

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
N°:.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION:

The Impact of American Foreign Policy on Saudi Arabia in the 21st Century

Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master

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2018 / 2019

Abstract

The current study investigates the impact of American Foreign Policy on Saudi Arabia in the 21st century. This research highlights the historical background of both the United States and Saudi Arabia before and during that era. It discusses the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship, the events led to tension in their relations, and the impact of U.S. foreign policy on Saudi Arabia. This study aims at knowing whether this impact of U.S. foreign policy on Saudi Arabia is positive or negative using the analytical method. The analysed information show that the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship is based mainly on mutual interests and that they both depend on each other, but the dependency of Saudi Arabia on the United States is much stronger. It shows that the impact of American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia is more negative than positive; this is because the American objectives are very different from Saudi Arabia's values, beliefs, religion, lifestyle, and traditions.

Key words: US-saudi Arabia relationship, US foreign policy, mutual interests.

Acknowledgment

In the name of ALLAH, the most merciful, the most graceful. All praise is to ALLAH, who has helped and guided us along this year to achieve this work.

Our appreciations and honest gratitude are dressed to our respectful supervisor Mr. Saber for his endless advices, help, patience and support.

We would like also to thank the examiners teachers for accepting to revise and analyze this work.

All thanks and appreciations to all the teachers who have been teaching us along the journey of our university studies at the English department of Msila university.

Dedication I

First of all, this work is dedicated to my beloved parents who are enlightening my life

In addition to that, I want to dedicate this work to my brothers and sisters,also to my best friends

Ibtissam, Warda and Manel.

Special dedication to my family and everyone who knows and supports me by a way or another

Nesrine

Dedication II

I dedicate this work to all those I love

To all people who have helped me

Grateful

Amal

List of Abbreviations

AQAP	Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
CAFTA-DR	The Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement
EU	European Union
FML	Foreign Military Sales
FEA	Free Economic Armageddon
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KSA	kingdom of Saudi Arabia LCS
	Literal Combat Ships
NAFTA	The North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
RSAF	Royal Saudi Air Force
SAGIA	the Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority
THAAD	the Terminal High Attitude Air Defense System
TIFA	Trade Investment Framework Agreement
TPP	the Trans-Pacific Partnership
T-TIP	the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
UNS	United Nations Security
USA	United States of America
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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General Introduction

Recently, the United States has started to improve and develop to be the dominant world superpower. Its large area and strength, more particularly military and economic power, helped the United States to transfer and spread its culture all around the world, thereby forcing its policies easily. The American government has justified its foreign policies as being set up to develop, determine, save American needs and interests, and to save the world from any threat. One of those interests is oil.

Oil has been one of the main American interests for a long time. USA has built strong relationships with the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) especially Saudi Arabia. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been one of the United States_top oil exporters which led to have a strong relationship between each other. The U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship has begun since 1945, based on common interests in oil and security. This relationship faced several Challenges and difficulties including the oil embargo and the 9/11 events.

The 1973 oil embargo included stopping oil exportation to the United States because of the U.S. support of Israel in the Yom Kippur War or what is known as the 1973 Arab- Israeli War. Meanwhile, the oil prices were increased to its high levels. In 1980, Saudi Arabia started its five years development plans, gaining \$250 billion and leading to an economic jump development. To add, Saudi Arabia spent billions of dollars to spread its fundamentalist interpretations of Islam, what is known as Wahhabism.

In the late twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, American foreign policy was one of the most influential policies in Saudi Arabia. Despite the differences between the two countries, Saudi Arabia provided oil to the USA in exchange for keeping security within the kingdom.

This research is about examining the impact of the American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia to know whether this influence is positive or negative on the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the 21st Century, and to have an idea about America's role in this country. The objectives from such research are to: identify the nature of the US-Saudi Arabia relationship, investigate the future of their relationship, identify the impact of the American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia, and determine whether the US foreign policy has a positive or a negative impact on Saudi Arabia.

The significance of the study lies on the fact that goes through the analysis of the impact of the American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia by examining the relationship between the two countries. And how the data collected are used to enrich readers' knowledge about this topic.

Furthermore, this study sheds light on many questions which are as follow:

- 1- What is the role of American foreign policy in Saudi Arabia?
- 2- What are the mutual interests that built the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship?
- 3-Did the American foreign policy affect Saudi Arabia positively or negatively?

The methodology used in this study is based on a historical research design in which the method used is analytical in which data collected are based on political and historical books, reports, articles, and theses. The information were analysed to answer the research questions and to achieve the objectives of the study.

The hypotheses suggested are that the American foreign policy has a positive as well as a negative impact on Saudi Arabia in the 21st century and that the negative impact on Saudi Arabia is much more than the positive one.

This research work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter has dealt with the historical background of the United States foreign policy before and during the 21st century. It has included the presidents' doctrines from Clinton to Trump. It has also included interests, tools, and its foreign policy towards Middle East countries.

While the second chapter has tackled a short overview of the history of Saudi Arabia in all domains such as politics, economy, its national security, position, and attitude towards the Arab upheavals.

The last chapter has tackles the impact of American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia in 21st century, including a historical background of U.S.-Saudi relationships and the main issues and events led to having tensions in their ties. Then, it has dealt with the positive and negative impact of American foreign policy on the kingdom.

Chapter One: The Foreign Policy of America in the 21st Century

Introduction

The United States foreign policy is the strategy that the US uses when deciding how to handle interactions with other countries. And creating and maintaining diplomatic relations with them. It is generally designed to accomplish certain goals internationally. The United States ability to project and protect its national interests relies greatly on the power of its foreign policy. The content of American foreign policy is broad, it includes all domains such as political, social, economic and ideological issues. In order to understand the United States policy, those domains should be understood.

In this chapter, we use a descriptive method of historical research to give and provide information about the American foreign policy by examining the historical beginning that justified the US continental expansion in 19th century and during the global conflicts of the twentieth century, and to know how it has developed over two centuries according to some tools to save its interests in the world. The descriptive method is used also to know how USA foreign policy goes as a global community moves into the profound uncertainty of 21st century.

The chapter is divided into three parts: firstly, the historical background of USA foreign policy and how it developed over years. Secondly, it examines the national interests and how it navigates the global world. Finally, it brings out the United States affairs with other countries.

1. Historical Background of USA Foreign Policy

The American foreign policy started being clear during the post revolution era with the president James Monroe who tried to avoid the European political quagmire also translated to disquiet that England, France and Spain would intervene in western hemisphere issues. And thereby he drew the USA forcibly into a dispute. Thus, the colonization of Caribbean or Latin by the European colonial powers would raise tension with USA. In 1923, Monroe pronounced a

proclamation that the American is for the Americans without any external interference which led many Latin countries gradually to get their independence in the first half of the 19th century. (Paterson 15)

While the second half was mentioned by the manifest destiny (1800s-1850s), And how USA expanded rapidly to the west by purchasing Louisiana from the French by the president Tomas Jefferson and doubling USA size, also by gaining Texas from the American-Mexican war. Forty five years earlier, the USA acquired a long expansion of lands which complete its coast to coast aspiration and fulfilled its manifest destiny. (16)

In the beginning of the 20th century, the USA was isolated, protected by oceans and technologies of the day, it focused on its own internal destiny and sparsely populated. Also, it had trading partners but did not exert influence globally. Following the world war one, President Wilson ended the American isolation and involved the war. He tried to implement a new order among the society of nations that would help to avoid conflicts between states, and he supported for the collective government, the League of Nations which was rejected by the Congress and returned to its isolationism. (19)

Less than 15 years later, the world entered a second world war, and the Americans tried hardly to avoid its involvement .This led the Congress to pass several acts in the 1930s to limit the USA involvement in the war. Both Democrats and Republican leaders advocated for noninterventionism. For instance, the Neutrality Act of 1936 prohibited all loans or assistance to any of the belligerents in Europe.Only the devastating attack on the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii in December 1941, would force the United States to abandon its continental isolationism.

The post-war period marked a change in USA foreign policy. It ended its isolation and gave Foreign aids to its alliances such as Britain and France. As the war was about to close, USA was

the last player standing while Europe and Japanese were physically, financially, and emotionally devastated. In addition to that, Russia was financially destroyed and suffered severe losses. Also, China, India, and most of Asia were isolated peasant colonial or post-colonial states. (19)

After a period of time, the Soviet Union emerged as a super power challenger to USA that led to raise many fears among USA leaders because of the tension between capitalists led by the USA and communists led by Soviet Union. This made the American leaders reassess its foreign policy priorities. (20)

President Truman and Secretary of State George Marshall understood that battered European countries were particularly vulnerable to communist revolutions. Subsequently, the U.S launched the largest aid program in all its history. Between 1948 and 1951, the United States provided \$13.3 billion (\$150 billiondollars in 2017) in assistance to 16 European countries under the policy of containment. In the 1949, appropriation alone represented roughly 12% of the U.S. federal budget. Truman administration tried to avoid military attacks with the Soviet; it was a cold war between the two poles. He helped a number of important international institutions, and provided substantial foreign aid to shore up struggling economies.

By establishing political, economic and security institutions to contain Soviet expansion, the war ended and America remained as the world's only superpower. It enjoyed world hegemony, and it became the world police and the deep pocket. (Paterson 20)

2. NationalInterests of American Foreign Policy

National interests or what a country needs and wants to survive and to improve its situation, by making balance between self-interests and personal values, nations work in the world based

on national interests and beliefs. Most of these interests and beliefs can be divided into three parts: economic, security and ideological interests. (*“Key Principles and Practices” 161*)

2.1. Economic Interests

The main aspect of economic interests can be found in trade policy, taxes and tariffs, contracts and monetary policy. USA government makes sure that its export products retail shelves in other countries; it also tries to conserve its domestic industries through the use of import tariffs and subsidies.

In the United State, most of industries and companies are susceptible to free-market force although the government has moved to protect agriculture, transportation and finance among other industries unlike other countries such as China where the government is one of the most aspects of the market place. And other countries in Western Europe have a mixed economy in which the government has some control on many industries such as healthcare, banking, and air travel, but with leaving much of the economy uncontrolled. (*“Foreign Policy: Key Principals and Practices” 162*)

2.2 Security Interests

The main thing for any country is to be safe from any threats or potential threats. Security interests can also be about threats less obvious than military attacks. The US military spread out in more than 120 countries where threats and instabilities can implicate the United States security. For instance, the U.S embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, was bombed in 1983 by the terrorist group Hezbollah. In addition to that, in 1998, group linked to Osama bin Laden bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The rise in the international terrorism in the world has left many bad marks in many places, such as Madrid, London, Washington D.C, and in Muslim

world. In addition, it has made USA works with other nations to save and protect themselves from these threats. (*—Foreign Policy: Key Principals and Practices” 163*)

2.3 Ideological Interests

Ideological interests are related to the country's way of life and ideals. All countries have their own worldviews; some are in direct struggle with one another. These views are often about forms of government, civil rights, or religion.

Since the end of the world war two, USA has been the world leader; it has strong effects on world ideologies because of its status allure and influence of American culture products. Nevertheless, it has come into conflicts with other countries because of ideological concerns. For example, the cold war against the Soviet Union in which the United States believed that it was fighting international communism.

Some, including the vice president Dick Cheney, have argued that the only reason behind fighting terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and al Qaeda is because they don't like the United States freedom, this reason is an ideological one. Also President George Bush argued that the USA went into Iraq in 2003 to liberate the Iraqi people from horrible dictator; this reason had neither economic nor security implications for the Americans, but it is an ideological interest. (*Foreign Policy: Key Principals and Practices 164*)

3. Navigating the Global Stage

The setting of foreign policy is a different work, it has to fit with the priorities and the interests of the country. Serving policy is actually easier than implementing it when a country finally determines what it wants in the realm of international relations, and achieving its goals can prove to be the more challenging part of the work.(Key Principles and Practices 165)

3.1 Diplomacy and Cooperation

To achieve goals and interests of any nation, such as negotiations and enforcement of treaties, building goodwill through cultural exchanges and enhancement trade relationships, some nations work together through their embassies and other government agencies. The United States is economically and diplomatically connected to the world stage, it is a member in many large international organizations such as the UN Security Council, the World Banks, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the IMF, and the Group of Eight developed nations with large economies (G8). (165)

To add, the United States is a signatory of many trade agreements. One of these agreements is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); it is a long-distance partnership between Canada, Mexico, and USA which has big important impacts on the economy of all these three countries. Another agreement is between USA, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua called The Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR).

In 2015, the USA was negotiating for more two additional large-scale trade agreements: the first agreement was the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) which would link and make the trade relations with Australia, Canada, Brunei, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, new Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam more strong. The second agreement was the Transatlantic Trade and

Investment Partnership (T-TIP) which would tighten the relations between USA and the European Union(EU).

Trade agreements make two or more countries closer to one another; economic sanctions and embargoes can be used to punish or isolate countries. The American economy is the largest in the world that has the ability to influence other nations' economy through its trade policy. Embargoes and sanctions can be more efficient if other countries join them. (Key Principles and Practices 166)

3.2 Economic and Military Aid

Money, food, medicines and loans are some aids which countries can either give or prohibit from other countries. The same thing with military aids, countries can also give or withhold them in a form of weapons, training technology, equipment, ammunition and personal. Nations do this to build a strong partnership between nations to enhance stability and security in key regions and to help other nations when it is needed. (166)

According to the center for global development, in 2003, the United States ranked as the 20th in foreign aids to other nations as a percentage of gross national product (GNP). In addition, in terms of global giving, the United States gave much money than other nations. In 2012, USA gave money and military aids to four nations: Israel (\$3,07 billion), Afghanistan (\$2,3 billion), Pakistan (\$2,1 billion), and Iraq(\$1,76 billion). (*Foreign Policy: Key Principals and Practices* 167)

4. America's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

Long before, America used to believe in the policy of isolation, and it was not interested in making alliances with foreign nations. But later on during the 21st century, —diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations are highly valued; foreign policy also includes peacekeeping and international economic issues (How American Foreign Policy is Made and Implemented 10). Concerning the U.S. foreign policy of the 21st century, it was stated that:

Each post-Cold War administration's foreign policy doctrine has essentially been reimagined by the next president. This mutable policy environment underscores the importance the next president will have. Within this context, US foreign policy will continue to be driven by the ongoing redefinition of US national interests in the post-Cold War era and by questions among the American public regarding how best to (1) protect national security, (2) maintain leadership while rejecting the role of —world policeman, and (3) manage the impacts of globalization on the US economy. (*“U.S. Foreign Policy in the 21st Century-Driving Factors for Continuity & Change”* 21)

4.1 New World Order

Wright stated: —New world order was called for by President Wilson after the First World War. At that time, the phrase did not mean an Empire. But it was the reverse, Wilson was promoting his plan for the League of Nations, an international organization that would protect each country's sovereignty and settle disputes by adjudication. (10)

—The phrase —new world order was not much heard again until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, leaving one nation mightier than all the others (Wright 10). However, the new world order did not start with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The new world order did not begin in 1919 with the League of Nations, nor in 1989 with the fall of the Soviet Union. It flows from Europe's takeover of the entire New World, or Western Hemisphere: the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru, which triggered five centuries of European expansion, and the British- American conquest of what is now the United States. (Wright 11)

In his book *What Is America?*, Wright also stated that —If there is to be order, not chaos, in the twenty-first century, we must build a new world order strong enough to manage the ending of the boom and make the best of what the Earth provides (223). In an article entitled —U S Foreign Policy in the 21st Century—Driving Factors for Continuity & Change, it was stated:

The New World Order of the 1990s: As the dominant global power in the aftermath of the Cold War, the US became the leading defender of the status quo, working to preserve the geopolitical—New World Order while promoting the —Washington Consensus as a global economic vision. Both the Bush (I) and Clinton administrations attempted to form a new construct for foreign policy focused on US leadership of —global norms and restrained use of military force to deter aggression, for example, launching Operation Desert Storm in reaction to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. (21)

4.2 Clinton Doctrine (1993-2001)

The United States appeared to be the world's single superpower with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After the Cold War, Bill Clinton was elected to be the president of the United States. (Paterson 28). The foreign policy of Clinton was called —assertive multilateralism or —liberal internationalism. It contained some crucial elements:

1/ An endeavour to keep expanding democracy among developing nations because democracies were in favor of America.

2/ Working with international institutions like the United Nations closely — The most important thing is for the United States to recognize that, flaws and all, the U.N. serves our interests because it deals with problems that we do not wish to take on unilaterally, acknowledged by the U.S. Ambassador.

3/ Using the U.S. military advantages to interfere in humanitarian missions — Under his watch, American forces would intervene in Somalia in 1993, in Bosnia in 1995, and in Kosovo in 1999

4/ Looking for maintaining the U.S. military primacy over potential emerging competitors like Russia or China. To preserve its overseas interests, The U.S. military advantages would be used in the fields of technology, mobility, sea power, and strategic sealift.(Paterson 30)

4.3 Bush Doctrine (2001-2009)

What is known as the Bush Doctrine is —the United States need not wait to be attacked (as in 1917 and 1941) but had the right to launch a preemptive strike on any nation that might be preparing for war against Americans (Nelson 178). Schonberg stated that —the Bush doctrine was a grand imperial strategy of a sort never seen before in the history of U.S. foreign policy (108). Five key elements of Bush’s unilateralist Wilsonianism, or what is known as Bush Doctrine, have been pointed : —American preeminence; assertive realism; equivocal alliances; selective multilateralism; democratic transformation (Schonberg 103).

At first, the Bush administration’s sole most convincing endeavour was its *National Security Strategy of the United States*, issued in September 2002, to depict its approach to overseas affairs. (Schonberg 103). This document portrayed three major menaces to the United States: groups of terrorism with international reach, fragile states that help and give shelters to such organizations; and bluff states , and it is asserted that America will act against those threats before their formation (Schonberg 103).

Bush’s foreign policy was called —“assertive nationalism.” His policy contains four objectives:

First, the U.S. would continue to build the tools of American power by raising defense spending and strengthening the military. Second, the country would avoid open-ended humanitarian or peacekeeping missions as those seen during the Clinton years. Third, it would challenge rising competitors such as China and address the threat of the possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) by rogue states. Fourth, it would act unilaterally when needed. (Paterson 31)

In other words, his main focus was on military power to advance its interests.

4.4 Obama Doctrine (2009-2017)

Obama foreign policy is depicted as —offshore balancing. America would move back from direct interference in foreign struggle and protect U.S. interests from outside the nation instead. Obama would leave Afghanistan security problems to the Afghans and prevent Al Qaeda from rebuilding itself. (Paterson 35). Paterson also stated that Obama's plan promises in the 2008 contained a promise to: finish the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, reform international relations spoiled during the eight years of the Bush Administration, and to obey domestic and international law. (35)

Concerning Obama's policy, Wright stated—His policies did not differ much from Clinton's, but his eloquence, intelligence and liberal record—notably as one of the few senators to vote consistently against the war in Iraq- aroused a national mood for change. (219)

4.5 Trump Doctrine (2017- Nowadays)

—Trump embraces realism like no other recent U.S. President. In a Trump state, national interests come before international efforts or multilateral institutions (Paterson 41). Unlike any recent U.S. president's policy, president Trump's policy is totally different. Speaking about Trump, Paterson stated that:

Once he arrived in the White House on January 20, Trump quickly set out to reverse the world order that the U.S. had established since the end of the Cold War 25 years earlier. In his first two weeks as President, he called NATO obsolete, withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and vowed to renegotiate NAFTA. He ordered an immigration freeze for travelers from seven Muslim-majority nations. He proposed a \$54 billion budget increase for the U.S. military and ordered more troops into Syria while at the same time slashing foreign aid and U.S. diplomatic budgets by 30. (41-42)

To sum up, —In his first few months as President, the outlines of a new Trump Doctrine have begun to emerge.¹³³ Under the new President, the U.S. will be more inward looking and less engaged overseas. (Paterson 43).

5. American Policy towards the Middle East

American foreign affairs and policies towards foreign countries differ from one country to another according to its interests and needs. Though US policy towards the Middle East has not changed noticeably under Obama administration, it indicated its intention to re-start relations based on devoting more effort to fix the perceived damage to relations inflicted under President Bush (Echagüep1). The change was clarified through Obama's 'new beginning' speech in Cairo, in which he talked about mutual interest and mutual respect concerning relations seeking a comprehensive relationship and a relationship based on partnership between people and government as well. (Echagüep 1)

5.1 US Policy towards Iraq

Concerning Iraq, it was stated that:

Trump's attitude toward Iran remains more skeptical than Obama's and closer to the GCC's view of Iran as a security threat. Suzanne Maloney from the Center for Middle East Policy claims that the Trump administration —shares an Iran centric interpretation of the problems that plague the Middle East and threaten vital American interests there⁷. According to Trump's administration, the Obama policy toward Iran empowers the leadership of Islamic Republic of Iran on the region. So what we can see after Trump inauguration in 2017 is essentially an inversion of American policy toward Iran. (Grabowski 5)

5.2 US Policy towards Israel and Palestine Issue

One of the Middle East states which caught America's attention is Israel. The relationship between Israel and the United States has often been portrayed as —unique and special^{ll}. This relationship is claimed to be special because of the common values and historical connection

between the United States and Israel as well as shared usefulness as Reich affirms that —the underlying arguments have concentrated on shared values and historical association, but there has also been strategic utility and intangible values (—U.S. Policy toward Israel, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia 366).

While Organski argues: —U.S. presidents did not think that it was in the interests of the United States to support Israel, they did not. When they thought that courting Arab friends to the exclusion of close ties with Israel was in the U.S. interest, they did just that. (—U.S. Policy towards Israel, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia 366). In other words, keeping special relationship with Israel is in favour of America.

To add, as with every U.S. administration, the Clinton administration was willing to reward Israelis by boosting solidarity—offering for signing a peace treaty with Jordan in October 1994. President Clinton stated that —now that you are taking risks for peace, our role is to help you minimize the risks of peace. (—U.S. Policy toward Israel, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia 367)

Concerning Israeli–Palestinian relations, the Clinton administration supported the position of the Israelis and according to Quandt, Clinton did not want to —risk controversy by taking positions that might offend the Israelis in particular. Generally, according to the positive impressions of the United States toward Israel, U.S. policy toward Israel in 1994 was quite positive. Even during times of tensions in relations between the U.S. and Israel, the Clinton administration adopted a political strategy such as marginalizing as a punishment instead of conflictual measures, such as economic or military sanctions. (—U.S. Policy toward Israel, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia 367-368)

Conclusion

It is crucial for everyone to be aware of the American Foreign Policy especially in the 21st century because it does not affect only domestic states but also oversees countries. Thus, it is important to know how has been the American foreign policy progressed over two centuries looking for keeping its interests and affairs at first. It is also vital to know about its national interests and its foreign affairs since the American foreign policy, as a superpower, has the influence on the whole world. And these are the main things which have been tackled in this chapter.

Chapter Two: The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia

Introduction

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded by the King Abdel Aziz Ibn Saud. It has been a totalitarian absolute monarchy governed a long Islamic lines. For two centuries, Saudi Arabia has mentioned and experienced a huge development and changes in many domains such as political, economic and social because of the demands of the new millennium.

In this chapter, we use a descriptive method of historical research in delivering the data collected. This chapter talks about the historic background of Saudi Arabia monarchy, its beginning and geographical location. Moreover, it discusses the new political system of the kingdom which depends on Islamic elements of Shari‘ah. In addition it shows the Saudi Arabia interests in having protection of its national security over the world. Also, it deals with the Saudi Arabia development of the economy based on oil and how it takes the kingdom to a world power exporter, finally it concentrates on Saudi Arabia foreign policy, how Saudi Arabia is connected with the Arab world and Middle East and how it reacts with the Arab spring and the gulf region tensions.

1. Historical Background

For many reasons, —Arabia in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries is a state of critical importancel (Bowen 1). And in order to get a clear picture of this crucial state, a look to its history, people, geography, religion, government, and economy is needed.

1.1 Pre-Islamic History

The first inhabitants are reckoned to have arrived in the peninsula between 15,000 and 20,000 years ago. In its early human history, Arabia was populated by different Neolithic population who survived as hunters and gatherers while Arabs came to dominate the region later on.

(Wynbrandt 7). Pre-Islamic society's structure in Arabia was based on the clan, a group of several related families. The clan determined the code of conduct and supplied protection to its members in the absence of recognized government. (Wynbrandt 15)

Concerning writing, some evidence points to the development of early Sinaitic script, Arabia's first form of writing, dating to around 2000-1500 B.C. Two writing systems were in use in the peninsula by 1000 B.C.: Musnad al-Shamali, and Musnad al-Janubi. (Wynbrandt 16). Concerning pilgrimage, before the time of Muhammad, making a religious pilgrimage was a venerable tradition in Arabia. Pilgrimages to shrines were made throughout Arabia to honour gods. The sites that were of great importance were in Mecca. (Wynbrandt 26)

1.2 Geography

Today's Arabian Peninsula and Saudi Arabia were part of Africa. Hundreds of millions of years ago, parts of its eastern borders were periodically submerged by seas which became the Persian Gulf at the end. (Wynbrandt 1)

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) or Al Mamlakah al Arabiyah as Saudiyah is 829,980 square miles (2,149,640 sq Km) in area. It fills about 80 percent of the Arabian Peninsula, the world's such landmass. Saudi Arabia is bordered by Yemen, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait while its coastal borders are Red Sea and Persian Gulf. It is made up of sandy desert, mountains along west coast, and broad plains on the east coast. There is no rivers or navigable waters exist within the country. (Wynbrandt 321)

—Over half of Saudi Arabia is uninhabitable desert, producing ferocious wind and dust storm that can blanket even major cities for days. The largest of these deserts is the southeastern

Rub Al Khali, or Empty Quarter, that makes up approximately a quarter of Saudi Arabia's territory."(Bowen 2)

1.3 Religion

In Saudi Arabia, Islam is the fundamental and the only religion. Over 90 percent of Saudis are Sunni Muslims, and nearly all of these are followers of strict Wahhabi Islam. The remaining 10 percent are Shia Muslims, concentrated in the eastern coastal region along the Persian Gulf. (Bowen 5)

1.4 Government

Saudi Arabia was founded on 23, 1932. It is an inherited monarchy in which the king leads the executive branch and works as the chief of the state as well as the head of the government. Neither elections nor political parties are allowed. The kingdom is governed according to Sharia, the Islamic law. A basic law adopted in 1993 formalizes the Quran and the Sunna as the kingdom's constitution, and defines the government's rights and duties. In 1953, a Council of Ministers was formed. It contains many royal family members who are appointed by the monarch. It oversees the implementation and drafting of state policies and legislation. (Wynbrandt 321)

Majlis al-Shura, the consultative council was established in 1993. It consists of 120 members and a speaker appointed by the monarch to advise the king on matters of governance while a religious council controlled by a Supreme Council of Justice is in charge of advising the king on proposed laws and legislative issues. Special committees are in charge of settling commercial disputes, and there is no vote. (Wynbrandt 321 322)

The first Saudi State was conceived with the 1744/45 alliance of Muhammad ibn Saud, whose descendants now rule the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and religious reformer Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdu al-Wahhab. Both men shared a vision of an independent Islamic state based on a plain faith. (Wynbrandt 117)

2. The Political System of Saudi Arabia

More than 1400 years have passed since the revelation of Islam, Saudi Arabia established a powerful civilization that for many years brought happiness to mankind. (Al-Turaiqi 7). The Saudi Arabia took its origins and principles from the timeless Islamic shari'ah. The Islamic governmental model that is built upon this classic and enduring system and which adds to that a unique variety of contemporary modernity that influences and interact with reality and benefits from all that is modern, positive and beneficial, without adopting westernization or integration with the other.(8)

The objectives that the Islamic system of governance aims to realize need expounding upon, especially given the fact that these objectives cannot be separated from the objectives that the prophets sought to achieve. These objectives can be summarized as follows:

- 1/ Ensuring justice
- 2/ Guiding to good and warning against evil
- 3 /Preserving the religion through statement and advocating.
- 4/ Execution of verdicts
- 5/Giving due care to others' rights
- 6/Arranging the affairs of life
- 7/ Preservation of public order. (15-16)

If we were to look for these objectives within the Saudi system of governance, we would find them clearly in its initial articles, where it wrote that Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Arabic country, its system based on Islamic Shari'ah. (17)

2.1 The Form of Governing System in Saudi Arabia

For Saudi Arabia, the system is monarchy, this is what is stated in article 5/A of the basic law of governance: —The system of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is that of a monarchy. (Al-Turaiqi 39). In fact, it is similar to democracy in some aspects; especially when we know that the democratic process is formulated in several forms, such as like:

1/ Establishment of a Shoura Council.

2/ The state's authorities consisting of:

- The Judicial Authority
- The Executive Authority
- The Regulatory Authority.

Each of these authorities exercises its duties independently and cooperation with the others, as stipulated in Article (44) of the Basic Law of Governance.

3/ The existence of general administration over the government's bodies as stipulated in Article (80).

4/ Public participation in several and various forms.

This is one of the key forms of democracy. (Al-Turaiqi 40)

In addition to that, the governmental system of Saudi Arabia derives its Authorities from an Islamic legislation. (41)

2.2 2 General Authorities of Government:

In any government there're three main types of authorities:

1/The Legislative Authority is the lawmaking body, having the power to make new laws.

2/ The Executive Authority is authority that enforces orders and ensures that they are carried out as proposed.

3/ The Judicial Authority is the authority that is assigned the task of interpreting and implementing laws.

The governmental system of Saudi Arabia is very near to this, with small additional difference in the term of Regulatory Authority. (42)

2.2.1 The Judicial Authority

The judiciary is the most noble and respected authority in Saudi Arabia, it's independent one which states in the forty-sixth article. (Al-Turaiqi 43). It has many organizations in Saudi Arabia, legislation passes through two parallel channels:

-The General Judiciary

-The Administrative Judiciary.

The General Judiciary has the jurisdiction to settle all lawsuits that are not under the competence of the Administrative Judiciary. It consists of three kinds of courts which, according to their degree of litigation from higher hierarchy are as follows:

1/ The high court, which is similar to a constitutional court. The most important of its undertakings are:

- To review sentences containing detrimental verdicts issued by the appellate court.
- To ratify the constitutional verdicts issued by the appellate courts.

2/ The appellate courts, which review appealable verdicts issued by first degree courts after listening to litigants. Each of these courts consists of a number of specialized spheres of responsibility. (45)

3/ First degree courts, which are of five kinds: a- Regular court, b- Summary courts, c- Personal affairs courts, d- Commercial courts, e- Labor courts

The general judiciary is supervised by a supreme council called The Supreme Judiciary Council. The most important competences of this Council are the following:

- 1/ To review the employment affairs of judges.
- 2/ To inspect the judiciary.
- 3/ To approve the establishment of courts as outlined in the Law.
- 4/ To supervise courts and judges.

The Administrative Judiciary is an independent authority which reports directly to the King. The following are the most important undertakings of the Administrative Judiciary:

- Compensation claims made by the persons concerned against the Government or independent public corporate bodies.
- Disciplinary claims filed by the concerned party.
- Claims related to contractual disputes to which the government or any of its corporate bodies is a party. (46)
- Claims for the final cancellation of administrative decisions.

- Petitions for the execution of foreign judgments. The structure of the Administrative Judiciary does not differ from that of the General Judiciary, as the former's courts consist of three types. From their hierarchical order, they are as follows:

- High administrative court.
- Administrative appellate court.
- Administrative court.

These courts are supervised by a supreme council called The Administrative Judiciary Council, chaired by the President of the Board of Grievances. This council has the same competences of the General Judiciary. (47)

2.2.2 The Executive Authority

Execution is the practical measure required by judgments or laws. The executive authority, as referred to earlier, is the body responsible for the execution of laws. It is simply referred to as the government, represented by its leader, such as a King or President, and ministers under his leadership. (47)

The Saudi Basic Law of Governance explains the nature of this authority and its undertakings. The following are some articles referring to this:

In article 50: —The King, or whoever he deputizes, is responsible for the implementation of judicial rulings.¶

In article 55: —The King carries out the policy of the nation, in accordance with the provisions of Islam; the King oversees the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah, the laws, the state's general policies and the protection and defense of the country.¶

In article 56: —The King is the Prime Minister; he is assisted in carrying out his duties by members of the Council of Ministers, in accordance with the provisions of this and other laws.¶

(Al-Turaiqi 48)

2.2.3 Regulatory Authority

The regulatory authority is similar to what's known in other countries as the legislative authority. However, Saudi Arabia regulator prefers the term Regulatory Authority for two reasons: There is a linguistic difference between regulation and legislation. Regulation is to arrange matters and construct them in a cohesive model, while legislation is the process of making and passing laws.

The Arabic equivalents of these two terms have an idiomatic difference: The subject of regulation is order and the subject of legislation is the shari'ah. There is a palpable difference between them in terms of the religious perspective. Shari'ah is the Divine system of what God has legislated for mankind in regard to beliefs, rules and morals. (50)

The regulation authority has two channels:

-First Channel: a technical, legislative_ form channel.

- Second channel: a regulatory, procedural_ form channel.

The first is performed by shari'ah scholars, be they governmental or non-governmental employees. Their duty is to explain the rules of the shari'ah to luminaries or to the public at large, and such explanation can be either in the form of a fatwa (Islamic legal opinion) or by education and guidance. The second channel of regulation consists of people of various specializations and expertise, and they are people of shoura (consultation). (51-52)

Within its present status, the Shoura Council's decisions are non-binding which represents a different application of the Islamic concept of shoura. However, nothing forbids the change of the Law to have the Council's decisions binding. This, again, reaffirms the flexibility of the application of the Islamic concept of shoura, as explained earlier. If the Shoura Council exercises the regulatory authority by this form, the Council of Ministers, chaired by the King, exercises the same authority and undertakes necessary decisions within this framework. (53)

2.2.3.1 The Need for Laws

The Saudi government rules according to the Islamic shari'ah in all affairs which may make regulation arise due to the changing or developing nature of life. Particularly in two areas: the first is aspects related to daily life such as traffic, the civil service, industry, agriculture, communications and the like. The second is the procedural regulation for certain shari'ah rules such as zakat collection, organization of Hajj procedures, civil procedures, criminal procedures and other aspects that were established to facilitate and regulate people's life and interests. (53)

2.2.3.2 Legitimacy of the System

It has been stated that Saudi Arabia is adopting the Islamic Shari'ah as a law and applies in all affairs; also it's possible to enact laws within this Shari'ah as long as these laws do not contradict the Islamic shari'ah, as has been the case in the Saudi model. These laws are enacted in such a way as to not run contrary to the shari'ah, and this was so because at the Suggestion, Discussion and Ratification stages, each member of the Shoura Council, the Council of Ministers, and the Expert Bureau Group's members who specialized in the science of Islamic shari'ah had the opportunity of stipulating his view. (Al-Turaiqi 55)

3. Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia

Essential element of the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia is supporting Wahhabi Islam. Using the revenues from oil sales, the Saudi government contributes to schools, research centers, publishing houses, mosques, and community centers in dozens of Muslim and non-Muslim countries, including Bosnia, Germany, the United States, Pakistan, Indonesia, and the United Kingdom.(Bowen 7)

Saudi Arabia has been against the establishment of the Israel state in 1948 and supporting the other Arab states in the three wars between Arabs and Israel (1956, 1967, 1973). As a reaction to United States and Western support for Israel, in the aftermath of the Israeli victory of 1973, Saudi Arabia led OPEC in an oil embargo. This latter led to disrupt the economies of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States. Later on the embargo was ended, and in 1974, Saudi Arabia signed an agreement looking for strengthening its relationship with the United States and increasing security ties. (Bowen 7)

From the mid-nineteenth century until World War I, the two vital powers in the Middle East were the Ottoman Empire and the United Kingdom. So, the focus for Saudi foreign policy was to prevent both states from coordinating an attack on the rising dynasty.(Bowen 94)

During early twentieth century, Ibn Saud hoped to obtain recognition, military aid, and economic benefits through developing a relationship with the United Kingdom while his ties with the Ottomans were difficult. Ibn Saud rarely fought Turkish troops directly, and he negotiated truces with Istanbul on several occasions. (Bowen94)

Concerning conflicts, Saudi foreign policy had been conservative from the start. Ibn Saud avoided intervention into foreign wars or even several Arab-Israeli conflicts in order not to risk economic relationships to the west. Usually, the Saudis attempted to help Arab gains in the

international arena, without risking itself. (Bowen 110),"For example, in 1956, Saudi Arabia initially supported Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal, and even severed ties to Britain and France, but refused to send military aid when Israel, France, and the United Kingdom attacked the Egyptians."(Bowen 110). "Saudi intervention came only when it felt allied regimes threatened, and even then, its involvement was primarily financial and diplomatic."(Bowen 111)

4. National Security

The location of Saudi Arabia and the international politics of the kingdom makes it find it prudent to modernize its military and acquire advanced weapons. But with the populational growth requires allocating considerable resources to meet domestic needs such as education, housing and medical services. (Bin Ahmed Al-Saud 1)

Saudi Arabia security policy, like any other country, it must protect territorial integrity, economic wellbeing, cultural values, fundamental beliefs and the system of government. Saudi Arabia must focus on regional security in a broad sense; it must be ready to any internal or external threats that affect its stability. The aggressive actors must be confronted by military capability that persuade and, of necessary, Campbell them to refrain from expansionist tendencies. (3)

4.1 Balance of Threats

Looking at the Persian Gulf in recent decades reveals threats emanating from two states, Iran and Iraq. The former tried to expend its influence under the Shah and occupied islands belong to the United Arab Emirates in the early 1970s, and the current regime established an Islamic republic in 1979 and continued to be a regional threat. While other ideological and political threats came from Iran which will be a nuclear power. Iran didn't refrain publicizing its intention

to spread instability in the kingdom in radical terms in 1980s during the hadjand cause trouble among Shiites in Bahrain and Kuwait. (3)

The other threat to the security of Saudi Arabia was Iraq; Iraq invaded Kuwait, that made the government members of Saudi Arabia took into their consideration that their interests were threatened by Iraq because Kuwait is neighbour of Saudi Arabia, and the two has borders next to each other. Finally, Saudi Arabia had to save the stability of its southern borders to protect its interests and to save the region from any war. Iran, as another threat, made a challenge under a banner of radical Islam as well. (Bin Ahmed Al-Saud 3)

4.2 Saudi Arabia Security Effort

The mixed of potential threats Saudi Arabia faces also means that Saudi Arabia cannot concentrate its forces to meet a single threat, and must normally disperse its forces over much of the kingdom. All of these threats from an Islamic extremism and terrorism interact with the stability of Saudi Arabia that are largely economic and demographic has embarked the kingdom on the process of political, economic and social reforms that reflect the increase understanding of the royal family members of the government , the Saudi businessmen and Saudi technocrats. The kingdom had reformed a various laws to create a vast number of jobs according to the growth of population. (2)

As yet, Saudi Arabia's security apparatus has only begun to react to these changes; its military forces are only beginning to adapt the fact that Iraqi threat has largely disappeared. Iran's threat is a mix of proliferation and capabilities for asymmetric war frame and not the build up of conventional forces that is engaged in general struggle against domestic and foreign Islamic extremism. (Cordesman and Obaid 2)

Saudi has started to make its powerful army and navy to be ready to any future threat to its interests. The Saudi armed forces now dominate the Southern Gulf forces. The regular forces now total some 150,000 men, plus some 95,000 – 100,000 actives in the National Guard, and another 20,000 men in various paramilitary forces: Some 15,000 in the Border Guard, 7,500 in the Coast Guard, and some 1,500 in a special security force. These totals do not include massive additional internal security, intelligence, and police forces in the Ministry of interior. (Cordesman and Obaid 16)

5. Economic System

For Saudi Arabia, petroleum and oil are of great importance —Since the 1940s, the base of the Saudi economy has been petroleum. Over 90 percent of Saudi exports, 75 percent of government revenues, and 40 percent of the Gross National Product derive from this commodity and its byproducts. In 2005, Saudi Arabia earned over \$150 billion from oil. With the increasing dependence of world markets on oil from the Middle East, the region's largest producer has collected tremendous revenue from this commodity." (Bowen 4). However, Saudi Arabia dependency on oil is not always a blessing because of the instable oil prices between being high and low leading to instability of economy. (Bowen 4)

Both the unpredicted petroleum revenues and understanding that it is a finite resource led Saudi Arabia to take serious efforts to diversify its economy into other commodities such as agriculture, manufacturing, and the beginning of pilot programs in tourism. (Bowen 4)

Saudi Arabia has also other resources other than oil including gold, silver, and ores of industrial materials: copper, iron, lead, bauxite, potash, and silica. (Bowen 5). Relying on

imports for its major food supply, the Saudi government has started programs to increase agricultural production, especially in livestock, poultry, and some crops, such as dates. (Bowen5)

One of the most serious problems that encounter agriculture in Saudi Arabia is water shortages; however the government is trying to solve these problems with vast investments in this industry. (Bowen 5)

Saudi Arabia has started to involve its economy in the international system rather than relying on only exporting oil and importing western technology —. In 2005, after 12 years of extensive negotiations, Saudi Arabia joined the World Trade Organization, in doing so committing to open its markets to more international investment and participation in its economy. (Bowen 5)

6. Foreign Relations of Saudi Arabia

The two most important powers in the Middle East were Ottoman Empire and the United Kingdom. During the mid-nineteenth century until the world war I. So, Saudi Arabia focused on protecting its dynasty from any kind of aggression from these two powers. While in the early twentieth century, Ibn Saud worked to gain recognition, military and economic aids from the UK. But with the Ottomans was the opposite, their ties were difficult with long period of hostility, the Saudis was facing the Ottoman garrisons and Arab proxies in eastern and western Arabia. Ibn Saud fought direct troops directly, and several occasions negotiated truces with Istanbul. (64)

By the late of 20th century, foreign states that had been more familiar with the Sharifan and the Ottoman Empire agreed on a deal of having relations with Saudi Arabia and worked together with Ibn Saud for a year (Bowen 65).

6.1 The Arab League and Saudi Arabia

By the end of the Second World War II, many Arab countries got their independence cause of the damages and weaknesses aftermath on the United Kingdom such as Pakistan, India and the abandonment of Palestine for the United States. In this period, newly independent Arab states united to make a common cause against foreign occupation or external control in the region.

(Bowen 106)

In 1943, representative of Saudi Arabia and other countries met in Egypt and established the Arab League. Its original goals were to get other Arab states independence, to stop Jewish immigration to Palestine, to block the creation of Jewish state to give economic aids and Cooperation (Bowen 106). It was formalized by seven countries, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, trans-Jordan and Yemen, today its members comprises 21 independent countries and Palestine (Wynbrandt 203).

6.2 Saudi Regional Policy in the Wake of Arab Upheaval

Saudi Arabia is trapped between leadership and counterrevolution, it's clear that Saudis were counterrevolutionary in Bahrain where they bolstered the faction of Al-Khalifa in public by sending troops in March 2011. The fall of Mubarak affected Saudi and more impose by U.S. policy toward Mubarak in his final days. They aimed to support fellow monarchs in Morocco and Jordan, ignoring the geographical designation by inviting them both to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in May 2011, with implicit financial aids. Since that invitation, Morocco supported democratically the constitutional change, if Saudi protection was supposed to turn those monarchs against political reforms but it didn't work. (16)

Riyadh was responsible for getting Yemeni president Saleh out of power by putting a GCC plan, Saudi also supported the revolution against Qaddafi in Libya backing the NATO and it ended by overthrowing him in August 2011. As well as, Saudi showed their rejection of Assad's brutal policy against protests in Syria by pulling back their ambassador from there. Saudi could barely successfully stymie political changes during this year of Arab upheavals. In most cases they publically supported regime change. (Gause III 16)

Saudi regional foreign policy can be summarized by its relation with Iran. In 2003, when Iraq became the center conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran, Saudi was the only Arab power that had access to check Iran's regional ambitions after a brief period of trying to absorb Iran. In November 2009, Saudi military took actions against the Huthi rebels in Yemen by air and military attacks. Riyadh portrayed these attacks as efforts to limit Iranian influence in Yemen. The Saudis claim of defeating Iran was tenuous because they suffered several times in competition with it; Riyadh confronted Iran in three major areas Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine.

6.2.1 Iraq

In Iraq, the Saudis' attempts to isolate the prime minister Nouri al-Maliki and encourage the wealth of his major competition, Eyed Allawi, failed. After 2010 election, they couldn't succeed in preventing Maliki from winning a second term as prime minister, Iran broke the deal between Maliki's state and its Shia allies in the National Iraqi Alliance(primarily the sadrists and the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq), and helping Maliki in forming the government.

Moreover, the Iraqi awakening of fighting the influence of al-Qaeda and cooperate with US forces against the group has weakened and broke up in recent years. The awakening was

supported by Saudi Arabia, Arab, leery of Maliki and opposed to the Iranian influence in Iraq, but also opposed to al-Qaeda. And received some aids from Saudi Arabia. However, it was still refusing to work with Maliki, with no Saudi ambassador in Baghdad. (Gause III 16)

6.2.2 Lebanon

In Lebanon, the March 14 coalition and the Sunni Political Movement of the Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri and his son Saad were supported by Saudi Arabia against the Iranian ally Hezbollah and its March 8 coalition. Hezbollah proved its continuing power by conducting its own foreign policy (clearly noticed with Israel) and occupying Beirut in 2008 by using military forces. In January 2011, most of March 14 parliamentary members lost and joined March 8 such as Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, Hezbollah was able to get Saad al-Hariri out of the minister ship, Najib Miqati who was more supported by Hezbollah and less allied to Saudi Arabia, formed the new Lebanese government. In Lebanon, Iran won the Saudis in contest of political influence (Gause III 17)

6.2.3 Palestine

In Palestine, Hamas has been supported by Iran while the Palestinian Authority Government, leading by Fatah Movement and the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas has been supported by Saudi Arabia. In February 2007, after the victory of Hamas in 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, king Abdullah attempted to make agreement between both Hamas and Fatah to cover and end the tension generated by the elections, the Saudi efforts broke down within months, with securing control over Gaza by Hamas, and combining Fatah control in the west bank amid bloody conflict between the Palestinian factions. (Gause III 17)

6.3 Saudi Arabia Response to the Arab Upheaval

It seemed that Saudi Arabia losing streak in regional politics was rapidly spreading to a dangerous level. In Egypt with the fall of power of Mubarak, Riyadh's first impulse was defensive: to preserve its own interests and security from the damages in Arabia itself with its GCC partners and Yemen, to keep Iran influence out of those neighbours, Saudi Arabia policy is counterrevolutionary, sending troops to Bahrain and financial aids for the government was justified as a response to the Iranian sponsored efforts to keep out the Bahraini regime, was about conservancy a fellow monarch more than anything else. (Gause III 17)

Conflict in Bahrain has effects in Saudi Arabia opposition within the Shia society in the eastern province, but protection of Bahrain Monarchical system, trumped all consideration for Riyadh. The al-Saud believe they can cure their own domestic situation; it's the region they worry about. Also in GCC the Saudis promised to support the Sultan of Oman (who faced serious protests, but not nearly on the level of Bahrain) with giving some aids. In May 2011, Morocco and Jordan received an invitation to join the GCC stems to save monarchy as regime type in the Arab world. (Gause III 17)

6.3.1 Egypt, Lebanon, Libya and Syria

The Saudi has been less aggressive outside their immediate fields. In Egypt, they established a relation with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces which replaced Mubarak, by giving \$4 billion of aids. They seemed to retreat from their strong involvement in Lebanon after the fall of al-Hariri government. In addition to that, they verbally supported the revolution against Qaddafi in Libya, while the other GCC states contributed military to the efforts such as Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. In Syria, they wavered for months as administrations against the Assad

regime. Because of their fears from regional instability against the Iran's most important Arab state ally, they held back from supporting the regime change till August 2011 when they publically broke with Assad. (Gause III 19)

Conclusion

The new Saudi Arabia is characterized by its development in many domains over many decades. It has so many unique features vast land area, small population, geographical and geological variety with a strong Islamic tradition. One of the main features of Saudi Arabia is oil which leads the kingdom to a quick economic development and political changes. In addition, Saudi Arabia's foreign policy serves its interests in the world and preserves its national security. In the 21st century, it is clear from the most recent news that Saudi Arabia faced many difficulties and problems such as the Arab upheaval which has affected the stability of Saudi Arabia and has led the kingdom to intervene and react in order to save its interests.

**Chapter Three: The Influence of America's
Foreign Policy on Saudi Arabia in the 21st
Century**

Introduction

The United States and Saudi Arabia has long before built a close relationship based mainly on their interests and affairs. There have been many barriers that affect the U.S-Saudi relationship in a negative way. However, both of them, the United States and Saudi Arabia, make efforts to continue and keep the status quo of their relationship because the strain in their relationship is not in their favour and will obstruct their business progression.

In this chapter, data is analyzed by using the analytical method in order to draw conclusions. It deals with first, the historical background of U.S.-Saudi relationships. Then, it deals with tension in ties including the 9/11 attacks and its aftermath, U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship after 9/11, the effect of the Israel-Palestine issue, and the effect of Khashoggi's death. After that, it tackles security and stability concerning Iran, Iraq, Yemen, and Israel-Palestine issue. Next, the point tackled is economic and trade relations. Finally, it deals with the positive and negative impact of American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia.

1. The Historical Background of US-Saudi Relationship

Saudi Arabia and the United States established strategic relations since 1945. Saudi Arabia's unique and special role and place in Arab and Islamic world, its position in having the world's largest reserves and its geostrategic position are redounded in making long-strong relationship between it and the United States, the alliance between the two started when Prince Khalid and Faisal visited Washington during the Roosevelt administration in 1943. The two princes came to an agreement of protecting the American oil companies' interests in Saudi Arabia's oil and gas industry in exchange for U.S. security assistance. (Lipman 3)

After six decades, the two have become much closer to each another. But in 1973, King Faisal imposed the oil embargo against the United States because of its backing for Israel. Yet the same support was the case of Us-Saudi Cooperation on the Israeli-Arab peace agreement. King Khaled took part in the war in Afghanistan with Jimmy Carter, also King Fahd became the patron of George Bush in the war against Saddam Hussein and liberation of Kuwait. (Omid and Aghamohamadi 611)

In the early 2005, this relationship was accompanied by Bill Clinton failure of advancing peace negotiations between Israel and Syria and Israel and Palestine. King Abdullah believed that Bill Clinton had failed in pushing Israel and forcing it to give over advantages; also Saudi Arabia believed that its agreement with Syria had ended in 2000, and it could cut Iran's ties with the country, by isolating Hezbollah, and providing away with peaceful agreement with Palestine. In addition of the Sharon support during the second intifada by the United States and George Bush, this act was unacceptable for king Abdullah which considered U.S. as a partner to Israel's war crimes. He didn't accept the invitation of both George Bush and JR for meeting in Washington. (Omid and Aghamohamadi 612)

2. Tension in Ties

Despite the strong relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia, their relationship is affected by the 9/11 attacks, the Israel-Palestine issue, and the murder of Khashoggi.

2.1 The 9/11 Events and Its Aftermath

The events of September 9/11 led to radical and huge changes that influenced mainly all levels starting from the foreign policy to the tiny details concerning America and its citizens' lives. —As it was shaped by U.S. political leaders, this sudden, shocking consciousness of

insecurity led to a profound change in U.S. political culture, which enabled equally dramatic changes in U.S. foreign policy (Shonberg 69).

The events led the Americans to know that their country was vulnerable to attack, —before 9/11 the United States was a country with little experience of terrorism on its own soil and a well-entrenched sense of its own invulnerability to attack. This was in many ways a vestige of the —splendid isolation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Schonberg 64).

In fact it was so clear that the 9/11 attacks was a turning point in the American history , However, the idea that al Qaeda wanted to use violence and may try to attack the US on its own land was a reality well recognized long before 9/11. The attacks did not harm the U.S. economy permanently in which the U.S. stock market regained its losses nearly in eight weeks. The tangible influence of September 11 was minimal on world politics in comparison with the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. (Schonberg 1.2)

Though the influence of the 9/11 attacks was massive, there was no similar impact on the global balance of power. The thing that did change after 9/11 was the way in which Americans perceived the world. The administration of Bush in the years since 9/11 set an ideological narrative about the reasons, outcomes, and sense of recent events and the suitable course of future policy. (Schonberg 2. 3). In other words, the 9/11 attacks did not affect the whole world, but they affect America and its foreign policy in particular.

To add, —in the United States the effect of 9/11 was nothing less than widespread insecurity approaching psychic crisis. This social reality provided the unique political and cultural environment that enabled the Bush administration to assert the need for a global war against terror (Schonberg 64). That is to say, the response of America to the 9/11 attacks and their noticeable damage was the war on terror.

Since the 9/11 attacks were shocking ones, President Bush's reaction was immediate. He referred to the situation as being in war:

Five minutes after American Airlines flight 777 crashed into the Pentagon, Bush spoke with Vice President Cheney on the phone. —We're at war, he said, immediately placing the events in a specific context that would drive future discussion and ultimately U.S. policy. A little less than an hour later, Bush spoke with Cheney again. —We're going to find out who did this, the president said. —And we're going to kick their asses (Schonberg 114).

Concerning the enemy- the ones who did the attacks-, Bush said that they hate Christianity, Judaism, and everything that is not them. (Schonberg 114)

The 9/11 events gave rise to several changes including politics —The events of 9/11 reshaped the political environment of the United States in a way that created a vacuum of ideas, a demand for new ideology to better explain a new reality and provide the framework for policy to contend with it (Schonberg 102)

Bush depicted the attacks harshly. Bush described the attackers as being evil or evildoers and depicted the attacks as barbarism, and he said that the answer of the U.S. would be a crusade. (Schonberg 114). Moreover, —The days following 9/11, Bush would refer to the terrorist threat as —a cancer (Schonberg 115).

Including al Qaeda and the Taliban, Bush held that:

In Afghanistan we see Al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized. Many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough. (Schonberg 117).

Besides, Bush said —but the terrorists' ambitions were not limited to Afghanistan or the Middle East (Schonberg 117), suggesting that the terrorists' desire is not limited.

Moreover, considering Iraq, Iran and North Korea together as allies of terrorism menacing the world's peace, Bush —claimed that Iran, Iraq, and North Korea were —allies of terrorism and that together they constituted an —axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. (Schonberg 106).

In September 2006, —on the fifth anniversary of 9/11, the President insisted that America faced —more than a military conflict, but the —decisive ideological struggle of the twenty-first Century and the calling of our generation (Christie 17). In addition, making an explicit comparison between war on terror and the Cold War, Bush said that the war on terror is similar to the Cold War. It is an ideological fight against a foe which hates liberty and that as in the cold war, America once more is responding surely to the call of history, and as in the Cold War liberty will gain. (Christie 17). Here defining the War on Terror by using the Cold War as myth —serves both to assure the inevitability of American victory and to depict the indeterminate and intangible War on Terror as a familiar and natural American undertaking (Christie 17)

2.2 US-Saudi Arabia Relationship after 9/11

Saudi Arabia and the United States relationships are built mainly on mutual interests, —Saudi Arabia and the United States have a close and long-standing diplomatic and security relationship, but government types and social and political values that could hardly be more different. —They do share a common material interest, however, in the continued flow of Saudi oil into global markets (Schonberg 30).

However, there was a kind of mistrust towards Saudi Arabia because of recognizing that the hijackers of the 9/11 were from Saudi Arabia; in the Article —U.S.-Saudi Relations, Thomas Davis said —Policy in the United States took a conservative stride after the attacks on September

11th, the American citizenry were very suspicious and resentful towards Saudi Arabia because of the large amount of hijackers that were Saudi citizens. (98)

In the same article —U.S.-Saudi Relations, Davis said that the 9/11 attacks led to distance Saudi Arabia from the United States, and that many laws, which affected Saudi Arabia in a negative way, started to be passed. The most noticeable law that affected the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States greatly was the legislation of the Patriot Act. (95)

Concerning the laws were passed and the way Saudi Arabia was affected, Davis stated that —the stipulations placed by the Patriot Act and other legislation such as the Bank Secretary Act began to financially constrain the Saudi Kingdom and it increased scrutiny in a variety of levels such as foreign financial transactions, visas, and foreign exchange students (—U.S. – Saudi Relations 95)

After the 9/11 attacks, Davis stated that Saudi Arabia was accused by the United States for funding and encouraging terrorism, and it was criticized for several things concerning the attacks. It was blamed for its efficiency in terrorism formation through state funded schools, the role of zakat, and the shortage of political dissent in the state. (—U.S. – Saudi Relations 95)

It was criticized for many things, therefore, —Saudi Arabia demonstrated a large effort to rebuild trust and confidence between the two states (—U.S. – Saudi Relations 95). To defend itself and refute those claims, Thomas Davis stated that Saudi officials presented four main arguments;

Firstly, Saudi Arabia has a large foreign labor community, and most of the transactions that deposit their money into foreign accounts are first ran through American or European banks. Secondly, the role of the Zakat as a pillar of Islam proscribes a mandatory offering that each Muslim gives to those in need of financial help. Thirdly, the regime froze every single asset and blacklisted every account flagged by the United States Treasury. Lastly, the Saudi kingdom implemented a series of investigations that helped prove Saudi Arabia was not funding terrorist organizations. (—U.S. – Saudi Relations 96)

Moreover, Saudi Arabia's effort to repair its relationship with the United States is also represented in its attitude towards Taliban. Before the attacks of 9/11, Saudi Arabia was supposed to support the Taliban financially, but after the 9/11 attacks, Saudi Arabian government started to be away from organizations similar to the Taliban as much as possible. Another noticeable effort of Saudi Arabia during the invasion of Iraq was to let the United States found a military base in the state despite the great displeasure among people (—U.S. – Saudi Relations¶96).

The other thing that participate to repair relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United States was War on Terror; —global War on Terror has allowed the United States and Saudi Arabia to cooperate and collaborate to end terrorist threats. (—U.S. – Saudi Relations¶96)

2.3 The Effect of Israel-Palestine Issue

One of the controversial areas between Saudi Arabia and the United States is the Israel-Palestine issue in which each of them supports a different party. Israel is considered as the nearest ally to the United States because of their common beliefs, formats of government, and patterns of economic system. For the United States, Israel should be preserved and backed up at all costs so long as the goals of its foreign policy are conserved. After September 11 anti-terror campaign, Bush's closest ally was Israel. (—*U.S Policy in the Middle East Post 9/11 era*" 16)

Furthermore, the United States is the greatest keeper of Zionism in the area of the Middle East because Israel is one of the few lands set to help the United States deal with the traditional and the growing challenges of security. (—*U.S Policy in the Middle East Post 9/11 era*" 16)

To add, U.S Middle east policy has completely changed after the 9/11 attack, and Iran was considered as Axis of evil in Bush's counter terrorism policy. Since that Iran's nuclear plan was disturbing for both the U.S. and Israel. (—*U.S Policy in the Middle East Post 9/11 era*" 20)

Concerning the Israel-Palestinian conflict, it was stated that —resolving of the Israel -Palestine should be a good priority of U.S policy in the Middle East region. Israel- Palestine conflict is the root cause of all conflict in the Middle East. In order to resolve Israel – Palestine conflict The Bush administration’s greatest contribution was the adoption of “*Road map for peace (2003)*” (—*U.S Policy in the Middle East Post 9/11 era*” 31). These were more talk than practice. Whereas, it was not the case with Obama;

Obama in his first term showed positive attitude for Israel – Palestine peace negotiation. Obama immediately appointed George Mitchell to be his envoy to Israel/Palestine who was the architect of Belfast peace agreement. After two years In September 2010, the Obama administration pushed to renew the stalled peace process by getting the parties involved to agree to —*direct talks*” for the first time. (—*U.S Policy in the Middle East Post 9/11 era*” 31)

Moreover, since each of the United States and Saudi Arabia support a different party in the Israel/Palestine conflict, this latter will remain a strained point in their relationship as it is stated: —the summit between the United States and Saudi Arabia documents the heated debate over the issue of Palestine, each of these two countries taking opposite sides; the United States strongly supports Israel, while Saudi Arabia strongly supports a sovereign Palestinian state (—*US-Saudi Relations* 97).

In addition, —US-Saudi relations are not all roses. They have been strained due to Saudi’s terrorism financing; the Kingdom’s rigid interpretation of Islam (Wahhabism) which had endangered American interests and security; Saudi’s severe human rights violations; and the lack of democratic representation in the Desert Kingdom (—*US-SAUDI ARABIA RELATIONS*”7).

3. Security and Stability

Since the end of the Second World War the main and principal concerns between USA and Saudi Arabia have been of regional security, stability and economic progress in the Middle East. (Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship)

Today, Saudi Arabia is facing new challenges. Forces of destabilization weather from violent extremists groups such as al-Qaeda or from Iran. The primary basis of the relationship between the two countries USA and Saudi Arabia has not changed within these challenges of instability violence, predominantly Sunni, and Iran expansion, it has become stronger to fix and treat these tensions in the Middle East to promote stable future in the Middle East.

The United States and Saudi Arabia are in agreement to a greater extent than at almost any time in their relationship. They both:

- 1/ Worry about increasing Iranian influence and the Iranian nuclear program;
- 2/ See the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a wound that needs to be healed;
- 3/ Worry about the spill-over effect of Iraqi violence and;
- 4/ Vigorously oppose Al-Qaeda and its regional affiliates;
- 5/ Dealing with the threat post by civil war in Yemen.(Looney 2)

3.1 Challenges

There are several challenges that may affect the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship such as Iran, Iraq, and Yemen.

3.1.1 Iran Challenge

Iran is one of the most fluid and uncertain mixture of security threats to the US-Saudi security relationship; it poses a big danger of conflict and to the influx of energy exports and Gulf economies, because of Iran's military build ups.

Iran works to have military influence over other regional states and non-states actors like Hezbollah and Hamas, it has become a major factor in civil conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Yemen. As well as, it has been a major factor in increasing sectarian tensions between Sunni, Shi'ite and other sets.

Borg United States and Saudi Arabia have recognized these Iranian threats, but have divided them in different priorities; United States has given priority to the direct ISIS threat, while Saudi Arabia has focused on both Iranian and Assad regime threats, also the internal division of Iraq and Yemen. (Cordesman7)

USA and Saudi Arabia feel the need to work together in defeating the Iranian threats and finding a suitable form of deterrence and containment. They must work together in ways that will encourage Iran's political evolution and trying to show Iran the regional security issues solutions which don't threaten its vital interests or force any side to continue the current military buildup and arm race. (Cordesman 7)

3.1.1.1 Iran Nuclear Program

The continuous nuclear talks between P5+1 states and Iran could increase straggle in the Middle East. Obtaining a nuclear weapon for Iran may adopt risky policies that have destabilizing effects. Additionally, some Saudi Arabia governmental members fear that the new manner in which Iran could politically intervene itself as nuclear power in the Middle East and

could encourage and support the radical Shia population of Saudi Arabia to push them to increase their belligerent behavior toward the state.(qtd in Hancock 70)

The United States needs to cooperate with the Saudi Arabia in dealing with the Iranian nuclear weapons because they have a vital security interests to enforce the agreement of the nuclear program of Iran, in addition, they need to make it apparent to Iran that any failure in obey it will face many sanctions or other measures.(Cordesman 8)

3.1.2 Iraq Challenge

The situation in Iraq is equally unstable, and the lack of U.S. and Saudi cooperation has been equally unproductive. It is also clear that there is no solution to stability in Iraq if a state is a major source of instability on the other's border, ISIS cannot be defeated in the country, and Iraq does not emerge as a strong independent state and one with some new solution to its divisions between Arab and Kurd and Sunni and Shi'ite.(Cordesman 12)

In Iraq, Saudi Arabia has being one the most active countries that had a significant role in the country. What is needed now is for Saudi Arabia to work with the United States, other Arab states, and the other Western states aiding the Iraqi central government, Sunni tribal forces in the West, and Iraqi Kurds to fully defeat ISIS/Daesh, and do so with a clear message to every faction in Iraq that Saudi Arabia and other Arab states are committed to supporting a unified Iraq on terms that will ensure the security, stability, and economic well-being of Sunnis, Shi'ites, Kurds, and minorities. (13)

Iraq is a warning that there is a need for proactive Arab political efforts to reduce Arab and Kurdish tensions and the growing sectarian tensions within Islam. The United States can play an

important role in such efforts, but Saudi Arabia and other Muslim states must take the lead in making it clear that there is Arab unity in reducing sectarian tensions. (13)

Once again, there is also the need for an international effort to support all the key elements in Iraq in recovery, rebuilding, and economic development. Such an effort should be conditioned on Iraq creating a structure of politics and governance that protects Shi'ites, Sunnis, and Kurds alike, and on the successful implementation of the kinds of reform that already are the focus of Iraqi politics and recommendations in the Arab Development Reports, United Nations Development Plan (UNDP), IMF, and World Bank. (13)

As is the case throughout the region, Saudi Arabia and the American Cooperation or even another outside Cooperation can't impose a solution to them. If there is an —iron law that has emerged out of the post-colonial era, it is that outside power can only help nations that are actively willing to help themselves. At the same time, outside efforts remain critical, more Saudi engagement is needed in Iraq and that United States needs to work more closely (and listen more carefully to) its key Arab partner. (Cordesman 13)

3.1.3 Yemen Challenge

Yemen is a vital Saudi Arabia security's interests. Therefore, the United States needs to be far more sensitive about it by giving military aids to Saudi Arabia and its partners like UAE, and helping them to end collateral damage and civilian casualties. Moreover, Saudi Arabia needs to deal carefully with the Iranian influence in Yemen, offer more flexible peace terms by avoiding the kind of military —victory" that does more to end n military stalemate or dividing the nation than creating a basis for lasting stability. (Cordesman 13).

3.2 US-Saudi Arabia Cooperation in Defense

USA has been Saudi Arabia's fundamental defense and security partner for over six years. It has helped Saudi Arabia in developing military capacity to preserve peace in the region, preventing the spread of Iran revolution and turning back Saddam Hussein aggression from 1990s till the US invasion of Iraq 2003. Today that Cooperation has continued in fighting the Iranian aggressive behavior and the violent extremism. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the Us-Saudi Arabia Relationship” 2)*

Saudi attitude toward the violent extremists organizations have been a subject in US and west debate, it has observed that Saudi Arabia religious views and social conservatism helped on the ideological foundation of these violent extremists groups from Al-Qaeda to the Islamic state, also Saudi Arabia has both participated in and financed the rise of these groups but these allegations appear generally over blow. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the Us-Saudi Arabia Relationship” 2)*

In fact, Saudi Arabia has been one of the main principles of jihadist groups, who have stated that their main objective is to destroy the Al-Saud ruling family. And to impose the Islamic —caliphate on Saudi territory, the crown prince Mohammed bin Naif, a valued partner of US and leader of Saudi Arabia's security services, has been a target of several assassinations by the jihadist elements over the past several years.(3)

In response, Saudi Arabia security has worked closely with the United States to defeat those groups. Saudi Arabia offered and gave a crucial intelligence to the universal efforts to exterminate the global threat from Al-Qaeda, and to defeat its expansion, including the so-called cassette tape plot in 2010 intended to bring down US commercial airliner. In addition to that, the

US and Saudi Arabia have played a significant role in defeating the Islamic state in Syria and Iraq, flying air missions in defeating ISIL until the requirement to challenge Iranian-supported Houthi elements in Yemen over stretched Saudi capabilities. (*—Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship* 3)

With the Iranian military support for the Houthis in 2014, it increased security threats of the Saudi Arabia-Yemeni borders, the United States and Saudi Arabia justified their intervention in the Yemeni civil war just to achieve four goals:

- 1/ Restoring the legitimate government of Yemen to complete the implementation of the GCC initiative and the conclusion of the National Dialogue Conference;
- 2/ Preventing a Houthi/ Saleh take over the government by force;
- 3/ Securing the Saudi-Yemeni borders; and
- 4/ Defeating Iran's efforts to establish a foothold on the Arabian Peninsula, threatening Saudi and Gulf security. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship”* 3)

The optimism of having a military stability with the Houthi and their ally never been happened. Instead, over two years straggle, the Saudis find themselves in serious troubles, the military effort is stalemated, the political process is frozen, the Saudis are been in increasingly costly conflict with no clear exit strategy and suffering an important damage to their international banding and reputation. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the US-Saudi Arabia Relationship”* 4)

Saudis' inability to achieve a positive outcome has given Iran a cheap victory and has strained the Saudi relations with the west world partners, the US and UK. Particularly, frustration over the extended air campaign in Yemen has triggered allegations that the Saudi Arabia efforts were

reckless, Caused unnecessary suffering among the Yemeni people, and inflicted high members of civilian casualties. This made Obama administration to pull out critical materials, intelligence and logistic support from Saudis, undermining Saudi confidence in the reliability of the US defense and security commitment. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the US-Saudi Arabia Relationship” 4*)

The vice versa with Trump administration, it has been opposite the Obama's restrictions. Trump administration has restored intelligence and logistic supports to the Saudis and interpreted as a single that the core elements of liberal relationship would be revitalized. One component of the proposed sale would be the precision guided munitions that were withheld by the Obama Administration in late 2016 following the mistaken targeting of a funeral in Sana'a that killed dozens of civilians. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the US-Saudi Arabia Relationship” 4*)

Other components are largely defensive in nature. The sale of the Terminal High Altitude Air Defense system (THAAD) is consistent with long-standing U.S. encouragement of our friends in the region to improve their defense against Iran's ballistic missile program. Light combat aircraft will contribute to Saudi Arabia's ability to defend its land borders as littoral combat ships will enhance defense of the Saudi coast. But in moving forward on these sales, the Administration needs to proceed cautiously and avoid over-burdening the Saudis with expensive armaments at a time that the Saudi budget is already under stress from low oil revenues and rising economic and social requirements. (*“Challenges and Opportunities for the US-Saudi Arabia Relationship” 4*)

4. Economic and Trade Relationship

The United States and Saudi Arabia has a very unique and special economic and trade relation based on exchanging products and oil.

4.1 US-Saudi Trade Relations

Saudi Arabia stayed and continued the largest US trading partner in the Middle East in 2010, according to the US International Trade Administration. The United States imports from Saudi Arabia were \$31,4 billion (up from \$22 billion in 2009 but below the 2008 figure of \$54,8 billion) while Saudi Arabia imports from US were rated at \$11,6 billion up from \$10,8 billion in 2009 but below the 2008 figure of \$12,5 billion. Compared with Israel, the second largest US trading partner in Middle East in 2010, the United States imported from Israel were nearby \$21 billion and \$11,3 billion in exports to Israel from the United States.(Blanchard6)

The high value of US-Saudi trade is dictated by U.S. incomings of hydrocarbons from Saudi Arabia and US exports of weapons, machinery and vehicles to Saudi Arabia, inconstancies in the volume and value of US-Saudi oil trade account for declines in the value of Saudi exports to the US in the recent years. (Blanchard6)

4.2 Oil Imports and Saudi Policy

Oil has been the central of the liberal relationship since the outset of America's Middle East adventures, Saudi Arabia is the world's largest oil exporter, and it has the largest spare capacity of oil production in the world that holds 60 percent of the world's known conventional oil reserves, which makes USA cares about Saudi Arabia.(Gause III 26)

With gasoline high prices, US president could call upon the Saudi king to moderate them. But, with the Saudi revenue demands growth and will continue to grow, giving fiscal commitments to its government took on this year, Saudi Arabia is no longer the price moderate of the past years, it needs high oil prices to cover its revenue needs.(Gause III 26)

The Saudis vast revenues have the greater interests than any other producers, such as Iran and Venezuela. In June 2011, in the wake of an acrimonious Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) meeting they raised oil production to moderate prices. US makers should consult with the Saudis on oil issues, to be sure, and don't make the center of liberal transaction, Riyadh will not bring prices down as so far as most Americans would want no matter what the offer. (Gause III 26)

With the world's largest proven oil reserves (estimated at 266,7 billion barrels), Saudi Arabia produced 8,6 million barrels per day (bpd) of crude oil as of late December 2010, Saudi oil reserves, oil exports and spare oil production capacity make the kingdom the central point for the global oil market.(*Blanchard 6*), according to the US Energy Information Administration. As of December 2010, Saudi Arabia was the third largest source of US oil imports about 1,1 million bpd of 11,1 million bpd gross US imports, behind only Canada and Mexico (*Blanchard 6*),while in 2015, Almagor stated that Saudi Arabia supplied 09% of US petroleum imports, as the kingdom's economy expanded over the past decades and its stock market opened to investors in 2015, many American banks started expanding operations in the Saudi Arabia.(Cohen-Almagor2)

5. The Impact of American Foreign Policy on Saudi Arabia

The policy of US toward the word especially Saudi Arabia has made many changes and left many effects on the kingdom. Saudi Arabia has been an ally to the United States for long time, it has had a strong relationship with it which made the two countries affect each other in many aspects. Through history the United States with its policymakers have had a strong influence on Saudi Arabia in both positive and negative ways.

5.1 The Positive Impacts

Saudi Arabia has been affected by the foreign policy of USA in many domains economically and politically. This foreign policy has made the country develop and be one of the powerful Arabian and Gulf countries.

5.1.1 Economic Development and Saudi Arabian General Investment

Saudi Arabia is one of the top three oil exporters to USA, its exports to the United States were about \$16,9 billion. In 2016 under the Trade Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) signed in 2003, Saudi Arabia has made very important investments in the United States companies such as Uber, Lyft, Apple, eBay, Twitter, Motorola and others. It has invested about \$11,5 billion in the United States. (*“US-Saudi Business Outlook Survey “5)*

As a result of the strong relation between the two countries, the kingdom's economy is vibrant and has a big importance which is being considered as the largest in the Gulf region and the 20th largest in the world. According to a World Bank estimates that Saudi Arabia is developing its business to make it attractive to foreign investments, it has ranked 29th out of 138 countries in the World Economic Forum's Global Competition Index. (*“US-Saudi Business Outlook Survey”2)*

The Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority (SAGIA) was created in 2000 in order to promote and attract the foreign investment in the kingdom; the US chamber has worked with SAGIA and has witnessed this vital authority in action that has been positively promoting the change of reform on numerous occasions and events. (2)

Saudi Arabia has given a big importance to the youth population which represents 49% of its population. Being under the age of 24, Saudi Arabia shows the growing urban and sophisticated consumer to the wireless connections growing 53% from 28,4 million to 53 million between 2007 and 2012. Today each Saudi citizen has 1,9 wireless connections, with more than 2,4 million Twitter user, and more than 40% of active users in the Arab region, also the highest per capita use of YouTube in the world.(—*Us-Saudi Business Outlook Survey*”2-3)

5.1.2 Programming Vision 2030

After the oil prices has getting raised and Saudi Arabia oil revenues have declined, the complexity of Saudi Arabia economic has increased. (—*Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship*” 8).In addition to the US abundance of importing oil from Saudi Arabia on April 25th,2016, deputy crown prince Mohammed bin Salman declared and announced vision 2030.(“*Saudi Arabia, Political, Economic and Social Development*” 13)

Vision 2030 program is about developing and establishing new political, economic and social reforms. These reforms cover the dramatic change in the roles of the public and the private sectors as the motors of economic development. Vision 2030 advocates the decrease in the public sector's history ascendancy of the country's economy, including reduced public sections employment and subsidies, while confirming the need for the young generation men and women to move into the private section for their economic future. In addition the project includes and involves the suggestion of having an economic diversification which makes Saudi Arabia moves away from the dependency on the energy sectors, these essential changes in Saudi Arabia economy is offering a new areas in Saudi US cooperation..(—*Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship*” 8)

Through vision 2030, Saudi Arabia also promises to change the relationship between the government and its citizens than can become the driver for the regenerated approach to human rights and civil liberties. For instance gender equality is social issue that contains many difficulties for Saudi government to face it, but as an economic issue. It's clear that the Saudi educated women are more than men, are ardent to enter work forces, have to be inserted into the economy and that Saudi Arabia can't move forward if fifty percent of its development. As a result the economic sector may become the essential tool for a new more open Saudi society rather than political or social reforms.(—*Challenges and Opportunities for US-Saudi Relationship*” 8)

5.1.3 Appeasement as a Protection

Despite Saudis influence's decreasing as its national economy weakens, the oil still has the ability to Free Economic Armageddon upon US if it chooses according to the Petrodollar System. The Petrodollar system is attached the Saudis and other OPEC members and their oil sale transitions with US dollars, the system that creates artificial requests for the dollar and thus artificially increases the values of the dollar, because the system depends on Saudi Arabia Cooperation. The United States can't reject its alliance with Saudi Arabia without facing a numerous results. (*Trump Is Taking The US-Saudi Relationship To The Next Level*”4)

Over the years, Saudi government has made an agreement that the OPEC could cash the dollar if the oil production bloc chose to price oil in alternative currencies. In fact, Saudis have used the Petrodollar system as haggling chip in the past, in addition to that they have used it to threaten the economic warfare against the dollar when the US policy change threat them. For example, Saudi Arabia threatened to dispose the US asset and crash the dollar if the Congress

were to pass a bill of making the Saudis the responsible of the foundation and assistance of the terror groups in the 9/11 attacks, though the bill passed, the Saudi threat didn't work because of Obama-brokered billion dollars arms sale to Saudi Arabia. (*"Trump Is Taking The US-Saudi Relationship To The Next Level"*4)

In recent meeting between the prince Mohammed bin Salman and Donald Trump shows more proofs of US bowing to Saudi Arabia interests. According to the white house statement published after the meeting trump supported the new US-Saudi program in which the US will invest both directly and indirectly. (*"Trump Is Taking The US-Saudi Relationship To The Next Level"*4)

5.1.4 Bilateral Agreement and Arm Sales

USA has provided Saudi Arabia by intelligence, munitions and arms through history. The United States is the security patron of Saudi Arabia, it transfers so many various arms to the kingdom, also Saudi Arabia benefits from the experience of USA equipping and training in military domains. (Omar 22)

Saudi Arabia has always relied on US arms. In 2015, Saudi Arabia spending in purchasing arms has reached \$50 billion. While in February 2017, Saudi Arabia has spent \$100 billion in contracts through FMS (Foreign Military Sales) to purchase diverse items of US military equipment, include the F-15 fighter aircraft as part of the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF). In addition to that, in May 2017 during President Trump visit to Saudi Arabia, another buying occur, Saudi Arabia has purchased about \$110 billion arms, said Arabia purchased for Littoral Combat Ships (LCS), tanks, helicopters and patriot missiles. (qtd in Brown 39).

5.2 The Negative Impact

Saudi Arabia has been affected in negative way by the American foreign policy in several occasions.

5.2.1 The Effect of Khashoggi's Death

Jamal khashoggi's death on 2 October 2018 was the headline of the global media. This was because of both the terrible sort of the crime and the popular personality of Khashoggi. (—US-SAUDI ARABIA RELATIONS|| 6). To add, President Trump said that Saudi Arabia will have severe results if it is responsible for Khashoggi's death. The other consequence that might happen is laying off Bin Salman, the Crown Prince from office.(Telci14)

Khashoggi's murder affect U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship greatly. Khashoggi was a journalist at the Washington Post, a famous newspaper in the U.S. The murder had a negative consequences on Saudi Arabia in which some international outlets of media said that Mike Pompeo, the U.S. Secretary of State gave Crown Prince Bin Salman a warning of his future as a king is at risk and that his position depends on his reaction towards the issue. (Telci 13)

Furthermore, there was a demand for making investigation for Khashoggi's murder in which one of the lawmakers said —they can undergo their own investigation, but the U.S. administration must make its own independent, credible determination of responsibility for Khashoggi's murder under the Global Magnitsky investigation as required by law|| (Telci13)

Moreover, the incident led to noticeable mistrust by the American and European political circles and public opinions towards the Crown Prince. Many demand to put pressure on Saudi Arabia. Khashoggi's murder will influence events and projects in the Middle East. One of the projects that will be influenced is the Arab NATO, Trump's Middle East Strategical Alliance. (Telci15). Another crucial issue that is going to be affected by khashoggi's murder is the

political plan of Trump to resolve the Israel-Palestine issue. It will lead to the permanency of Israeli occupation "U.S. policy on the solution of the Palestine-Israel conflict will be put at risk" (Telci16).

It has been said that the impact of United States foreign policy on Saudi Arabia is both positive and negative. In her project —Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies, Porotsky stated that —though the US is often a critical factor in Saudi Arabia's national security concept, US influence is often a double-edged sword; simultaneously creating favorable and unfavorable outcomes for Saudi security (3).

Concerning national security, Saudi Arabia depends greatly on the U.S. arms, —rather than enlisting the combined forces of the GCC, Saudi Arabia relied on the US for protection. Although this military presence did much to cement the US-Saudi alliance, its short-term benefits may not outweigh the long-term detriment (—Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies 20). Moreover, Porotsky added —another key aspect of the role of the US in Saudi Arabia's threat perception is energy security – physical and economic. As mentioned previously, 42% of Saudi GDP and 90% of export revenues are based on oil exports. The Kingdom has a dangerous reliance on the demand and supply of a single product (20).

Furthermore, rather than relying on neighbouring states to preserve its properties, Saudi Arabia relies mostly on the U.S. —the Kingdom places little faith in the ability of the GCC to protect its most valuable asset, and therefore relies on the US to serve this function (—Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies 21). To add, Saudi Arabia relies more on exporting oil to the U.S., and this is another major drawback for Saudi Arabia; —in light of an increasing emphasis on combating climate change, as evidenced by the Paris Agreement being ratified by 160 of 197 parties to the convention, and several countries phasing out fossil fuel-powered vehicles, it is

highly likely that there will be a global trend of moving away from fossil fuels, and therefore Saudi oil (—Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies 21)

In addition, there is an area of controversy which is Iraq; Saudi Arabia was totally against the US invasion of Iraq in 2003; —in this case, the Kingdom's alliance with the US clearly generates a security threat for Saudi Arabia as it provokes both radical organizations and the Saudi domestic population which was against any Saudi involvement (—Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies 27)

Another critical issue is Yemen, Porotsky stated that

the growing distaste among US politicians for the Kingdom's behavior in Yemen could pose significant risks for Saudi Arabia's national security. If enough political support is rallied in the US congress, this could mean the loss or decrease of US military support for Saudi Arabia, including arms sales, training, and physical protection, which would leave the Kingdom's security apparatus heavily crippled considering its heavy dependence on the US. (—Oil, Guns, and Common Enemies 27)

5.2.2 Human Rights

Concerning human rights, the US Bureau of Democracy and Labor's *International Religious Freedom Report 2004* stated that the authoritative religion in Saudi Arabia is Islam, and the rule demands that all its citizens to be Muslims in which there is no freedom of religion. Economic and political penalties are taxed against Shi'a people within the country. The punishments for non-Muslim population include: arresting, lashing, deporting, and torturing. Moreover, in Saudi Arabia, Muslims are prohibited from converting to other religions. For instance, a Saudi man was arrested due to his conversion to Christianity. (qtd in Czerniawski 38.39)

Despite the permission given to non-Muslims of practicing their religion privately, there was raiding and detaining occurred in 2004. Moreover, there was a message of banning the Jews

from the country entrance, posted on the official tourism website of Saudi Arabia. However, later on the message was taken away on March 1st, 2004 under international compression. Furthermore, non-Muslims are prohibited from having any kind of political or administrative office in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, taking non-Muslims' interests into consideration is totally depressing within the state. (qtd in Czerniawski 39)

Internationally, Saudi Arabia did not have the intention to accept any sort of international law concerning human rights avoiding any kind of challenge that may confront Islam's supremacy. Later on in 1981, Saudi Arabia accepted the terms of the Human Rights Declaration in Islam which says that people who are in the Islamic states have the right and freedom to a respectful life according to the Islamic Shari'ah. (qtd in Czerniawski 39)

Though the Human Rights Declaration in Islam had several laws, the major thing that affected Saudi Arabia greatly was the iteration the supremacy of Shari'ah code in all situations. Concerning what is applicable for Saudi Arabia in the whole document, it can be summarized in this sentence: —All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Shari'ah. (qtd in Czerniawski 41.42)

Since accepting the Cairo Declaration in 1981, there has been pressure for suitable list of rights concerning women and religious minorities in particular. In February 1991, a letter was signed by 43 important businessmen and intellectuals that demanded the foundation of governmental councils to lessen corruption among the Mutawwa'in. This led to the "Basic Law" decree of Saudi Arabia. The Basic Law's members represent the opinions of the Saudi ruling family. However, This Basic Law did not mention the legal rights of non-Muslims in the state. (qtd in Czerniawski 42 43)

To add, the swap of oil for security between the United States and Saudi Arabia led to negative outcomes in which this activity controverts the Central American values and the declared agendas of several presidents and policymakers. In recent decades, the issue of human rights status in Saudi Arabia is acknowledged by the U.S. in several documents and legislative and presidential speeches.(qtd in Czerniawski 43. 44)

Generally, concerning human rights, the US State Department has expressed its interest about —abuse of prisoners and incommunicado detention; prohibitions or severe restrictions on the freedoms of speech, press, peaceful assembly and association, and religion; denial of the right of citizens to change their government; systematic discrimination against women and ethnic and religious minorities; and suppression of workers' rights|| (qtd in Czerniawski 44)

Advocating a government of those features is opposite to the aims of almost every U.S. president. This was expressed explicitly by Bush in National Security Strategy of the USA after 9/11: —America must stand firmly for the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the absolute power of the state; free speech; freedom of worship; equal justice; respect for women; religious and ethnic tolerance; and respect for private property.|| (qtd in Czerniawski 44)

Furthermore, it is stated that hatred among the Arabs towards the United States is caused by the U.S. support for Islamic fundamentalism against communism and nationalist movements in Saudi Arabia " In particular, support for Islamic fundamentalism in Saudi Arabia as a counterweight to the spread of communes and intrastate nationalist movements (principally via the mujahedeen in Afghanistan) is cited as the main source of bitterness among the Arab world toward the United States" (qtd in Czerniawski 45).

A research made to know the sources of terrorism financing after the 9/11 attacks revealed that several charities and rich oil industry persons in Saudi Arabia were major sources for al-Qaeda operations' funding. This made the U.S. in strange situation —[W]e are locked in an odd situation in which we are fighting a war on terrorism and we are paying for both sides of the war. (qtd in Czerniawski 46.47)

concerning how the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia ought to be modified, it is stated that "If the United States were to attempt to push for reform in Saudi Arabia through traditional methods, it would face a substantially more difficult battle than it would against most other states" (qtd in Czerniawski 48.49)

Moving towards moderation is represented in King Abdallah's meeting with the petitioners of reform in 2003. This petition required: "a constitutional system of government with an elected legislature, an empowered and separate judiciary and an acknowledgment...of a variety of different rights—free speech, freedom to form associations as well as a commitment to address an expanded role for women in Saudi society" (qtd in Czerniawski 51)

Moreover, to achieve the reform meaningfully, King Abdallah must argue with three major powers: the other Royal Family members, the Saudi Religious establishment, and his citizens. Some of the Royal Family members are against large reform while the major apponent to reform is the Saudi religious establishment. This Saudi religious establishment, the Nejd, is powerful and has control over all schools and mosques. Therefore, ignoring this major element of the Saudi society, the Najd, will lead undoubtedly to strong reaction. (qtd in Czerniawski 52. 53)

Therefore, moving to have a democratic state will lead Saudi Arabia to face many challenges and threats "While a democratic Saudi Arabia (if it ever will exist) is certainly a long way off, it

could pose a greater threat to both domestic and international peace than the current system and resultant political climate". (qtd in Czerniawski 53)

Conclusion

The United States and Saudi Arabia established a strong relationship through history. Their relationship is based on exchanging interests and needs, each country needs the other. The fundamental interest of the United States in Saudi Arabia is oil while Saudi Arabia's need is security. The two countries have a long historic period partnership, especially with the events that have threatened their interests in the region, the United States seeks to get stability and security back in the middle east with the raise of the terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda and Hezbollah, the 9/11 events, nuclear program of Iran, civil war in Yemen and Israel- Palestine issue. The United States should defend its interests and help Saudi Arabia to control these actions and reserve the security in the Middle East. In addition to that, Saudi Arabia remains a vital partner of the United States. However, they have faced many tensions such as khashoggi's murder.

In fact, Saudi Arabia has been affected by the United States policy in many domains both positively and negatively. First, the United States is the top one and the important arm seller to the kingdom, Saudi Arabia spends billions of dollars on American arms according to many contracts and agreements. Second, with the decline of the United States oil demands and its high price, king Mohammed bin Salman announced the vision 2030 which focuses on economic, social, political development. The Saudis wanted from the US private sectors to play an important role in supporting these economic diversifications. But, Saudi Arabia is still dependent to USA economically and socially with the rise of human rights issue. Finally, the United States

has both helped and affected the kingdom directly and indirectly in many fields and has an essential part of the Kingston's development through history.

General Conclusion

The aim of the research is to examine the impact of American Foreign policy on Saudi Arabia in the 21st century in order to know how the American foreign policy affects Saudi Arabia and to what extent is Saudi Arabia influenced by this policy. It aims at analyzing analyze the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia to discuss whether the American foreign policy has a positive or negative impact on Saudi Arabia in the 21st century and to assess Saudi Arabia's extent of dependency on the United States.

The data gathered shows that the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia was built mainly on their mutual interests. Though both are from different backgrounds and do not share things in common, America and Saudi Arabia formed a strong relationship long time ago since 1945. This relationship was mostly based on economic interests. Despite that their strong relationship was strained by many challenges and difficulties, they rebuild their relationship placing their interests on the top priorities.

The research shows that the American Foreign policy has both positive and negative impact on Saudi Arabia. The positive impacts are represented in Saudi Arabia's investments in the United States' companies, its status in the World Economic Forum's Global Competition Index (29th out of 138 countries), and declaring Vision 2030 project that is being economically autonomous in the future as a reaction to US abundance of oil export. It also profits from intelligence, munitions and arms(in February 2017, Saudi Arabia has spent \$100 billion to buy several US military equipment.

However, there are also negative impacts such as the Khashoggi's murder that affected Saudi Arabia's reputation and it led to growing mistrust towards Saudi Arabia. Another negative influence is Saudi Arabia's large dependence on the US concerning its national security rather than bordering countries. In addition, the Israel-Palestine issue will remain a contradictory area between both

countries. Another important thing that could affect Saudi Arabia is Saudi Arabia's beliefs, traditions, values, and its laws.

Data analysis shows that Saudi Arabia is depending on the United States enormously so that it might have severe damages in the future unlike The United States which diversified thereby getting independent from Saudi Arabia. This reveals that the impact of American foreign policy is negative more than positive.

This study is important to find out and have a clear picture about the country's strength and weaknesses. This latter can help forming and planning more secure and powerful foreign policies that preserve the country as well as its borders from outside risks and maintain its progress.

To sum up, the American foreign policy has positive as well as negative impact on Saudi Arabia in the 21st century. But the negative impact of American foreign policy on Saudi Arabia on the long term might lead to serious problems in the kingdom.

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المخلص:

ان هذا البحث يتناول تأثير السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على المملكة العربية السعودية في القرن الواحد والعشرين، حيث يسلط الضوء على الخلفية التاريخية لكل من هاتين الدولتين أثناء هاته الفترة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تهدف هاته الدراسة إلى تحليل العلاقة بين الدولتين الأمريكية والسعودية مع ذكر الأحداث والاسباب التي أدت لتوتر العلاقة بينهما، وتبين كذلك تأثير السياسة الامريكية على السعودية. توضح البيانات التي تم تحليلها إلى ان العلاقة بينهما تستند وبشكل أساسي على المصالح المتبادلة وان كلا منهما يعتمد على الآخر، لكن اعتماد المملكة العربية السعودية أكبر بكثير ويتخطى قضية حفظ الأمن والاستقرار للدولة. يتضح لنا من خلال هذا البحث ان هاته التأثيرات هي أكثر سلبية منها ايجابية، وذلك لأن الأهداف الأمريكية بعيدة كل البعد عن قيم، معتقدات، دين، اسلوب الحياة وتقاليد المملكة العربية السعودية.