this family not indicated on the table are prominent in some provinces of Saudi Arabia. Descendants of Turki's son Jiluwi (not shown) are particularly influential.

The first ruler in this line, Muhammad Ibn Saud (1745-1765), followed the teachings of the religious leader, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The association of the family with this purist religious movement has remained firm up to the present.



Social and Economic Development

Few countries in the world have undergone such rapid development as that which has taken place in Saudi Arabia during the past decade and a half. After centuries of very slow change, the past few years have witnessed innovations constituting a veritable transformation of the face of the land. The possession of enormous concentrations of petroleum deposits has given the country funds for development and investment. New challenges have been created, as attempts have been made to obtain the benefits of industrial technology without destroying the traditional values of Arabian society.

Government

The relatively uncomplicated family rule followed by nation-builder King Abd al-Aziz has given way to nearly a score of ministries and thousands of civil service employees. The first Council of Ministers, established in 1953, was made up mostly of members of the royal family. The majority of members now are persons qualified to hold their positions by virtue of their training and experience. Throughout the public bureaucracy, the major requirements for employment are becoming education and expertise.

Education

One sure index of development is the expansion of education. A number of Arab countries which had been under foreign rule until after World War II experienced the greatest increase in education immediately upon attaining independence. In Saudi Arabia, which had been independent much earlier, the spread of education was delayed longer. The great expansion in education there took place during the reign of King Faisal, as shown by the table of "Educational Statistics".

Adult education has not been neglected, and at present there are about 600 adult education centers. In all the schools, extensive use has of necessity been made of foreign teachers, mainly from Arab countries which had an earlier start in educational expansion. Large numbers of Palestinian Arabs, particularly from Jordan, have been employed as teachers, though teachers have also been imported from Britain and elsewhere outside the Arab world. More Saudis are now being pre-

Educational Statistics

(some figures are rounded off)

Elementary education

	1953	1955	1960	1970	1973*
Schools	306	500	600	1,824	2,467
Teachers	4,500	4,700	5,600	17,181	22,130
Students	39,000	60,000	90,000	400,000	521,122

* In addition, by 1973 there were 49 kindergarten schools with 208 teachers and 7,679 children.

Junior high and high school education

Schools	10	15	25	387	573
Teachers	133	235	535	4,000	6,117
Students	1,315	2,800	5,900	68,000	105,853

pared for teaching positions. In 1973 there were 66 teacher training schools with 899 teachers and 13,242 students.

As education has expanded through the secondary level, the demand for higher education has grown apace. Four major institutions of post-secondary education have been established:

Riyadh University (founded 1957). More than 5,000 students in 1975.

Islamic University, Medina (1961). About 1,000 students in 1975.

University of Petroleum and Minerals, Dhahran (1963). About 1,000 students in 1975.

King Abd al-Aziz University, Jeddah (1967). About 500 students in 1975.

There are also various religious colleges in Mecca and technical colleges in several cities. Many students are sent abroad at the expense of the Saudi Arabian government, particularly to the United States.

Medical facilities

Full medical care is available in cities and larger towns and is being extended to smaller communities. In 1974 there were about 90 well-equipped hospitals, 200 dispensaries, and 300 health centers. In the same year there were about 800 doctors with Western-type training. In many parts of the world there is a shortage of well-

trained doctors, and considerable time is required for Saudi Arabia to educate its citizens and send them abroad for medical education in the numbers required.

Communication

Only a generation ago communication in Saudi Arabia was mainly by word of mouth. News was available only from travelers or foreign broadcasts picked up on the very few radios in the country. This situation has changed radically. The Ministry of Information now operates a radio network with a score of local stations. The powerful Riyadh broadcasting station at night reaches all of the country and the neighboring states as well.

The Ministry of Information also operates a television network with some seven stations. There is also a station set up by the Arabian American Oil Company. Television has a variety of news, public service, educational and entertainment programming.

Increased literacy has led to the publication of a number of newspapers. By 1973 there were five Arabic-language dailies. Three of these were published in Jeddah, one in Mecca, and one in Riyadh. The number of weeklies has increased to about a dozen. About half a dozen monthly magazines have appeared. Among them is *New Eve*, a magazine for women.



Transportation

Movement of people and goods is now done in 20th-century style. In 1920 it took a troop of warriors led by young Faisal a month to travel from Riyadh to the mountainous district of Asia, near the Red Sea. Today travelers can make the same journey in a few hours on *Saudia*, Saudi Arabian Airlines. Technical assistance, including the extensive training of nationals as pilots, is carried out under contract with TWA. *Saudia* provides comfortable and efficient service to all major points in the country, to other Arab capitals, and major cities between Bombay and London. It is one of the two major international air carriers which does not serve alcoholic beverages to its passengers. During the season of Muslim pilgrimage, nearly all its planes are put into service transporting pilgrims.

Asphalt highways are now being completed that span the country from east to west and north to south. These encourage surface travel and help reduce transportation costs. The surfaced highway from Jeddah on the Red Sea to Dammam on the Arabian Gulf was completed in 1967. The highway running north and south from Jeddah to neighboring countries is in final stages of construction. The system of roads being built will have the effect of uniting the nation and ending the isolation of outlying districts.

Water

In a country which by normal standards is mainly desert, an overriding concern in development is the supply of water both for drinking and for agriculture. As there are no lakes or rivers which flow year around, alternative sources must be found. There are some known underground reservoirs of water, and prospecting for others is being undertaken. On the coasts, the conversion of seawater is in some cases an expensive necessity for urban use, but the cost remains too high for agricultural use. Giant desalinization plants are being operated at Jeddah, and at al-Khobar. Others are either being built or are in the planning stage.

Agriculture

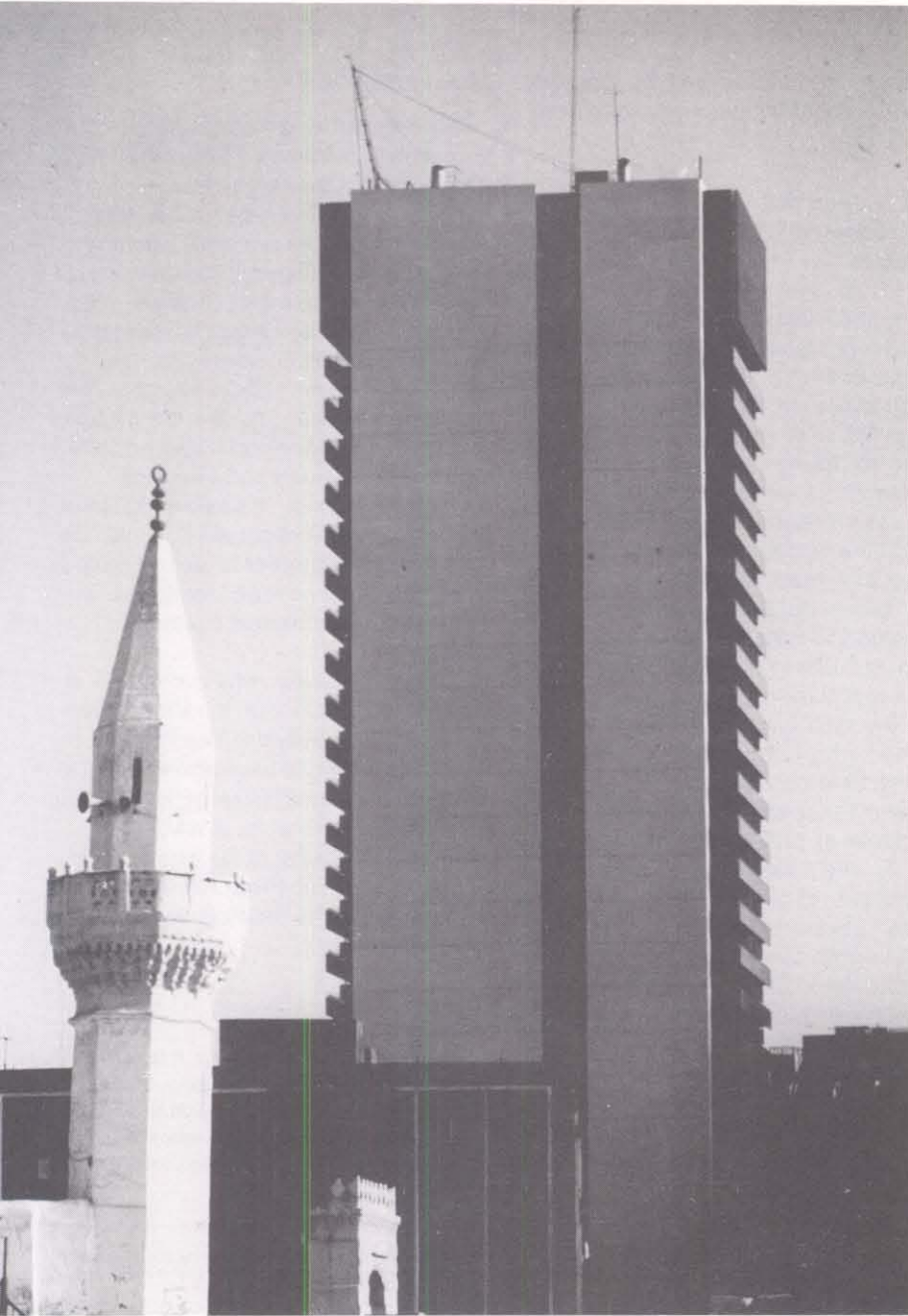
Surveys of agricultural potentials are being carried out. One problem is obviously the shortage of water. The other derives from the fact that Saudi Arabia lacks soil of a type which can grow crops even if water supplies were at hand. Funds have been allotted to study the development of those areas where there is fertile soil, and a number of projects are already being implemented. In an increasingly hungry world, a country which depends largely on food imports is in a vulnerable position.

Industry

A major goal of development plans is to diversify the economy and reduce the country's overwhelming dependence on income from oil exports. Chemical industries using by-products of the oil-refining process have obviously been the first to receive attention. Chemical fertilizers are now being produced locally. There are deposits of iron ore in the northwest part of the country which are being exploited. A plant for rolling steel rods is in operation near Jeddah. As education and technical training proceed, more and more Saudi Arabians seek the industrialization of their country at a faster pace.

Other developments

Space does not permit the detailed description of all the development projects underway or being studied. Electrification of the country is moving rapidly. The cost is high as there are no rivers to harness for hydro-electric power. Natural gas supplies, which are plentiful, are being utilized to produce electric power. All the cities in the country now have telephone service with direct links to other countries. Postal service and telegraphic communication are being expanded and their efficiency increased. Public transit is being provided in the cities. In short, there is hardly any aspect of life in Saudi Arabia which is not undergoing development and change.



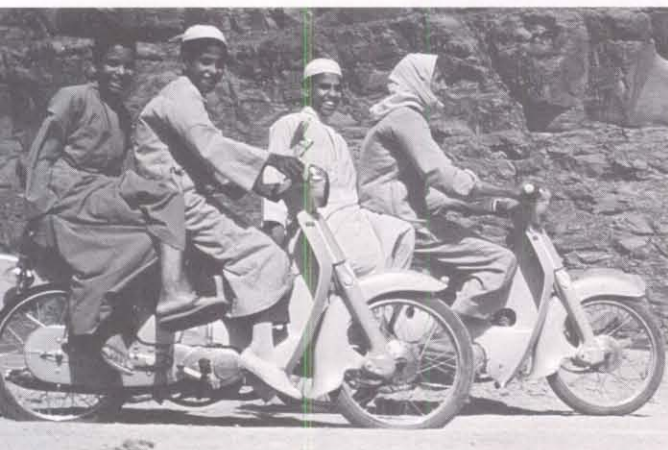
The United States and Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia the world's largest petroleum exporter, ranks third in production, trailing slightly behind the Soviet Union and the United States. The United States consumes more energy than any other nation on earth. These two facts establish the economic importance which Saudi Arabia represents to the United States. On the other hand, American capital, technical knowledge and initiative developed the petroleum industry in Saudi Arabia and set off the developmental transformation of the nation. Thus, the relationship between the two nations has been mutually beneficial.

Until recent years, Saudi Arabia was very much dependent on the United States militarily and diplomatically. Now, owing to changing conditions in the world, this Arab state is gaining in its ability to look after its own interests. Its policy remains one which opposes the forceful expansion of the influence of Communist Bloc nations, mainly the Soviet Union. It realizes that in this it must cooperate with the United States. This fundamental policy persists even when there is a pronounced difference of opinion on other major issues.

During the past year, Saudi Arabia has acquired a position of regional importance through stable policies, practical diplomacy, and financial assistance to neighboring states. Saudi Arabia is also the predominant force in the Arabian Peninsula; it holds an influential position as one of the leaders in Southwest Asia and North Africa. This increases its strategic value.

Both the United States and Saudi Arabia are aware of the importance of preserving their friendly ties for economic and strategic reasons. Moreover, it is increasingly recognized that to be fully effective, cooperation on the international level must be voluntary. The two countries have distinct systems of government, but in both states public opinion plays an important role. This means that the people of each nation need accurate information about the other, while neither nation can benefit in the long run from overlooking each other's legitimate interests. Their common goal is peace, so that their energies and resources may be directed into channels that are humane and productive.



\$144 Billion for Saudi 5-Year Development

Saudi Arabia's ambitious new five-year development plan for 1975-80 envisages total expenditures approaching \$144 billion (at current exchange rate) in the areas of education, health, social welfare and industrialization. The plan is viewed as the foundation for the establishment in the next three or four decades of a new economic base to replace dependence on oil.

Industrialization is a major objective in the country's present economic policy, and speed is of the essence, given the fact of eventual oil depletion. The remarkably high targets set for the five-year period seek a bold transformation of the Saudi economy in its physical and social infrastructure. Its massive scope will necessitate recruitment abroad for much of the required expertise due to the acute shortage of qualified manpower in Saudi Arabia.

Development of export-oriented light industries, an important objective in the plan, will help gradually to reduce the country's dependence on oil as the sole economic base. All energy resources will be utilized by PETROMIN, the state oil organization.

A vast network of highways will include some 8500 miles of surfaced roads to be built during the next five years. Extension of port facilities will make possible the handling of an additional 13 million tons of cargo annually.

Huge investments for sea water desalination and electrification projects

have been included as well as subsidies for farm equipment and an agricultural bank.

Saudi Foreign Aid Unprecedented in Magnitude

In the magnitude of its foreign aid program, Saudi Arabia is well ahead of many countries in the world including the industrialized states. In 1974-75 approximately 10% of her total expenditures were earmarked for foreign aid — a figure made even higher by special grants and allocations. Total foreign aid represents some 4 to 5% of the Saudi gross national product. Among the Arab recipients are Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Bahrain and Sudan. In addition, some \$10 million in aid went to Bangladesh, \$50 million to the World Food Program and \$30 million to the states hardest hit by the high price of oil. Saudi Arabia was the highest donor in aid to Pakistan after the 1974 earthquake.

A variety of programs have included direct grants at preferential interest rates, loans to international organizations and contributions to development banks and regional development funds. The most spectacular item was the loan of \$750 million to the World Bank — the largest single loan ever extended to that international financial institution in its history. The loan, repayable over 10 years at 8.5 (below the Eurodollar rate), will provide capital for the Bank to lend to the less developed countries of the world for financing their development programs.

About this Issue

AMEU is receiving many requests for information about Saudi Arabia. This LINK is designed to answer them.

The author is Prof. Ray L. Cleveland, who is an American presently teaching in the History Department of the University of Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada. He has long been interested in and knowledgeable about Middle Eastern affairs and has written much on the subject. His book, *THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA*, is a valuable source of information and is revised by him regularly as statistics and situations change. His booklet, "Palestine and Israel, the Civil Rights Configuration", shows his concern for the rights of *all* people living in Israel and/or the occupied territories, regardless of their religious or ethnic background.

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■ **NOTE:** A major international bank has given AMEU a supply of its new picture brochure entitled, "Saudi Arabia, A New Economic Survey". We will be happy to send it on a first-come, first-served basis to those of our readers who request it. Teachers and businessmen will undoubtedly find this 48-page brochure of great interest.

THE LINK aims at maintaining contacts among Americans who believe that friendship with the people of the Middle East is essential to world peace, who would contribute to this goal by spreading understanding of the history, values, religions, culture and economic conditions of the Middle East, and who would—in this context—press for greater fairness, consistency and integrity in U.S. policy toward that area.

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