Government administration in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia

George T. Fitzgerald

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GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

By: George T. Fitzgerald

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration.

CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGE - San Bernardino - 1983
Government Administration
in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

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Approved by

Chairman

Date: July 30, 1983

Chairman of the Department of Public Administration
PREFACE

During my research efforts I was amazed to discover that the material available about the Government of Saudi Arabia was quite sparse. I am very much indebted to the Library staff at the University of Riyadh in Saudi Arabia for their assistance in my research endeavors. I am also very grateful to Professor Dr. Samuel W. Cochran from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey for his critical analysis and constructive criticism of my original manuscript.

In order to understand the Administrative Government of Saudi Arabia, I felt that it was necessary and appropriate to survey extensively the past history of the Government's origin. Upon my review of the pages of history I found most of the origins of particular cases, and facts, among the events of the past. I consider the historical-analytical point of view one of the most reliable research methods for objective inquiries. Although they cannot be regarded as absolute laws, the repetition in historical affairs, the similarities between events, which took place in past centuries, bring about generalizations. I must mention however, that historians have not generally accepted and codified absolute laws to guide them in observing this phenomena; but they do have principal points of view to investigate the facts, to find similarities, to make use of the incomplete data to obtain certain conclusions. I consider it feasible then, to have a look at the path through which the Arabian world is making up its history in order to grasp the determinants or conditions which more or less affect the present situation as far as the government administration in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is concerned.
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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and Scope of the Thesis:

The purpose of this thesis is not to provide the reader with detailed information about Saudi Arabia but to present some basic facts about the Kingdom, its historical evolution, meanwhile concentrating on the structure of Public Administration of the country. Some important historical affairs are taken as the starting point. To be able to give a general understanding of the Arab mentality and its current outcomes, it is found worthy to deal briefly with the concept of religion at the first step. Secondly, the historical-political developments and institutions are observed, to reflect the importance of exterior influences in the evolution of the present system. Following this, basic background information is given about Saudi Arabia, with also a brief history of the Kingdom. Finally, the development of government and public administration in Saudi Arabia, the core subject of the thesis, is discussed.

The author aimed to contribute partly, through a comparative reading, to the vast field of scientific research. The complexity of the subject limited the scope of the thesis to giving only the most significant points and selected statements about the subject headings.

B. Factors Determining the General Outline of the Thesis:

The Heartland of Islam is the Arabian Peninsula and Saudi Arabia is one of the most significant contributors to the Muslim World. Two basic facts: oil as a major source of economic strength and Saudi Arabia's great influence over a billion Muslim people have become important factors in Middle Eastern affairs.
As a newly developing country, Saudi Arabia faces most of the problems that other underdeveloped countries do, except for lack of capital. Within the 44 years after the discovery of the first commercial quantities of oil, continuous and extreme increase in revenues gave the Kingdom a unique opportunity to use these funds in significant and rapid raising of the material and social standards of living of its people.

Since no other country has ever experienced such a massive influx of revenue at such an early stage of its development, Saudi Arabia's efforts gained considerable acceleration. On the other hand, like several other less developed countries, Saudi Arabia also faced a widening gap between expectations and achievements. This is, of course, due to the country's lack of structural institutions and qualified skills to meet the complex demand coming out of ambitious development plans. Launching ambitious development plans usually face the obstacles of administrative deficiencies and shortage of trained staff. It should not be neglected, however, that the Kingdom's bureaucratic structure has grown up rapidly during the last two decades.

Through a huge mobilization of all its present resources, Saudi Arabia's aim is for prompt and exclusive success in the elimination of backwardness in every field of life in the country. To achieve this, the state is trying to accomplish a major task which is the installation of the basic economic structures and industrial establishments which will help alleviate the absolute dependency on oil revenues. On the other hand, it will also promote the improvement of the general standard of living.

According to current estimates, the reserves of Saudi Arabia are sufficient to provide the country with an oil income for at least another
30 years. The objectivity and reliability of the forecasts related to the future of this country requires a comprehensive understanding of the Kingdom's dynamics. The emergence of the Saudi State, the developments toward independence, the State's political institutions and their relationship with religion, and many other significant substructures of the Saudi regime are found worthy to deal with briefly within a general framework.

Although the main topic of this thesis is the functioning of the government and its institutions in Saudi Arabia, the historical contents are enlarged upon by the author, in order to give the reader a better understanding of the current government's structure which is aligned on the religion of Islam.
CHAPTER I

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Emergence and Rise of Islam

A. The Emergence of Islam as a Social and Political Order

Source: The existence of a common religion has been probably the only significant factor among Middle Eastern countries in the last century.

The late president Gamal Abd al-Nasser of the United Arab Republic and several other Arab leaders relied on the magnetic influences of a common religion and a language to create the common spirit of an Arab Nation. Despite the fact that a single unified Arab Nation is unlikely to occur in the present time, it cannot be denied that this ideal has attracted considerable attention and found wide support among people and even among individual states. It has become one of the cornerstones of Arab Political thought.

Emergence:

Seventh century A.D. witnessed the decline of two great empires; Byzantium and Persia. These two world powers left considerable traces in the futures of their neighbors once under their hegemony. The interior parts of Arabia were relatively free of foreign influences and they were not involved in the power struggles of major states of the period. The most urbanized region of the Arabian Peninsula was Hejaz. Hejaz had a
very active commercial life as the major trading center for commodity flow
and as a station for transit trade and communications with the rest of the
peninsula.

South Arabia had been the center of a number of polished, cultured
kingdoms in the Pre-Christian and Early-Christian eras... The re-
mainder of Arabia, excluding the deserts, was relatively free of
foreign influences and not involved in the power struggle... And
the chief of these towns, the most successful, was Mecca in the
Hejaz. Mecca lies on the important spice route passing through
Arabia from south to north.

Mecca had been a holy city of the region even at that time. The
black-stone in Ka'ba made it the temple of polytheist religious beliefs.
The believers used to visit the idols in Ka'ba as pilgrims. The black-stone
was believed to have fallen from the moon. Also the well (zam-zam) near the
temple was believed to be sacred.

The stone was kept in a small unroofed temple, the Ka'ba (Cube); and
at the time of new moon following the summer solstice, pilgrims came,
stripped off their clothing in humility, kissed the stone, and walked
seven times around the Ka'ba. Nor was this all. The pilgrims drank
next from the unplatable waters of zam-zam, a holy well.

B. The Prophet:

Mohammad was born in 571 as a descendant of the Hashimite family, a
branch of the Quraysh. Hashimites were not very rich and had little prestige
among other families. Mohammad's father died before his birth and his mother
also died when Mohammad was about six years old.

1 Spencer, William, Political Evolution in the Middle East, J. B.

2 Ibid. pp. 3-4.
It fell to the lot of his grandfather, Abd-al-Muttalib, to bring up the
boy, and after the grandfather's death the duty devolved upon his
paternal uncle Abu-Talib.

During his teens, Mohammad accompanied his uncle and boss, Abu-Talib,
traveling along with caravans to Syria and markets of the north. He also
tended his uncle's herds.

At the age of 25, he was hired by a wealthy and intelligent woman
from the Quraysh family, and married her soon after. Marriage to Khadija
freed Mohammad from the economic burdens of life. At the age of 35, he had
six children and led a merchants life. Rich though he was, he was spiritually
confused and in need of attaching himself to a reliable and meaningful source
of belief.

Mohammad was influenced by a group called the Hanifs. Members of
this group sought a sort of incult monotheism and objected to the Iconoclasm
of the time. Mohammad first learned about other religions through his dis-
cussions within this group. He learned about the Holy Bible and other sacred
Jewish books, Torah and Zebour. He sometimes went to the desert for medi-
tation in a small cave outside Mecca. The cave was called Hira.

It was in the course of one of these periods of distraction caused
by doubts and yearning after the truth that:

Mohammad heard in Ghar-Hira, a voice commanding: "Recite thou in the
name of thy Lord who created,..." this was his revelation. The Prophet
had received his call. The night of that day was later named "The Night
of Power".

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4 Hitti, Philip K., op. cit., p. 112.
Thus, as Mohammad received the Lord's Call, the latest of the universal religions, Islam emerged.

For many years, only Mohammad, his wife and a small group of people around him remained aware of the revelation and the new faith he had acquired. Once he started to denounce the idols of Mecca and declare the might of one God, "Allah", he attracted hostility from several groups. Among these, the strongest reaction came from the leaders of the Quraysh tribe. The denunciation of the idols of Ka'ba meant the elimination of a major source of income for them. As a result of the conflict, Mohammad and his believers took refuge in Abu Talib's castle.

The hostility he faced in Mecca forced Mohammad to consider a new base for operations. The rise of a dispute between two factions in Yathrib gave Mohammad a chance to establish himself as the messenger of God. He was called to arbitrate between the disputing sides. He went there, 300 miles northeast of Mecca. In A.D. 622 Mohammad's departure for Yathrib, later called Medina ("the city"), was named "Hegira" (migration), which marks the start of Islamic calendar. At Yathrib, the Prophet solved the dispute between the two major tribes and decided to stay in the town for a while.

Mohammad's life now underwent a fundamental change. No longer was he a mere spiritual guide wandering in the wilderness. He was now a temporal ruler to whom the Jews and the feuding tribes of Yathrib—the Aws and the Khazraj looked for justice and good government. Responding to these new tasks, he made a treaty of alliance with the Jews by which they and the Moslems undertook not to molest each other and to defend the city against any aggressor... He decreed bloodshed to be a crime against God and established himself as the final court of appeal for all disputes.

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The advancement of the religion required an efficient location, power, prestige and wealth for use in expansionism and widening the influence of the religion. Mecca would be the excellent base to provide those for Islam.

At first, Medina became the temporary capital. There, Mohammed established the national community "umma", to replace the pre-Islamic tribal socio-political structure. The tribes kept their traditional institutions and forms of behavior but accepted Mohammad as the final authority to decide, to arbitrate and to rule. The prophet's goal was to take Arabia's religiously dominant city, Mecca; for the might of Islam.

At the Battle of Badr, the Muslims defeated a much larger force of Quraysh... There were many defeats or victories; but, at last, after six years of exile, Mohammad returned to Mecca and the Quraysh accepted (or submitted to) Islam.

In January 630 A.D. Mohammad entered Ka'ba and smashed the idols mounted along the walls. He walked around the building seven times and he declared it "haram" (forbidden) to non believers. Until his death in 632 A.D. he led his followers in many campaigns against pagan tribes in Arabia.

Mohammad's contribution to world civilization was not only a monotheist religion but the way Arabs focused their islamic beliefs in government. They discovered that a community of collective religion meant at the same time, a community of common spirit. Arabia started to organize socially under a theocracy, whose final governor was God. Islam kept the structure of commercial life, but on the other hand, the rulers developed an extensive socio-political order along with the religious order, based on the patriarchal family tribe structure of Arabia.

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6 Spencer, William, op. cit.
Islamic Structure:

The person designated to lead the believers in prayer after Mohammad's death, called the "imam", could be anyone, rich or poor, high or low, provided that he had certain qualifications.

The structure of Islam rose upon three foundations: The Kor'an and Hadiths (sayings and deeds of the Prophet), the oneness of God and the essentials of faith. These fundamentals brought, politically, four main features to the Muslim community:

1) Its sole head is God, and his word... the Kor'an, is its law and constitution.
2) God's word is the only source of law, and the community cannot enact its own law.
3) The function, form and constitution of the state are eternal and cannot be changed, regardless of time or place.
4) The purpose of the state is to uphold the faith and to maintain and enforce the word of God.

The totality of the God's commandments, "sharia" cannot be regarded as law in the modern sense of the word. It is, rather, a doctrine of ethics, determining the rules, for the entire life of the Muslim Community; religious, political, social, domestic and private.

The Kor'an, originally by word of mouth, was written after the prophet's death in order to preserve his revelations.

God's unity and oneness is the main framework of the massive structure of Islam with a distinct rejection of Christian trinity. The Kor'an provides the believer with the concepts of angels and jinni (devil) as a guide to Paradise and description of Hell. As the third basic element, the five

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essentials are the obligatory religious duties for every Muslim.

Sahada: the profession of faith
Salat: prayer
Zakat: almsgiving
Ramadan: a month of special fast and a religious diet
Hajj: pilgrimage

At any level of observation, the main emphasis should be put on the point that Islam is a unity of social principles and it imposes absolute brotherhood. One can say that, in Islam, religion is at the same time the constitution for governing the society, law for providing justice and key for worshiping God. And the religion imposes its principles and applies its sanctions through Shariah Law which is still in force in the present time.

C. The Caliphate

Through succeeding centuries, following the evolution of Islam, the world was divided into two parts: Muslims and the others. Muslims defined the Christian world as "dar al-harb" (abode of war) and themselves as "dar al-Islam" (abode of Islam). The Muslims were weaker at first, and hostilities were continuously growing between the two sides. Their leader, Mohammad was dead A.D. 632, and in their belief, he had been the last of God's messengers. He had left no instructions for succession, no son to take his place either. The situation seemed critical. Islam had to redress the balance against "dar al-harb".

The tribal structure of Saudi Arabia found the solution through its traditional formulations. The succession was to be decided by the customary elective manner and once the election was completed, it would continue in the form of a dynasty.
The successor to the Prophet was designated Khalifah (caliph, deputy or temporal leader). The first to be named and recognized by the Muslim Community was Abu Bakr (632-634), Mohammad's father-in-law and closest friend... able to command respect.

The Caliph was to decide on right or wrong for the society, war or peace with other communities and on all other problems related to the survival of the Muslim Community. He gained the powers of a political ruler in addition to being the spiritual and religious leader. The Caliph had absolute authority over all the institutions.

At the death of the fourth Caliph Ali, the elected Caliphate came to end to be replaced by the more authoritarian Caliphate of the Umayyads, the dominant branch of the Quraysh (661). This came about through several inner conflicts following the death of the Prophet.

The momentum acquired in internal campaigns, which transformed Arabia for a number of months after the death of the Prophet into an armed camp, had to seek new outlets, and the newly acquired technique of organized warfare had to be applied somewhere. The warlike spirit of tribes, now brought together into a nominally common fraternity, had to find new channels for asserting itself.

So began that astonishing burst of energy which carried the green banner of Islam, east to the Indus, west to the Atlantic shores of Morocco. In time, the muslim kingdom became an empire, yet an empire which commanded no real allegiance to the ruler, but to religion only.

The continuous conflict between the Byzantine and Persian Empires had been the base for the Islam's Caliph to conquer his territories and expand. The complete disunity of the Arab world prevented any kind of

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8 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 11.
9 Hitti, Philip K., op. cit., p. 142.
considerable opposition and resistance. The suffering of eastern provinces of Byzantium, although Christian, from tax gatherers was another example of the basic factors preparing the background for the rise of the Islamic Empire. In none of the conquered territories, did Muslims make a total change of the traditional socio-political institutions. They always preferred to preserve the traditional local authorities and use them in their rule. This contrasted with Byzantine excesses. As a result of this, Muslim conquerors kept their control over their territories for longer periods.

The Umayyads extended the Islamic Empire to the Sinkiang-Uygur Region of present day China in the east, and to Poitiers, France in the west, conquered all of North Africa, Persia and even sieged, but failed to take, Constantinople several times. They transferred the capital to Damascus. Later they lost power in a palace coup in the second half of 7th century to the Abbasis. Abbasis claimed to have descended from the Prophet's uncle. Al-Abbas, took over as the ruling dynasty and started to rule from Baghdad; while the remaining Umayyads took refuge in loyal Andalusia (Spain), thus creating the first crack in the territorial integrity of the empire. They were overrun by the Castillians in 1499.

Meanwhile, the Shia sect of Muslims who were gaining a broad power base in Persia weakened the might of the Caliph in Baghdad. A power vacuum emerged and the Caliphs had to increasingly rely on a new race for their protection which was more warlike and organized than their Arab rulers. The Turks of Central Asia quickly filled this vacuum (according to
Arnold Toynbee)*, and started one of the great empires of the world: The Ottoman Empire.

* Around 13th Century AD, there were several independent kingdoms in the region, such as Shi'ite Fatimis in Egypt (later to be replaced by the Mamluks), the Seljuk Turks in Iran and Anatolia, Seladin's empire (the Ayyubis) on present day Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Israel and the Arabian Peninsula. There were several Christian enclaves in Palestine and on the Mediterranean coast.
CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Ottoman Ascendancy in the Arab World

A. Rise and Fall of Ottomans

Throughout the contemporary middle east history, Ottoman influences are of a considerable importance. All countries in the Middle East, except Iran and those in southern most Arabia, had been part of the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century until the end of World War I. While Arab influences were largely cultural, the Ottomans affected the whole political, social and economic aspects of life through their institutions. On the other hand, however, as a part of their policy, Ottomans helped preserve the traditional communal structures of their Arab vassals.

Only Anatolia became Turkified, but Ottoman Law still governs personal status, property and minority rights in several Middle Eastern nations. Even in Israel, the most westernized, Ottoman codes remain the basis of a large part of the legal system. 10

The Ottomans were Turkish warrior tribes whose ancestors came westward from the Far East and Central Asia. Through the mastery of the horse and bow, which gave them both great mobility and the advantage of waging attack from a relatively longer distance than face-to-face combat, these warriors became a great military force.

After their first emergence in the 13th century and their creation of one of the World's largest empires, thirty-six sultans ruled the Ottoman State. All of the rulers directly descending from the House of Osman, they were headed by a long dynasty.

Following the Turks' evacuation of Central and East Asia, to cross the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and penetrate as far as the Adriatic Sea in the latter half of the 14th century, the Mongol power expanded occupying Afghanistan. The Mongols conquered Persia and Kurdistan. Their warlord, Tamerlane, claiming descent from Genghis Khan of ancient Mongolia, took Baghdad and Mesopotamia in 1393. He spread eastward into India, following a short diversion into Russia, and turned his attention to the Middle East again.

Sweeping the Memluk armies, who then controlled nearly all Arab countries, Mongols occupied Syria in 1400. Tamerlane's forces went into Anatolia and crushed the Ottoman army near Ankara in 1402. The Mongol invasion halted near the Aegean coast only after Tamerlane's death. From then on, Turks started to concentrate on a massive offensive in 1404, that was to end with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The final destruction of the Byzantine Empire opened the way for the Ottoman armies through the Balkans. Turks, having conquered all the lands from Danube to the Taurus Mountains, started to mobilize; to expand toward the east and the south.

From its Anatolian heartland, the Ottoman Empire spread over three continents: Asia, Europe and Africa. In 1516-1517, the armies of Sultan Selim I, captured Syria, including Palestine and Egypt. His successor Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), expanded the empire through Iraq up to the present borders of Iran. In the other direction, it penetrated into Central Europe, making Hungary part of his domains...
In the Arabian Peninsula the conquests reached halfway down the western shore of the Persian Gulf and included the eastern Red Sea coast... Morocco in North Africa was also within the empire. The Black Sea became an Ottoman Lake. When Ottomans seized Cairo and crushed the Memluk dynasty in 1517, its remaining vassal cities, Mecca and Medina fell automatically under Ottoman rule. The Arab Caliph was then taken to new capital of Ottomans, Constantinople. The Caliphate would shift to the Ottoman dynasty soon after.

After Suleiman the Magnificent completed his offensive, the only independent areas that remained of the ancient Arab Empire were a part of Morocco, Persia and the desert heart of the Arabian Peninsula. Except those and Yemen, a Shi'ite Imamate, all the Arabic speaking areas became the domains of the Ottoman Empire and they remained so until the 19th century. Constantinople became Islam's capital and Cairo became a mere provincial town. With the discovery of the Cape Route to India by Vasco de Gama in 1498, Egypt, Syria and Iraq lost their importance as trade routes to the East.

Thus, the Arab world fell into a sleep of ages, which would last about 300 years. Their survival continued in routine under the domination of the Ottoman Turkish rule. Except for administrative and defensive matters, the structural origins of the Arabs' were not dissolved in those of their rulers. Hence no assimilation of the Arabs into an Ottoman Nationhood occurred.

B. The Soci-Political Structure of the Ottoman Rule

The modern political history of the Middle East and regenerative forces of Arab nationalism were set in motion during the long Ottoman-Turkish

11 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 27.
administration. The Arabs, who had been the active agents in the propagation of Islam, passed the work of administration over to the more disciplined, organized Turks. The Ottoman Empire remained in the hands of a single ruling family (the House of Osman). The Palace found a set of political criteria in international relations and introduced several different political methods which permitted the continuation of a reasonably harmonious co-existence of separate nationalities as far as the Empire rose and expanded.

The internal affairs of the central governing body had always been kept away from the knowledge of the people and local administration sensitivity. As a result, Ottoman governments provided a high degree of stability for the western half of the Middle East during the period of their progress. As the Palace gradually lost its control over the Empire, the decline started.

Under the Ottoman rule, considerable changes took place in the portrait of the Middle East.

The center of Islam passed from the Arab world; the great cities of the Islamic past, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo became provincial cities; Jerusalem's walls were rebuilt and Christians and Jews were even encouraged to settle there. The Ottomans' skilled and disciplined administrators (which the Arabs were not) welded an empire of diverse peoples and religions together through a unique arrangement of political institutions.

The major political institutions of the Empire evolved largely in the 15th and 16th centuries.

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12 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 27.
At the apex of the Empire, stood the Sultan Caliph, who was both a secular ruler and religious symbol... The Imperial household or seray (palace) was at the center of the ruling institution. 13

1. Ruling Institution:

The Sultan Caliph decided on government matters together with his advisory body, the "ulema" (selected specialists and interpreters of religion, that the sultan consulted with in decision making). The first codification of Ottoman Law was made by Suleiman I. and it was called "kanun-name". The core of the text relied on Sharia (the Islamic Law) as a whole, while parts of it were drawn from consensus from the ulema's interpretation of the Sharia, and some elements were even adapted from Roman Law.

After the seizure of the caliphate by Selim I., Sultans became the final decision makers. However, in practice, the hierarchy of the ulema was composed of Kadis (Judges) and muftis (learned jurists) whose head was the Grand Mufti of Constantinople (Sheikh al-Islam) and, interpreted or justified Sultan's decrees according to Sharia Law. So long as the ruling Sultan was strong, this system worked effectively, but it posed a threat to stability whenever weak Sultans ruled.

The ruling institution, an imperial Ottoman creation, was a centralized bureaucracy whose efficiency depended upon the personal character of the Sultan or his chief deputy, the Grand Vezir. 14

The Grand Vezir had responsibilities similar to those of a prime minister, though the only person he was responsible to was the Sultan. The top administration of the Ruling Institution of the Empire reflected a hierarchy within this framework.

13 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 56.
14 Ibid., p. 57.
2. Capitulations:

A second major institution was the "capitulations". The Ottoman state was chiefly a military establishment. The heterogenous structure of the population, the major expansionist policy of the state, and dependence on the idea of existence through conquests of the "dar al-harb" (abode of war against non-muslims) were the main characteristics of the state. The Ottomans were perfect warriors and administrators, but they were not so successful in business as Arabs were in the Middle East or as Venetians and Genevese were in the west. Neither in agriculture nor in manufacturing, did modern techniques or dynamic individual action exist in the Ottoman experience. Military expenditures absorbed most of the sources of state finance. In later times, the palace's extreme expenditures also had a negative influence on the treasury. Instead of encouraging domestic manufacture of goods and promoting the growth of trade, Ottomans always preferred to pay for those, which were made ready and available by Christian minorities and relied on the West. Except for tax-collection, warriorship and establishing political order all over the country and conquering territories, the Ottomans never had a commercial activity larger than subsistence-scale agricultural production.

Capitulations were special rights and privileges conferred on foreigners trading with the Empire... Capitulations of a sort were a traditional feature of Mediterranean economic life, but the Ottomans brought them into the sphere of foreign relations. From the Ottoman viewpoint, they surrendered nothing and gained much. They encouraged European nations to continue trading with the Empire, and freed the Turks from the burden of conducting commerce, for which they had little stomach and less skill. 15

15 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 28.
Parallel to the degeneration of the internal government of the Empire, the degree and number of the capitulative privileges increased respectively.

3. The Janissaries:

Another well-known politico-military institution was the Janissary order. The Janissaries (Yeni-Tcheri—"new troops") were an elite force for the defense of the Empire. They were selected from among the healthiest children of the Christian villages annually, (devshirme) converted to Islam and its customs, very well trained and afterwards subjected to another selection.

The system was further refined by the Devshirme, a method of recruitment. Recruiting teams made yearly visits to Christian villages, mostly in the Balkans, to take back to Constantinople a percentage of the best physical specimens among the young male population. Some were trained to be pages, others entered the civil service... the healthiest were assigned to the Janissaries. Completely severed from their families, forbidden to marry, rigorously trained and fanatically loyal...

In time, the Janissaries became the best military corps in the Western World. As well as their contribution to the Ottoman conquests, their efficiency and power caused many troubles for the central administration during the years of decline. Through their power and respect among the people, they gradually raised their demands from the Palace for further privileges. They became more and more difficult to control and turned to be a major factor of unrest within the central administration.

C. Decline

The ethnic and religious diversity within the Empire prompted the Ottomans to devise a system whereby non-Muslims could be controlled without

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16 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
becoming subject to Islamic Law. The Christian minorities under the Caliphate had generally been left alone with no extreme obligations except for a payment of a poll-tax and a couple of minor restrictions. Each community was given autonomy in its internal affairs under its own ecclesiastical authority.

Preferring to remain a dominant minority at home in Asia Minor, the Ottomans ruled their dominions via Turkish Viceroy called "Pashas". Under the rule of the Empire's viceroys, local officials and soldiers could and did attain the highest positions of power and responsibility. A unit of Janissaries was stationed in each provincial capital to serve as a nucleus for the security and defense forces in the region. The rest of the local forces were composed of the natives of that community, who were put through courses of training and indoctrination in local Turkish military schools.

The particular Ottoman theory to establish the political entity of the Empire was the separate "millets" (nations) system. This system later posed an important threat to the continuation of the Ottomans. During the times of decline, the central government lost the control over the subdivisions, while rising Western powers staged provocations to promote the separatist movements within the Empire. These separatist trends began to undermine the unity of the Ottoman Empire.

Until the reign of Suleiman I. the Ottoman government recognized four Millets; the Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Gregorian and Jewish. During the reign of Suleiman I. a fifth Millet was recognized. This millet was generally made up of Catholics, all of whom were non-Osmanli citizens... After the capture of Constantinople by Fatih in 1453, each millet was permitted wide autonomy to develop its religious, cultural and educational life... Each used its own language and was under the jurisdiction of its own legal system, except for certain circumstances... As the Ottoman Empire proclaimed itself a Muslim Empire, the Muslim millet understandably held a favoured position within the Empire.

17 Peretz, Don, op. cit., pp. 62-64.
In addition to the "Nation" system, the capitulations also became instruments of abuse which further contributed to the inner decay of the Empire. As the Ottoman State machinery started to degenerate, the capitulations increased in parallelism to the growing weakness of the government. By the grant of further privileges, foreign nationals became almost totally immune to the laws of the Ottoman State.

The mismanagement soon spread to the branches of the central government. A feudal system of military grants for service contributed to the deterioration of the mechanism. The distribution of governorships were assigned to public officials, who paid for them under the table to obtain the privilege of tax-collection in their provinces. Naturally such officials expected to make excessive gains in order to compensate for their "investment-in-advance", within the Palace. Strong tensions and widespread unrest developed in the country and among administrative circles. The Palace started to lose prestige and control rapidly.

The skill of the ruler in administration, as the chief and final executive, always played a vital role in the running of the Ottoman Government. The first twelve sultans of Osman (Ottoman) Dynasty, all able and intelligent rulers, were succeeded by a series of incompetents, degenerates and misfits. Under their rule, the efficiency and integrity of government declined catastrophically. The extraordinary system the Ottomans established in order to insure hereditary succession, contributed to the worsening of skill and performance in administration. From the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, till the 16th century, direct succession from father to son was insured by the simple but savage method of murder. Each succeeding sultan was to kill
his brothers in order to prevent any possible competition. The Ottoman rulers wanted no opposition and no rival in the political arena. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, all male relatives, except the sons of the reigning sultans, were kept imprisoned in the Palace. As a precaution, they were totally isolated from the outside world and prevented from establishing contact with people and members of the Palace. In the 18th century, a new rule was introduced which provided the obligatory passage of succession, on the death of each Sultan, to his eldest living, male relative. From then on, succeeding rulers faced a great many difficulties in decision making and in the supervision of governmental affairs. This was a natural result of their captivity, ignorance of the outside world and the domestic circumstances and problems of the Empire.

The Ottoman systems of military organizations, civil administration, financial organization and land tenure were all established according to the needs of a society expanding by conquest and colonization of Christian lands. As the Empire expanded further, growing difficulties in administration and keeping control over the conquered lands arose. In addition to this, Ottomans found themselves confronted on every border by impassable barriers because they had already attained their natural boundaries. Western powers were gaining strength and they were uniting their military forces under the banner of Christianity. In the south, was the impassable African Desert. Ottoman armies had confronted Russians in the North, and the Empire's naval power had to face the Portuguese navy in open seas. Under such circumstances and with inner decay, the Ottoman State started to lose its impetus of expansion. It also seemed to lose its sense of purpose. By the 18th century, the
European powers were capable of successfully frustrating the Empire's efforts in maintaining a self-enclosed entity, isolated from the rest of the world. In a competitive world that was inspired by new revolutionary movements, not only the territorial integrity of the Sultan's domains was threatened but also the whole imperial way of life began lagging behind the West.
CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

First Nationalist Movements in Arab Countries Rising Up Against
The Ottoman Rule

A. First Movements in Arab Countries

The Ottomans could no longer hold their Empire together. By the end of the 18th century, they were on retreat in Europe. Britain, France, Austria and Russia united against Ottomans in a concerted drive in the hope of picking up what the Turks might leave behind. Also, some movements started in Arab countries. The first major challenge came from Egypt. Neglect by the rulers, the deterioration in administrative hierarchy, and abuses by viceroys and their staff resulted in widespread poverty among the people of the region leading to great unrest.

At first the Ottoman authorities did much to help the Arab peasant communities in the Empire. However, the House of Osman, as well as other dynasties that had ruled the Arab world, fell into a decline, thus its imperial subjects became neglected by administration.

During the 280 years of direct Ottoman rule, a hundred different Turkish viceroys came and went in Egypt. Syria saw even more frequent changes... the plight of the people (in the 17th century), especially in Egypt, deteriorated still further under Ottoman rule... And in 1769 the explosion came when Ali Bey, the commander of the Mameluke Army, expelled the Ottoman Pasha and proclaimed Egypt's independence.\(^{18}\)

\(^{18}\) Nutting, Anthony, op. cit., pp. 216-217.
With a coalition of Mamluke, Lebanese and Ottoman forces, Egypt's forces were overcome by the Sultan's army and Ali Bey was killed in the fighting. A Bedouin leader of Syrian tribes, Sheikh Zahir al Omar, also revolted against the Ottoman rule. Two years after Ali's defeat, the Ottoman army defected him. The Turks were getting exhausted by colonial strifes. Sultan's reign could hardly be restored, since Turkish rule had been badly shaken in the Middle East.

Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt once again, in 1798, brought this province into international politics. Britain's rising interest in the Middle East, in addition to that of France made these two countries major actors of Middle Eastern politics. There was a great deal of competition to acquire a good standing in oriental trade which was the determining criterion in developments.

Portuguese merchants had been challenging Italians since the 15th century, while Russians were extending their empire towards India. This was unwelcome news for Britain. Russia's rising power in the Black Sea was also being regarded as a threat to western interests and colonialism.

B. Revolt in Hejaz

The conflict in Egypt escalated into a war. Ottoman forces were led by the then viceroy Mohammad Ali which ended the traditional Franco-Ottoman friendship. The relations between the Russian Tsar and the Sultan were also severed, thus, the British strengthened relations with the Ottomans through a close alliance, and fought against rising French influence in the Persian Gulf and in Iraq.
Admiral Nelson's navy duly repaid Sultan's generosity (Ottoman Sultan had sent several precious gifts when asking for British assistance) by defeating the French navy at Abukir Bay, and three years later, in 1801, British army units in Egypt routed the French army at the battle of Alexandria. Napoleon's ambitions in the east were frustrated, and, as his forces withdrew from Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan breathed freely once again.

The Anglo-French peace treaty in 1802 re-established the pre-war situation in the Empire. The French even dragged the Sultan into a war with Russia (1806-1812) and with England (1807-1809), which was to prove disastrous. An alliance of the British with the Memlukes was established against the Ottoman viceroy. Mohammad Ali in Egypt was defeated and this caused the total annihilation of the Memlukes. Mohammad Ali, who strengthened his hold on Egypt, turned to Hejaz. In the early years of his rise, Mohammad Ali decided that it would be wise to act alongside the Turks until he felt strong enough to realize his ambition: to head an independent state of Egypt.

In Hejaz, meanwhile, a new fundamentalist section of Sunni Orthodox Muslims, the Wahhabis, were establishing a state, independent from the Sultan. They had already seized Mecca and Medina.

The Wahhabis were the forefathers of today's Saudi Arabians. They were followers of Sheikh Mohammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, a fundamentalist eighteenth century revivalist, who regarded the Turks as ruthless defilers of the Islamic religion. According to Abdul Wahhab, the first steps to be taken in order to purge the Muslim world of such unholy influences, was the cleaning up of the holy cities of Islam. An ancestor of King Saud (founder of Saudi Arabia), Mohammad Ibn Saud led the first movement towards Mecca and Medina.

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19 Nutting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 220.
These two founders of the Wahhabi sect, died before their movement could achieve power. But in 1801, their successors sacked Kerbela, considered the principal shrine of the Shia heresy, then went on to seize Mecca and Medina. By 1805, they had invaded Syria and Iraq, extending their dominion from Palmyra to Oman.

The Ottoman Sultan was informed by his envoys that Mohammad Ali had the strongest power in the land, with an Albanian Garrison and the Egyptian people behind him. In June 1805, the Sublime Porte (Ottoman Palace) officially appointed Mohammed Ali as the Pasha (viceroy) of Egypt, to crush the Hejaz revolt.

Mohammad Ali Pasha sent an army to Hejaz to eject the Wahhabis. During the first years, Ali's forces under the command of his young and inexperienced son could not overcome the zealous defense that was put up by the Wahhabi Arabs. In 1813, Mohammad Ali came personally and brought reinforcements. Egyptians made good use of the competition and jealousy among the Wahhabi leaders. Mecca and Medina were re-taken in 1818. Ibrahim, the grand son of Mohammad Ali Pasha, went on to invade Najd and destroy the Wahhabi capital "Daraya" (Dairya). In 1819, Northern Sudan too became a part of Mohammad Ali's territories. After these conquests, Mohammad Ali was called in to help quench the trouble that broke out in Crete, where the Sultan's Greek subjects were trying to get themselves off of the Turkish yoke. In 1822 the Sultan offered him the island, if he could put down the Greek revolt, and in 1824 Mohammad Ali added Crete to his growing personal empire. However, the seeds of Greek nationalism grew, and spread to the Greek mainland, provoking some serious uprisings in Morca. Egyptian forces in support of the Sultan landed in Greece. They drove out the rebels and took Athens. At this point, Britain,

20 Nutting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 225.
Russia and France decided to intervene on behalf of the rebels. Diplomatic negotiations could not reach a conclusive agreement. Mohammad Ali refused to withdraw and broke off the talks.

Diplomacy having failed to stop hostilities, Britain and France, now tried more forceful methods. In October 1827, a powerful Anglo-French fleet appeared before the main Turkish anchorage at Navarino... when the smoke of the battle had cleared, the combined naval forces of the Ottoman Sultan and the Egyptian Pasha had been virtually wiped out... Mohammad Ali... promptly ordered Ibrahim to withdraw and leave Morca...

C. Disorder in Egypt, Sudan and Algeria

1. Egypt:

Hostilities gradually started to grow between the Sultan and Ali Pasha. Mohammad Ali seized Syria and asked the Sultan to allow him to establish his own rule as the viceroy of Syria. When the Sublime Porte denied him this, he conquered Syria on his own, receiving the support of the Lebanese Amir, Bashir al-Chehabi, and revolted against the Sultan. Pushing government forces back, Ali's forces invaded greater Syria including Palestine and Lebanon. Crossing the Taurus mountains in southeastern Anatolia, they captured Adana and Konya. Mohammad Ali had to order his son Ibrahim to halt. At this time the British gave a warning so that they could control "the sick man of the East" instead of Ali Pasha's fresh and strong forces. He was then appointed to the Pashalik of Egypt again. The Sultan also gave his recognition of Ali's conquest of Syria, so Mohammad Ali called Ibrahim back to Syria to consolidate his conquests. He was appointed to be the Pasha of Syria.

Following the Russo-Ottoman alliance in 1833, by which the Russians gained considerable influence over the Ottoman government and access to...

the Mediterranean Sea, the Western powers, the European Alliance, decided that it was in their interest to maintain the status quo in the Ottoman Empire. An Anglo-Austrian force drove the Egyptian forces back and returned all the territories seized by Ali Pasha to the Sultan. Early in 1841 Mohammad Ali was reconfirmed as the Pasha of Egypt and permitted to find a dynasty. Therefore, the main result of the developments was that Britain became more involved in Middle Eastern affairs through indirect and close association with the Ottomans.

As early as the 16th century, European traders had set up mercantile colonies in Syria and Lebanon and had been granted some capitulations by the Sublime Porte. Their nationals were exempt from Turkish taxation and jurisdiction. Venetians, Britains and Frenchmen led the pack. French factories soon started to operate in many parts of Syria.

The Frenchmen took upon themselves the role of a protecting power, for the Catholic inhabitants; European and Arab. From these beginnings, French and other European missionaries and teachers, unable to resist the impulse to spread their gospel, followed in the wake of the traders and set up churches and schools to further their work. These "infidel" incursions were tolerated by the Ottoman authorities as the inevitable concomitant of the European trading community, and were even encouraged for their means by certain local rulers.

Benefiting from the abolishment of several restrictions against minorities, Americans too came to Syria. U. S. missionaries concentrated their work in the province. The gates of the Middle East were open to influences coming from the west in the aspects of commerce, religion,

\[22\] Nutting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 219.
2. Sudan:

After helping put down an uprising in 1882, Britain became the de-facto ruler of Egypt. Until 1890, a rivalry between Great Britain and Russia developed in Iran, each trying to secure some major concessions to their benefit from the Shah. Meanwhile, nationalist movements appeared in northern Sudan by the start of Mohammad Ibn Sayid Abdullah's rule. Mohammad took upon himself the title "Mahdi" and started to behave as if he were the second Prophet of Islam. He declared war against Turks and all infidels in Sudan. Mahdi attained relative success against the Egyptians in the ensuing war. In El-Obeid, Mahdi's forces destroyed a full Anglo-Egyptian army of about ten thousand Egyptian regulars commanded by British officers. Mahdi introduced fanatical rules and punishments in order to establish discipline, order, loyalty and a common spirit among his men. He consolidated his hold in Sudan in a short time. But soon after his conquest of Khartoom, he died in 1885. Fourteen years later the British invaded Sudan and overwhelmed the Mahdist army.

3. Algeria:

The first hostilities between the Turkish ruler of Algeria and France started in 1827. In July 1830, a French expedition overcame the local forces and invaded Algeria. A colonial French administration was organized in the

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* Missionary-minded private U. S. citizens established several colleges and schools in the Empire. Among them, the oldest American College abroad, the Robert College of Istanbul (1863) was founded by a wealthy New York businessman, Mr. Robert, with the cooperation of a missionary educator, Mr. Cyrus Hamlin. Following this, several American mission-schools sprouted, mainly in the Eastern-Christiant populated areas of the Empire.
region and started to rule in a short time. The French rule attracted a strong opposition and soon after a resistance movement emerged in Algeria. A local leader, Abn al-Kader, led the movement against both the Ottomans and French colonialists. After long years of local fighting, the French put down resistance. Abd al-Kader took refuge in Morocco. There he conducted raids into Algeria, but was defeated in a battle in 1843. Overpowering border patrols, French forces invaded Morocco in pursuit. French warships bombarded Tangier and Mogador. The sultan of Morocco refused to hand Abd al-Kader over and declared war against France. The better organized and equipped French army, however, forced the Sultan to put the show of Arab solidarity aside and to outlaw Abd al-Kader in exchange for peace in 1845. Abd al-Kader finally surrendered in 1847. The French locked him up in an army fortress in Toulon. After the coup d'etat by Napoleon III in 1852, he was allowed to go to Turkey and a few years later, he went to Damascus, Syria. Thus, he failed in his efforts to win independence for Algeria, but contributed significantly to the cause of Arab nationalism and to the Arab determination towards independence.

D. The Last Reform Efforts in the Ottoman Empire.

In the early 1900's, Ottomans established a rapprochment with Germany. This led to the Ottomans' final end as an imperial state. The movement was guided by a reform group within the government, which was called "the Young Turks". The reformists wanted to institute a constitutional monarchy. Their leaders believed in Pan-Ottomanism, which meant uniting the disparate elements in the Empire by means of a constitution, bringing an end to foreign intervention in domestic affairs and patriotic appeals to Islam. They
established an association called "Committee of Union and Progress" and in 1909, deposed Sultan-Calip Abd al-Hamid. The Union and Progress assumed power following the elections in April 1911 under the inefficient Sultanate of Mohammad, the fifth elder member of the House of Osman.

At first, the Young Turks' revolution encouraged feelings of unity among various ethnic groups in the Empire. Soon after it appeared the Young Turks had more limited ideas such as "Pan-Turkism" with its final stage. "Pan-Turanism" which can be defined as an ideal to gather and unite all the peoples of Turkish blood under one new entity and to establish a new independent state out of the ruins of the worn out Ottoman Empire.

Young Turks invested in the construction of the Hejaz railway. This was seen as an imperialistic gesture by the Arabs, a device to control the region and was sabotaged by the Arabs in 1916. During this time, the Arab nationalist movement, which was against foreign intervention and its demands limited to local autonomy only, was persecuted and forced to go underground. As Ottoman leaders openly pledged allegiance to Germany in 1913, the Empire's Arab citizens gradually denied their support from the Ottomans. German military and technical assistance resulted in a political alliance with the Axis Powers.

The Pan-Turkist characteristic of the Young Turks movement was the major reason which pushed the Arabs towards seeking a true national identity. At the beginning there was no particular desire among Arab intellectuals to break with the Ottomans. The Sultan-Caliph was their legitimate ruler and they had no intention to ask for aid from infidels against him. The extent of their farthest ambitions was local autonomy within a decentralized
federal-Ottoman State. The Pan-Turkish policies, however, alienated and disappointed Arab leaders. The Ottoman-Arab brotherhood was officially outlawed. Arabs had to get organized within several secret societies, which were more fiercely nationalistic in character.

The outbreak of the World War I, gave Arab nationalists an opportunity to put their revolutionary plans into effect. The transfer of control in the Middle East to Western powers by the end of the war, slowed down the movements. The roots of national spirit and will of independence, however, were so strong that the new era by its new institutional and structural particularities would, in time, give way to the birth of a new regional balance, new independent states and new policies. The "power system" of European colonialists would leave its place to the bi-polar system in the post-war period. The developments in the latter half of the century towards another World War would accelerate the independence movements of individual states throughout the Middle East.

E. Western Interests in the Middle East:

The former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire were less fortunate than Turkey for they were unable to successfully resist allied plans for their future; and they became pawns in the great power struggle for war spoils till the end of World War II.  

Britain occupied the Perim Island of Aden in 1857. The Sultanate of Oman was dominated by a British-Indian government. Ferdinand de Lesseps was granted permission by Egypt to build the Suez Canal which was opened in 1869. By means of the Suez Canal, the British influence reached along

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23 Peretz, Don., op. cit., p. 112.
the Southern Coast of Arabia from Aden eastwards.

The chain of outposts was completed in 1876-1878, when the islands of Sacotra and Cyprus became British protectorates.  

British interests in Egypt were largely commercial, whereas France had cultural and political relations. The British textile industry was becoming increasingly dependent on Egyptian cotton. The Suez Canal was largely French owned and operated in 1882, but Britain established a protectorate under the name of temporary occupation and took control over the Canal.

German interests in the Middle East were negligible until the 1890's. German politicians and high military officers worked closely with the Ottoman government. German capitalists were investing heavily in railway construction in the Empire. After Bismarck's dismissal in 1890, Berlin took a major interest in the area. The major German venture in the Middle East was the construction of a railroad between Berlin and the Persian Gulf. Britain, which at first seemed to support such ventures, later made a secret agreement with the Sheikh of Kuwait to prevent this construction. By 1903, plans for the Berlin-Baghdad railroad were completed. The German colonial ambitions in Asia, Africa and in the Near East, in addition to that country's rising industrial and military might, promptly compelled Britain and France to sign an accord in 1904, not to obstruct each other's policies and not to intervene in each other's area of influence.

In 1908, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was formed, largely with British capital. Shortly after, this establishment became the major supplier of fuel to the British Navy.

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24 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 98.
Southern Iran became as important to British strategy as the Suez Canal. 25

By the 1907 Anglo-Russian treaty, Iran was divided into three zones. Northern provinces would fall under Russian and Southern provinces would fall under British spheres of influence. In Central Iran, there was to be a neutral zone. After the Bolshevik revolution, however, the Red government in Russia renounced all previous tsarist claims and ended the occupation of some Iranian territories, but kept Northern Azerbaijan in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1920).

Just before the World War, Germany recognized British supremacy in Kuwait and along the Persian Gulf. It also recognized the Anglo-Iranian oil concession as a legitimate British right.

In 1911 the Turkish Petroleum Company was established. German, British and Dutch interests were competing for concessions. But shortly afterwards, World War I started.

Before the war, the Arabian Peninsula was under direct British domination.

From the mid-nineteenth century until the Young Turk revolution, only Christian Arabs aspired to independence;... the militant Turkification programme after 1909, however, also made Muslim Arabs aware of their distinctive character within the Ottoman Empire... During World War I, the various Arab nationalist trends converged into a single independence movement.

During the war, negotiations were held between the Arab nationalists and the Allies. Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner of Egypt,

25 Ibid., p. 102.

26 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 145.
played an important role in the correspondence. Meanwhile, after satisfying Italian and Russian demands, Great Britain and France mutually agreed on their own claims to the Ottoman possessions.

A series of notes exchanged by the British, French and Russian governments during 1915 and 1916, the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), became the key to the future of Ottoman Arab Lands.

British officials made an agreement with Sherif Hussein, the Amir of Hejaz, in which Great Britain agreed to support Arab independence in all regions demanded by Hussein, including the Arabian Peninsula and the regions from the Mediterranean, eastward to Iran and the Persian Gulf.

Through all these developments, two main results came into the historical scene: 1) western influences became dominant in the strategically and economically significant areas of the Middle East, over those of the Ottoman Empire which disappeared by the end of World War I, and 2) an Arab national awareness emerged which further fueled the will for independence.

American interests in the area had neither been political nor strategic until World War II made involvement inevitable. As part of the allied strategy, American air bases were then established in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. In Iran, the Persian Gulf Command offered the only means of contact with Russia. Through the land lease supply route, U. S. aid subsidized the Saudi Arabian government, and as a co-sponsor of the Middle East Supply Center, the United States helped replan the region's economy. After the war, the U. S. took on itself Britain's former position as the major power in the region.

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27 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 106.
CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - Basic Information and Background Notes

A. Basic Information About Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the largest country in the Middle East, occupies four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula. The Kingdom is surrounded on the north by Jordanian, Iraqi and Kuwaiti borders; on the west by the Red Sea; on the south by the Republic of Yemen (Sana), Democratic Republic of Yemen (Aden) and Omani borders and on the east by the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Omani borders and the Persian Gulf. Only the borders in the north, the boundary with Qatar and a small segment of the border with Yemen, however, are defined.

In the 7000 km$^2$ (2700 mi$^2$) neutral zone between Iraq and Saudi Arabia no permanent buildings or military establishments may be placed, nomads from both countries have access to its pastures and wells. A partitioned zone covering about 2230 mi$^2$ also exists between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; Saudi Arabia administers the southern half, whereas oil wealth from the entire zone is shared between both countries.  

1. Climate:

From a range of mountains along the Red Sea coast, the land slopes

* See reference maps on pages 122, 123, and 125.

down gently eastward towards the Persian Gulf (called the Arabian Gulf in Saudi Arabia). The country is mainly desert, including Rub al Khali, Empty Quarter.

There are no permanent rivers, but wadis or intermittent streams that flow at various periods of rainfall are numerous. Rainfall is erratic, averaging 2-4 inches (5-10 cm) annually except in Asir, which averages 12-30 inches (30-75 cm) of rain in the summer. In the Rub al Khali, 10 years pass without precipitation.

The climate is to a large extent determined by the southerly shift in wind patterns during winter months, which brings cyclonic systems, thus rain and cooler weather. Winter is cooler with average temperatures of 23°C (74°F) at Jeddah and 14°C (58°F) at Riyadh. Summers are hot throughout the country with day time temperatures often exceeding 49°C (120°F).

2. Land - Zones and Regions:

The land area of Saudi Arabia is 2,240,000 sq. km. It may be divided into four geographic zones.

The Red Sea coastal plain and adjacent mountains; the central plateau including the Nafud and Dahna deserts, the coastal plain of the Persian Gulf, and the Rub al Khali desert in the South.

The western coastal plain extends for about 900 mi. along the Red Sea Coast. In the north, near the Gulf of Agaba, mountains reaching 2000 ft. separate the coastal plain from the interior highlands. In the south, the Asir highlands rise from the coastal plain to such heights as 10,279 ft.

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29 U. S. Department of State Publications No. 7835, Background Notes-Saudi Arabia, Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, January 1978, p. 3.

30 Academic American Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 93.
The central plateau varies in elevation from 3500 to 4500 ft. and is about 300 mi. wide. The plateau is ringed by the Nafud, a red sand desert to the north, the Dahna, a long narrow belt of sand to the east, and the Tuwayq Mountains to the south.

The eastern coast line extends along the Persian Gulf coast for about 350 mi. from Kuwait to the United Arab Emirates. It is an area of low relief, sedimentary rocks, gravel and sand, salt and mud flats. This area contains the nations petroleum reserves.

The southern desert, the Rub-al-Khali, or Empty Quarter, the largest continuous sand body in the world, covers 250,000 mi$^2$. Sand ridges hundreds of miles long and sand dunes high enough to be called mountains are found in this virtually uninhabited area.

Major regions include: the Hejaz, paralleling the Red Sea coast, where the two principal body cities of Islam (Mecca and Medina), the commercial and diplomatic center of Jeddah and the summer capital of Taif are located; the Asir, a mountainous region along the southern Red Sea Coast; Najd, the heartland of the country and site of capital city; Riyadh, the eastern province (also called al-Hasa) bordering the Persian Gulf containing the largest concentrated oil reserves in the world; and the northern frontiers through which pass the Trans Arabian Pipeline (Tapline).31

3. People:

The vast majority of Saudi Arabians are Arabs, with some flavor of the ancient African slaves. The Prophet also had one, called Bilal-al Habeshi—the Ethiopian. Some Iranians live along the Persian Gulf coast. Arabic, the official language, is spoken by all citizens although various dialects exist. English is understood by some residents of the eastern oil-producing areas and in Riyadh and Jeddah. More than 90 percent of the

31 U. S. Department of State Publication; No. 7835, op. cit., p. 3.
population follow the strict Wahhabi sect of Sunnite Islam. Small groups of Shiite Muslims are found in eastern Arabia. Because of the strict adherence to Islamic traditions, there is a definite segregation between sexes, thus, women may not participate in government, or go unveiled in public.

By any standards, the Saudi's are a very conservative and conformist people not because they are sheepishly led or unduly passive, but because most of them do believe, in a real and positive sense, in the type of society which Saudi Arabia is trying to become. This is as true of young people who have been educated abroad as it is of their elders. It is just amazing to see, how many young people return to their Kingdom as soon as they finish their education and fit back into Saudi society without any difficulty at all.

What the Saudi's want to create in their country is a new and unique nation, the first genuinely Muslim industrial power, a country which retains its old values at the same time as it develops economically. The Saudi's do not want simply to modernize without regard to cultural developments as so many other countries have done.

According to 1979 estimates, the population of Saudi Arabia is 8,103,000. 75 percent of the population is rural, and 25 percent is urban. Riyadh, the capital, Jeddah, Mecca, Al-Tail, Medina, al Damman and Hofuf are the only major cities. Only a small percentage of the rural population are settled cultivators, the rest are nomadic bedouins. The Rub-al-Khali and Nafud are virtually uninhabited; most other areas have low population densities. Densities are some what higher on the west coast, in the central plateau around Riyadh, and in the eastern oil fields. The population is growing at about 3 percent per year, due to the high birth rate of 48 per 1000 persons.

33 Academic American Encyclopedia; op. cit., p. 95.
Important progress has been made in education in recent years, although illiteracy rate is still estimated at around 75 percent of the population. Most education is provided free by the state, and this sector receives priority in the government's development program. Total allocation for education in the 1976-77 budget amounted to SR. 14,030 million or 12.6 percent of the total budgetary appropriations. Total enrollment at all levels, in 1975 was put at 620,000, and in the "second five-year development plan", the aim was to increase it to 1,041,000 by 1980.

Expanding formal education at all levels represents a major concern for Saudi planners who consider investment in education as a must for socio-economic development. The financial requirements of the Ministry of Education for the plan period give a clear indication of the importance attached to education which amounts to around SR 52 billion or the equivalent of $15 billion.

The main universities and colleges are the University of Riyadh, the University of Petroleum and Minerals, the King Abdul Aziz University, the Riyadh Women's Teachers Colleges, and the Islamic University of Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud.

4. Mass Media:
   a. Radio and Television

   The Saudi Arabian Broadcasting Service broadcasts in Arabic and English. Aramco Radio Station at Daharen broadcasts in English. The Saudi Arabian Government Television service transmits for 8 hours daily. Stations and relay points are under construction to cover the whole country. In the eastern region, people can receive Aramco television in English.
b. Press

The main daily newspapers in Arabic are al-Bilad, al-Medina, al-Nadwah, Okaz and al-Riyadh. There are two dailies in English: the Saudi Gazette and the Arab News. A number of weeklies and periodicals are also published. News agencies are: Saudi Press Agency - Ministry of Information; Riyadh, Beta Company; Jeddah.

5. Transportation:

Transportation is difficult due to vast distances, hot and arid climate, and lack of facilities. Since the 1950's the truck has replaced the camel as the major mode of transportation. In recent years, however, major increases in construction and other government expenditures have reduced its percentage contribution to the GNP. Nevertheless, the importance of transportation has not been reduced as the growth and development of the other sectors continues to rely on its orderly development.

The structure of the transportation sector in Saudi Arabia is not unlike its counterpart in many other countries. Generally, the infrastructure of the industry is a public responsibility. Facilities are constructed by the government and made available for the use of all. Transport operations in Saudi Arabia are, for the most part, undertaken by private institutions or in some instances by public agencies whose mandate is to operate in a businesslike manner.

The transportation sector satisfies the fundamental needs of Saudi Arabia. First, it is an important element upon which the continued development of the industrial, agricultural, and mining sectors, in particular depend. Second, the transportation system provides accessibility to the population and fosters an equitable distribution of government services.

a. Roads and Railroads:

Roads are a critical component of the Kingdom's transportation infrastructure. According to 1979 figures, 10,300 mi. of the total roads of 18,700 mi. are surfaced with asphalt. The length of roads to be put to service during the third-five-year-plan, will increase the asphalted network by 32 percent and the total road network by 75 percent. An asphalted road, which winds for 950 mi., connects Damman on the Persian Gulf with Riyadh on the Central Plateau and Jeddah on the Red Sea.

The railroad network of the Kingdom consists of a single line between Damman and Riyadh, with a length of 562 km, and its branches. That railroad plays an important role in providing transportation for materials imported through the port of Damman to the rapidly expanding capital of Riyadh. The system is owned and operated by the Saudi Government Railroad Organization. (SGRRO).

b. Ports:

Saudi Arabia's ports system is the main element in the Kingdom's heavy trade with the rest of the world. None of the other modes of transportation offers such high freight capacity at such low unit cost. The Kingdom has five major and sixteen minor ports. All the major ports; Yanbu, Jeddah, Damman, Jubail, and Jizan; have been operated since 1976 by the Saudi Ports Authority (SPA).

c. Airlines:

The Kingdom's civilian airports are operated by the Presidency of Civil Aviation (PCA), a separate body within the Ministry of Defense and Aviation. PCA is responsible for air force administration, fire fighting and rescue services, and the operation and maintenance of existing
domestic and international airports. There are 20 airports in Saudi Arabia. Three of them are international: Jeddah, Riyadh and Daharan. Almost 80 percent of passenger activity is handled at the three international airports. The Kingdom's national air craft is Saudi Arabian Airlines Corporation (SAUDIA) which is owned by the government but acts as a profit oriented company.

6. Economic Activities

Prior to the discovery of petroleum in 1936, the economy depended on foreign pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and on date exports. Today, oil dominates the entire economy.

a. Petroleum:

Saudi Arabia is the world's leading oil producer and exporter. Oil accounts for over 95 percent of the country's exports by value and is the main source of foreign exchange. Oil company royalties and taxes supply more than 90 percent of government revenues. Government policy aims at diversifying the sources of national income and reducing the heavy dependency on oil for national prosperity and government revenues, should the Kingdom's oil reserves diminish or efficient substitutes for oil are found. Ninety five percent of the country's oil is produced by ARAMCO, originally a consortium of four U. S. oil companies. The Japanese-Arabian Oil Company and the Getty Oil Company (U.S.) hold concessions from Saudi Arabia in the former Saudi-Kuwait Neutral Zone and provide the rest of Saudi oil production. ENI Philips, and Italian-U. S. consortium is exploring in the Empty Quarter.

b. Agriculture:

Traditionally, agriculture in Saudi Arabia has been limited to
the few areas with adequate water supplies, in oases, along wadi beds
and water collection basins and in the relatively high rain fall region
in the south west. In the old times, in areas where underground water
had to be lifted to the surface; camels and donkeys had to be used and
they would walk monotonously back and forth around wells to raise and
lower skin buckets. Now, in most of these areas, camels and donkeys have
been replaced by mechanical pumps.

One of the chief aims of the Government is to reduce dependence on
imported food stuffs, and especially on fruits and vegetables.
Agricultural credit is being made available and attention is focused
on modernization and the improvement of farm efficiency. 35

On the highlands of Asir, coffee and kat, a leaf chewed as a
narcotic, are grown. Dates, grown on oases, make Saudi Arabia the world's
fourth largest date producer. Some grains are also domestically grown, but
food stuffs must still be imported in large quantities.

c. Animal Husbandry and Fishing:

Bedouins breed sheep, camels and goats. Fishing in the Red Sea
and in the Persian Gulf makes insignificant addition to the food supply.

d. Industry:

There is yet little industrial development in Saudi Arabia.
Traditional industrial activities are carried out in all the larger towns,
and new development is taking place particularly in Riyadh and Jeddah.
There is a steel rolling mill in the Gulf region, with the main refinery
in Jeddah, and a fertilizer plant at Damman. Most of the big industrial

projects have been controlled by Petromin, the government owned company. Recently, most of the industrial interests of Petromin have been transferred to the Ministry of Industry and Electricity.

e. Small Business:

There are three industrial parks located in Riyadh, Jeddah and Damman with a total of 380 plots offered to industrialists at nominal rents. It is the government's policy to encourage private industry to establish small factories that can supply home demand while the government itself, in collaboration with private or foreign investors, concentrates on major industrial investment projects with huge capital requirements.

f. Hajj as a source of income:

All Muslims are obliged to make the "HAJJ" pilgrimage to Mecca at a specified time each year, according to the Hegira Calendar, and this must be done at least once during their life time. Mecca is the birthplace of the Prophet Mohammad, and the holiest site in Islam.

In 1950 the number of pilgrims was just over 100,000, but during the 1950's there was a rapid increase so that a decade later the numbers had reached about 250,000 pilgrims annually. Throughout the early 1960's the numbers of pilgrims grew, though not rapidly, but since 1970 there has been a marked increase from about 400,000 to an estimated 900,000 in 1975 and 1,500,000 in 1977. This influx creates a large service industry and generates considerable revenue in the cities of Jeddah, Mecca and Medina. This latest increase is largely the result of improved transport facilities, and in particular, the introduction of special charter flights from other Muslim countries. About one half of pilgrims now arrive by air.  

36 U. S. Department of State Publications No. 7835, op. cit. p. 5.
7. Tribal-Ethnical Composition of the Saudi Population

The population of Saudi Arabia is composed of a number of tribes covering the whole Arabian Peninsula. The major tribes and the districts they live in are as follows:

8. Eastern Province Tribes:


b. Banu Khalid: Distributed along the Arabian Gulf Coast to the Samman Plateau. They are inhabitants of Oatif and Hufuf. This is one of the largest tribes with several offshoots such as the Awayir, Sobayh and Banu Fahd. Some of them have emigrated to Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait.

c. Banu Hager: A Kahtani tribe living between Uqayr and Hufuf. They originated in the Tahlith Valley but emigrated to the coast. They have several offshoots.

d. Al-Manaseer: A Bedouin tribe that wander around the borders with Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Oman and up to the Rub'al Khali. They are Kahtanian.

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e. Al Ajman: A Kahtani tribe with several offshoots that also dwell in the Samman Plateau. They are settled mainly on the road between Riyadh and Dhahran.


g. Banu Yaas: They occupy the Emirates' (UAE) Gulf region between Abu Dhabi and other Gulf Emirates.

h. Al Awazim: An Arab tribe, origin of which is unknown. These are Bedouins and wander between the Kingdom and Kuwait particularly at Ra's Meshaab.

i. Al Rashayidah: A tribe living on the Dibdiba Plateau between the Kingdom and Kuwait.

9. The Hajaz Tribes:

a. Al Howitat: The largest tribe in Hejaz. They live between Taima and the Jordanian border and between Nafud and both Agaba and Smai.

b. Johainah Tribe: An offshoot of the Kodama living on the Red Sea Coast. Most of them have been urbanized and live in Yanbu', Umlujj and al Wajh.

c. Hutaim Tribe: They live near Khaybar in the Medinah region and in some parts of the Rimma Valley.

d. Hozayl Tribe: They consist of two groups, one in the north and the other in the south, on the Hejaz coast up to Yanbu'. They also live in the Fatema Valley,
e. Thaqil Tribe: They are located between Mecca and Taif.

f. Al Bagum Tribe: They live on the Baqum Daval flow up to Taraba and Khorma.

g. Koraysh Tribe: A small tribe located near Mina, Arafat and Taif.

h. Shamran Tribe: They live in Tihama from Al Lith to Al Qunfudah. They also occupy Ghamed, Dahran and the Taif area.

i. Harb Tribe: Some live in the Najd and these are Quasi urban. Others live in the Hejaz and are fully urbanized and have settled on the heights between Mecca and Medina.

j. Banu Atiyah: They live near Aqaba and Tabuk.

k. Utaibah Tribe: They are settled in the Hejaz and Najd on the eastern edges of the Raha heights.

10. Tribes of Najd:

a. Anizah Tribe: Originally of the Banu Assad tribe, they live between the Najd, Syria and Jordan. A number of them emigrated to Syria. Some of their offshoots are: Banu Muslim, Banu Wael and Banu Obeid.

b. Shammar Tribe: They are mostly Bedouins in Saudi Arabia. They are more populous in Iraq and Syria around the Euphrates. They extend to the Saudi-Iraqi borders in Rafha, Aga and Selma uplands and in Qasim.
c. Dawasir Tribe: They are mostly urbanized and live in the Dawasir valley, Aflaj, Layla and Sullayil.

d. Tamin Tribe: They are fully urbanized and live in the Najd Washem, Sudayr and Hotah villages.

e. Zafir Tribe: They occupy the Hejarah Plateau between Najd and Iraq.

f. Al Salbah: They live north of the Shammar tribes.

g. Kahtan Tribe: They are found in two different regions, Asur and the south of the Najd in the Tathlih valley.

h. Sbei Tribe: They dwell in Southwestern Najd and Northeastern Asir mostly in the Taraba and Ranyah Valleys. They are also located in the south of the Towaiq Mountains. Many of them are settled in Riyadh but some are still Bedouins.

i. Al Shararat: They are inhabitants of the Sarhan Valley.

ii. Asir Tribes:

a. Maad Tribe: Is the largest tribe in Asir. They live around Abha.

b. Rabiah and Rafidan Tribes: Live in the northwest of Abha.

c. Banu Malik: This tribe is located in the north of Abha.

d. Shahran: They are situated between Bishah and Sabya. Their main center is Khamis Mushayt.

e. Banu Shahr: This tribe lives in the Sir Tihama near Qunfudah.

f. Rejal Alma: Are found between Abha and Sabya.
g. Zahran: This tribe is found in the south of the Hejaz.

h. Ghamed: Live in the south of Zahran near Zafir.

i. Banu Marwan: Dwell in the Jaizan Valley.


k. Balharith: Live between Jaizan and Medi in Yemen.

l. Al J'afirah: Live near the border of Yemen.

m. Wadaah: This tribe is found near the border of Yemen.

n. Banu Yam: They occupy the Najran heights.

o. Hashid: Live between Najran and Yemen.

p. Alham Alhol: Are located between Abha and the coast.
CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

History of Saudi Arabia

A. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia—Historical Background:

Saudi Arabia is one of the last patriarchal states in the world. It also has a significant place in global economy, because it is one of the richest oil producing countries. Saudi Arabia has been experiencing a wide range of structural changes in administration, education and general welfare, as well as tremendous developments in oil production, refining and in the improvement of its infrastructure, installation of basic industries, transportation, communications and commerce, after centuries of havenots and subsistence economy.

For nearly ten centuries there were no major political or social developments in Arabia until early 18th century. The religious reformer Mohammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab won over his way of thinking and became the religious guide and best adviser of Amir Mohammad Ibn Saud, chief of the small north Arabian Principality of Dairja. 38

The two major factors, the 18th century religious revival and the ability of a great leader to turn born-again religious fundamentalism into organized action, created Saudi Arabia. Mohammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab sought, single handedly, to reform 18th century Islam and to bring Ummat to the

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38 Peretz, Don., op. cit., p. 396.
right track prescribed by the Holy Kor'an. The Wahhabi movement is generally considered as the first reformist movement in Islam.

Wahhabism is, in essence, a simple, puritanical and iconoclastic unitarianism. It prescribes an ethic of simple living, strict adherence to the literal commandments of God, and a return to the purity of early Islam. After converting the House of Saud of Dairya in central Arabia to his teachings, Wahhabism gained a political and militant character in half a century. They even managed to take the holy cities of Hejaz, Mecca and Medina, but the Ottoman Sultan sent Egypt's Mohammad Ali to subdue them, so in 1818, Hejaz was reconquered by the Ottomans. After this, no new attempts were made by the Wahhabis towards an autonomous Arab State and a break with the Sultan Caliph for as long as nearly a century.

Following the Egyptian occupation on the order by the Sublime Porte (Ottoman Central Government) the Saudi Amir (Prince) Abdullah was taken to Constantinople and executed there. Their capital Dairya was obliterated, burned to the ground, and the remaining members of the Saudi family took refuge in Riyadh and Wahhabism was forced back to the deserts. The Wahhabist missionaries, however, kept the teaching alive and continued to spread its gospel among the tribes.

A member of the Saudi family, Turki, re-established a version of a quasi-Wahhabi State in Riyadh, in 1820. Affected by Ottoman influences, there were some divisions among Saudis in Riyadh. The local Ottoman-backed tribe, "the Rasnidis" were powerful rivals for the Saudis. The son of Turki, Abd al-Rahman was defeated several times by the Rashidis. The remaining elements of Arabian nationalism in Najd, including the discredited Saudis, finally
took refuge in Kuwait. Even so, Abd al-Rahman was determined to restore Saudi power and extend Wahhabism to all Arabia. His fourth child (third son), "Abdal-Aziz Ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Raisal al-Saud" (known as Ibn Saud) reflected his father's ambitions and seemed even more intent in accomplishing that mission. At that time, Sheikh Mubarak, seized power and overthrew Sheikh Mohammad, the ruler of Kuwait. He brought Kuwait under British protection. Ibn-Saud then found the situation ripe for revolt. The new Amir of Kuwait launched an attack over the Rashidis, but was defeated. Ibn Saud, with a group of his fellow men, moved into Najd on his own to attack Riyadh. In January 1902, acting as both Amir and Imam of his people, Ibn Saud restored Saudi-Wahhabi power in the Peninsula.

After the victorious campaigns during 1903-1906 and 1907-1913, Ibn Saud added all of Najd, al-Hassa and a part of Hejaz to his Kingdom. The Rashidis were absolutely overcome, hence their backers, the Turks, too. After mediations by Mubarak, the Sultan recognized Ibn Saud as the lawful ruler of the Najd. The Najdi State was still loosely organized, and tribal in character. It was mainly composed of Bedouins of the desert. Wahhabism was the major unifying factor but new commonly shared values had to be found in order to create a structure that could be called an Arab Nation.

Before the outbreak of the First World War, Arabia was divided into a number of principalities, sultanates and sheikhdoms. The main divisions on the Peninsula before 1914 were: 39

1. The Hejaz: along the western coast of Arabia on the Red Sea, under the sherifs of Mecca and part of the Ottoman Empire.

2. Asir: on the Red Sea between the Hajaz and Yemen, under the rule of Idrissi dynasty, also part of the Ottoman Empire.

3. Norther Arabia: under the Rashid dynasty of Ha'il and a tributary to the Ottoman Empire.

4. Hassa: along the Persian Gulf, between Kuwait and the Trucial Coast, a province of the Ottoman Empire.

5. Yemen: under the Zaidi Imams of San'a and part of the Ottoman Empire.

6. The Persian Gulf and South Arabian principalities, sultanates, sheikhdoms (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Trucial Coast, Musqat and Oman, Hadhramaut and Aden: all were British protectorates.

B. Ibn Saud's Rise to Recognition as a Political Entity.

In order to achieve his goals, Ibn Saud found a way to make use of the Bedouin-Wahhabists under his control. Those who were converted to Wahhabism were forced to settle in colonies called "Ikhwan" (Brethren-brotherhood) to become agriculturalists. They would no longer be the "Lords of the Desert" but part of a political unity which was to be the core of Saudi progress. By 1916 their numbers had grown to over ten thousand and even more colonies were sprouting all over Najd. The Ikhwan were given seeds and agricultural
training. An amir was appointed to supervise justice in each community; Ikhwan Sheikhs were sent to the ulema school at the great mosque in Riyadh and other ulema were assigned to the communities. Ikhwans had an absolute unity and a fanatical zeal for the destruction of infidels, not only non-Muslims, but also all Muslims who did not share their fundamentalist conception of faith.

Thus, the Bedouins became the most loyal to the Wahhabi-Saudi State among the other tribes and towns. It was then said that Ibn Saud could put a fanatical force of 25 thousand Ikhwan on the battle field within 96 hours. The movement was defensive, but it had a distrust of foreigners and was determined to retain Arabia and in particular, the Najd for the Arabs. Having created this institution Ibn Saud sometimes found himself forced to comply with its zealousness. Undoubtedly it sometimes became difficult, even for him, to keep full control over the Ikhwan.

One of the most important problems Ibn Saud had to face was that all his territories were almost entirely devoid of natural resources of any kind. This shortage was the fundamental reason for the settlement of Ikhwan as agricultural colonies and animal breeders. The sizeable subsidy that Ibn Saud regularly received from the British government through the mediation of the Amir of Kuwait was an important source with which he could continue his control over the region and keep the level of enthusiasm constant.

During the First World War, Ibn Saud made his first serious foreign contacts with the Ottomans and later with Britain. Later in the war, British officials in charge of Arab affairs were in a disagreement with each other about the future of Ibn Saud's rule. Finally the evaluations came to be
that, after Ibn Saud's death the same old anarchy would return to Najd. As a result of this, the British who had been supporting both the Hashimite and Saudi dynasties, shifted their assistance more towards the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, the Hashimite leader. Hussein was in search of sponsors from among the allies as the most prominent Arab leader. Meanwhile Ibn Saud became the self-styled "Sultan of Najd and its dependencies". After the war, open conflict broke out between the Saudis and Hashimis. Sherif Hussein declared himself to be the caliph of the muslim world, following the establishment of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, when its founder Mustafa Kemal Pasha abolished the Caliphate which he saw as an extension of the Ottoman Sultanate - that was abolished earlier by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. He was proclaimed Caliph in Amman but he could not prevent the people's dissatisfaction due to their bad experience of his former rule. Other Muslims felt that Hussein had acquired this title through the help of Western-Christian power. Wahhabists were outraged by this. The Ikhwan, by Ibn Saud's order, and the Saudi Army entered the Hejaz to expel the Hashimites and conquer the holy cities. The Grand sheriff of Mecca had to leave Mecca to spend his last days forgotten. His son struggled against the Saudis till December 1925, but in the end he was defeated in the war field, fled to Iraq on board a British warship, where his brother, Faisal founded a Kingdom. In 1926 Asir was made a Saudi protectorate and a few years later, was incorporated into the Saudi State. The Rashidis; the Saudis' agelong enemies; who were backed by the Ottomans, were overrun in 1921.

Following the evacuation of the Sheriff of Mecca, Ibn Saud and his soldiers entered the city as pilgrims. The Wahhabis doctrine purified the
holy city. They destroyed all decorations and ornaments in the mosques, banished musical instruments and pictures of human beings.

The capture of Mecca and the annexation of Hejaz brought the Saudi State to its present size. In 1926-27, Great Britain recognized Ibn Saud as the King of Hejaz and its dependencies. Ibn Saud's father, Abd al-Rahman was formalized by the Treaty of Jeddah. Britain's acceptance of the status quo in Arabia was in fact, the last step of international-official recognition of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Soviet Union had established the first foreign delegation in Jeddah and later France and Netherlands followed suit. On May 20, 1927 Britain raised its consulate to embassy level in accordance with the Treaty of Jeddah. In 1932, King Ibn-Saud, later known as Abdul Aziz, issued a royal decree which proclaimed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a state firmly founded upon religious principles. From then on, King Ibn Saud embarked on a cautious program of unifying Arabia and modernizing the Saudi State. One of the most important obstacles he had to face was the fanaticism of the Ikhwan which were largely his creation.

In the early days of the Kingdom, King Saud expressed his intentions, his comments on the general situation and on world events, in an interview with the Dutch consul General at Jeddah:

"We want you to know who we are, what we are doing, and how, and why. You, like all the others from the West, think of us as wild, rough fanatics, backward and narrow-minded people... We have often acted severely, even mercilessly, with Allah's help, we have beaten a wicked enemy. This country shall now at last have security, peace and order and shall know justice... Bedouins have to be treated in a very hard way for only then do they learn their lesson, and if Allah wills, once they have learned their lesson, they will never forget it. We teach them the hard way, not out of cruelty, but out of mercy. And if we have punished them, we shall not in the mercy of Allah, have to do it again as long as we live. The distances in our country are great. We can often only make justice effective in the remoteness of our deserts..."
by the reports of justice we dealt out... We know the Bedouin and we know how he has to be ruled. Is it not safe now in this country where robbing of the pilgrims flourished for centuries?... You have doubtless also heard many stories about the fanaticism of the Wahhabis. It is good that you should know the truth about our creed... We believe that, Allah, the Exalted One uses us as his instrument. As long as we serve Him, we will succeed... Should we become a useless weapon in His hands, then He will throw us aside, and we shall praise him.

C. Foreign Relations in Earlier Times:

After its unification in 1926, Saudi Arabia sought to achieve four main goals in its relations with the outside world.

1. The consolidation and preservation of the Saudi domain within its 1926 frontiers against encroachments from within and from without.

2. The establishment of friendly relations with the surrounding Arab and Muslim countries of the Middle East, for the purpose of maintaining a regional balance that would guarantee her territorial integrity and prevent the formation of a strong Hashimite block hostile to Saudi Arabia.

3. Maintenance of an attitude of correct friendship with the western powers, especially those having special interests in the Middle East, and

4. A guarantee at any price of the continuous flow of Saudi oil. 41

Following the signing of the Jeddah Treaty with Great Britain, Ibn Saud gained a new prestige, which led to full recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new Kingdom, soon he was recognized by all major western powers, and by the independent states of the Middle East. Italy and Germany tried to establish closer relations with Saudi Arabia in the late 1930's in preparation of their new armed expansionist policies, Ibn

40 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 302.
41 Sharabi, H. B., op. cit., p. 238.
Saud, however, preferred to maintain good relations with Britain. When World War II broke out, Saudi Arabia was the only independent country in the Middle East to take a friendly attitude toward the Allies.

In 1945, when Ibn Saud formally met with President Roosevelt and with Prime Minister Churchill near Cairo, on board a destroyer in the Suez Canal, his prestige reached its peak. In the early post-war period, the same situation continued, until the U. S. emerged as a major Middle Eastern power with vital economic and strategic interests in Saudi Arabia. From then on, Britain's influence gradually began to decline. In 1947, the British Military Mission was withdrawn and American officers took the responsibility of training the Saudi Army. In 1953, an Anglo-Saudi dispute developed over the Buraimi oasis, due to Saudi Arabian claim of the territory. It brought tension to relations between the two countries, and the Suez Crisis in 1956 brought about a break in diplomatic relations with Britain. At that time, the U. S. power and influence in Saudi Arabia had reached its zenith.

Built upon respect of the neighboring Arab countries, Ibn Saud followed a policy based on "Islamic Brotherhood and Arab Unity."

In April 1936, a Saudi-Iraqi treaty was signed, named the "Treaty of Arab Brotherhood and Alliance" and was opened to the adherence of any other independent Arab State. Only Yemen joined the treaty. In May 1936, Ibn Saud signed another treaty with Egypt, in which Egypt recognized Saudi Arabia's independence, and started diplomatic relations.

In 1944-45, when the Arab League started to organize, Ibn Saud's attitude changed towards Islamic Unity and Brotherhood. At first, he was afraid of a possible Hashimite influence in the League, besides, he was afraid that it could lead to intervention in Saudi Arabia's internal affairs.
Closer relations with neighbors posed a threat against his independence in domestic affairs. He was totally unwilling to share Saudi Arabia's oil revenues with anyone else. Finally, Ibn Saud consented to sign only after the introduction of an amendment to the text which emphasized the "independence and sovereignty" of the member states.

... and the addition of a provision which stated that, "every member state... shall respect the form of government in the other states... and recognize it as one of the rights of those states... and pledge itself not to take any action tending to change that form."

After the death of King Ibn Saud, his successor and eldest son, Saud, introduced new elements into Saudi Arabian policy. He committed to an active role in Arab affairs and made a serious bid for the leadership of the Arab World. In October 1955 King Saud entered a five year defense pact with Egypt and Syria. Later, he publicly declared his opposition to the Baghdad Pact between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain. In 1957, after tension subsided, Saudi Arabia took advantage of the murky situation in the Middle East and disengaged herself from close association with Egyptian policies. With United States backing, the Kingdom assumed the role of a detached arbitrator in Arab and Middle Eastern affairs. The King's visit to the States was followed by a few attempts to lead and arbitrate in the affairs in the region. King Saud's efforts to mediate in the 1957 Turco-Syrian crisis, however, failed and it almost cost the King his throne. Thus, he later transferred his power gradually to his brother, Amir Faisal, Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Crown Prince.

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After Faisal took over, the general policies of the Kingdom were reverted to the basic lines drawn by King Ibn Saud.

Cautious relations of friendship with Egypt and other Arab States, little involvement in Arab affairs and correct relations with the Western powers.

Faisal was Abdul Aziz's only son from his second wife, of the Alash-Shaykh Family. He was born in 1905, the first of his generation to be born in the traditional Saudi capital of Riyadh. Abdul Aziz's first child, Turki was dead; his status in the family as the second oldest son, his mother's lineage to Abd-al-Wahhab, and his excellent education in the Sharia tradition, quickly provided Faisal with qualifications for rapid political rise and he outshone his brother, who later became King Saud.

At the age of fourteen, Faisal was chosen to represent his father and head a mission to the United Kingdom. This was the first of many diplomatic and governmental roles he occupied in preference to Saud.

King Saud's lavish style of living had alienated and angered many conservative Saudis. In early 1958, the senior Amirs of the Royal Family compelled King Saud to pass some of his vital executive powers to his brother. Faisal immediately brought about a set of reforms to prevent bankruptcy in economics and decline in government institutions. Faisal's reforms created discontent among those groups that had profited from Saud's patronage through royal subsidies to the Saudi Family member, government contractors and important tribal leaders throughout the Kingdom.

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At the end of 1960 Saud profited from the opposition of a group of royal family members against Faisal to gain back his executive authority. Faisal did not resist and resigned. Thus, King Saud started to rule again. The power struggle between the two brothers was brought to a compulsory end by Saud's worsening health. For treatment purposes, Saud was obliged to go to the States. He had no choice but to delegate his executive powers to Faisal again. After the death of King Ibn Saud in 1953, King Saud's reign lasted eleven years.

Faisal, even after being proclaimed King of Saudi Arabia in 1964, continued his mission as the Prime Minister at the same time. He outlined his broad reform programme, with particular stress on economic development.

The relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt; which were delicately balanced by Faisal after King Saud's extravagance and attempts to have President Nasser assassinated to prevent his rise to be the leader of the Arab world; were threatened again in mid 1960. The attitudes of both countries toward Yemen brought about a new and sharper conflict.

When civil war broke out between Yemeni royalists and republicans, Egyptian forces entered Yemen to support the new republican government, while Saudi Arabia backed the royalists.

In 1963 Egyptian aircraft attacked several southern Saudi towns. Mediation efforts by the United States, the United Nations and various Arab governments were unsuccessful... Tensions subsided only after military defeat by Israel in June 1967 compelled Egypt to withdraw his troops from Yemen. 45

45 U. S. Department of State Publication No. 7835, op. cit., p. 3.
Saudi Arabia did not participate in the 6 day Arab-Israeli war of June 1967. The Kingdom, however, at the Khartom Arab Summit in September 1967, agreed to provide annual subsidies to Egypt and Jordan to help counter the negative effects of war on their economics.

After World War II, Saudi Arabia started to enjoy a huge and continuously increasing oil revenue inflow. This not only produced a wasteful trend for luxury, it also caused the building of the core of first state investments at huge costs. Most of them were well-intended, useful projects, but they lacked planning and control. Many of them faced financial bottlenecks because of erratic financing. Costs of non-supervised projects ran high, most were not completed on time, within budget, and were often mis-located.

The chief problem of this sudden wealth in Saudi Arabia was that no real distinction existed between the finances of the state and those of the ruling family. Faisal considerably reduced the expenditures of the palace, ordered the issuing of a state budget, and the formation of a treasury. He initiated the first serious studies and steps towards infiltration of the oil wealth into the lower layers of society.

Increasing contacts with the outside world, through foreign inhabitants and improvement of the general level of basic training resulted in the creation of an Arab intelligentsia. Better living conditions brought about by oil and related jobs, caused the emergence of a small but compact labor class and provided flexibility to the Saudi Arabian social life. On the other hand, however,
Tight government control, severe censorship, and security measures, have made almost impossible, the free dissemination of ideas and blocked the formation of any type of political and cultural organizations.

At the same time as it was realizing its development goals by domestic investments, such as the installation of basic oil-industries, production of semi-finished goods, extension of the infrastructural facilities, (roads, railways, drainages, electricity, land reclamation, water treatment, etc.), Saudi Arabia supported the Arab cause during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. It participated in the Arab Oil Boycott of the U. S. and Netherlands. Minister of Petroleum, Zaki Yamani played a leading role in OPEC meetings. As a part of Arabs' realization of the importance of oil as a very influential weapon in the world, Saudi Arabia too, joined in the common decision to substantially raise oil prices.

On March 25, 1975, King Faisal was assassinated by a deranged member of the family, Prince Faisal Bin Musaid. After long trials and extensive investigation it was concluded that the assassination was an individual act and Musaid was executed. King Faisal was immediately succeeded by Crown Prince Khalid as King. And Prince Fahd was named Crown Prince.

During his reign, Faisal brought new dimensions to public administration, diplomacy and rationalization of oil resources, in Saudi Arabia. He strengthened the Kingdom's prestige and stability. After the oil boycott, the war between Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria once again created a medium

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46 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 317.
of friendship like in the 1950's. Nasser's death was another factor for Saudi Arabia to drop the tension between the two countries. Faisal's one other vital achievement was the implementation of the first Five-Year-Development Plan (1970-1975).

The end of Faisal's reign, however, was highlighted by a period of high expectations for change in the country, and pressures for development from every quarter were left for Saudi Arabia's next king.  

In March 1975, decision was quickly taken about the succession of the Crown Prince and first deputy Prime Minister, Prince Khalid to the throne of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Khalid took all the responsibilities on himself at the beginning. Soon after, he delegated considerable authority to Prince Fahd and put him in charge of managing several aspects of the Kingdom's internal and external affairs. Khalid proved to all domestic and foreign circles the dominance of the House of Saud.

In the opinion of those observers, the several discernable groups within the Royal Family not only posed no threat to the unity of the House of Saud, but actually strengthened the family and there was no public evidence of dissention within the family.

The central government has expanded since 1965. Through Aramco, especially after nationalization, and through many other institutions such as Petromin, Sabic, etc., the government implemented ambitious development programs. The dynamics of managing a program of rapid development increased the influence of commercial elites on the government. The government has shifted investment priorities toward non-oil industries to secure its future economic base for self sufficiency.

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48 Ibid., p. 170.
King Khalid followed a slightly more moderate policy in the Arab-Israeli dispute. He had been less conservative than Faisal. During Khalid's reign, Saudi Arabia, as a member of the Arab League, mediated a number of disputes among Arab nations.

After 1972, as part of its economic policy, Saudi Arabia started to provide interest-free or low-interest loans to developing countries. At home, the government accelerated investments in infrastructure. Numerous large-scale projects were applied in the construction of freeways, roads, shipping yards, port facilities, airports, housing and huge industrial parks. During this time, continuous shortages of manpower turned out to be an important obstacle blocking the completion of vital projects in the country. As a result, Saudi Arabia became a net importer of human labor from the Philippines, Korea, Pakistan, India, Turkey and Yemen.

The need for manpower appears to be the crucial factor which affects the administrative capacity. The first five years plan (1970-1975) achieved some targets and failed to achieve others. Some of the difficulties encountered can be attributed to shortage of manpower...

Saudis welcomed the dissolution of the Kuwaiti Assembly in August 1976. During the reign of King Faisal, the government was very much in the hands of the monarch. Khalid, as Crown Prince, was little involved in government affairs during Faisal's rule. After his succession, much less change took place in the powers and responsibilities of the king.

He was consulted in Geneva by telephong before Saudi Arabia took the plunge to split OPEC in December 1977.

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50 Middle East Annual Review, op. cit., p. 327.
Suffering from ill-health and having had several heart operations in the United States, Khalid transferred the burden of day-to-day government affairs of the Kingdom to Crown Prince Fahd, the present King, who was chosen Crown Prince in 1979. Recently, the Saudi State had to face several critical situations in its foreign policies. Turmoil in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Russian presence in Marxist South Yemen terrified Saudi rulers. Apart from security problems, the United States pressure on the government to raise oil production and pull the prices down, resulted in a deep crack with the policies of the radical Arab States which wanted Riyadh to use oil as a weapon against Israel and the West in order to destroy United States sponsored peace efforts between Egypt and Israel.

During his gradual take over of governmental duties and responsibilities due to King Khalid's ill health, Fahd demonstrated an active and efficient political character, which is close to the west.

Western diplomats are pleased by the prospect of Fahd as King. They believe he will be an active and strong monarch with pro-western views on oil, defense and other matters. They are convinced that, by force of personality, Fahd will be able to subdue anti-western elements within the royal circle...

According to United States political observers, Fahd, among the other senior members of the Royal Family, is the most keen about keeping oil production high. He believes that the stability of the west is in Saudi Arabia's best interest.

Following the death of the late King Khalid Ibn-Abdul-Aziz on June 13, 1982, after a heart attack, the senior Amirs of the Royal Family appointed

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Crown Prince Fahd for succession to the throne. Soon after, King Fahd announced that he chose Prince Abdullah, the third most important man of the Kingdom and the commander of the National Guard, as the Crown Prince and Primer Minister.

The new Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, HRH Prince Abdullah, unlike the King, seems to be more attached to traditional structure and values of Saudi Arabia. He is less concerned in diplomatic affairs and favors closer relations with the other Arab States than King Fahd. The Crown Prince, based on observations of his previous attitudes, would possibly like Saudi Arabia to improve ties with Iraq and other radical Arab neighbors. The turn of events in the Gulf war might possibly prepare a ground to indicate the exact approach of the Saudi seniors as well as developments like Israeli occupation of Beirut. Some circles foresee seeds of friction and power play within the Royal Family in the future. The difference between the two strongmen of Saudi Arabia may either be a factor of balance or dispute; the nature of which, time will determine.
CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Government Administration in Saudi Arabia and the House of Saud

A. Public Administration and Influencial Powers in Saudi Arabia.

King Abdul Aziz, the powerful leader of the House of Saud, and the spiritual chief of the Wahhabi movement in the Arabian Peninsula, created a dynasty through which the successive kings developed gradually a central government to assist them in the running of the country.

In order to consolidate his political power and absolute authority as the monarch of a vast country that is composed of several ethnic groups which lack the unifying device of a national spirit, King Ibn Saud developed particular methods. The most important and effective of these methods was the establishment of a number of connections which would lead to and result in the loyalty of major power groups to the King. For this purpose, King Saud did not hesitate to enlarge the royal family through marriage.

... he married approximately twenty women from such influential families as the descendants of Wahhab (whose direct male descendants are known as members of the al ash Shaykh family), the Sudain family, the Jilawi family and many others. The success of this method of extending the influence of the Saud family is witnessed in the present day in that almost every major tribal family has some connections with the royal family.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{52} Nyrop, F. Richard, op. cit., p. 160.
After the foundation of the Kingdom in 1932, it became clear that the king and his assistants were facing a lack of adequate governmental institutions and a centralized administration. The ruled and even a group of the senior people concerned with the administration of the state ignored almost all of the modern governmental institutions. The relative religious conservativeness could turn out to be an obstacle against the King's ambitions for further organizations and rapid development.

... the telephone and the radio were subjected to prolonged and complicated debates. As to airplanes, those who flew them, were regarded as "flying in the face of Providence". The car was viewed as the instrument of the devil. (The first lorry to enter the town of Hauta was burned publicly in the market place, and the driver nearly shared its fate). By compromise, persuasion and force, Ibn Saud's will eventually prevailed.  

For example, the opposition leaders particularly noted that communication by radio was an act not specifically authorized by the Prophet. The King replied that neither the Kor'an nor the Hadits said anything against the use of radio. In addition, he read several selected readings from the holy book of Islam on the radio which made the device acceptable to the Wahhabis.

Dealing with every detail personally and running the domestic and foreign affairs alone, King Saud made the first attempts to form an organizational basis which would help him govern his state. The first pattern in this matter was the establishment of a separate administrative system for the urban and more advanced province of the Hejaz. The King's regulation of Hejaz was regarded as the "constitution of the Kingdom of the Hejaz."

Although it has never been fully implemented, this frame became the first

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attempt and one of the important fundamental changes giving way to a set of administrative reforms.

As the central government began to construct railways, schools, roads, postal services; to mobilize the defensive forces of the Kingdom and prepare the background military formation, and to deal with agricultural projections, it became obligatory to organize some basic institutions and cores of ministerial system.

B. The Rule of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (1932-1953)

King Saud gave active roles to the heads of influential groups in the Kingdom. A committee of senior amirs, which was a sort of consultative council, was set up which led the King to receive formal support from many other members of the Royal Family, the senior ulema and numerous tribal leaders. This allegiance to the King was completed and Ibn Saud could begin his rule over the Arabian territory.

As long as Abdul Aziz lived, the great prestige he enjoyed gave almost no possibility for an opposition to his reign. Saudi Arabia experienced a rule of fully accepted power during the administration of King Abdul-Aziz. The acceptance of the sovereign territorial state and the religious leadership provided him with the privilege of a reliable and loyal support. The rise of the Kingdom was a transfer of loyalty from the personal sheikh to impersonal and institutionalized king. The real test of the monarch as an institution started by the succession of his son following Abdul Aziz's death in 1953.

In government, the first Council of Ministers was set up in 1931, but only two ministries were formed. Total dependence upon the king, however, continued in all the matters, until the country's income started to rise by
oil revenues, and the weaknesses of the old administrative system was proven by practical experiences. The two ministries of the kingdom were the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The king, Abdul Aziz, fulfilled the functions of the Foreign Affairs Minister himself from the very beginning until the end of his reign, but the Ministry of Finance proved the most important agency in the government and the only one capable of exercising a measure of independent authority. The Finance Minister was Abdullah al-Sulaiman who gained excessive control over the central administration and became practically a separate institution in the state. He served from 1932 to 1954.

The Minister of Finance had been subject only to the King's authority. Only he knew the details of state finances, recording them in a fashion that only he understood...54

Abdullah Sulaiman was brought to this position from the Marconi Company, to which a concession was granted to import Ford cars. In 1926 there were not more than a dozen cars in Saudi Arabia, in 1956 there were over 10,000, of which 2316 were used by Aramco and the rest by the government, government-sponsored companies and private owners.

Until 1958, the Saudi Arabian government's financial affairs continued to be run by single individuals. In 1952, an American technical assistance mission suggested the establishment of a monetary agency. Between the years 1954 and 1958 a number of determined efforts were made to reorganize the structure of financial affairs since the Council of Ministers became aware of the government's weakness. Prince Faisal ordered the publication of an

54 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 407.
annual budget and attempted to balance expenditures and revenues.

King Abdul Aziz introduced local Councils to assist the governors of five leading towns of Saudi Arabia; Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, Yanbu and Taif throughout Hejaz Province.

Within Ibn Saud's domain, there were various levels of social organization. Some regions required more complicated administration than others. The Hejaz, for example, had a larger urban population and greater intercourse with foreigners as a result of its coastal trade and the yearly influx to Mecca and Medina of thousands of pilgrims from abroad. Therefore it required more elaborate legislation, reflected in a new set of Organic Instructions, adopted in 1926, that applied exclusively to the Hejaz... Until 1953, the province was still governed by its own special rules, subject always, of course, to the Kor'an and Sharia.

The Councils, who were not appointed to their positions in an elective manner in the province and towns of Hejaz, served for each particular district, tribes and villages. They had no real legislative authority, only advisory functions. The Agen General (viceroy) was Prince Faisal, the eldest brother of King Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz al-Saud, who, at the same time was holding the portfolios of Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Saud, on the other hand, King Saud's second son, was appointed Crown Prince by a royal decree on May 11, 1933.

After the war with Yemen, Saud was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of all Saudi Arabian forces and Faisal, as the Viceroy of Hejaz. Ibn Saud, shortly after the proclamation of the Saudi Kingdom as an independent state, organized a small regular army, furnished with modern equipment and guns. In the early stages, the Saudi forces used to be trained by Turkish

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55 Peretz, Don, op. cit., p. 403.
Officers. Until the late forties the same procedure continued. Later on, Anglo-American military missions settled in Taif and trained the Saudi forces and provided them with guns and equipment as well. However, after the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956 and the Suez crisis, the freezing relations with Britain shifted the control over to the Americans. In June 1951 the principal military training agreement was already signed with the United States;

... This aid is being considerably expanded under the 1956 exchange of notes with Washington. It will result in the establishment of a United States Military Training Mission with army, navy and air forces branches. Modern arms have been provided by the United States under a reimburseable agreement... A military academy has been established at Riyadh which can train 600 officers annually... the origin of the project was based on the idea for a U. S. Air Base on the western shore of the Persian Gulf to facilitate the movement of U. S. forces between Europe and the far east...  

From then on the strategical and military matters of the Kingdom became exposed to an exclusive involvement of the United States of America.

Following the establishment of the Ministry of Defense in 1944, during the last three years of Ibn Saud's reign, five new ministries were added to the administration circle: Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Communications, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Commerce. In addition to these, a number of new agencies were also created, such as the Department of Labor, the Directorate General of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs, and the Directorate General of Broadcasting, Press and Publications.

Obviously the kind of organization that a country needs to formulate and administer development programs and to modernize the entire society differs from traditional organizations concerned with the maintenance

of law and order and the provision of routine services... As soon as government extends its activity from the traditional tasks of defense, diplomacy and maintenance of law and order, and enters the field of economic and social services, its administration inevitably acquires a multiplicity of ministries, departments, divisions and independent commissions and boards.\footnote{International Institute of Administrative Sciences, International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. XLV, Brussels, 1979 No. 3.}

The ambitions supported with the rapidly accelerating influx of oil revenues gave way to developments in administrative structure towards a complex and comprehensive frame in two decades in Saudi Arabia. However, the country's most important and continuous problem occurred in terms of a huge shortage of qualified labor. Since the country was an underdeveloped one, the heavy burden of implementing major projects, regular programs, development plans and administrative accomplishments were to be undertaken by the State. On the other hand, during the early days of the Kingdom, the population suffered from ignorance. Over 75 percent of the Saudi population used to be non-urban desert tribes, Bedouins. In order to fill the gap due to the absence of skilled technical and administrative staff, the government had to employ a number of people of Lebanese, Egyptian, and Turkish origin and in addition to that, it had to apply for the consulting, engineering, supervising and executing potentials of the west. The oil income allowed import of technology as well as other services.

Following the grant of first concession to the Standard Oil Company of California in 1933, the first strike in explorations took place in 1936 and from 1938 on, the oil production started to increase continuously and
exclusively, providing the Kingdom with a huge revenue inflow. Continuously increasing its investments by installing several complexes as well as exploring new oil sources, Aramco gained a vital position in the country's economic life. The scale of activity increased so much that Aramco became an unseparable piece of the whole system in Arabia. The competition with Venezuelan oil was overcome by the final agreements of Arab States and termination of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline after World War II. The fifty-fifty profit sharing agreement between Aramco and the Saudi Arabian government in 1950 became one of the important factors in Saudi Arabia's being relatively less affected by the changes taking place in Egypt through the rise of Gamal Abd al-Nasser.

... Finally, the company itself engaged in a variety of activities not normally the function of an alien concern to maintain the necessary good relations with the Saudi Government. It has set up a Government Relations Department under a vice president to maintain liaison with Saudi officials at both national and local levels... its local representatives have handled problems ranging from deportation of a contract employee to technical assistance of great variety. So extensive, in face, is the work of the Government Relations Department and so close the relationship with the royal government that, Aramco is often accused of handling U. S. foreign relations with Saudi Arabia.

Aramco filled a big gap in Saudi Arabian development in terms of providing qualified manpower, technical assistance, management services and project realization contracts. In addition, with its other non-productive services, it held basic research studies concerning the origins of Arab life, including the particularities of current social and cultural valves. It made know-how available to potential Saudi entrepreneurs, and created a

58 Spencer, William, op. cit., p. 313.
trained and literate labor force. At the same time it implemented extensive press and public relations campaigns with newspaper advertising in Arabic publications which aimed to gain a consensus among people countrywide and make people believe in the advantages and benefits it provided for the country.

C. The Political Divisions of Saudi Arabia established during King Abdul Aziz's Rule.\textsuperscript{59}

1. Najd: (Administered from the Capital Riyadh)
   a. Province of Najd
      (1) Hauta
      (2) Hariq
      (3) Wadi Dawasir
      (4) Washm
      (5) Sudair
      (6) Mihmal
      (7) Khurma, including Turbah and neighboring oasis.
      (8) Bisha
      Bedouin divisions attached direct to headquarters of the Najd province.
      (9) Subai and Suhul
      (10) Ataiba
      (11) Duwadami, including Shara and numerous Ikhwan settlements.
      (12) Qahtan
      (13) Mutair, headquarters at Artamiyah

\textsuperscript{59} Twitchell, K. S., op. cit. pp. 191-193.
b. Province of Qasim (Headquarters at Anaiza)
   (1) Anaiza
   (2) Buraida, including villages along Wadi Ruma
   (3) Rass, including Qasr Ibn Uquail, Subail and Naibaniya

c. Province of Jabal Shammar (Headquarters at Hail)
   (1) Hail
   (2) Taima
   (3) Khaibar
   (4) Mutair, the part not attached to Riyadh

2. Hasa (Headquarters at Damman)
   a. Hofuf, including Jash and Mubarraz
   b. Qatif, including Sofwa, Awamia, Damman, Dinabis, Darain Islan,
      Tarut, Ruffiya and islands of the Hasa coast near Qatif.
   c. Jubail including Airain
   d. Bedouin divisions of: Murra, beni-Hajur, beni Khalid; and Mutair,
      Manasir, Awazim, and Rashaida.

3. Asur (Headquarters at Abha)
   a. Abha
   b. Shahran, including Suk Ibn Mushait or Khamis Musait
   c. Qahtan
   d. Rizal al Ma
   e. Najran

4. District of Asir Tihama (Headquarters at Jizan)
   a. Sabya, including Darb and Baish
   b. Jizan
   c. abu-Arish
5. Hejaz (Administered by the viceroy, Headquarters at Mecca)
   a. Qariyat al Milh, including Qaf and Minwa
   b. Jauf (formerly under Jabal Shammar province of Najd and its dependencies, including Skaka)
   c. Tabuk with jurisdiction over the Bani Atiya and Huwaitat
   d. al-ula with jurisdiction over the Hutaim and Wuld Ali
   e. Duba, with jurisdiction over Tuqaitat and Hawaiatat (Tihama)
   f. Wejh, with jurisdiction over the Billi
   g. Umluj
   h. Yenbo (Yanboo)
   i. Medina, with jurisdiction over the great part of the Harb
   j. Rabigh
   k. Gadhima
   l. Jeddah
   m. Mecca
   n. Taif
   o. Ghamid and Zahran
   p. Beni-Shehr (headquarters at Numas)
   q. Kunfida (Kunfudah)
   r. Birka, with jurisdiction over the beni-Hasan

D. The Council of Ministers of King Saud.

1. The origins of the Ministerial System.

The expenditures of the Royal House and the government were rapidly increasing. The returns of allegiance to the tribes, the governmental expenses, the King's personal allocations, the House Members' wasteful
spendings were to create a rising deficit in the balance of the financial life relying on the King's oil revenues (it must be remembered that the ruler and the government are the same). King Ibn Saud had no interest in budgets or planned financing. The upkeeping of the Holy cities and the King's prestige which demanded a high level of generosity, parallel to the steadily increasing cost of government itself, compounded Saudi Arabia's budgetary problem. The chaos continued until 1954.

Realizing the necessity for a reorganization in government, King Ibn Saud, shortly before his death, ordered that a Council of Ministers be formed to divide the responsibilities in the governing of the rapidly developing Kingdom. This way, the corruption, nepotism and gross financial irresponsibility among the members of the House should be prevented. King Ibn Saud also decided on the successor to the throne. His son, Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz al-Saud would be the King and his second son Prince Faisal would be the Crown Prince (Amir Faisal).

In fact, through his particular methods and long reign, Abdul Aziz had created a prototype of a ministerial system. Senior members of the family, the leaders of major tribes and many other influential non-Saudi Arabs were brought to this consultative council as advisors. Following this, he had appointed Prince Amir Faisal as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1931. The same year, the nucleus for a Council of Ministers was created in Saudi Arabia. Abdulaziz's Plan for stability had taken a new step by the designation of his eldest son, Saud, as Crown Prince in 1933. Growing older and becoming weaker, Ibn Saud started to recognize the major deficiencies of the Kingdom in the fields of administration, political unity and rationalization of oil income.
2. The Council of Ministries of King Saud: August 17, 1957.

Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs;
His Royal Highness Prince Faisal

Ministry of Education;
H.R.H. Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz

Ministry of Communications;
H.R.H. Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Aziz

Ministry of Defense and Aviation;
H.R.H. Prince Fahad Bin Saud

Ministry of Interior;
H.R.H. Prince Abdullah al-Faisal

Ministry of Finance and National Economy
His Excellency, Shaikh Mohamed Surour al-Abban

Ministry of Agriculture;
H.E. Shaikh Khalid al Sudairi

Ministry of Health;
H.E. Dr. Rashad Pharaon

Ministry of Commerce and Industry;
H.E. Shaikh Mohamed Alireza

3. The Advisors in the Council

Chief Advisor to His Majesty King Saud;
His Royal Highness Prince Abdullah Bin Abdurrahman

Advisor to His Majesty and Deputy Foreign Minister;
His Excellency Shaikh Yusuf Yassin

Advisor to his Majesty;
H.E. Shaikh Khalid Gargoni abu Al-Walid

Advisor to His Majesty;
H.E. Al Sayed Jamal Al Husaini

Advisor to His Majesty;
Shaikh Ibrahim Bin Mohamed

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60 Twitchell, K. S., op. cit., pp. 177-178.
Advisor to His Majesty;
H.R.H. Prince Mishal Ibn Abdul Aziz

E. Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud (Second King of Saudi Arabia).

By establishing a Council of Ministers, King Saud followed his father's plan, to provide a wider and better organized distribution of power and responsibility in administration.

Although Saud was personally chosen by his father to succeed him, many influential groups within and surrounding the Royal Family had to take active roles. He received formal support from the senior ulema, and numerous tribal leaders.

The country's first Crown Prince, Saud was named not in the tradition of the most able but rather in an attempt by Abdul Aziz to create a formal process of succession, possibly based on the British system, with which he was familiar. He named his eldest surviving son Crown Prince, and later decided to establish a council of Ministers to which Faisal, whom he considered his most able son, was designated as a Prime Minister and in addition to that, he was the Crown Prince when Saud succeeded to the throne. In taking such a step Abdul Aziz probably intended Faisal to head the government and be responsible for all decisions during the period Saud reigned.

King Saud faced opposition while succeeding to the throne, because among the members of the Royal Family, there were several who felt that Faisal was the obvious choice to succeed his father. King Saud reigned for eleven years and during almost five years of this period, Faisal remained idle.

The worsening financial problems continued in the first few years that King Saud reigned. In 1954 the council of Ministers was given
constitutional powers to approve the annual budget and to include any new appropriations. The council was established in an advisory basis. During the two years between 1955 and 1957, Saud had to transfer many of his powers to Faisal because of his illness. From 1957 on, the Council of Ministers gained further functions as did Faisal. On March 23rd, 1958, King Saud issued a royal decree detailing the duties of his brother as well as his responsibilities. Specified was the administration of the departments of foreign and domestic affairs, defense, and full powers to reorganize the details in the structure of the government. Committees were formed to study ways and means to make a reorganization, with an aim to increase efficiency in all departments of public administration. However, in the final analysis, the ultimate sovereign power was to remain in the hands of King Saud again. This action was the official transference of responsibilities to Faisal. The influential groups and the King were expecting that the finances would be handled more efficiently. Keeping to cordial relations with the United States, Faisal seemed to generally implement a neutral foreign policy.

The country was politically organized under four major divisions (as mentioned in former sections) corresponding to formerly independent Kingdoms which constitute the present Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Najd, Hejaz, Hasa and Asir. Each of the rulers of the divisions had command over considerable military forces. Under the rulers of the states were the Arriurs of towns and villages. In each administrative unit, was a director of finance working along with the Amir and reporting both to him and the Ministry of Finance. Faisal took measures to raise the efficiency of the present mechanism.
On May 11, 1958 a royal decree was promulgated by King Saud. The decree presented the first serious and real attempt to give Saudi Arabia an organized form of government.

Though mostly limited to executive and administrative matters, the decree initiated a process of development that held promise of further progress and reform. 61

The result of Faisal's ultimatum was reform or resign. Faisal prohibited the cabinet members from holding private jobs. This strictly reduced the flow of finance to non-essential private and governmental spending. The Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency was given a function of a central bank.

The most important feature of the decree lay in its definitions of the duties and functions of the council of ministries. The council was defined as consisting of the Prime Minister, a Vice President, the Departmental Ministers and Ministers of State and such Advisors of the King as were appointed by royal command.

The functions of the council were to:

"... draw up the policy of the State, internal and external, financial and economic, educational and defense, and in all public affairs; and to supervise its execution, it has legislative authority and executive authority and administrative authority... International treaties and agreements shall not be regarded as effect, except after its approval... (Article 18). 62"

The decisions of the Council were described as final except those which required the issue of a royal command or decree (Article 18).

In executive and administrative matters, the council was given supreme authority to take any action which it considered in the interest of the country (Article 25-26). 63

The Prime Minister was charged with ensuring the direction and ordering the cooperation between the various ministries supervising the unity and uniformity of the operations of the Council of Ministers, and directing the general policy of the State (Article 44). 64

In legislative matters, every minister had the right to present to the Council a draft or a project of law within the scope of his ministry... and the Council might agree or reject it. (Article 22). 65

Members of the Cabinet also had the right to propose any matter, they may consider expedient for discussion, in the Council. Final approval of all legislative decrees, rested with the King (Article 23). 66

... if his Majesty the King does not approve of any decree or order put forward to him for his signature, it will be returned to the Council, with a statement of reasons leading thereto, for discussion thereof. And if the decree or order is not returned by the secretariat of His Majesty the King, to the Council of Ministers within thirty days of its receipt, the President of the Council shall take such action as he may think appropriate; informing the Council thereof. 67

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
Financial affairs were given special attention. The Council again was the final authority at financial affairs of the State. Taxes and duties, the sale or lease of state property, the grant of monopolies and concessions were made subject to special statues. Every contract signed by the government was to be in accordance with the rules of the budget, and all receipts of the state were to be handed over to a unified public treasury. A state budget was to be drafted every year by the Council of Ministers and submitted to the King for approval.

The decree included special provisions which excluded non-Saudi nationals from membership in the Council, prohibited combining membership in the Council with any other government office, and forbade Council members, either directly or through intermediary, financial or commercial deals with the government or any of its agencies.

Despite its shortcomings and many ambiguities, the 1958 reform decree represents the most important advance in the field of public administration in Saudi Arabian experience. The fact remains, however, that the gap between theory and practice is wide, particularly in a country where an orderly institutional tradition is completely lacking.

The realities of political authority and executive power in Saudi Arabia were not greatly influenced by the assignation of the Council of Ministers with wide and extensive powers.

F. King Faisal's Rule

The succession line has been limited to four actual experiences in the Royal Family. By the death of late King Khalid, the experience reached four. Abdul Aziz, during his reign, used to see Faisal as his most able
son. For many reasons, Saud, during his succession to his father Ibn Saud could not perform a bright and successful rule over the country. This also caused him to lose some of his original consensus. Even before he began to rule, many had opposed him; feeling that Faisal was the obvious choice to succeed his father. As a result of his big mistakes in foreign policy matters and his inability in the control of domestic affairs and national economy as well as in the allocation of oil revenues, the background was prepared for the rise of Faisal, who, at the same time was serving as the Prime Minister. In 1958, the senior members of the Royal Family compelled King Saud to transfer full executive responsibility to Faisal. Faisal implemented several major reforms in State Finance, Administration and Politics both domestic and Foreign in character.

At the end of the power struggle between the two brothers and as a result of Saud's illness, Faisal was named Prime Minister and the active Head of the Council of Ministers. In 1964 Saud was deposed and Faisal proclaimed King. He institutionalized a number of social reforms.

First, education and welfare services were ascribed to a larger portion of the society, and slavery was abolished. It was his proposal in 1962 for a basic law, that set the subsequent pattern for decision making (after the proclamation). By an official decree, Faisal established the supreme role of the king in all governmental affairs by permanently uniting the office of Prime Minister with the King's many other responsibilities.

Faisal felt that the King must be decisive in all his actions and that
at the highest point of government no dissention should take place. 68

During his reign Faisal alone coordinated and decided on everything concerning the government affairs. The only exception was the decision of the Ministers concerning special technical matters. Even at this level he sanctioned the ministerial decisions in the final word. He choose all the senior decision makers which provided absolute attachments and allegiance to the King's opinions and trends.

For the most part Faisal adhered to the principles of the Sharia. In late years of his rule, the radical changes in the world economics in general, and the behavior of the neighboring Arab States forced Faisal to replace his previous policies, giving large priority to domestic development programs. Investments were channeled towards raising the people's standard of living. Faisal started to funnel increasingly larger portions of national income into defense. Government expenditures on basic developments such as the country's major and essential transport structure projects, irrigation schemes, housing projects, and basic industrial schemes were considerably reduced. Faisal brought about this policy due to late developments in the Middle East. Until the death of Gamal Abd-al Nasser of Egypt, Faisal had to face considerable difficulties in the region. Nasser claimed a charismatic leadership over all of the Arab States. Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, reflected a much closer foreign policy to the West, which was strictly disregarded by Saudi Arabia's neighbors. At various times, Saudi Government had to face tensions in accordance with the fluctuations in the

68 Nyron, F. Richard, op. cit., p. 168.
balance of Middle Eastern affairs.

The injection of oil revenues into several layers and units of society has been the sole factor on which the country was constructed as an entity. It was the discovery and management of the oil resources that brought life to the government and made people accept the government. Faisal knew this very well. In addition, he felt obliged to establish a defense mechanism in an adequate and orderly way. This would protect the regime inland and strengthen the voice of Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. After Nasser's death the Arab Israeli War gave Faisal the chance to implement his plans on a wider basis. After the 1973 war and through the critical "oil boycott" of the Arabs against the West, Saudi Arabia found the opportunity to maintain friendly relations with its neighbors. This offered the country and King Faisal renewed prestige and stability. The rising oil prices had also increased the wealth flow into the country considerably. Among these positive circumstances, Faisal decided to implement the first Five-year-Development plan of Saudi Arabia (1970-1975).

G. King Khalid Ibn Abdul Aziz

Faisal's assassination, followed by the succession of Khalid, gave the process of governing some new features. First of all, Khalid was the first experience of proper succession to the throne, because his succession was not determined by Abdul Aziz, before his death. Khalid clearly remained the King, Chief of State and the Head of the Government as well as the Commander in Chief of all Military forces. Owing to ill health, he delegated considerable authority to Crown Prince, present King of Saudi Arabia, Fahd from the very beginning of his rule.
King Khalid made even the less important members of the Royal Family accept his role, authority and continuation of the system. He was the absolute symbol reflecting the dominance of the House of Saud in the country and had no opposition.

King Faisal had brought about an important implementation;... He first united the offices of the King and the Prime Minister, which reinforced his position over the Royal Cabinet and Council of Ministers, and this gave the King exclusive power to appoint, dismiss and accept resignations of ministers.

Once he succeeded Faisal, King Khalid enjoyed a situation of authority in which the ruler's formal powers were as extensive as they had been under the reign of Abdul Aziz. Until his death on June 13th, 1982, Khalid never showed any sign to change the present status in any substantial degree or the authority of the King's position.

From the early days of his rule on, King Khalid gave up his attempts to govern Saudi Arabia's day-to-day affairs. He only drew the general framework of a national policy, made principal decisions, represented the country abroad and left the remaining functions to his active and ambitious successor Prince Fahd.

In the last decade, the hierarchy and functional structure of the Saudi Dynasty did not change much;

A Western diplomat defined Saudi Arabia as the "only family-owned enterprise recognized at the United Nations"... The House of Saud is all pervasive in this nation of 7.8 million people. An elite of 150 senior princes dominates every level of commerce, government, and the military body.

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69 Nyrop, F. Richard, op. cit., p. 175.

The most significant contribution of King Khalid to the Saudi Government has been the enlargement of the Council of Ministers. Khalid increased the number of Ministers from fourteen to twenty (see government division section). However, the presence of numerous ministries did not mean distribution of royal power and responsibility. It is a reflection of a diverse system of government which is, in fact, highly centralized and attempts ambitiously to respond to the needs of the country's development policies. The widespread character of developmental aspects requires a well initiated coordination among the government's related officers. Specialization and further distribution of authority to initiate administrative execution requires an exclusive growth in the bureaucratic structure. This is exactly what Saudi Arabia has been experiencing in the last two decades.

Succession of Prince Fahd as the King of Saudi Arabia does not seem to cause considerable differentiations in the instruments and basic policies of the state. It can be said that, the new King has already been managing the country for over seven years. Still, no Saudi King is all powerful. Fahd will and must also be open to relative influences of the senior Amirs of the House in his implementations. He will require, as well, their approval on essential matters, but it is also a fact that the new King seems closer to the west than his half brother Khalid. The powerful monarch is expected to implement a more active foreign policy in the Middle East. Especially when his failed "Fahd Plan" to maintain peace in the Middle East is remembered, it can easily be recognized that King Fahd will have a significant vote in the determination of the future order in the Middle East.
H. Major Amirs of the House of Saud: 71 *

King Abdul Aziz Ibn Abd'arraham Al Saud (1880-1953).

1. Turki (d. 1918) 2. King Saud (d. 1968) 3. King Faisal (d. 1975)
Faisal
Najid-Mushaal-Fuaz
Abd Allah-Saad (d. 1967)
Muhammad-Famir (D. 1907)
Musaid-Bandar
Abd ar Rahman-Faisal

4. King Khalid (d. 1982) 5. Muhammad
Abd Allah
Bandar
Fahd
Bandar

6. Nasir
Abd ar Rahman
Saud
Khalid
Abd Allah
Fahd

Fahd
Saud
Khalid (d. 1950)
Badr
Saud

10. King Fahd (H. M. New King)

Faisal (Director General of Youth Welfare, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs)

11. Sultan (Minister of Defense and Avaiation)

12. Salmaan (Governor of Riyadh)

13. Abd ar Rahman (in charge of financial affairs of Saudain Family)

14. Naif (Minister of Interior)

15. Turki (Vice Minister of Defence and Avaiation)

16. Ahmad (Deputy of Governor of Mecca)

71 Nyrop, F. Richard, op. cit. p. 163.

* Lines connecting brothers indicate that they had the same mother.
17. Bandar

18. Abd Allah (Crown Prince - appointed by Fahd)

19. Mansur (d. 1951)

20. Mushaal

21. Mitib (Min of Publ. Workd & Housing)

22. Majib (Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs)

23. Sattam (Dept. Gov. Riyadh)

24. Abd Al Majid

25. Badr (Dept Head of National Guard)

26. Abdul Illah

27. Mughrin

28. Novaf

29. Talal

30. Mashari

31. Hathluh

32. Thamar

33. Mamduhah
CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Conclusions


Experience with written constitution and representative institutions does not exist in Saudi Arabia, which is absolutely an authoritarian and highly centralized monarchy subject to royal rule and relies on Sharia Law of Islamic religion. The religious law determines the boundaries of almost every aspect in political structure. Since the Holy Kor'an of Islam is the basis of religion, social life, individual presence and governmental maintenance and protection of justice, it cannot be expected in Saudi Arabia that the rulers should establish a formal constitution.

Many significant political processes are being carried out in the absence of written laws and regulations. Traditions and events and processes that repeat themselves through the centuries are referred to for decision making and arbitration. While doing so, written legal procedures are applied secondarily if they exist in relation with the bases. But the sign of modernization start to come about gradually owing to the emergence of practical needs. The determination of particular details related to current procedural requirements make up, though limited, a set of written laws and regulations.
In Saudi Arabia, no legal statement can be in conflict with the principles of Sharia. The first attempt to institutionalize the ministerial system, by the founder and first King of Saudi Arabia, stated the contemporary developments in the field of public administration. The royal decrees prepared in suit, formed the legal basis for an exclusively organized government in the Kingdom. The 1958 reform has been the most important step in the evolution of this process. The 1958 decree is, in one aspect, a statute for government. Faisal, the Third King established the basic law to determine the government's responsibility in protecting the basic rights of the citizen and stating the relationship between the government and the governed is very much a constitution. The establishment of the judiciary has also been another important step towards a modern and legal structure of government in Saudi Arabia.

B. Central Government

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy with very few limitations on its ruler's powers. Those limitations include the necessity of providing political accommodation to members of the Royal Family, traditional leaders and other influential participants in the governmental system and in the society.

Currently the office of the King is similar to that of King Abdul Aziz's first royal cabinet. The scale of the mechanism is bigger but still the influential organs are not more than a few in the King's eye. The National Security Council for example, or the Supreme Committee for Administrative Reform are quite influential. The office of royal advisors has been an important section of the King's office throughout its existence.
The informal "Senior Amirs Committee", in addition, performs essential functions such as choosing the successor to the throne. The King, assisted by the royal cabinet, is the center of all political activity. Executive, legislative functions take their authority on occasion. The foreign representatives are accredited to the King. He is the highest "Court of Appeal" having the power of pardoning. The King appoints ambassadors and other envoys to be sent abroad; he names ministers, senior state officials, governors, and military officers (above the rank of colonels). Laws can be enacted only by Royal Decree, or Ministerial Decree to be approved by the King. By Faisal's trials and accomplishments in expanding the governmental mechanism and the range of services, Saudi Arabia's developmental efforts were accelerated. During King Khalid's rule, more concentration was given to these efforts. No restrictions on the part of the King's authority and concern were implemented.

The Council of Ministers is in close contact with the King. To an extent, it can be said that it has become one with the King's authority. The presidency of the Council of Ministers is an extensive body, both regulatory and executive in nature. Its responsibilities cover the final decision making on all significant governmental policies and, after approving a specific statement, it also supervises the execution of the statement. The presidency is like an umbrella over the Council of Ministers which include several subdivisions, most of which are important to the functioning of the government as a whole.

The four principal ministries are: Foreign Affairs, Defense and Aviation, Finance and National Economy and the Interior. They play vital
roles in the faith of the nation. Except for the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, the principal ministries are attended by senior members of the House of Saud.

Following the death of the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia (top religious leader, also head of Sharia justice) in 1970, Faisal, despite strict opposition, had established the Ministry of Justice. This was an important and fundamental step in the modernization of a religious society such as Saudi Arabia. The creation of the Ministry of Planning, which also plays an important role in the development of the Kingdom's economic life and in the determination of the alternatives for the rational exploitation of oil revenues for the future of the society, can be regarded as another cornerstone placed after the oil boom.

The country aims to maximize the use of oil income in several ways: a) to provide wealth and services for the community, b) to install the necessary basic structural plants and developments in the shortest time possible, c) to raise oil revenues by both crude production and refining inland with domestic installations, and d) to eliminate the country's dependency on oil revenues by maintaining other industrial structures and creating subsistent domestic manufacturing means. In one single statement, the country is preparing for the future days when the country will have used up all of its petroleum reserves.

The development goals of the Kingdom brings about a huge responsibility for the government and numerous tasks for the realization of vital projects. This requires a great deal of organization and skill. To a limited extent, the country provides these through its domestic sources, but it also has recourse to the knowhow and specialized manpower
made available by the West. The State carries the heaviest burden in development. This is more or less the same in most developing countries. They establish the goal, perform the planning and preparation and even execute and supervise all basic items through the preliminary developing stages. As a natural result of this in such countries, the state mechanism becomes the most developed and the most able institution of the state, as it has to be.

A continually widening reorganization and improvement has also been taking place in the structure of Saudi Government for the last two decades. In addition to the ministerial organization and its' subdivisions, under the authority of the Council of Ministers are many autonomous agencies and public corporations. These are formally organized within the structure of the Saudi Government, but the more important ones are headed by executives who are sometimes more influential than the ministers to whom they are responsible.

C. Local Government

The control of the central government over the tribes, generally remained indirect and was exercised through tribal shayks who were chosen by the heads of the most important families in the tribe. Before the unification of the Saudi State, people governed themselves through tribal councils, and exercised full autonomy in their area.

After founding the Kingdom, Abdul Aziz, touring in the countryside and holding the Royal Majlis at which the tribal shayks made their positions and desires known to the King, achieved a certain harmony between the government and the tribes. By making numerous marriage contracts with
important local families and by providing royal grants, he made the authority of the State and himself accepted.

King Faisal made fewer visits to the tribal areas and reduced the use of the royal treasury in making funds available to the Royal Family through the government's budget.

In 1963, Faisal proposed the Basic Law composed of 40 Articles, which provided for the division of the Kingdom into five provinces. These were subdivided into districts and subdistricts. During the carrying out of his regulation, the Minister of Interior, by the approval of the Council of Ministers, developed an alternative system of local government composed of six major and twelve minor provinces. Each of these were again divided into districts and subdistricts. This basic form of division still exists to the present time.

A governor appointed by Royal Decree, is the central government's representative in the province. He administers the province according to the general policy of the country. The Governor implements the decisions of the courts, he is responsible for the preservation of public order and security, and the protection of rights and liberties of individual's within the limits of Sharia. He has to oversee and inspect the administration of the districts and subdistricts, to assist the national government in the collection of revenues, and to supervise the municipal affairs and work of all government employees in the province.

Provincial Councils assist the governor advisorily and they are situated in the most important city of each province. Peoples representatives and ministerial representatives attend the councils which cannot be over thirty.
people. They have a term of two years. Councils propose new projects, assist in the realization of the existing ones, promote education, regulate local markets, present an annual provincial budget to the Council of Ministers, and are responsible for the financial affairs in the province. They are supplemented by municipal councils, the functions of which are similar to theirs. Neither form of council is permitted to discuss military or national policies, domestic or foreign. Central government has a strict control over the councils based on a concern for inner security. Most of the governors in the office are either members of the Royal Family or leaders of the families related through marriage to the Royal Family.

D. Major Administrative Divisions and the Subdivisions within the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.*

1. Members of Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:

   Head of State - Prime Minister
"H.M. King Khalid Ibn Abdul Aziz (died June 13th, 1982)"
"(H.M. Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz)"

First Deputy Premier: Crown Prince Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz
Second Deputy Premier: Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz
Minister of Agriculture and Water: Abdel-Rahman Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Hasan al Shaikh
Minister of Commerce: Sulaiman Abdul Aziz Al-Solaim

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Minister of Communications: Hussain Ibrahim al-Mansouri
Minister of Defense and Aviation: Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Aziz
Minister of Education: Abdul Aziz al-Abdullah al-Khuwaiter
Minister of Finance and Economy: Mohammad Ali Abalkhair
Minister of Foreign Affairs: Prince Saud al-Faisal
Minister of Health: Hussain Abdel Rezzaq al Jazairi
Minister of Higher Education: Hasan Ibn Abdullah al-Shaikh
Minister of Industry and Electricity: Ghazi Abdel Rahman al-Gosaibi
Minister of Information: Mohammad Abdullah Yamani
Minister of Interior: Prince Nayef Ibn Abdul Aziz
Minister of Justice: Ibrahim Ibn Mohammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Shaikh
Minister of Labor and Social Affairs: Ibrahim Ibn Abdullah al-Angari
Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs: Prince Moutib Ibn Abdul Aziz
Minister of Petroleum and Minerals: Ahmad Zaki Yamani
Minister of Pilgrimage Affairs and Awqaf: Abdul Wahhab Ahmad Abdul Was1
Minister of Planning: Hisham Nazer
Minister of Post, Telegraphs, Telecom: Alawi Darwish Kayyal
Minister of Public Works and Housing: Prince Moutib Abdul Aziz
Governor of Mecca: Prince Majid Ibn Abdul Aziz
Minister of State: Mohammad Ibrahim Masoud
Mohammad Abdul Latif al Milhiam
Deputy Minister of the Interior: Prince Ahmad Ibn Abdul Aziz

Advisors to Minister of Defense and Aviation: Kamel Sindi
General Othman al-Humaid

President of Youth Welfare: Prince Faisal Ibn Fahd

Ministers Without Portfolio: Fayez Badr
Abdel Hadi Taher

Following the unexpected untimely death of H.M. King Khalid Ibn Abdul Aziz, the succession of Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz was decided upon.

After the Royal Family decided on H.M. Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz for succession to the throne, Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz was appointed as the Crown Prince, by the new King.

(His Majesty Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz)

His Majesty King Khalid Ibn Abdul Aziz (died June 13th, 1982)

Supreme Commander of Saudi Arabian Armed forced.

President of the Council of Ministers

President of the Consultative Council

Chairman of the Supreme Committee for Administration Reform

Officer Directly Responsible to the King:

Secretariat General for Committee of Senior Ulema

Office of Bedouin Affairs

Supreme Committee for Administration Reform

His Majesty the King's Additional Officer:

Holy Mosque Supervision

Group of Royal Advisors
Royal Protocol
Royal Divan
His Majesty's Private Office

2. Presidency of Council of Ministers:
Premier His Majesty the King
First Deputy Premier HRH Prince Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz
Second Deputy Premier HRH Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz
Secretariat General of the Council of Ministers

3. Sub-divisions:
Development Of Riyadh
National Guard
General Organization for Youth Welfare
General Intelligence
Council of Information
Consultative Council
Civil Services Bureau
Bureau of Comptroller General
Public Morality Committee
Investigation and Disciplinary Board
Greivance Board
Female Education
Supreme Council for Education
Supreme Council for Universities
Department of Religious Research and Guidance
Islamic University Medina
Bureau of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers
Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu
Ports Authority
Supreme Petroleum Council
Agency for Technical Cooperation
Experts Division
Military Section

4. Ministries and their Sub-divisions:
   a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
      Deputy Minister
      Deputy Minister for Consular and Pilgrimage Affairs
      Deputy Minister for Economic and Cultural Affairs
      Deputy Minister for Political Affairs:
         Peninsular Affairs, Palestine Affairs, Afro-Asian Affairs,
         International Information, Legal Affairs, Arab Affairs,
         Arab League, Western Department, Gulf Affairs, Islamic
         Affairs, Conferences and UN Affairs.
   b. Ministry of Information:
      Deputy Minister for Information Affairs:
         Assistant Deputy Minister for Radio and TV
         Director General for Radio
         Director General for TV
         Saudi News Agency
         Director General for Printing
         Assistant Deputy Minister for Information Affairs
         Director General for the Press and its divisions
Deputy Minister for Administration
Assistant Deputy Minister for Administration
Assistant Deputy Minister for Engineering Affairs
c. Ministry of Defense and Aviation:
Military Inspection
Vice Minister
Director General for Civil Aviation Saudia Airlines
Director General for Meteorology
Chief of Staff
d. Ministry of Planning:
Deputy Minister
Assistant Deputy Minister for National Planning
Assistant Deputy Minister for Sectoral Planning
e. Ministry of Public Works and Housing:
Deputy Minister for Public Works
Deputy Minister for Housing
f. Ministry of Higher Education:
Director General for Development of Higher Education
Deputy Minister
King Abdul Aziz University
Riyadh University
University of Petroleum and Minerals
King Faisal University
Imam Muhammad Bin Saud University
Director General for Educational Missions and University Affairs Abroad
g. Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs:
   Director General for Rural Affairs
   Vice Minister
      Deputy Minister for Town Planning
      Deputy Minister for Municipal Affairs
   Supreme Committee for Rural Development

h. Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources:
   Deputy Minister
   Deputy Minister for Finance and Administration
      Assistant Deputy Minister of Aerial Surveys
      Director General Administrative
   Deputy Minister for Companies and Technical Affairs
      Assistant Deputy Minister for Accounts Control
      Assistant Deputy Minister, Technical Affairs
   Deputy Minister for Mineral Resources:
      Assistant Deputy Minister, Mining Affairs
      Director General, Mineral Resources
      Petromin, General Petroleum and Minerals Organization

i. Ministry of Agriculture and Water:
   Director General for Planning and Budget
   Deputy Minister
      Assistant Deputy Minister for Research and Development
      Agricultural Training
      Assistant Deputy Minister for Agricultural Affairs
      Assistant Deputy Minister for Water Affairs
   Saline Water Conversion Corporation
j. Ministry of Commerce:

   Deputy Minister:

   Director General, Administrative Budget and Planning
   Israel Boycott Officer
   Director General, Hotels
   Director General, Commerce
   Director General, Supply
      Grain Silos
      Flour Mills
   Director General, Consumer Protection
   Standards Institution
   Commercial Disputes Settlement Committee

k. Ministry of Interior:

   Major Emirates
      Asur
      Bahah
      Eastern Province
      Ha'il
      Jawf
      Jizan
      Mecca
      Medina
      Najran
      Northern Frontiers
      Qasim
Riyadh
National Security Council
Deputy Minister
Public Security
  General Investigation
  Special Security Force
  Internal Security Forces Academy
Assistant Deputy Minister
  Director General of Districts
  Crime Preventer
  Claims
  Inspection
  Frontier Affairs
  Organization and Programmes
  Mujahidin Affairs
  General Affairs
  Administration
Frontier Forces
Civil Defense
Deputy Minister for Passports and Civil Affairs
  Assistant Deputy Minister
  Passports, Immigration, Alien Control
Supreme Commission for Officers' Affairs
Committee for Admission of Foreigners
1. Ministry of Industry and Electricity

Deputy Minister, Administrative

Staff Property
Archives
Guest Places
Expenditures
Branch Officer
Holy Mosque Project
Printing
Purchasing
Projects
Al Kham, Agricultural Project

Deputy Minister, Budget and Organization

Assistant Deputy Minister
Director General Budget
Director General Organization
Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency
Real Estate Development Fund
Institute of Public Administration
Saudi Real Estate Company
Saudi Credit Bank
Agricultural Bank
Industrial Development Fund
General Investment Fund
Retirement Pensions Agency
Contractors' Financing Program
Deputy Minister, Financial Affairs and Accounts

General Revenues
Financial Representation
General Accounts
Pensions
Expenses
Credits
Regulations
Assistant Deputy Minister for General Accounts

Deputy Minister, Economic Affairs

International Economic Relations
Research
Statistics
Public Investment Fund
Oil Affairs

m. Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs:

Deputy Minister for Security Affairs

Director General
Pensions
Emergency Relief
Vocational Qualification

Deputy Minister for Labor Affairs

Director General Inspection
Director General Administrative
Director General Labor Force
Director General Training
Saudi Red Crescent
General Social Insurance Organization
Deputy Minister for Social Affairs
Director General, Social Development
Director General, Administrative
Director General, Social Welfare

n. Ministry of Education:
Deputy Minister for Education and Administration
Youth Welfare
School Health
Planning
Assistant Deputy Minister
Primary
Intermediate
Secondary
Islamic
Special
Teacher Training
Regional Director
Examinations
Research and Statistics
Administration
Director General, Private Education
Director General, Cultural Affairs
Deputy Minister for Technical Affairs
Assistant Deputy Minister, Technical Affairs
Director General, Technical Education

**o. Ministry of Health:**

Deputy Minister for Administrative Affairs
Planning and Budget
Licenses
Education and Training
Organization and Management
Director General, Administrative

Deputy Minister for Health Affairs

Director General, Prevention - Medicine
Director General, Curative - Medicine
Hospitals
Regional Directorate
Central Laboratories
Dispensaries and Clinics

**p. Ministry of Pilgrimage and Waqf:**

Deputy Minister for Waqf Affairs
Supreme Council for Waqfs
Central Province Waqfs
Eastern Province Waqfs

Deputy Minister for Pilgrimage Affairs
Assistant Deputy Minister

**q. Ministry of Justice:**

Supreme Judicial Council
Appellate Courts
General Courts

Summary Courts

Deputy Minister

Deputy Minister for Finance and Administration

Deputy Minister for Judicial Affairs

r. Ministry of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs:

Deputy Minister for Telephones

Deputy Minister for Telegraphs

Assistant Deputy Minister for Administration

Director General of Posts

s. Ministry of Communications:

Deputy Minister for Transportation

Deputy Minister for Communications

Assistant Deputy Minister

Railroad Organization

E. Major Public Corporations Established to Render Particular Services

1. The Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (SABIC).

The Saudi Basic Industries Corporation was established by the Royal Decree of the 13th of September, 1976, with the responsibility for undertaking the establishment and operation of hydrocarbon based industries, basic metal industries and any other strategic and viable industries that the private sector might be unable to establish.

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2. The Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu

It was established by Royal Decree on 1975, for the task of laying the basic infrastructural foundations to transform the two regions of Jubail and Yanbu into industrial areas and for the infrastructure of secondary industry parks at Jubail and Yanbu as required.

3. Saudi Arabian Fertilizer Company (SAFCO/PETROCU)

It was established in 1965 for the provision of the upkeep of existing urea fertilizer and sulphuric acid production. It is a public sector under the supervision of Ministry of Industry and Electricity.

4. Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO)

It was the first oil establishment which was built in 1933, with the name of "Standard Oil Company of California." In 1944, the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) was formed. The major functions of the company are: oil and gas production, refining, exporting of crude/refined petroleum and gas products. It is under the supervision of the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals.

5. General Petroleum and Mineral Organization (PETROMIN)

Petromin was established in 1962 as an independent agency of the government and was responsible for the development of industries based upon petroleum, minerals and natural gas. It is a state corporation carrying out the refining, exporting of crude/refined gas products and distribution of fuel to domestic market.

6. The Saline Water Conversion Company (SWCC)

SWCC acts under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry and Electricity and plays an increasingly important role in the development
of water treatment in the Kingdom and in the production of electricity.

7. Saudi Arabian National Center for Science and Technology (SANCST)

In Dhul Jijja, 1977, the government framed the bylaws for a "Saudi Arabian National Center for Science and Technology", with the responsibility, inter alia, of devising a national science and technology policy directed towards, and consistent with the social and economic development of the Kingdom.

8. Saudi Industrial Development Fund (SIDF)

It is the government industrial lending agency, established in 1974 and provides loans to private sector industrial projects.

9. The Saudi Ports Authority

It was established in Ramadan, 1976, with the objectives of creating sufficient unloading capacity at the Kingdom's ports, to meet the demand for unloading facilities during the planned import boom, and to operate the ports on the principle of self-financing and managerial autonomy.

10. Arabian Oil Company – Getty Oil Company

They are companies acting under the supervision of the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals and deal with oil production, refining, exports of crude/refined products.

11. Grain Silos and Flour Mills Organization (GSFMO)

It is a government corporation, established in 1972; purchasing and storing local wheat, producing animal feed concentrates, monitoring animal feed production.

12. Saudi Consulting House (SCH)

It is one of the government corporations, established in 1979. It
works closely with the Ministry of Industry and Electricity and government agencies on technical and market research.

13. The Public Investment Fund (PIF)

It was established in 1971 with the objective of promoting the diversification of the economy. It is a division of the Ministry of Finance and National economy and provides finance to public sector organizations in the form of loans and equity subscription. Not only must projects funded by PIF be commercially viable, but they must have an important role in the Kingdom's development as well.

14. The Saudi Arabian Agricultural Bank

It is the oldest government fund established. It was founded in 1962 to provide short, medium and long term loans to the agricultural sector. All loans made are cost-free to the borrower and may be used for a wide range of purposes, including the purchase of seed, fertilizers, animal stock, construction, drilling and integrated investments such as large scale dairy projects.

15. The Al Hassa Irrigation and Drainage Authority

It is the first fully independent government agency which was engaged in agricultural water supply and to a much lesser extent, other support activities such as agricultural extension services to the local farming community. Its tasks in terms of water supply is specifically limited to that of producing and delivering water to the farm inlet gate and evacuating and ensuring the safe disposal of excess water from its collection points at the farms by means of drainage facilities.
16. The Saudi Credit Bank

This is the only government fund concerned solely with private individuals. It was established in 1971, to grant loans up to a maximum of SR 7500 to Saudi families with low income for a number of purposes including marriage, health, artisan workshop and home improvements. The bank operates in three main branches and ten sub-branches.
CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Final Word

In the words of an article about Public Administration in Saudi Arabia by Mr. Osama A. Othman:

Despite the fact that the Saudi bureaucracy shares the same problems, the bureaucracies in less developed countries have to face, it differs from those in terms of its history; that is it does not have the bureaucratic tradition that most of the others have... In Saudi Arabia the administrative machinery... is mainly new and created from scratch within the past two decades... nor has Saudi Arabia been colonized like so many other less developed countries which are now seeking to reform alien methods and attitudes. However, the Saudi bureaucracy, with its limited human resources, is charged with enormous responsibilities stemming from its over-ambitious development plans...

The task of bureaucracy in the less developed countries, in general, appears to be enormous and inescapable. The business sector which tends to play a vital role in the more developed countries tend to be inactive and inefficient, not because it is repressed or interfered with but it does not exist in the modern sense. (Eugene Staley).

In the less developed countries, government has to take the initiative; formulate plans, and sometimes create enterprises because otherwise there would be little development... (Henry Reining, Jr.).

In Saudi Arabia, the rapid growth of wealth has created an over optimistic environment, without taking into consideration the capacity of the bureaucracy.

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The neglect of administrative capacity is common in most of the less developed countries despite the fact that the administrative capacity is the major factor which affects development.

In Saudi Arabia, and in other less developed countries, government is the main employer, and in the absence of an active private sector, has to carry social responsibilities as well as economic ones. There is a shortage of trained and educated personnel and much of the increase in government employment takes place at the lower levels of hierarchy.

The abundance of capital in Saudi Arabia has created an abundance of expectations, many of which are embodied in the ambitious five year plans. But the bureaucracy could not fulfill these expectations. Quantitatively its growth was limited and qualitatively its performance suffers shortcomings.

Practically unlimited funds provided by oil resources have proved to be less of a blessing than they were first believed to be. The progress shown in the scope of work done and the enlargement in the frame of state institutions in three decades in Saudi Arabia should be underlined as an example of concentrated effort and rapid progress to cope with the contemporary developments in the twentieth century.
MAP I

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
The first comprehensive and accurate census carried out in Saudi Arabia in 1974 indicates that the total population of the Kingdom is 7,012,642, distributed in fourteen administrative districts.

### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Riyadh</td>
<td>1,287,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca</td>
<td>1,754,108</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>769,648</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asir</td>
<td>681,261</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medina</td>
<td>519,295</td>
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<td>Jaizan</td>
<td>403,106</td>
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<td>Qasim</td>
<td>319,496</td>
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<td>Hail</td>
<td>259,979</td>
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<td>Tabuk</td>
<td>193,763</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baha</td>
<td>158,905</td>
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<tr>
<td>Najran</td>
<td>147,980</td>
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<td>Northern Frontier</td>
<td>127,745</td>
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<td>Jauf</td>
<td>65,474</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qurayyat</td>
<td>31,494</td>
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<td>Border Bedouins and Others</td>
<td>293,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP 3

MAJOR REGIONAL CLASSIFICATION

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