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US-Saudi Relations from 2000 to 2008: Analysis and Assessment

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Dedication

I would like to thank my little family; there would be no success without any of you.

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Abstract

This dissertation depicts the main reason that shape the US-Saudi relations. Over years US-Saudi partnership has been considered as the best alliance that has expanded American strategic interests in the Middle East region and has strengthened regional stability to satisfy Saudi Arabia's desire. During the early stages of the relationship, the oil interest was the basic engine that has identified the nature of this bondage and has combined both goals. It discusses why the United States has chosen the spiritual place i.e. Saudi Arabia to be its regional base for such mobilization. From a Saudi perspective, the U.S. was the missing ally that would guarantee a security pillar for any external threat. This annotated image has always been present before the tragedy of the terrorist attacks in 2001, but things have changed when such common interests have faded in the post 9/11. With the ongoing of the events in the Middle East region, King Abdullah has targeted both political and economic reconciliation with the Bush administration through a serious talk which has opened an opportunity for their diplomatic relationship to be reformulated. Also, this dissertation has analyzed the fact that in spite of U.S. and Saudi political, economic and military efforts, their relationship seemed to lose its momentum.

ملخص

تبين هذه المذكرة السبب الأساسي الذي أدى إلى بلوغ العلاقات بين الولايات المتحدة و السعودية هذا المستوى. علي مدى سنوات اعتبرت الشراكة الأمريكية السعودية علي أنها أفضل تحالف حيث وسعت المصالح الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط وعززت الاستقرار الإقليمي تلبية لرغبات المملكة العربية السعودية. خلال المراحل الأولية لهذه العلاقة، كان الاهتمام النفطي المحرك الأساسي الذي أدى إلي تحديد طبيعة هذا الارتباط ودمج أهداف كلا الطرفين. كما تناقش هذه المذكرة لما اختارت الولايات المتحدة المكان الروحي، أي السعودية لتكون قاعدتها الإقليمية لهذه التعبئة. من وجهة نظر المملكة العربية السعودية كانت الولايات المتحدة الحليف المفقود الذي يضمن ركيزة أمنية لأي تهديد خارجي. هذه الصورة المبينة كانت دائما موجودة قبل مأساة الهجوم الإرهابي في عام 2001 ولكن الأمور تغيرت عندما تلاشت هذه المصالح المشتركة في مرحلة ما بعد 11 سبتمبر. ضمن خلفية الانتهاكات التي وقعت في إقليم الشرق الأوسط، استهدف الملك عبد الله المصالح السياسية والاقتصادية مع إدارة بوش من خلال الحديث الجاد الذي أتاح فرصة لإعادة العلاقات الدبلوماسية بينهما. كذلك تحلل هذه المذكرة انه علي الرغم من المجهودات السياسية والاقتصادية والعسكرية المبذولة بين الولايات المتحدة والمملكة العربية السعودية، يبدو أن علاقتهم قد فقدت الزخم الذي يجب تسليط الضوء عليه كما في الماضي.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARAMCO	Arabian American Oil Company
BPD	Barrel Per Day
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EAG	Energy Action Group
ERP	European Recovery Program
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCB	National Commercial Bank
OAPEC	Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PA	Palestinian Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PRC	Petroleum Reserve Corporation
UN	United Nations

U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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Introduction

Saudi Arabia was living in isolation and in a traditional way based on a tribal system. Thus it was difficult for Europe and United States, to identify it on the world map and so little was known about it. It was only until the establishment of the modern Saudi Arabia by King Abdel Aziz in 1932 that became with a clear lineament. Generally, the international front of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was with Britain but oil exploration with Standard Oil of California was the basic apparatus that has highlighted the naissance of US-Saudi Relations. Conversely, this was an extraordinary thing to believe because both countries were totally opposite to each other either culturally, politically or geographically. It is remarkable that this alliance was pictured by the majority in the momentum meeting between King Abdel Aziz and President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1945, which has as well denied all extreme odds between both sides.

A full diplomatic relation has been built between both Riyadh and Washington in the cold war to contain the soviets influence in the Middle East region. Regardless of the threat nature, the soviets ideology has imposed, Truman and King Saud have stressed that global cooperation was necessary for making communism back away. The period of the 1960s to the 1980s has in a certain path witnessed the refraction of US-Saudi partnership for many reasons. The subject matter of Palestine has been marked in the Arabic political trail especially Saudi Arabia. What put more salt on the injuries was the discovery of US-Israel tie as described by many specialists as another "Special Relationship". In this ordeal, Saudi Arabia views the United States as an alliance betrayer and what it has done as it has been witnessed in the international arena was something unforgivable.

The Arab-Israeli conflict was another tendency, which Saudi Arabia has anticipated to solve peacefully. But when the situation was out of hands, Saudi Arabia picked up a bad

choice that would harm its alliance with U.S. either diplomatically or economically because the way things went in the political ground is not the same behind closed doors. Thus, Saudi Arabia has used another option by embargoing oil that Europe depends on in its economic development like United States. But King Fahd and President Reagan have put the fire off in favor of both sides' interests. Therefore, the Gulf war in 1990 urged the necessity of the United States and Saudi Arabia interference to secure the Gulf region as a whole against any threat. For United States part, any aggravation in the region would spoil its interests, and hence it has considered the Gulf periphery to be of high priority in its designed foreign policies.

On the eve of 2000 US-Saudi relationship proved to be based on a ruthless determination that has been manifested in law of the survivor for the fittest. For most part, this variation represents United States' expanding economic ambitions in the Gulf region. Moreover, U.S. emphasis on the regional oil has formed a concern point for Saudi Arabia, which would jeopardize its regional stability. Typically, this would as well contradict the principals US-Saudi Arabia relationship has based on, but this awkward situation revealed that all the mentioned basics have been provided for public consumption. From a more historical standpoint, the shock of 9/11 attacks have caused a kind of concussion among the Americans and Saudis. What worst the matter was the involvement of Saudi Arabia in the terrorist attack that later on confirmed to be a true fact that can not be bored in mind.

Deep inside the event of 9/11 has messed up US-Saudi relationship to the extent that many policy makers went into a far distance by calling a divorce between U.S. and the Kingdom. Nevertheless, Bush's war on terror has cooled the situation down when King Abdullah showed his full support for his counterterrorism policies. So this counterterrorism relationship has created a type of a strong alliance covered by mutual trust because both sides were in the same boat i.e. U.S. was not the only target of terrorism but Saudi Arabia as well was. The

paradox of this alliance has been investigated again when United States has swept into Iraq in the name of the war on terror, which has galvanized its counter terrorism partner attitude. The only concern of Saudi Arabia was its internal security and a regional stability as a whole, but Bush doctrine was something that the Kingdom worried about and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was something else that has been driven by a total opposition.

Though US-Saudi diplomatic partnership was in a bad atmosphere after the invasion of Iraq, the economic relationship is still working in a certain way. Fundamentally, given much emphasis on world oil markets compelled the United States to make accurate calculations about its relationship with the Middle East region particularly Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia direction, since oil is valuing in U.S. dollar reserves and so it will be the best mode for its economic promotion. In the minds of many, the US-Saudi economic relationship has been shaped to fulfill both sides' interests; the Saudis have relied heavily on the usage of oil crude to guarantee an overall protection through U.S. military package. Since, the United States has opted for controlling the world industry by controlling oil market, and thus a huge structurally trade and investments have been tied with one of the largest oil producer, which is Saudi Arabia.

The main purpose of this study is to highlight the way US-Saudi relationship is going on through different historical intervals and the main basic each side focuses on. This involves how Saudi Arabia has directed its political infrastructure to be coupled with the United States pathway. Thus many questions have been raised about the main reasons US-Saudi Arabia have been allied for and whether Saudi Arabia political relationship with U.S. has reached the levels that have been opted for or not? It was obvious that this bilateral relationship was build upon the priority of their national and regional security but did this ameliorate the jeopardized situation in the Middle East region or not? To what extent US-Saudi common interests have contributed to the development of each side's economic sector? Hence, the purpose of this

present study is to dig deep in US-Saudi relations to take clear insight about any ambiguity underlying this partnership. Also, the paramount objective of this investigation is to analyze and provide an assessment of the effect of the major incidents and changes that have occurred in the Middle East on this assumed alliance.

US-Saudi “Special Relationship” was a great deal that has attracted the attention of many. In the international political ground, it was a topic that needs extra discussion to understand the secrets behind the existing gaps in this bilateral partnership. In this basis, a lot of works have been taken into account to provide further explanation about the tackled topic. In her book entitled “*Thicker than Oil: America’s Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*”, Bronson Rachel tackled United States alliance with Saudi Arabia in a chronicle order. From its first birth to the common purposes that has been arisen in the cold war till the occurring of a certain challenge that U.S. and Saudi Arabia have faced so far. This obstacle has indulged the way US-Saudi partnership is developing i.e. it turned the “Special Relationship” that Eisenhower has established sixty years ago to be as natural as possible.

The tragedy of 9/11 incident, has shocked everybody in which the subject matter has been tackled everywhere even in a dinner conversation and thus many news have expected US-Saudi long-term partnership to be put on the line. The 9/11 terrorist attacks revealed scandalous details about Saudi Arabia involvement. Books like “*House of Bush House of Saud*” by Craig Unger shows the intimate relationship between the Saudi Royal Family, and the Bush extended political family. It has covered the US-Saudi relationship that is based on exchanged interests but at a given part there was a kind of blameworthiness concerning this close relationship especially after knowing the real scenes behind terrorist stories. In this regard, Unger claimed that such relationship between two powerful leading states would harm more the United States and brings its national security under a serious risk.

Shedding light on the truth side concerning the assumed allegation was the main apprehension the public wanted to discover. In his report entitled Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues, the Middle East analyst Blanchard Christopher has advocated Saudi Arabia's fragmented image caused by the stereotype that has been directed by the media. However, Blanchard's research did not come out of nothing; rather it was based on different reports mainly the American 9/11 Commission Report, which has concluded that there was no evidence about Saudi Arabia connection either with Osama Bin Laden or the global terrorist cell. Substantially, US-Saudi Arabia mutual cooperation against terrorist activities was the best example of Saudi Arabia attitude concerning those extremists.

Since the aim of this study is to investigate and analyze the way US-Saudi Arabia "Special Relationship" has been undertaken through different historical periods. It is obvious that the investigated work will be based upon the historical method, which has been used to cover both United States and Saudi Arabia diplomatic relationship at a large scale of every single point of historical events. The study has been used the analytical method as well because it analyzes the relationship of two different countries with two different ideologies and different cultural background. So, both methods have been chosen to provide an overall assessment of the agreements, treaties and even policies agreed upon between U.S. and Saudi Arabia. They have also provided an examination of the credibility the relationship has built on either politically or economically.

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter entitled "Historical Overview of US-Saudi Arabia Relations" that is meant to provide a general background of the beginning of this bilateral relationship since Eisenhower and King Abdel Aziz era till the late 1990s. During WWI and II a political vision of US-Saudi "Special Relationship" has strengthened both sides' common interests, which the war has imposed. The Cold War was another formula for US-Saudi partnership to be under one consistent that is against

Communism. The chapter has also tackled the importance of oil for US-Saudi relationship in the sense that it was considered as a coin of a double face. From one hand, it was used by both Saudis for U.S. security insurance, while the latter has exploited it for the fulfillment of its economic zone. From the other hand, it was a worrisome point for United States that would deteriorate its interests in the Middle East region as the 1970-80 oil shock.

The second chapter entitled “US-Saudi Partnership under Threat” that has been devoted for major controversies occurred in the uprising of 2000s. The first part has embarked the Palestinian Intifada and the Arab-Israeli conflict that was the Saudi Arabia main concern, and which contrasted the policies U.S. has directed towards the situation in favor of the opposite side i.e. Israel. Also, a critical period has intensified US-Saudi relationship in the post 9/11 that was the beginning of US-Saudi dreadful adventure. Moreover, United State’s invasion of Iraq was another problematic; Saudi Arabia has to deal with taking into consideration two parts that are equally balanced for its internal security and that has been entailed in its intimate alliance with U.S. and regional stability. Bush’s foreign policies in the Middle East region gave much more emphases to oil interest than to the security interests that Saudi Arabia has opted for and thus a cynical attitude has been drawn on a divorce alternative or an ordinary diplomatic tie.

The last chapter is entitled “US-Saudi Economic Interests” in which it discussed US-Saudi Arabia trade and military ties that have been totally dependent on oil crude. Saudi Arabia as the largest oil producer has motivated it to move towards privatization policy for the improvement of its economy. Therefore, United States has selected the Kingdom to be its pairing part that would take care of its interests in the Middle East hemisphere. In this respect, King Abdullah has shed the light on stabilizing global oil market that has paved a way for US-Saudi trade and military relationship to be reformulated. For Bush administration, Saudi Arabia was part and parcel of its economic sources and hence a series of military agreement

has been offered to the Kingdom for security substitutes. Up to the end, the US-Saudi Arabia common interests and the tackled variety of investments between both sides have given Saudi Arabia an additional standard to be considered as one of WTO and even to further its vision to the nuclear ambition.

Chapter One

Historical Overview of US-Saudi Relations

In the very beginning of the 1920s United States has broken the knot of isolationism stated by Monroe doctrine. Since it was one of the most important powers, it shifted its sight to the Middle East region because of oil commodity. Historically speaking, Saudi Arabia was United State's partner for long decades. However, US-Saudi outstanding alliance made United States a professional player in the Middle East chessboard, and Saudi Arabia's territorial integrity noticeable as well. Initially, US-Saudi "Special Relationship" was built on shared economic interests in the Second World War, and the restraint of Communism in the cold war with U.S. security commitment for Saudi Arabia. Through time US-Saudi friendship became even stronger especially in maintaining stability in the Gulf region. During Persian Gulf tension, Saudi Arabia opted for ending the ideological challenge in Riyadh posed either by Soviets or Iran's Shiite. Since Saudi Arabia and United States have much in common, the alliance was inevitable because any slide would spoil both sides' shared interests.

1. Naissance of US-Saudi Relationship

During the first twentieth century, there had been a fight between the two leading tribes, the family of Al Rashid and the family of Al Saud over the control of Arabian Peninsula. In 1902, after a series of rivals Abd al-Aziz Bin Abd al-Rahman al Saud succeeded in capturing Riyadh, and established what is known today modern Saudi Arabia. This accomplished through the cooperation with Al Wahab army named Ikhwan. Al Saud made a great step to unify Arabian Peninsula and brought it under their rule. These efforts seemed inadequate because, their army base became incontrollable. Ikhwan wanted to impose the Wahhabi movement to the whole country, and fight all Muslims whom suspected to be non-Wahhabi. This threatened the national security of Saudi Arabia within its Kingdom. In order to cover the situation Abd al-Aziz excluded them to preserve his country stability, to get the attention,

and the protection of British Empire from the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. As newly established country, Saudi Arabia needed a lot of supplies especially, the supply of weapons. But al Saud's wish did not come true because British-Saudi affiliation has declined. So, the end of British-Saudi relationship has opened the door for United States, and marked new page in US-Saudi bilateral relationship (Vassiliev 423-547).

At the outset of the WWI era, oil was an urgent commodity, and many European countries revealed their interest in oil production. Among those countries, there was United States who was looking for source of such fortune. This pushed it to the Middle East that has been seen as an opportunity for the access of oil. The great depression of 1930s was the turning point in US-Saudi relations. In front of such kind of conditions, Saudi Arabia found itself under hard pressure, which led to the collapse of its economy. Al Saud made a big step to get rid of these surrounding events when, they accepted to take the advice of their friend Karl Twitchell who asked them to cooperate with the US oil companies due to their need for funds. In fact the exploration of Saudi Arabia's oil began in 1923 by the United States oil company called California Arabian Oil Company. The actual foundation of oil was in 1930's in the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia. ARAMCO, one of the largest oil companies in the world was established in 1933. Above all oil was crucial source that brought United States and Saudi Arabia together. Nevertheless, both countries have been described as having "Special Relationship" with one another (Baalk 6).

The WWII paved a sound basis for the solidity of US-Saudi "Special Relationship". It awakened US-Saudi diplomatic relationship based not only on the oil commodity but also on political, economic and military interests. Certainly, the first time meeting between the American president Franklin D. Roosevelt and King Abdel Aziz Bin Abdel Rahman al Faisal al Saud became momentum event. The meeting took place aboard USS Quincy in great bitter lake near Cairo in February 14, 1945 to discuss the conflict of Europe over underdeveloped

strategic lands, and enhance their common interests. Likewise, in the meeting, Roosevelt has approved Ibn Saud's attitudes concerning Palestine and Jews issues and this has officially been echoed in his letter to the King of Saudi Arabia in April 5, 1945. Hence, Roosevelt letter has assured US-Saudi political credibility(Plethi).

In the WWII, United States broke up its neutrality. This highlighted the expansion of its forces in the time where oil has been discovered in 1938. At this level, the interior secretary Harold Ickes spoke out of his country expenditure in the world to the radio "we in the United States have been using up our oil reserves faster than we have been discovering new ones.... [W]e don't have enough oil right now-tonight-so that we can supply the military and essential industry with all that they require, and still have enough left for normal civilian consumption." For United States, oil was a necessity to accomplish its military and nuclear development. As well as it was considered as a base for the construction of a good diplomatic, and political ties based on the exchanged interests between various countries particularly, the one that owns such natural resource like Saudi Arabia. The Oil industry was highly important to the extent that in 1943 Roosevelt established Petroleum Reserve Corporation, which aimed at acquiring, producing and reserving oil outside United States (Bronson 39).

The period between 1940 to 1947 United States was seeking to built up a strong relationship with Saudi Arabia, and make it in its side because of different reasons. This manifested in its strategic place, Saudi Arabia's powerful voice in the Middle East decision making and the oil prosperity. Therefore, Roosevelt was trying to loop the ties with Saudis to gain a beneficial ally. He provided Saudi Arabia with \$ 99 million as aid and only 25 percent can be paid back. In 1938, the Saudi King was the first Arab leader who texted the president of United States in hope of attracting the public attention, and attain a positive attitude towards the conflict of Israel and Palestine. Nonetheless, the meeting on Quincy was concerned with the conflict of Jewish and Arabs in Palestine. However, King Abdel Aziz

tackled other different issues, he determined his Kingdom's sovereignty, and ensured its internal security. Accordingly, United States guaranteed to Saudis that it would never interfere in its affairs or even try to take over its Land or do anything that may harm the Arab countries (41).

There was a perfect chemistry between King Abdel Aziz and President Roosevelt; this was noticeable in their meeting. Unfortunately Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945 before the end of the WWII. The mission of ending the war was assigned to the president Harry Truman who in turn approved the state of Israel. This led King Abdel Aziz to accuse United States for contravening Roosevelt's oath. Shortly after Truman took his office, he made a chain of military agreements with Saudi Arabia in August 1945 namely the Dhahran Air Field Agreement, which witnessed the inception of United States air base near ARAMCO Oil Company. The latter has been established to restrain the spread of communism and protect United States interest i.e. Saudi's oil. This was extremely essential, especially in the post war era, where most of the European countries needed it for its economic and political recuperation. Like Roosevelt, Truman as well has raised up financial aid to the Middle East region. Additionally, Truman's administration appreciated the support of King Abdel Aziz against Soviet Union (Lippman 10-12).

Back to United State's financial and military assistance to the Saudis, the "50/50 agreement" has been formed in 1950. It was based on shared profits between both sides, and filled United State's pocket with the needed provisions. By 1951, State Department claimed that despite all criticism against United States, Saudi Arabia acted as America's sole survivor. It did not only keep its friendship strength, but also made a lot of efforts to influence the Arab attitudes towards U.S. Regardless of US-Saudi bothersome concerning the situation of Israeli-Palestine, Saudi Arabia did not use oil allowance to slash the relationship. This achievement owed to King Abdel Aziz consciousness about the value of United States for his Kingdom's

economic and political endurance. Therefore, US-Saudi oil relationship was the central heart of Saudi Arabia internal structure development (Delaney 74-75).

2. The Cold War and the US-Saudi “Special Relationship”

After the WWII, United States adapted imperial dimension. Many American officials stressed the need to organize their thought in relation to their interests. They believed that the domination of Eurasia by others who oppose their ideology would not be in favor of United States. Eurasia’s valuable geostrategic lands compelled Melvyn P. Leffler to raise the American wakefulness about the prevalent Soviet Union’s ideology in the arena. So, this clash of ideologies was the product of the Second World War in which to some extent United States was responsible for (Leffler 15).

The WWII, also, has embraced a negative effect that has destroyed many European countries. This set the stage for the “Marshall Plan” as its name suggested, it was proposed by the secretary George Marshall in 1948. It was known as the ERP that offered a financial assistance for the European countries involved in the war to recover its economic system. Henceforth, the conflict between two different criteria of Capitalist, and Communist ideologies led to the emergence of the cold war, and its extension to the Third World. For that reason United States attempted to made as much strong ties as possible with the underdeveloped edge. This strategic plan has been implemented by United States for the purpose of increasing capitalism in the region, retain its economic intensification and guarantee open trade (Wood 239-240).

2.1. The Impact of the Cold War on the Middle East

Through time it was proved that the cold war was about the construction of new world order headed by one power, which was the United States. In this respect, foreign aid either for Europe or Middle East region helped the United States to run its commerce in an effective way. The cold war stepped up US-Saudi friendship to be united more than ever. However, oil

was the cornerstone that has driven their partnership and nationalized their security. The Elevate of nationalism and liberation movements in the third world during 1950's open the appetite for the USSR in the periphery. Meanwhile, Dwight D. Eisenhower came to office in 1953. He was aware of the increased military and economic supports that have been given by the Soviet Union to the Middle East countries in order to preserve its power in the region. In view of that, the majority of Americans sought the case of Egypt as a troublesome that might jeopardize their interests. The Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser got a recognizable status among the Arab countries. This was directed to his cooperation with Soviets to forsake the British domination over Egypt's Suez Canal in 1956. Thus, if Gamal Abdel Nasser's authority sustained to grow, he would from one hand, became in a high position that allows him to influence all the Arabs. From the other hand, USSR would gain global recognition (Divine 72-78).

2.2. King Saud and Eisenhower

The Egyptian's conflict deteriorated regional permanence in the Middle East, as well as it was considered as an opportunity for the Soviet Union to come into the picture. What contributes more to this bad news was that USSR's extension in the region put American interests in a grave danger. Eisenhower did not stand without any reaction rather; he managed to create a strong Arab ruler with good quality character. Hence, he can easily impose his ascendancy on the Arab countries and replace Abdel Nasser's stature. Accordingly, Eisenhower stated that United States should focus all its energy on selecting the appropriate person, the one who could match with its interests. There was no better choice than King Saud of Saudi Arabia who has reigned the Kingdom after his father King Abdel Aziz's death in 1953 (Mejcher 8-9). Nevertheless, Eisenhower affirmed his predilection in his dairy "My own choice of such a rival is King Saud. However, I do not know the man and, therefore, do not know whether he could be built up into the position I visualize. Nevertheless, Arabia is a country that contains

the holy places of the Moslem world, and the Saudi Arabians are considered to be the most deeply religious of all the Arab groups. Consequently, the king could be built up, possibly, as a spiritual leader. Once this were accomplished we might begin to urge his right to political leadership.” So, based on this foundation, Eisenhower emphasized urgent disconnection between both Saudi Arabia and Egypt until, they will be convinced that United States was the one and the only loophole for their problems, and even interests (qtd. in Morrison 51).

2.3. US-Soviet Clash over the Middle East

In the light of the Cold War, nearly all the countries have been sided with one of the ideologies existed at that time. Although the war has destroyed the economic strip of various countries, it indeed has participated in unifying the United States and Saudi Arabia and prioritized their alliance against USSR and Communist creed in the Middle East region. Basing his thought on security dimension, Saudi King gave the impression of adapting the proverb of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” in his relation with United States. In this regard, he bore in his mind that the adaptation of the Soviet ideology would be a disastrous for US- Saudi granny knot, and would expose both Islam and Christianity to serious jeopardy (Pollack 79-80).

For the protection of its interests in the Middle East region, U.S. has used the necessary policies to make Saudi Arabia ready for any external threat. In 1955, as an effort to build a diplomatic relationship; the Soviet Union has tried to provide Saudi Arabia army with necessary weapons. However, United States warned Saudi Arabia to not fall into the same trap as Egypt did. Moreover, in 1956 both United States and the Soviet Union have conflicted over the one who would gain the contract to construct the Hijaz railway in Saudi Arabia meeting. This railway was very important because it linked the cities of Damascus and Medina. The latter was a sacred place like Mecca. Since it will be visited by the Muslims of different parts of the world, U.S. saw it as an opportunity to attract them and made them

boycott Soviet's principles. So, both U.S. and USSR have considered the Kingdom as a perfect place to start a business with in order to expand their domination in the region (Warner 303-305).

During John Kennedy period in office, US-Saudi relationship was not at a high scale of prosperity. Besides Kennedy's efforts and letters, he has sent to rebuild diplomatic relations with the Middle East countries. It seemed that his attempt failed to attract the Arab leaders; instead, he received a series of harsh replies concerning the case of Palestine. Particularly, King Saud's letter-reply to U.S. made the Kennedy administration incapable of explaining, because, from a diplomatic side, it was difficult to bear. In hindsight, King Saud has decided to end US-Saudi military cooperation pertaining to Dhahran air base agreement in which both sides have relied on to maintain regional stability. But this has been contained with the negotiations held between U.S. ambassador Childs and Shaikh Yusuf Yassin who is representing the Saudis Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Foreign Relations 1607). Nevertheless, in 1962, President Kennedy has offered the Kingdom an arms sale worth \$13.5 million for communist containment. In spite of the United State's damage, US-Saudi partnership kept working at a certain level to uphold their common interests (Gresh 81-83).

US-Israeli adventure became friendlier during Kennedy authority, but this neither stopped Israel's aggression against Palestine and Arabs nor prevented its nuclear evolution. As an attempt to strengthen the cozy relations, Kennedy sought to support the nationalist movements in the Middle East in order to increase a sort of acceptance, and improve U.S. image in the region. In 1962, Egypt received a huge aid from the United States in order to change its attitude towards Communism. In run up to the Arabs conflict with Israel in 1964, Israel's violence was highly noticeable, which put Johnson Administration in an agonizing position. In addition, CIA warned United States from Israelis prompted moves because this would deteriorate its relations with Saudi Arabia, and would deem an opportune for the Soviet

Union in the Middle East region as well. So, US-Saudi economic deterioration was dated back to U.S. relations with Israel and the support for Egypt (Little 564-573).

3. The Role of Oil in the US-Saudi Ties

Oil in the cold war was very important, for the reason that the Soviet Union has shifted its attention to Middle East area. Therefore, oil was a primary source that has shaped US-Saudi security relationship. From the time when ARAMCO has been established, oil linked directly to U.S. national security since it was used for its arms development. As a way to ease US-Saudi mistrust relationship concerning the case of Palestine, the American officials consigned to revive Saudi economy. As a response to King Abdel Aziz pressure, the 50/50 agreement was signed. The agreement increased Saudi Arabia's profits in which ARAMCO paid 50 million in U.S. taxes, while Saudi Arabia approximately took 56 million from oil revenues. This number was doubled the year after (Baalak 6-9).

Once USSR continued to dig in the Middle East region, this means a total threat to United States interests, for the most part, the oil industry. Thus, the agreement was set to contain the situation. At some stage in 1950's oil prices were stable, but the nationalization of Iran's oil commodity affected the global market, and its revolution has weakened its domination (Hamilton 10). Hence, Saudi Arabia became number one regarding oil production in the Gulf region. The increased oil prices have ameliorated Saudi Arabia's economic segment, and put it in a comfortable situation, while U.S. was disturbed by this renovation. So, oil played a great role in US-Saudi bilateral relationship because, the stable the prices are the warm ties will be, and the vice versa (Cordesman 3).

3.1. Foundation of OPEC and its Aftermath

Throughout the Twenty-First century, oil has played a gradually more significant part in the economic development of European countries, especially the United States. At some point in the period of industrialization, oil was gaining magnitude as new-fangled and very important

part of production for Western hemisphere. Furthermore, the capability of the world market to maintain domination over oil access, and keeping on its price stable would be in the favor of American interests. This allowed it to obtain oil anytime they need and with lower prices. Fortunately, Eisenhower preference of the Middle East and Venezuela oil supplies accelerated his demand for national security during the cold war (Basil 2).

Lower oil prices led the Venezuelan president Romulo Betancourt to call for an urgent alliance between all Arab oil producing countries, which aimed at stabilizing the prices in the global market. OPEC was established in Baghdad during 1960; it stands for the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. It involved Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Libya, Qatar, Nigeria and the United Arab Emirates. Besides the fact that OPEC was capable of controlling oil prices according to the market demand, in a way it succeeded in unifying the exporting countries and upholding their individual and communal interests (3-5).

The United States has constantly been the world's largest consumer and importer of oil. Thus, the American officials were worried about their country's dependence on Middle East oil mainly Saudis one. From one hand, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as a member of OPEC wanted to secure its region, and maintain its political permanence. From the other hand, this deteriorated US-Saudi relationship. Since then the foundation of OPEC, Saudi Arabia made its own decisions concerning oil industry without consulting United States, despite its 50/50 partnership with Saudi Arabia. Occasionally, US-Saudi still has a little in common; they could collaborate on some issues according to each side interests (Gause 22).

The Saudi government witnessed a drastic change in 1960's. When Abdullah Tariki appointed as the director-general of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs, ARAMCO officials measured him as a potential trouble maker. For the reason, he designed a platform, which gave Saudi Arabia a more freedom especially, the access to its oil resources through OPEC organization, and

without ARAMCO interference. So, his removal would gather US-Saudi pieces again.

However, Kennedy administration has closed the page of Tariki and set the scene for the innovation of US-Saudi relations with King Faisal. In this spirit, ARAMCO profits increased from \$ 321 million in 1950's to \$350 million per year in 1960's; due to Saudi Arabia's effort for keeping the prices stable. Consequently, US-Saudi relationship needs the efforts of both sides to make a perfect cooperation (Stork 25).

3.2. The Oil Crisis 1970

From an economic point of view, oil was used differently and was drastically less important in the nineties century in comparison to nowadays. Thus, any transfiguration in its prices would affect the global economy, either in a positive or negative way. By 1970, U.S. exploitation of oil doubled as its needs have been growing up. In the meantime, the first oil energy crisis took place, which was an entry to the progression of events occurred previously. Since the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Middle East countries were highly standing in opposition to Israel and its supporters mainly, United States. In addition, the defeat of Arab countries, including Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in their battle against Israel in 1967, pushed the Egyptian president Anwar Sadat to form a kind of coalition with the Syrian president Hafez al-Assad against Israel. Intelligently, Sadat has opted for a perfect date for the attack in October 6, 1973. Noticeably, the war has been busted out in Yom Kippur, the Israelian sacred day and marked United States support for Israel. This event made the Saudi King Faisal's face turn white with rage. Consequently, King Faisal has met Sadat secretly to discuss the situation. Therefore, the Arab members of OPEC led by Saudi Arabia decided to embargo oil sales to the United States, and even to other European countries seeing to be siding with Israel (Copaken 4).

The Saudi Arabia's view towards the Arab-Israeli conflict has always been clear, and it has been publicly stated. Also, United States engagement in the war has galvanized the

ARAMCO Leading power, and weakened US-Saudi friendship. So, OPEC's oil embargo of 1973 erupted as response against U.S. contradicted actions. Further, this event has taught United States a lesson to be careful in its relations, and to think more than once before taking any step (5). Moreover, during the crisis the production of oil from Arab members of OPEC was reduced and the prices had been rising. United States was in a sensitive period in which its huge amount of oil consumption was at the time when OPEC has imposed the embargo. The Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger together with the Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger decided to contain the embargo through the usage of NATO. Publicly, they opted for military interference in the Gulf region. The British officials looked upon Schlesinger's threat in a contemplate way. Rather, they conducted a study about the outcomes of United State's decision already taken on European countries as whole. In addition, the study stated that if U.S. began to implement the plan it has previously scheduled, there would be catastrophe results (Painter 191).

For a possible reconciliation, Kissinger asked both oil producer, and consumer countries to assist each other so that everyone would attain the interests needed. This could be achieved only via International Energy Action Group. However, EAG used as a means to increase pressure on the producer countries to cease the embargo, since European countries did not want to risk their interests when supporting United States plan (192). Accordingly, President Nixon called for an energy conference, which held in Washington in 1974 between European countries to form a type of alliance, and to recover the situation, the consumer groups were living in. The failure of United States to convince the consumers, open the door for plan "B" in which U.S. threaten to use power in hope of getting their support. Likewise, Kissinger has attempted to persuade the European countries that collaboration was an excellent solution for getting rid of such economic crisis. Therefore, he claimed that any decision opposed to the one stated "would threaten the world with vicious cycle of competition, autarky, rivalry, and

depression such as led to the collapse of world order in the 1930's". Nearly all the European countries put the blame on the United States as the sole cause for the embargo. Finally, the embargo has stopped by OAPEC because of U.S. contribution in peace negotiation of Arab-Israeli conflict, and its pledge with King Faisal to protect the Saudi Kingdom and ensure their security (193).

3.3. The Second Oil Shock

The United States fundamental base has depended heavily on importing oil from the Middle East region. Thus, the embargo put it in a hard position. Admittedly, the increasing of oil prices pushed Saudi Arabia to raise its supporting funds to Egypt; from the other part, it compelled Egypt to boycott its bind with the Soviets as well. But also it expanded Iran's military basement and U.S. took part in this expenditure by selling it different modern military weapons. In 1977, the Iranian public neither liked President Jimmy Carter's policies in Iran nor his appreciation for Shah's power for keeping his country secure in a perilous region. Hence, they sought to revolutionize against their pro-western leader Shah, and then he was replaced by Ayatollah Khomeini. So, Incapable of controlling the revolution, Shah Government has dropped down and has affected oil revenues negatively because of its oil reduction (Cooper 38-39).

The Iranian problem was Saudi Arabia's biggest fear because it might influence the entire Gulf hemisphere. Saudi Arabia as an effective member in OPEC was also responsible for the incidence of the second oil shock in which oil prices increased to 14.05 % in 1979. On one occasion a political consideration has been taking into account between both sides when U.S. encouraged arms sale to Saudis. Thus, United States expected Saudi Arabia to be in its arena. After the Saudis intervention, oil prices became stable again. However, Saudi Arabia successful mission compelled the Saudi oil minister, Ahmad Zaki Yamani to declare "We expect the West, especially the United States, to appreciate what we did". Hence, United

States must not make much more emphasis on oil rising prices; rather it should shift its concern once more to the Soviet's cupidity in the Gulf region owing to oil access (40).

4. Reagan Administration

Soon when oil reached its highest level in 1980, Ronald Reagan appointed as U.S. president in 1981. Obviously, sharp tension has intensified this period, the new Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini disagreed with United States policies in the Gulf region. In the meantime, the Soviets swept in the Persian Gulf particularly, Afghanistan. Thus, Reagan administration rendered the danger of Communism expenditure, which has been progressed from a continental power to a global power. As long as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev carries on his "bleeding wound" in Afghanistan, Reagan would assist Afghan's mujahedin in order to defeat Kabul regime. Persistently, After Soviet's withdrawal in 1989, Reagan strongly willed to end the Afghan war or any other conflict seeing to be threatening its regional allies, mainly Saudi Arabia (Jentleson 60).

According to the grapevine, Saudi Arabia gave the United States a hand to fight communism threat in its neighboring countries. From one side, Reagan administration has anticipated in ending the Soviets greediness not only in the region where American interests lie but also wanted its influence to disappear from the whole world. In this regard, Reagan Doctrine has been set for the purpose of finishing Communist existence and directing much more publics towards anti-communism. From the other side, Saudi Arabia played a big role in completing the mission of Reagan administration, and in making Reagan Doctrine work in a successful way. But the assignment of diminishing communist influence needs someone that earns a huge amount of money to be able to restrain the continuance of Soviets expansion (Arquilla 2).

US-Saudi relationship has improved during Reagan administration in which he stressed the significant bond, he had constructed with the Saudis. Also, the Secretary of State Weinberger

viewed Saudi Arabia as the one and the only partner for U.S. that could hold a conversation with concerning peace negotiations. Therefore, Crown King Fahd confirmed that US-Saudi corporation exceeded the awkward position they have experienced previously. But it would be better if this relationship swings to the political dimension. Despite the Congress and American public disagreement with Reagan administration pertaining to Saudi Arabia friendship, Reagan continued his adventure ties with Saudis (Hoyos 54-55). However, Saudi Arabia envisioned the Soviets permeation in Afghanistan as a sign for propagating its radical system in the Kingdom. Nevertheless, King Fahd revitalized his partnership with U.S. for the purpose of protecting Saudis oil fields and standing as one unified power against Moscow's menace (Katz 57).

The Arab- Israeli conflict has destabilized the Gulf hemisphere, and therefore tension has been increased between Saudi Arabia and the United States for long years. The issue has been discussed again when King Fahd took office in 1982. He proposed an eight-point plan for a peace initiative in the region. The seventh plan was about self-determination and that all states in the region should be able to leave in peace in the region. Actually, U.S. has considered this as a good step for a moderate country. But the entire Arab world kept questioning whether Saudi King wrote this in reference to Israel's settlement in Palestine or to PLO right to return to their homeland. However, Saudi Arabia set the plan in order to improve the US-Saudi relationship, secure the Gulf region and convince U.S. to gain its acceptance concerning arm sales to the Kingdom (Sela 282).

5. The Gulf Wars

The Middle East in general and the Gulf region, in particular, were the main strategic interests in the Western periphery agenda. As a matter of fact, the Gulf region oil reserves were the key factor, which has accelerated the United States to break down its isolationism and became a new leading power. In addition, the Gulf region has supplied America with oil

commodity; in turn, U.S. provided them with sophisticated arms. Primarily this was manifested in its relationship with Saudi Arabia, and even in its interference in Iran-Iraqi conflict during 1980- 1988. The capability of Iraq in constructing solid ties with U.S. helped it to gain the required weapons. So, Iraq army became a well-equipped in comparison to neighboring countries. However, Iran from the other side did not encompass the qualifications as Iraq did for building up such large army. In some extent, this reverted to the decline of Shah's regime and to U.S. policies by preventing other countries from supplying Iran with Armament weapons. As a result, United States arms sale to both Iran in 1970's under the reign of Shah and to Iraq in 1980's was the starting point in encouraging the Gulf war in 1990 (Klare 3-6).

In the early years of the first Gulf war, Iraq received a massive assistance from the United States and other European countries, while the Soviets and Israel sided with Iran. In this equation, United States has its own reasons for siding with Iraq. Historically speaking Iran-Iraq war outlined the possibility of Iran's attack towards the Persian Gulf region, which would endanger Saudi Arabia security as well. Nevertheless, Saudis stressed the necessity for a concrete defense that could be coordinated with United States supremacy. By 1985 once the missile became so serious, Saudi Arabia asked for more arms delivering from China. Unfortunately, this move followed by United States Congress decision to cut back any arms sale like F-15 sales, because this might create problems with Israel. Additionally, the Secretary of State George Shultz has explained that the arms sale has been deleted till the war between Iran and Iraq will be contained or ended. However, Prince Bandar was unpleasant by the decision the U.S. Congress has made. Shortly after Shultz's visit to Saudi Arabia, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation agreement has been signed between both sides. In a way, this action has liberated the Saudis from United States ascendancy over exporting armament weapons. Thus, King Fahd claimed that "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not tied to

anyone....if things become complicated with a certain country we will find other countries, regardless of whether they are Eastern or Western... We are buying weapons, not principles". So, King Fahd was seeking to build a strong Kingdom without any external assistance (Pollack 83-84).

The downfall of Shah regime and the coming of Khomeini during 1980 have put Iran-Saudi relationship under hard pressure. From Saudi's view, Iran was the source of all problems and volatility occurred in the Gulf region. Whereas, Iran considered Saudi Arabia as "unfit to protect the holy places of Islam". In addition, Khomeini criticism of the monarchy sovereignty has acerbated the Kingdom. Thus, during Iran-Iraq war in 1980, Saudi Arabia supported Iraq either politically or economically for the purpose of diminishing Iran's superiority in the periphery (Jahner 40). Iran-Iraq War was the longest war, which lasted for eight years due to Khomeini's dogma that has instigated Iraqi Shiite to oppose Hussein's administration. Similarly, U.S. was treated the same way as Iraq and Saudi Arabia by Iran. Moving from words to actions, United States has broken the ice with Iraq in 1984 and therefore both diplomatic and economic ties have been reinstated. Reagan administration decided to support Iraq in order to promote its interests in the region. On July 18, Iran decided to withdraw the war as U.N. suggested, but Hussein refused the proposal and kept offending Iran in an aggressive way by using chemical weapons. It was only after a global condemnation that Iraq determined to halt the war in August 1988 (Kiss 5-11).

The United States has assisted Iraq in its war against Iran in order to ameliorate the situation, and face the challenges that might threat its interests in the region. However, Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990 put US-Iraqi relationship in a new phase. Even with the diminution of the danger posed by Iran's Shiite ideology, Saudi Arabia now has to worry about its internal security because of Saddam Hussein's blueprint in the region. Iraq accused Kuwait of stealing its oil territory, and Kuwait has officially been occupied on August 2,

1990, so that Iraq would dominate a nearly 19 percent of the global oil. Hence, Saudi Arabia feared the continuous ambitions of Saddam in the Gulf region. In this regard, Prince Sultan has stated that the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq would pressure the whole Gulf region, and especially Saudi Arabia's sovereignty. Determinedly, United States has planned for an urgent solution in order to maintain its interests, prevent Iraqi troops from reaching Saudi's border, and aid Kuwait to get their freedom. Similarly on September 11, the president George W.H Bush insisted in his speech for collaboration to liberate Kuwait "the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by one so ruthless. And we won't." Nevertheless, King Fahd allowed U.S. military base to settle in the Saudi's land despite public and religious resistance (Cordon 8-9).

What matters for the United States is not only the liberation of Kuwait but also to put an end to the Gulf war, and maintain constancy within the region as well. Though the eclectic group succeeded in spelling the Iraqi troops out of Kuwait's border, it did not fully reach the aim that has been set for. On top of that United States stuck in a big dilemma because it could not decrease the power Hussein's own nor oblige him to follow the rules stated by Washington (Mahnken 121-122). Saudi Arabia's defense led by Prince Khalid participated in the coalition in order to wedge the Iraqi progress towards its territory. United States acted in response to Hussein's resistance by using military force, beginning from 24 till 28 February 1991. It was obvious that the coalition of 35 countries directed by U.S. Succeeded in seizing the Iraqi force and excavating into Kuwait's border to free it. Therefore, it was said that the war sought to accomplish U.S. political and economic objectives. Thus, Bush did not end it till he assured the destruction and withdrawal of Iraqi troops (Estes 2-7).

In 1993, US-Saudi bilateral relationship during Bill Clinton administration was in uncomfortable position. Clinton was highly concerned with Middle East region mostly, the

Arab-Israeli conflict. However, he interested in peace negotiating to ease tension in the periphery because any instability will directly affect America's wellbeing. In addition, Crown King Fahd's tie with U.S. has been engraved in the mid-1990. In spite of the end of the tension in the Gulf region, the United States, and Britain kept their troops in the Saudis land. Therefore, Saudis were not satisfied by U.S. actions. After that a series of terrorist attacks occurred in the region, the first one killed five Americans in Riyadh in 1995. While the second one was in Khobar Towers near Dhahran, and 19 Americans air force have died in 1996. Subsequently, these attacks have deteriorated US-Saudi relationship, and less collaboration was held between both countries. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia's refusal to exile Osama bin Laden, the leader of the terrorist organization al-Qaeda has exacerbated US-Saudi alliance. As a result, bin Laden moved to Afghanistan to proclaim another movement called jihad. Previously both U.S. and Saudis power have been integrated to fight the Soviets threat in Afghanistan, but now their relationship sought to be declined. Yet the terrorist attack held by al Qaeda over the American embassies in Kenya, and Tanzania in 1998 has unified US-Saudi Arabia to fight terrorism (Pollack 85).

Chapter Two

US-Saudi Partnership under Threat

In the early of 2000s, US-Saudi relationship has witnessed a drastic transformation. The horror images of Israel's exaction in Gaza strip pushed the Arab world led by Saudi Arabia to repair the damages occurred in the Middle East arena. Though US-Saudi Arabia "Special Relationship" was well known, the uprising of Palestine intifada compelled Saudi Arabia to realize that its time for the Kingdom to change its policies even if it was against U.S. willingness. New ties have been emerged in the ashes of September 11, 2001 attacks. Quietly, 9/11 has strained US-Saudi partnership, but Saudi Arabia's connection with terrorism and Osama Bin Laden put it in a bad situation. As well as it was apparent that Bush's war on terror and Islamic fundamentalists has messed up the relation with King Abdullah's thrown.

Since United States has emphasized huge efforts on managing policies to fight terrorism, Saudi Arabia seemed incapable of taking more time in this upsetting bothersome, because it has other problems to care about. The extension of Shiia in the neighboring countries, namely Iran, Lebanon and Iraq has presented the gravest threat to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Conversely, United States showed little interest in this sectarian clash due to its preparation to the confrontation in Iraq's theater. So, the occupation of Iraq was another bias that has affected US-Saudi bilateral relationship in the sense that Saudi's long partner now has been considered as the one responsible for all Saudis problems, and even for the instability occurred in the Gulf region.

1. Bush's Adaptation of Arab-Israeli Conflict

From Truman's recognition of Israel in 1948 till the loose of Jerusalem in 1967, Palestine took lion share in Saudi Arabia's political schema. However, al-Aqsa Intifada that has outraged Palestine-Israel clash in 2000 regarding peace negotiations held at Camp David was Saudi's main concern. Unlike earlier presidency, Bush administration did not pay much

attention to the conflict, because it measured it as a regional problem that should be solved locally. At this moment, U.S. looks like changing its priorities by shifting from the Middle East to the emergence of new powers as China, Russia and even Iraq (Malmving and Reasearcher 10). Saudi Arabia in its part realized the seriousness of Al Intifada, which required United States intrusion. Moreover, Prince Abdullah did not find any excuse for United State's unawareness concerning Palestine issue. Thus, he has sent a ruthless message stating that Palestinian confrontation is the appropriate moment for US-Saudi Arabia to go beyond their "Special Relationship". It was obvious that Prince Abdullah wanted to make his voice heard to the United States to take an action (Beinin and Hajjar 11).

In this general atmosphere of Palestine-Israeli violation, it was very hard for the Arab countries to swallow the disenchantment; Palestine was suffering from. With the coming of Bush administration, most of the Arab world hoped that Bush would follow in the steps of Clinton in relation to Palestinian Nakba, but the opposite happened. In this regard, the secretary of state Powell stated that "We will facilitate, but at the end of the day, it will have to be the parties in the region who will have to find the solution." Based on this declaration U.S. would help in initiating peace negotiation between both Palestine and Israel while ending the conflict will not be its responsibility. The majority of the Arab countries mainly Saudi Arabia wanted Palestine problem to be solved in a dialog with U.S. to ensure its interference. Despite Powell's attempt to solve the conflict, his plan did not really intend for ending Israel's aggression, but on waging war in Iraq. So, the United States was not interested in reducing the tension occurred in the Gulf; rather it was seeking a new territory to control (Freedman 2).

The brutality of Palestine-Israeli conflict has vibrated U.S. relations with the Arab hemisphere, especially, when Sharon took office in 2001. Sharon's visit to Washington has marked the beginning of US-Israel diplomatic relationship. However, the visit from one side has revealed a lot of secrets; the most important one is that Bush was in Israel's side. From

the other side, it was clear that the visit highlighted many points, particularly preventing any contact between U.S. and Arafat. In addition, Sharon has put all the blame on PLO and PA for this bloody violence. In the upheaval of the Israeli assault, Bush administration made Mitchell report for the purpose of decreasing the aggression and sponsoring an urgent peace negotiation. But considering PLO and its leader Arafat as having an active role in the terrorist activities was something U.S. must consult. Hence, the criticism of Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries have eventually helped in adjusting United States decision (3-4).

Most strikingly, the uprising of the second intifada marked a complete failure of United States as a mediator in Palestine-Israeli crisis. Actually, Bush's strategies in the Middle East region have revealed him to be washing his hands of Palestine crisis. Immediately, after the terrorist attack of 9/ 11, Bush administration made some efforts to invigorate the Palestine-Israeli peace process. On the eve of Bush's speech in 2002, unlike Israel, Palestine had to freeze its resistance, which was enlisted as a terrorist brand. In this cataclysm scenario, a diplomatic option to press US-Saudi partnership concerning Palestine Nakba that was of a high priority not only for the Kingdom but also for the entire Arab world. Recent polls stated by journalist David Hirts confirmed that 60% of Saudi Arabia people and others have considered Palestine predicament as the main apprehension that must be contained as soon as possible. Accordingly, Bush's roadmap for peace negotiation has aborted because of U.S. and Israel's manipulation policies (Roy 229-233).

2. The Palestinian Resistance and the Arab Israeli Plan

The outbreak of Palestinian resistance against Israel's occupation did not come out of nothing; rather it was a result of PLO's well-building defense. It was found in 1964 by Arab League in order to refresh the Palestinian nationalism. Moreover, PLO with its leader Yasser Arafat was seeking political cohesion within Gaza strip and well-equipped army to challenge Israel. During the uprising of Palestine and Israel violence, PLO major focus was on

liberating the occupied territories. When the rivals became more aggressive, the Arab League headed by Saudi Arabia has concentrated on the necessity to sponsor a peace negotiation to restrain the situation. However, on the onset of this suggestion, the Arab countries hoped to put an end to the conflict and stabilize their relationship with Israel. Therefore, Mahmoud Abbas accepted the suggestion and asked U.S. to hold it in its political scheme so that Israel would accept it. Despite all the efforts made for peace agreement, Israel was just equivocating to not implement the points already stated (Beinin and Hajjar 7-13).

The importance of Palestinian resistance arranged with the efforts of both PLO and Hamas. The latter is adapting Islamic fundamentalism, which contradicts Western ideologies. Furthermore, the ongoing of Israel's occupation has pushed Hamas to take an action; even after OSLO and other peace accords have occurred. From a Western point of view, this was not seen as their right to defend the homeland or at least protect what is left "Gaza strip". It was portrayed as a terrorist container and number one contender that should be fought. However, the New York Times explained that "Hamas... uses schools... to spread gospel about their jihad or holy war, and to recruit young suicide bombers with the lure of martyrdom..." Obviously, U.S. and Israel have pressed Arafat for diminishing Islamic extremism from coming into power. Saudi Arabia, in contrast, has declared that Hamas is a totally different than the one has been described by the West. Hence, Hamas is a better guide for Palestinian to get their freedom and it would be more successful if it was combined with PLO's activities and the Arab efforts (Roy 160-169).

As originally conceived in 2000, al-Aqsa intifada determined both political and military dimension. At the opening conflict PA with its heroic leader Arafat have succeeded in gaining global recognition to the Palestinian case, but it could not compel Israel to end the invasion. Moreover, the confrontation has started in a peaceful way, and then it has turned into an armed one through the combination of Hamas, Fatah, and other militia. However, when

Arafat has lost control over PA and things were out of his hands, he could not manage any plan for getting out of this problem. In the same way, except for little funds, the Arab countries did not interfere to rescue the jeopardized situation. In the run up of 2003, Arafat was incapable of making more advances in the war against Israel, and so he was obliged to end the conflict and resolve the clash. Therefore, the fall of Arafat has a great effect on both political and military orientation; the resistance holds (Lavie 237-239).

The Palestine-Israeli conflict has created a typical spiral of insecurity in the Middle East region. Since, the 2001 bombing led by the so-called radical Islamism, Palestine resistance has been sought as terrorist adherent. Beyond the role played by Palestine and other Arab leaders as peace initiators, it seemed inadequate. Moreover, U.S. media stated that Bush's behavior towards the Palestine has compelled many Arabs to hide hatred feelings against the United States. Thus as Palestine aim was to pull Israel out of its territory, the Israelis have affirmed that they could not any more coexist with the Palestinian, especially after the incidence of suicide bombing tragedy. So, linking terrorist organizations to the Arab world and Islam would generate a big problematic between the United States and its ally for long decades, which is Saudi Arabia (Hertz11-12).

Saudi Arabia plan in the so-called Nakba would serve Palestinian side. In spite of international censure, Saudi Arabia has provided PLO with a huge amount of assistance and acknowledged it to embody the Palestinian voices. In 2002, Saudi authority reported that 80 billion to 100 billion have been given to the Palestinian government per year. Since Palestine and Saudi Arabia's foreign policy were in some extent compound, the Western leaders envisioned it as the collaboration of terrorist revelation. However, Saudi government red behind the lines that the Western strategy meant to publicly link the Kingdom to the terrorist attacks. At the financial level, Saudi Arabia pledged for providing Palestine with the needed means and to unify all the Palestinian people to fight Israel and make the equation in favor of

Palestine case. Hence, in doing so Saudi Arabia attempted to avoid smashing everything into pieces especially within Hamas and PLO and to secure the region as well (Blanchard 9).

3. The September 11, 2001 Attacks

By the entry of 2000, Prince Abdullah has represented King Fahd in many political events due to health conditions. In contrast to King Fahd, Prince Abdullah mentality did not match with U.S. foreign policies. Moreover, the occurring of September 11, 2001, attacks has traumatized US-Saudi relationship. However, the bombing has been related to extremist Islamists, it has targeted United State's World Trade Center and Pentagon. Shockingly, after a series of investigation, CIA has ensured the involvement of Osama Bin Laden in the bombing, and 15 over 19 terrorists were proved to be Saudis. Basically, those terrorists were embedded with Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Thus, Bush government has determined to recap its tangled relationship with Saudi Arabia and hence with Bush's strong willingness, an end to be put to extremist Islamism organizations (Ottaway 121).

In the insight of the attack, Bush administration questioned its alliance with the Kingdom and whether Saudi Arabia is trustworthy or not. Additionally, Saudi Arabia did not want to be like a doll in U.S. hands; rather it wanted their partnership to be as much natural as possible without interference in its internal affairs. Beyond US-Saudi shaking relationship, Prince Abdullah who became King in 2005 reproached President Bush for ignoring the Middle East peace negotiations. Prince Abdullah went even further when he threatened U.S. whether to make a move toward the situation or he would cut off both political and military ties with it. This ended up with the Secretary of State, Colin Powell's decision about making the Middle East at higher scale in U.S. foreign policy, which supported Abdullah's peace plan of 2002. Despite the endeavors taken by both sides, it was not enough for the rescue of US-Saudi "Special Relationship" that became fragile (122).

The United States and Saudi Arabia attitudes towards terrorist groups were clearespecially, Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda is a terrorist organization headed by Osama Bin Laden, an extremist Islamist who was born in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia 1957. As he fled to Afghanistan, he initiated al jihad movement aimed at rebuilding the Muslim nation throughout the whole world. In the wake of Afghan-Soviets war, Bin Laden was not worried by the Communism expenditure, because he has no doubt in his capability in containing the situation. However, Bin Laden main focus was on the new power, which was United States (Post 5). Bin Laden wrong interpretation of Quran that is identified with Islamic culture and jihad in a peaceful way has shifted to “total war” (qtd. in Lansford and Covarrubias 27). Above all, the bombing attack of November 13, 1995, at the building of the Military Cooperation Program has killed five Americans. Suspiciously, Osama bin Laden was on the top list of allegation because his fingerprints disclosed many secrets as he himself depicted the assault as a commendable attack (Unger 171).

In this weakened context, al Qaeda with Osama Bin Laden deemed an opportune for extremist militant Islamic groups to extent its objectives using brainwashing policy. Once Bin Laden has settled in Afghanistan, United States wanted to constrict his expenditure, which would threat its security. The problem is that the United States always asking for the reasons of being a terrorist target but a full answer was revealed in a letter by Bin Laden himself adapting those terrorist attacks (Lawrence 160). On this basis, the secretary of defense, William Cohen has emphasized the need for ending the criminal actions led by al Qaeda. As response, Bin Laden stated that “if the instigation for jihad against the Jews and the Americans... is considered a crime, then let history be a witness that I am a criminal”. Furthermore, this has accelerated United States government to handle the situation and punish al Qaeda for crossing the lines. Therefore, United State’s attempts and strategies used to

reduce al Qaeda threat must be remodeled and with a total cooperation of its allies in order to achieve better results in the future (Lansford and Covarrubias 30-33).

As a response to the terrorist attack, both Riyadh and Washington shared the same view in reference to terrorism. In this regard, Prince Bandar accused Islamic extremists for the attack, claiming that they were a little group, and alone they would do nothing and that the Saudi authority would take the necessary procedures. Similarly, the Secretary of State James Baker has been interrogated by CBS's this morning about Riyadh bombing of 1995, he said "You see a lot of terrorism in that part of the world, but very little of it in Saudi Arabia... We'll just have to wait and see who's responsible." However, one year after the first bombing, another terrorist upheaval has blow up in Khobar Towers Military housing in Dhahran, killing 19 American soldiers. Repeatedly, Osama Bin Laden was suspected again by Clinton administration for hosting and funding terrorists. So, Al Qaeda with Islamic fundamentalist militia and huge money in the bag was seeking to gain an armament weapon of high quality, which would actualize its objectives in reality (Unger174-175).

4. United States and Terrorist Investigations

One alternative within United States foreign policy against terrorism in the Middle East region has been drawn up by CIA investigation, and Riyadh's mutual aid. Precisely, recent bombings necessitated an urgent convention between the Kingdom and Clinton's administration to advance the investigation about the bombing attacks. From United States side, nearly all the Americans wanted to get Saudi's full collaboration with FBI. Saudi Arabia, in its part neither wanted FBI to dig deep in the investigation, nor providing U.S. with the basic information. Nonetheless, Clinton made it clear for Saudi Arabia that misleading the FBI's investigation would harm no one but US-Saudi partnership. The Saudi government, however, has arrested forty suspects in relation to the bombings, which has alleged Iran and Hezbollah of Lebanon together with Syria to be involved directly in the terrorist activities.

The terrorist investigation has put the Kingdom in a difficult position and so US-Saudi relationship will not be in a warm situation (Crenshaw 318-319).

At the practical level, the collaboration between both sides would improve the Saudis vibrated spot with the United States. Regardless of the information, Saudi Arabia has given, United States officials kept the news secretly till full evaluation will be conducted. Since the investigation highlighted Iran to be the leading driver in the attack, United States managed to practice more pressure on Iran's economic sector. But U.S. policymakers have realized that the economic blockage would neither solve the problem nor increase its interests in the region. In addition, Iran's president Mohammed Khatemi wanted to shut the suspicion up by supporting Saudi Arabia's counter terrorism policies. Although there was no clear evidence of the involvement of Iran's authority in kober tower attack, by 2002 President Bush pointed out Iran as "part of axes of evil". Therefore, it was apparent that FBI investigation aimed at revealing the truth behind the story of terrorism in an isolated pocket and deal with the responsible one in another pocket (220-221).

4.1. Saudi Arabia's Connection with Terrorism

It appeared that since 9/11, Saudi Arabia has funded a number of charities, which in return became the financial base for Osama Bin Laden. However, CIA investigation substantiated that Saudi director of National Commercial Bank and the founder of Muwafaq foundation Khalid Bin Mahfouz, was the responsible one for collecting those funds, and supplementing Bin Laden to achieve his ambitions. Also, it was proven that a bank audit of NCB in 1998 showed that over a ten year period, \$74 million was funneled by its Zakat Committee to the International Islamic Relief Organization, a Muslim charity headed by Osama Bin Laden's brother in law. It was believed that the money was given to Osama by the charities organizers as a safeguard to their families, and their country for preventing al Qaeda from swiping into

the region. Although, Khalid Bin Mahfouz's impression to have no contact with Bin Laden, he was harshly attacked by the American media (Spencer).

Planning for developing US-Saudi commercial bond, Bush administration permitted many Saudi businessmen to be involved in different investments. Notably, both Salem Bin Laden and Khalid Bin Mahfouz (Osama bin Laden brother in law) were United States' compounding investors. They had various corporations in the bank of credit, commerce international and even with CIA for funding arms deals in which Bin Mahfouz own 20% of its shares. Moreover, United States foreign policy in the Middle East region has based on contrasting well-built infrastructure with the preferred partners. As clear slap at Prince Abdullah face, 9/11 has completely reshaped U.S. fundamental policy in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia. Thus, many American officials have considered politics and business as two main measurements that can never be intermingled (Phillips 269-273).

The blameworthy terrorism has amplified a considerable sympathy with America during the terrorist attacks. In addition, 9/11 victim's lawsuit showed up a number of scandals as the royal family's participation in subsidizing terrorism and al Qaeda. However, Prince Bandar and his wife Haifa Bint Faisal were accused of being cooperative with the terrorists. With the intention of helping the Saudis who were living abroad and were suffering financially, Prince Bandar provided Osama Basnan, a Saudi living in California a check worth \$15,000 to recover his wife's medical requirement. As well as Princess Haifa gave Osama Basnan \$2,000 a month. Later on, Basnan proved to be connected to al Qaeda and terrorist activities. So, the story of Prince Bandar with terrorism was just the beginning of the upcoming events that is going to make the Saudis diplomatic relation with U.S. more complicated (EIR 38-39).

Saudi Arabia's direct hand in financing terrorism became a daily topic and so much more attention has been devoted to it in the global media. In particular, Prince Sultan the father of Prince Bandar has provided a huge financial aid for different Islamic charities, among them

the Islamic Organizations (Kean et al 170). However, by given the money, al Saud did not mean to hurt their long life partner; rather they gave it in an attempt to help people in need, and without knowing their real intention. Therefore, Saudi Arabia affirmed that the bondage of terrorism and the Kingdom is something ridiculous because al Qaeda main purpose is to hang the heads of the royal family and billionaires like Bin Mahfouz. Indeed the royal family has funded the charities, but it was not their responsibility to control the flow of money that has been given to the charities. Thus, in November 2003, United State's judge court James Robertson has adjudicated that Prince Turki and Sultan were innocent. So, as a victim, Saudi Arabia managed to take the required steps against terrorist actions (Blanchard 3- 5).

5. Saudi Arabia and Bush's War on Terror

One manifestation of the inmost importance of Bush administration was the war on terror, which occurred in the early years of 2000's. Initially, the war on terror that is dated back to the event of September 11 has taken another way. This has reflected the President Bush's ambition to secure the United States against future attacks. However, Bush's strategy has been directed to contain al Qaeda terrorism (Burdick). In this respect, Bush has offered a speech concerning his plan to counter terrorism "every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war [would be used for]... the destruction and to the defeat of global terror network". So, as the confrontation reached its highest level, Bush administration has intensified the American military actions in Afghanistan or in other countries seeing to be supporting al Qaeda. Consequently, Bush's war on terror paved a way for ending any terrorist attacks and abating al Qaeda presence in the Middle East hemisphere (Davis 114-115).

The war on terror highlighted the linkage between terrorism and war with Iraq. The capability of Iraq's to implement the arms of mass destruction, feared Bush's administration because it might end its adventures in the Middle East region. Thus, the ambitious Bush has

opted for the invasion of Iraq despite the opposition of major power in Europe to avoid seeing another Vietnam's war. However, by realizing this strategy, Bush authority would contradict the human rights that American associations have been called for. As well as its long life allies would not be available as in the past particularly, Saudi Arabia. Hence, United States decided to enter Iraq with the purpose of destroying Iraq's regime and disfiguring Saddam Hussein's reputation. So, from the beginning, President Bush impending frontage in his war on terror was Iraq (Anderson 169).

The escalator of counterterrorism has been exacerbated because United State's unsuccessful foreign policies did not bring something new in the Gulf region. This malfunction was one of those impractical things, which Bush administration has many difficulties in getting rid of. First, rather than assuming that the United States was the initial sponsor of peace in the Middle East periphery, it presumed to be Israel's right hand. Second, both Israel and United States have shared the same thing in many subjects as the war on terror. But Bush's thrust for power made him forget about his principles and U.S. ideals to commit a war crime, instead of a war on terror. Therefore, Chomsky has confirmed that "it is meaningless to call for U.S. engagement in peace process..." Over years United State's war on terror seemed to be blazing up a fire in the Middle East region than making it down (Chomsky 332).

5.1. The Invasion of Iraq

The United States under Bush's presidency adapted different foreign policies as a reaction to September 11 bombing attacks, and to fight terrorism. This was the starting point, which led to the war in Iraq even though it did not involve in the attacks, but it was a good opportunity for U.S. to control the entire Middle East region. So, the invasion of Iraq was the only solution for the access of oil, and to secure its welfare as well. Moreover, counterterrorism and the usage of military actions were Bush's doctrine to declare war on

Iraq. By describing Saddam Hussein as a dictator who was concerned with al Qaeda activities, linked to financing terrorists, and owning the weapons of mass distraction, which might threat U.S. security, U.S. succeeded in convincing the public about the invasion of Iraq.

Subsequently, Saudi Arabia supported United States war on terror, yet the occupation of Iraq was something that can not be accepted, and this would make US-Saudi relationship uneasy to obscure (Hinnebusch 11).

In the fall of 2003, the American military has set up the plan in preparation for Iraq's incursion. However, in this deteriorated circumstances, U.S. gave the impression that it did not understand what it is getting into because the war on Iraq might bring more problems than solve one. Officially, on March 20, 2003, Iraq has been occupied by United States troops. Further, Colin Powell has concisely captured the tension by providing UN with evidence about Iraq's illegal activities. Nevertheless, after a serious investigation by CIA, the contention about Iraq's armament distraction development, and its relationship with al Qaeda proved wrong. Even after the triumph of United States troops, it has continued its violence against Iraq. Hence, it was clear that Bush's intention behind his invasion of Iraq was to control its oil resources (Bassil 29-32).

The invasion of Iraq was taken as strong confirmation that United States obsession with Iraq was extremely noticeable. Iraq as leading power in the Middle East region has played a great role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Therefore, its demolition would only serve the Israelien interests. Unlike Israel, the war on Iraq made U.S. the biggest loser due to high casualties, and the damage of Iraq's oil fields would lead to the destruction of U.S. economy as well.

Normally, Bush's plan towards the Middle East hemisphere, particularly Iraq has been designed for maintaining stability in the country and vitalizing peace in Palestine-Israeli conflict, but the opposite has happened. Thus, the occupation of Iraq was the main trauma for

Saudi Arabia, because U.S. now was listed as the main threat to its country, instead of close friend (Chafee 117-118).

The rising of United States violent means in Iraq pushed the Arab leaders to fully adjust a pathway against the American aggression. The illegal legitimacy of Iraq's invasion has eagerly shoved the Arab world to support the closing stages of the war. Accordingly, Prince Abdullah made huge efforts to stabilize the Middle East arena. Just because the United States has amplified a "Special Relationship" with Saudi Arabia at some point, this does not mean that at the later point, the Saudis should welcome U.S. doing with great pleasure. It was obvious that Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries have opposed United States intrusion in Iraq so that this aspiration would not affect the Middle East region negatively. Therefore, there is no doubt that the decline of Saddam Hussein's regime would relax the wavering atmosphere in the Gulf region (Linnan 45).

The United States led war in Iraq has discounted the whole universe that has been fed up by the CIA's failure either to solve the problems; Bush has highlighted or mirrored the reality behind its intention. However, Bush's preparation for the invasion considered as a big jamb to excavate deep in the Middle East hemisphere. In addition, the American CIA was considered as a sword of double edge, it has succeeded in collecting the necessary information in the mean time; it was incapable of choosing the appropriate persons for the designated missions (Ricks193-194). U.S. misstep in Iraq did matter for Saudi Arabia because the Gulf prominence was very important as has been taking into account in its foreign policy. Further, Prince Abdullah's adviser, Adel al Jubeir proclaimed in a press conference in Washington that stability in the Gulf is Saudi Arabia primary distress and that the United States increasing violence in Iraq has frustrated the Kingdom. Therefore, Bush administration must take the responsibility for the burden it is carrying and to create a safe passage route for rallying its broken ties with Saudi Arabia (McMillan 2).

By passing roads in Iraq, United States has transgressed its promise to Saudi Arabia about its interference in the Arab world. One way, which led President Bush to put Iraq in his map war, was “War on Terror”. Bush’s invasion of Iraq has been clarified as a way to eliminate the blending terror in certain regimes like that of Saddam Hussein. According to Chomsky, the United states actions would lead to no way but to serve Bin Laden blueprint and let him win a lottery ticket against it (Chomsky 15-16). In this spirit, Saudi Arabia stressed the gravity of the brutal tension in Iraq than in any other part of the world. Moreover, the interior minister Nayif Bin Abdul Aziz stated in 2005 “ We expect the worst from those who went to Iraq,”. It was apparent that Saudi Arabia refused United State’s usage of Islam as a subterfuge for outraging war against Iraq and all that is Muslims (McMillan 3).

Since the early 2000s, Riyadh and Washington marriage of convenience has drawn up in a sweeping trouble. Undoubtedly, oil was the main motive in US-Saudi relationship, but the United States changing policy towards the Middle East region has paralyzed its ties. In this way, United States attempted to reduce its reliance on the Gulf oil, especially that of Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, U.S. diplomatic relations has connected with security breadth as reiterate to the awful attack of September 11. However, arms non-proliferation that has been adopted by U.S. was just over the horizons of Saudi Arabia, because whenever there is a mess, the Kingdom would find a quickway out. Therefore, Saudi Arabia intended to construct new relations with another part of Asia in which China became a major source for its sophisticated weapons. As a result, the Saudi-Chinese bind might destruct its long term ties with United States (Bahgat 117-119).

The most important but least understood part of US-Saudi connection was that the Kingdom has tied with Washington to advance their shared interests; rather than understanding their cultural differences. Beside, U.S. aggressive actions in the Middle East periphery and Bush’s criticism of the Kingdom for being isolated, and in opposition to Israel,

Saudi Arabia was further spurred on by U.S. threat to its security. Conversely, U.S. perspective has been pointed out Saudi Arabia as “the kernel of evil, the prime mover, the most dangerous opponent, the United States faced in the Middle East”. In this regard, United States has no longer remained Saudi Arabia’s best friend. So, Riyadh with Washington need to develop the feature and openness of their strategic policies to sluce all misunderstandings or missteps seized by both sides (Sieff 95-97).

5.2. The War of Lebanon

The operations undertaken by Saudi Arabia for Middle East constancy have attested to be doubly insufficient. Particularly, Israel’s expansion in Palestine now is one step closer to the Lebanese border. However, the abduction incident of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah set the arena for Israel-Lebanese war in 2006. This deteriorated Saudi-Lebanese relationship in which most of the Arab perspectives headed by Saudi Arabia put the blame on Hezbollah, as the only cause for the tension. In this respect, the Arab League supported Lebanon but was extremely against Hezbollah’s rash adventures with Israel. As a response, the leader of Hezbollah, Nasrallah portrayed the war “as part of Middle East plot devised by the US and Lebanon Zionists to control the Arab world”. Despite Hezbollah’s success in gaining acceptance inside the state, it could not consult its legitimacy with the Arab countries. Accordingly, for Saudi Arabia, the way Nasrallah is leading his country might force Lebanon into a proxy war and threaten the Middle East permanence (Abu-Lughod and Markentin 34-35).

The Middle East region was United State’s riddle in which its pieces has been moved the way it desired. Recently, its foreign policy in the region has challenged its interests in Lebanon. Despite the fact that both U.S. and Lebanon have been enjoying an affectionate relationship for years, Bush’s support for Israel in Lebanon war destroyed everything the Lebanese government has built. Obviously, the impulse of United States has driven forward

against Lebanese growing fanatic militia as Hezbollah. Additionally, it looks like that Bush's policy against Lebanon has nothing to do with diplomatic endurance; rather it was all about Muslims or Shiites vs Christians (Baylouny 311). Since U.S. has in some directions taken stances in domestic Lebanese conflict, Saudi Arabia has also played a decisive role as a peacemaker. Further, the Kingdom's opposition to Lebanon's war comes out of its believe that this conflict is "a proxy of Iran's Islamic revolutionary guard corps". So, Saudi Arabia feared the extension of Shiia would spoil all its plans for the Gulf immovability and lead to sectarian conflict (Salloukh100-103).

At the time of Lebanon war, Saudi Arabia and its allies acted as revolutionary forces, while others mainly Hezbollah and its allies played the role of counter-revolutionary one, based on each one principle. Moreover, the war has led to the sectarian clash between Shiia and moderate Sunni. Politically speaking, Riyadh was obliged to play a dirty game, not in favor of Shi'i-Persian Iran and its allies. Along with what Riyadh had prepared for as an attempt to protect regional achievements, Saudi Arabia found itself siding with U.S. and Israel against Shiites threat. The cold war that has spurred the Middle East inside compelled Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan to take decisions opposite to the one desired in order to reduce the growing sectarian war in the region. Thus, despite ups and downs, the convergence of interests between Saudi Arabia and the United States has led them to work toward similar ends on major regional issues (Valbjørn and Bank 4-5).

5.3. US-Saudi Arabia in the Upheaval of Iran's Nuclear Program

Iran and Saudi Arabia have been in power struggle to control the flow of the Middle East energy. Earlier, Saudi Arabia has a privileged position in the Gulf region that qualified it to dominate the whole region. However, in 2007 Saudi-Iran's ideological differences have created a deadlock sphere in the region. In a similar vein, Tehran's nuclear development has been seen in the Kingdom as the basic danger that must be fought in order to secure its

country. Ironically United States has offered Iran with a key power when it eliminated Iraq as a buffer zone between both Saudi Arabia and U.S. On this basis, Iran-Saudi Arabia sectarian division was an essential constituent in the United States foreign policy. Nuclear program was another subject; Saudi Arabia has endeavored to halt and in order to secure its arena. So, Iran's nuclear program has brought US-Saudi differences to the fore in the upheaval of Lebanon war and Iran's tension (Wehery et al 2-4).

As one of regional power, Saudi Arabia attempt to alleviate the Gulf periphery was fruitless. Most importantly overthrowing Iran's regime needs a cohesive power to get rid of the extremist armed Shiit's threat. More vaguely, military and security breadth have been taken higher consideration in King Abdullah's plot. In this sense, Iran's nuclear capabilities became a nightmare for Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, the Kingdom has responded to the shocking statistics about Iran's uranium enrichment by buying Pakistani nuclear weapons to achieve Iran's level. On this basic, United States has supported Riyadh's effort for stabilizing the Gulf region. Persistently, Bush administration has affirmed the need for productive relations to ameliorate the jeopardized situation by acting as bridge mediator amid Iran and Saudi Arabia. In contrast to the tension between Riyadh and Washington on the Middle East affairs, they are closely aligned in their prioritization of regional threats (Kraig 6-8).

Recent events that have been occurred in the Middle East set the stage for the Arab League summit to find out the missing pieces for regional permanence; instead of keeping watching the ongoing of the events. In 2007, the United States has supported Saudi Arabia peace initiatives in order to repair what has been shattered previously. From one hand, in 2005 U.S. helped King Abdullah to held peaceful talk with the Iranian president Ahmadinajed concerning its nuclear program and Shiia menace. From the other hand, Abdullah's peace plan has tailored a way for Palestinian crisis to drag Israel out. Furthermore, United State's illegitimate invasion to Iraq has been stressed in the summit as well. In this regard, King

Abdullah claimed that “In the beloved Iraq, the bloodshed is continuing under an illegal foreign occupation and detestable sectarianism”. This shed the light on the Arabs failure to follow one unified path in relation to Middle East stability. Hence, Saudi Arabia was capable of making effective solutions if only it has changed its policy towards United States (Wynbrandt 284-285).

Chapter Three

US-Saudi Economic Interests

In the light of US-Saudi economic relationship, some would argue that it was shaking at a certain point, even though it was excellent at the level of oil interests. No question, Saudi Arabia got off a bad start with Bush administration in the fall of 2001, but King Abdullah has revived this tie depending on oil commodity and due to Saudi Arabia openness concerning economic services. Basically, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has emphasized on vitalizing economic side, hoping this would bring new life into the US-Saudi partnership. However, High oil prices in 2004 and 2008 made United States really worried about what was happening and the effect of this on its economic sectors. Despite Saudis exertion to stabilize the oil market, these efforts proved fruitless and have no longer worked because of speculation policies and so the control over oil market will be lost.

It is well known that the US-Saudi relationship has been bound by oil interests, which in return took a form of trade arrangement. But another considerable fact was that this bilateral trade relationship alongside investments scheme has provided a medium for both United States and Saudi Arabia to explore ways to press their “Special Relationship” forward. By most accounts, generally speaking, Saudi Arabia would not attain its high dream by joining WTO without U.S. firm involvement. Moreover, Saudi Arabia appalling location in the Middle East region, surrounding by unstable neighboring compelled it to take part in a military forum with the United States for its national security. Accordingly, Riyadh is gearing up for fulfilling its military package with American weapons as depicted in Bush and King Abdullah meeting in 2005. However, Saudi’s maximum ambition has been measured in its nuclear plan that the United States has opposed to some extent. As a final point, U.S. found no way out but to agree about Saudi nuclear armament for stabilizing the Gulf region and fighting back terrorism.

1. Oil Interests

The US-Saudi putative alliance has always been dependent on oil commodity. However, Riyadh economy not being ramified to other sectors has a negative impact on its domestic regime. Immediately, Saudi Arabia economic dimension has its priorities, which stick to the oil industry. As far as oil prices kept rising, this would gradually expand the Saudis economy. One is that many economic studies have come to conclude that even though oil prices will be reduced to \$ 80 per barrel, Saudis would compensate it with the needed strategy. On contrary, the uprising of oil prices would halt the advances of United State's interests in the Middle East region. So, Washington was in a hard situation for it found it difficult to sway King Abdullah's mind to moderate the prices as in the past or to go deeper into the Middle East where its interests lie. Therefore, in 2011, OPEC meeting headed by Saudi Arabia decided to stabilize the prices in relation to their own interests. In fact, US-Saudi relationship must be of common interests, so that no disagreement would occur (Gause III 11-27).

Lost sight in US-Saudi "Special Relationship" has formulated unharmonious economic segment. By 2001, Saudi Arabia named to be the largest oil producer in which it has produced around 9.5 million barrel per day. Moreover, it was shown that in 2004, 7.5% of United State's oil consumption was based on Saudi Arabia's oil. However, Saudi Arabia has supported the rising of oil prices according to the global market in order to promote its economy. In this regard, when oil prices were up the President Bush has intensified an urgent summit with King Abdullah in 2005 to discuss their foreign policies. In 2006, Saudi oil minister, Ali Naimi affirmed that the situation needs the collaboration of both U.S. and Saudi Arabia and that the responsibility of dropping or rising oil prices to be put on both Washington and the Kingdom. Thus, there must be an accord between demand and supply to stabilize oil market to reach 12.5 to 15 million bpd. Subsequently, US-Saudi

partnership would seek new deal, so that both economic sides would achieve a high level as well (Prados 11).

The economy of Saudi Arabia seemed to be on its way to foreign jaunt. Historically speaking, oil has played a key role in developing the Saudi economy, which represents 80% of the Kingdom revenues. However, oil sharp tension made Saudi Arabia hand-wringing and thus it has called for economic privatization. The Kingdom opted for privatizing part of ARAMCO to uphold its economy and control its production according to the global demand. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia as leading power would have a great impact on the whole OPEC production and oil prices as well. Hence, United States as Saudi Arabia's best friend in the Middle East region may have a better chance in pairing Saudi Arabia position with its foreign policies. Therefore, a productive economy might be fulfilled if the United States and Saudi Arabia do whatever they are doing based on both sides interests (Rossetti 1-4).

Many economists have raised questions about the success of Saudi Arabia's economic reform. Since this achievement was debatable, Saudi Arabia's national transformation plan has picked out insightful points to be realized in its privatization policy. Additionally, IMF projection has warned Saudi Arabia from the negative impacts of its plan and to regulate every single foot it steps. But Saudi Arabia has proved its qualifications when its reform program has to some extent achieved the points stated due to U.S. currency reserves. Despite all these changes, United States remained the main importer of oil commodity. Particularly, Saudi Arabia economic reform has flourished Washington's energy interests and hence there must be a huge support for it in order to minimize the effect of oil prices on the world economy (6).

1.1. The Swinging Oil Prices

Saudi Arabia has been depicted to be the world's oil hegemonic power. In the fall of 2000 and with the settlement of Bush administration, oil prices rose to reach 35\$ per barrel. Regardless of Saudi Arabia oil production capacity; there was an inquiry in reference to OPEC's members' capability about whether they are doing something to protect and standardize oil markets or not. However, once these rising prices have activated a global economic depression to be launched, Venezuela and Mexico have called OPEC members to reduce their production. Certainly, oil prices have decreased depending on the global market competition. In this regard, Bush administration stressed the need for a captivating plan for a future economic crisis. Indeed in 2004, the prices have been raised again to exceed 55\$ bpd in which national geographic has portrayed it as "The End of Cheap Oil". Therefore, oil commodity was and maintained the main economic driver in the 21st century (Heinberg 93-94).

The importance of Saudi Arabia in the world oil crude was perceptible, especially when it comes to oil prices. Since the covered production has lifted, oil prices will automatically be up. In 2007, Saudi Arabia together with United States have produced nearly 40% of the global provision. In this context, OPEC's overproduction has originally intended to reduce European control of oil market. Thus, from 2003 oil prices have increased gradually to reach 70\$ bpd in 2007. Unfortunately, the end of 2008 witnessed a bad climate for OPEC members in which oil prices have dropped to less than 50\$ bpd. So, the world economic sector was in crisis because of the speculation in the oil markets. In spite of this economic dilemma, United States kept depending on oil commodity for the supplementation of both military and energetic measurement (Schlumberger 120-121).

1.2. Saudi Arabia Oil Policy

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia acted as a wise policy maker in the oil political ground. On this consideration, King Abdullah has intensified the degrees of awareness about the rules of the game and supported what he called “fair oil prices” in 2009. Initially, Saudi Arabia oil policy has been designed to obtain an amount of income that would be coupled with its basic needs. However, the fall and rise of oil prices have provided the Kingdom with reassuring thought to limit oil rate to 70-75\$ bpd and to fit the global demand as well. Additionally, the stronger the collaboration between both OPEC and non-OPEC members, the less likely tension would occur. Moreover, Saudi Arabia major concern was to stabilize the world economy because high prices would only cause inflation and scratch the consumer’s domestic regime. So, Saudi Arabia oil policy has been set for the purpose of making oil production in the same equation with the global market i.e. logical prices (Ramady 230-231).

The main decision agreed upon by Saudi officials was the reduction of oil supply. In one direction, OPEC has taken this matter seriously, because pricing oil in U.S. dollar and overproduction may lead to an oversupply of money that is going to chase too few goods i.e. inflation. In other direction, this has been associated with the increased demand in comparison to the supply in which oil prices will rise and the value of the dollar goes down. But many economic analyses have affirmed that this issue is often prompted by economic speculation occurred in mid- 2008 and 2009. In addition, changing the currency of oil pricing will deteriorate the Middle East economy. Eventually, Saudi Arabia continued pricing oil in U.S. dollar for the reason that it was the only solution for making the value of the dollar up again. Hence, it was obvious that Saudi Arabia choice concerning currency reserve has pointed towards stretching granny knot with United States (232-233).

Since the beginning of 2000s, United State’s economic sector has been in a rickety situation. Ultimately, Bush administration has chosen to refresh its diplomatic partnership

with the Middle East arena, particularly Saudi Arabia. Determinedly, the President Bush has met King Abdullah to recap the broken tie. In this context, one might ask about the hidden secret behind this trip, the answer turns immediately to oil prices. During the meeting, Bush highlighted the issue of oil prices in which he asked Saudi Arabia and OPEC's members to take into consideration its negative impact not only on U.S. but also on the world economy. In view of that Bush stressed to organize efforts OPEC has made with that of the global market. Accordingly, it is more appropriate for US-Saudi Arabia to think about solving this economic recession in market terms (Myers 10).

Oil commodity was a center part in the world affairs that is driven by security energy. Primarily oil price boom between 2000 and 2008 has given Saudi Arabia a reason to sponge in its economic scheme all necessary means to ameliorate it in accordance to the global market. Moreover, Riyadh neither preferred very high nor too low prices that would jeopardize the economic sector of the whole world. Despite the fact that oil has reached 147 \$ bpd in 2008, Saudi crown was not in the good mood because high prices mean overproduction, which in turn would lead to inflation. Furthermore, by making the oil prices stable, this might be explained as an attempt by the Saudis to gain U.S. support for its military and energy development. Therefore, since Saudi Arabia has a recognizable status in the Middle East region, it was important for it to take an action to halt the tension and create a comfortable atmosphere (Yetiv 36-38).

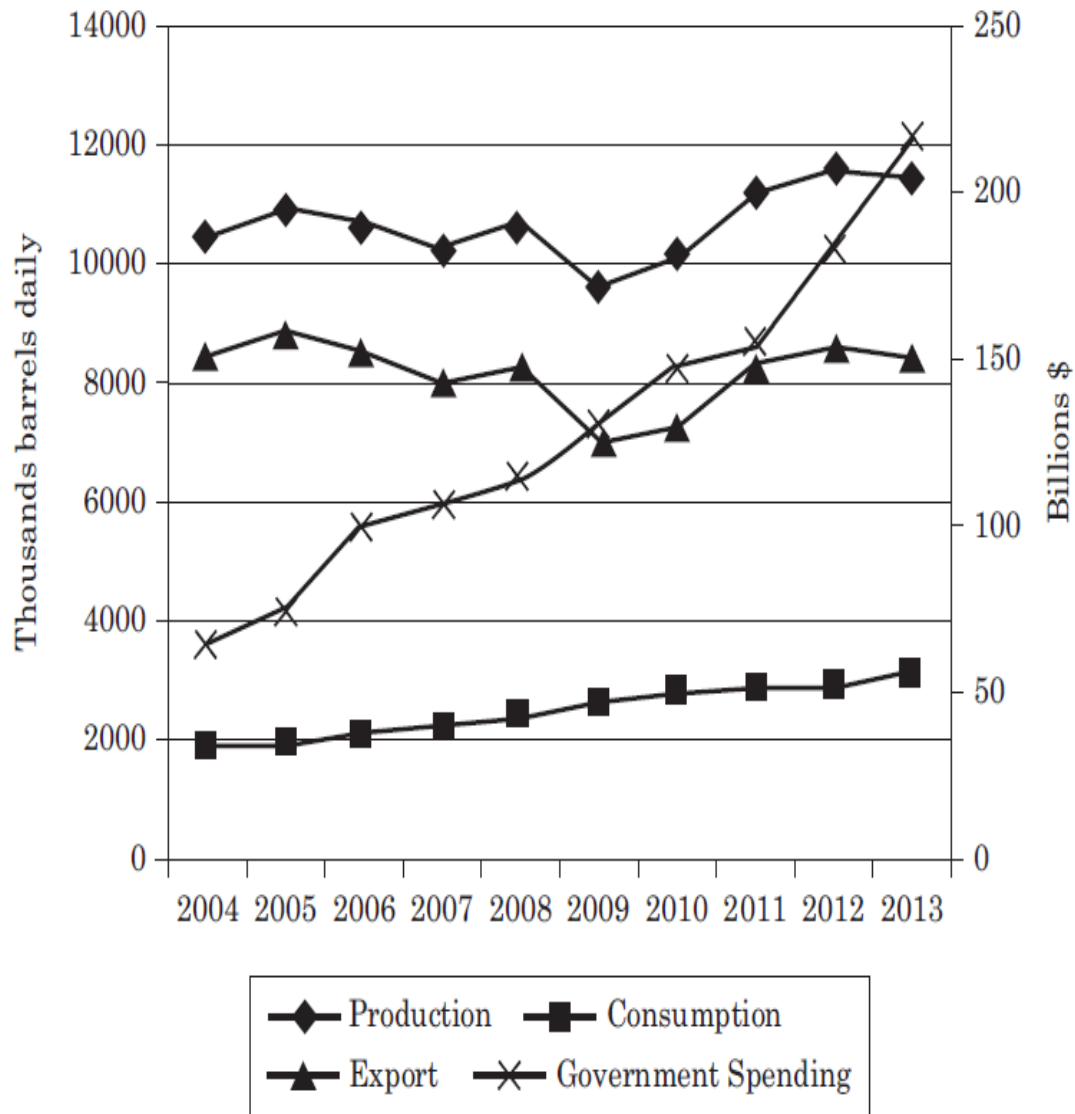


Fig.1. Saudi Arabia’s Oil Consumption, Production and Export versus Governmental Expenditures (2004-2013). Consumption, Production and Export Data Extracted from British Petroleum (BP) Statistical Review of World Energy Workbook, June 2014. Government Spending Data Calculated from “Saudi Arabia’s 2014 Budget,” Jadwa Investment, December 2013. Web. 10 Apr 2017.

Saudi oil industry has grown up to contain both production and consumption altitude. The diagram above reveals that Saudi Arabia oil scene is based on maintaining a certain level of production in accordance with exporting manner. It has been shown that from 2004 onward; Saudi oil production has approximately remained the same as ten thousand billion bpd and if

there is a bit change, the reason would lie beyond the export phase or the law of demand and supply. Internally, Saudi Arabia oil policy turned to consumption level, which has been increased from 2000 billion bpd in 2004 to over 3000 billion bpd in 2012. Since this quantity has been doubled over years, for sure Saudi Arabia will be the consumer number one in the Middle East for energetic aspires. Notably, Saudi government expanding has marked a rapid increase that has been said to be linked to its intimate relationship with the United States. So, in comparison to production and consumption, Saudi government expending was used to fit the pieces its economy needs.

2. US-Saudi Trade Relationship

Trade partnership between Saudi Arabia and United States has been characterized by energy security and based on “give and take” policy. The period subsequent to Bush election has pointed Saudi Arabia as a spigot wealth for U.S. interests. Thus, Riyadh and according to Washington has been considered the best trading ally in the Middle East periphery. At one point, it has been stated that Saudi Arabia exports to the United States reached \$14.3 billion, while U.S. imports of Saudi oil has achieved \$5.9 billion in 2002. At the other point, since U.S. has emphasized on Saudi oil to fit its ambitions, the Kingdom has taken the advantage of this trade partnership as well by buying up to date military equipment. Therefore, it was apparent that the United States has been alighted with Saudi Arabia to complete its lack of military defense and help it to promote its economic interests (Prados10).

United State’s shifting attention in deepening trade ties with Saudi Arabia has increased in the light of frequent interests that have shaped their “Special Relationship” since the early 1930. More persistency, United States and Saudi Arabia have designated ways for their trade partnership in order to bolster economic progress in the Middle East region. Trade performance between Riyadh and Washington has been based on exporting and importing certain goods or services. Basically, United State’s exports of commercial services to Saudi

Arabia achieved \$4.5 billion in 2010, whereas its imports have reached \$504 billion. Therefore, United States investments in Saudi Arabia have played a pivotal role in the Kingdom's economic maturity and the vice versa (Froman 347-348).

2.1. Saudi Arabia and WTO

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has organized much of its trade aspirations in response to global standards. At the surface, Saudi Arabia has accelerated its trade framework in 2003 so that it can log in WTO. For the most part, Minister of Commerce, Hashim Yamani's outstanding skills have provided positive plus points to the Kingdom's trade petition. According to King Abdullah, the outlined trade policies sounds great on the paper, but it can not actually be pulled off in reality. So, Regardless of Saudi Arabia huge trade network and investments, it needed the approval of WTO to be recognized as one of the major trade drivers. Thus, with Saudi Arabia trade fundamental standards and United States engagement in this trade arrangement, the Kingdom would become closely in touch with WTO membership (Hertog 18-19).

After few years Saudi Arabia trade mission that has been planned by its leaders and carried out by the whole nation seemed to be in its way of global endorsement. Thereafter, Saudi Arabia has enjoyed strong commercial support by the United States for its efforts to boost its trade ties ahead. Since both Bush and King Abdullah have met on April 25, 2005, in Texas for commercial purposes, much change was expected in this picture. But the way things were going on was opposite to the one agreed upon and this has been stated in Bush's letter to King Abdullah in 2006. Bush has emphasized on US-Saudi energy cooperation to develop their economic sphere (Learsy). In this ground, Dr. Fawaz al-Alami stated that Saudi Arabia trade liberalization must be in balance with global measurement so that it can guarantee a place in WTO. After a series of talks with all members of WTO, at last, Saudi Arabia might be in its

yard. Henceforth, this is going to be a great opportunity, which made the Saudi officials think about the unthinkable to be envisioned sooner or later (US-Arab Tradeline 1-7).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia oil production capabilities and rank in the marketplace has compelled it to put muscle behind its status to join WTO. Saudi Arabia's economic reform programs have received positive attitudes, especially the United States whom with Crown King Abdullah have worked together to achieve the underlined purposes and log in WTO before the end of 2005. In this regard, the US-Saudi commercial relationship has been associated with "open business" and in some way; this has been mirrored in Bush's declaration "The United States recognizes we must exert great efforts to overcome obstacles facing Saudi businessmen". This reveals that the United States is going to take much more advantage of its trade partnership with Saudi Arabia who in turn attempted to ensure its economic development (10-11).

2.2. US-Saudi Arabia "the Investment Powers"

A good quality economy might create better business ties between Saudi Arabia and the United States by making a great cooperation in investing aptitude. From 2000 to 2004 business in Saudi Arabia has increased due to its varying investment policies. The Kingdom has provided a unique atmosphere based on the freedom of commerce and by minimizing income tax of foreign investments to 20 percent in 2004 instead of 30 percent in 2000. However, Saudi Arabia's membership in WTO has helped it to establish an economic power that depends on competitive investments. Moreover, Saudi Arabia knew how to develop its economy, when opportunities present themselves beside the economic power of American aspiration (Bourland et al 28).

Saudi Arabia economic agenda retains an important position in the Middle East region and in the global stock as well. The basic platform of Saudi Arabia economic development has focused on sponsoring different investments that are considered as an essential element in its

economic infrastructure. Additionally, Adel Al- Jubeir, the Saudi ambassador to U.S. has affirmed Saudi Arabia leadership in Arab world business, and thus the United States sought it to be the most geostrategic place to invest in. Absolutely, as the dominant oil producer, the Kingdom has realized its need for keeping in competition and open on the global market to attract foreign investments. Therefore, in a way or another US-Saudi economic interest has tightened their relationship (US-Arab Tradeline 4-6).

The United States and Saudi Arabia have enjoyed a deep bilateral relationship that is spanning on both economic and security stands. On the commercial front, King Abdullah has encouraged foreign investments, which aims at increasing the percentage of GDP. In this regard, Saudi Arabia will be the home of many investments, and this was clear when it has signed three agreements concerning gas sectors in 2001. The agreements are worth \$25 billion and they have been signed with eight companies and six out of eight were Americans. Unfortunately, the disagreement of economist designers has led the agreements to be postponed. In 2005 Saudi Arabia has generated another possibility for U.S. to make direct investments in oil fields cost of \$3 billion. So according to their quest for open trade and huge investment opportunities, Saudi Arabia would recognize the United States as the best trade partner (Prados 12).

2.3. Saudi Economic Development

The creation of good economic outlook was Saudi Arabia's key challenge in the world economy. Saudi Arabia has managed to develop a large number of economic projects that are paralleled with United State's business investments. This economic infrastructure has been directed through the so-called Eighth development plan of 2005-2009, which aimed at making Saudi Arabia as one of the world's largest economy by 2024. Basically, the plan has drawn around raising the proportion of GDP to 6.6 percent per annum, and the covered investments in different private sectors have risen as well to reach 9.3 percent per annum. However, the

Kingdom heavy reliance on oil market expected a future growth of GDP shares from 19.6 percent in 2004 to 24.9 in 2024. So, the Saudi varying economic ties with U.S. has developed its hydrocarbon industry in relation to oil precinct (Niblock 20).

Saudi Arabia commercial pledge has accommodated with the investment presence to further its economic progress. Typically, Saudi monetary base is affixed to U.S. dollar, which would provide it with ready money to secure its country. However, US-Saudi oil interests have upgraded Saudi financial mechanism, which in return would offer economic stability. In this context, Saudi Arabia has restructured a fiscal framework that would reimburse any financial emergency. In addition, this efficient policy has been established not only to maintain Saudi Arabia economic permanence, but also to function in a countercyclical way against any global economic crisis. So, to make Saudi Arabia economy more productive, it needs to be combined with United State’s macro-prudential guidelines (Al-Darwish et al 37-38).

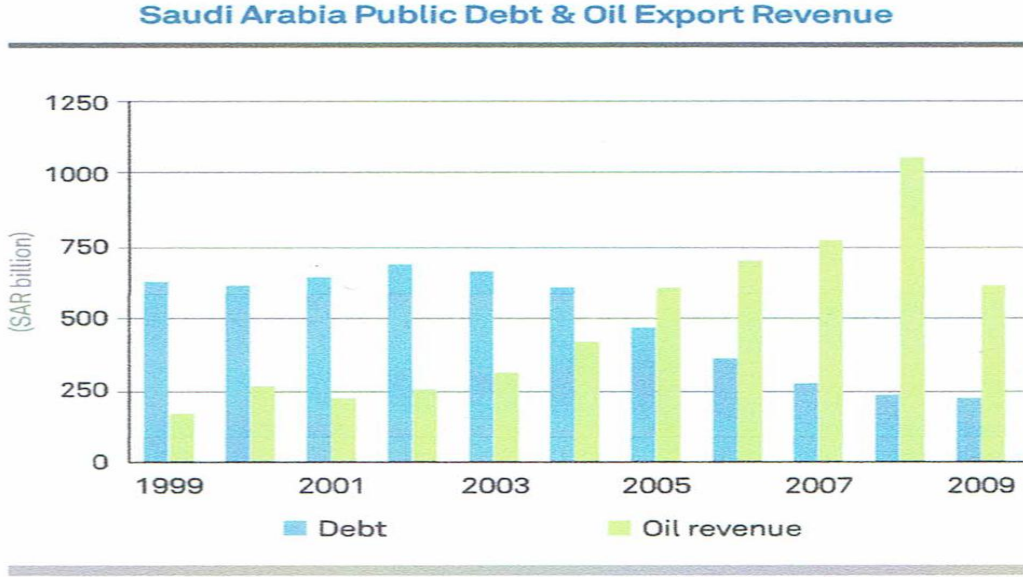


Fig .2. Saudi Arabia Public Debt and Oil Export Revenue. IMF. 2012. Web. 13 Apr 2017.

Saudi Arabia has consistently been ranked as one of major economic reformist in the Middle East region. However, the Kingdom has emphasized on oil revenues to compensate the existing gaps in other private sectors. Thus, any instability in oil prices would affect its financial compartment, and so huge debts would be accounted in its economic agenda. In 2000 and 2003 the Kingdom was in a bad situation because of debts, which amounts to \$ 500 billion in 2001 and kept rising to reach more than \$600 billion in 2002. But high oil prices in 2004 helped to get rid of the debts Saudi Arabia was in. Statistically speaking; the chart above shows that from 2005 oil revenues have been increased to exceed \$1000 billion in 2008. In contrast to oil revenues, Saudi debts have decreased over years to be less than \$200 billion in 2009. Throughout years Saudi Arabia economy has been progressed and huge thanks go to oil prices and to the Kingdom's diverse competitive investments with U.S.

3. US Gradual Arms Transfer to Saudi Arabia

The United States and Saudi Arabia have maintained a tight relationship, which has been deepened by the insightful threat to their regional interests. Despite that Saudi Arabia security partner was the leading power of arms production, it was not quite easy for the Kingdom to get such a massive arms package. At the outset of arms export, United States liked to have a fair deal taking into consideration human rights concerns. However, U.S. efforts to prevent the scrambling of the world proved to be ineffective, when it continued its arms sale in different parts of the world that were worth \$151.9 billion in 2003. On this pillar, Saudi Arabia was one of the major importers of U.S. arms in the Gulf region with purchases amounts \$6.3 billion from 2000 to 2003. Subsequently, U.S. ongoing arms transfer to Saudi Arabia will ensure their relations as reliable sanctuary partnership (The G 8: Global Arms Exporters 27).

Over years the United States has been placed on top one of the main arms exporters on the worldwide basis. Since Saudi Arabia was the guardian of the holiest shrines of Islam; Bush

administration has planned for a series of arms sale to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries that would approximately cost \$20 billion. Cautiously, United States has been seeking the approval of the congress to get new allies against Iran's nuclear development. In this sense, Saudi Arabia would gain huge knowledge and become skillful in the army square. Therefore, United State's arms strategies have been premeditated to protect its interests in the Middle East region; instead of building up deterrent forces (Gray).

3.1. US-Saudi Military Tie

The full range of US-Saudi military tie has always been covered by United States arms offer to Saudi Arabia. Definitely, Saudi Arabia has projected its military network to be stretched to the United States to guarantee more protection against an external threat. In terms of security standards, some American officials have claimed that Iran was the biggest threat Saudi Arabia will face so far. Foremost, GDAMs or satellite guided bombs will probably be delivered to Saudi Arabia, and the purchase operation might encircle a 500-pound to 2.000-pound of the aerial bombs. Nonetheless, Israel was interested in United State's huge arms deal to the Gulf edge, particularly Saudis one. Up to US-Saudi military upgrade, the secretary of defense, Robert gates and secretary of state Condoleezza rice sought to discuss the situation with Saudi Arabia in an official way. Therefore, when things have been developing at a rapid pace, US-Saudi Arabia has intensified a kind of credibility in their relationship for the upcoming challenges (Starr).

The United States military zone is the world's preeminent joint force. Thus, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries have chosen United States to be their military container. In Saudi Arabia part, the problem was that the Kingdom military infrastructure revealed no advance as outlined in its roadmap. Therefore, American military experience will be called to fill in the Saudi security blanks. As it was said, U.S. military deal has been deposited to avoid the mess of regional conflicts, and to project power to get rid of the axis of evil that would threaten

both US-Saudi interests. However, by continuing to provide the Gulf hemisphere with the means to defend themselves, Bush administration has opted for deafening adversaries, mainly Iran. On this basis, in 2007 Rice has asserted that U.S. arms sale in the Gulf region was Bush's plan to fight extremism. The success rate of the US-Saudi military deal is tied by each side's integrated procedures (Isenberg).

The Gulf region large scale purchase of arms was Bush's framework policy towards the region, and specifically to Saudi Arabia's security that is paramount to U.S. interests. US-Saudi "Special Relationship", however, is no longer paralleled to a weakening context; rather it has entered the period of prolonged progress as seen in Bush and King Abdullah personal bondage. On Monday 2008, President Bush has transported an amount of sophisticated arms to Saudi Arabia, because all eyes were on its interest i.e. Saudi oil, which considered as a key element for his country economic development. Therefore, Bush and King Abdullah military covenant witnessed the transfer of 900 of bomb kits estimated to \$123 million, which would develop Saudis military qualifications. So, both Bush and King Abdullah reliable partnership was very essential, for creating a unique position in the Middle East region and for their national security as well (CBSNEWS).

Almost all of the Gulf countries have approved that regional security was a serious subject to be undertaken. In 2006, GCC states have sought to direct their attention towards nuclear aspiration for security purposes in reference to Iran's nuclear threat. In this regard, and in 2007, Saudi Arabia made a huge effort for convincing GCC to develop a kind of uranium enrichment, and to prompt Iran to back away in its nuclear program. Since then Saudi Arabia wishes that its nuclear ambition would be visualized in reality. Unfortunately, this exploration will not be realized because it would oppose United State's nuclear non proliferation policy. On the defense mechanism, Saudi Arabia asked the United States to apply the same rules

concerning Iran's nuclear fortification. Therefore, once the Kingdom has found it difficult to maintain regional stability, United States has always been on its side (Perkovich 229-232).

Saudi Arabia membership in GCC helped in pushing it towards a more energetic development. As far as global demand for energy continued to rise, Saudi Arabia has obscured the idea of decreasing energy consumption to open nuclear space in its economic scheme. More accurately, the Kingdom's nuclear vision has been pictured in two main policies. The first policy is national energy efficiency program, which has been set in 2008 to make energetic transformation more effective to reach 30 percent in the forthcoming years. The second one is called King Abdullah city for atomic and renewable energy 2010. This policy will drive Saudis nuclear ambition to higher levels of competence. So, depending on past events, United States will have no way but to support Saudi nuclear objective for keeping up with their interests that have already mapped out in the Middle East region (Nachmany et al 2-5).

Conclusion

US-Saudi “Special Relationship” has passed through many stages. Up to the historical conjunction, the real inception of US-Saudi friendship was in the two world wars, which has been driven by oil product. Certainly, King Abdel Aziz has knotted the tie with Eisenhower to uphold the Saudi authority and maintain the security of the Kingdom. In Eisenhower floor, this was the best alliance ever in the Middle East region, for that in one part Saudi Arabia was United State’s oil pocket, in another part, this chemistry has contributed in paving a way for U.S. to dig in within the region where its interests lie. Thereafter the incoming of Truman witnessed a radical transformation in its bilateral relationship with the Kingdom concerning regional stability, particularly the case of Palestine. Unquestionably, the main reason Saudi Arabia kept in touch with U.S. was its internal security in the upheaval of communist expansion. Thus, a series of military concurrence have been marked between both sides to contain the galvanized situation.

During the cold war, US-Saudi relationship was in a good climate in which both sides have worked with one another to secure the regional border. The taken picture of liberation movement especially in Egypt, which has been directed by the soviets guidance, has contributed in deteriorating the Middle East stability. This was an enormous turnaround that the United States did not appreciate because it would put its interests into an immense danger. Thus, U.S. has done a huge effort with King Saud to pursue a political compromise to bring the relationship back and maintain the stability. In general, United States attitude in the Arab-Israeli conflict has signed Saudi Arabia indignation to the degree that it has embargoed oil against its close ally in the region. At that time, the Kingdom was the center of the Arab world, and therefore security vacuum will be essential in its political dogma. Hence, the Gulf war was another troublesome in the Gulf periphery, which required the elaboration of Saudi Arabia’s voice and U.S. powerful ascendancy.

In the diplomatic field of 2000, US-Saudi partnership has been suffering because of several events that can not be eliminated from the memory. In the first place, al-Aqsa Intifada was the tornado that has stormed Bush administration for being silent concerning Israel genocide against Palestine. What lies behind this scene has pushed King Abdullah, which occupies a high status in the unbalanced region to challenge his 60 years of alliance with U.S. whether to take a decisive role in the conflict, or each country would go in separate ways. In the second place, the incident of 9/11 has posed a big threat to US-Saudi relationship, and some critics go far as to accuse Saudi authority to be together with bin Laden the head of the terrorist groups. Therefore, Bush's establishment of war on terror policy has been supported by King Abdullah, which has provided a clear view of Saudi Arabia concerning terrorism. So, despite the wide range of allegations towards Saudi Arabia both U.S. and the Kingdom have collaborated for burying terrorism and protecting their regime's stability and however their diplomatic relationship.

The central concern of Saudi Arabia relationship with the United States was the security atmosphere, which lay behind U.S. open door policy in the entire Middle East region. However, United State's counterterrorism has taken another dimension by invading Iraq for intentional purposes. What is more apparent was that Saudi Arabia, and mainly due to the overall situation has faced difficulties to finally realize what its close ally was really doing. Controversially, the biggest irony of all was that Bush administration has tailored as explained to King Abdullah different diplomatic and economic framework to fit each piece of the Middle East arena. But the opposite happened, which led US-Saudi Arabia relations to be traumatized at a certain level. However, Bush support for Israel in its war with Lebanon made the situation even worst because this was not a silly thing to be ignored easily. Though Saudi Arabia was not happy with U.S. changing policies in the Middle East, there was a sort of

agreement concerning Bush plan especially in Iran that was considered as axis of evil, which represented a big danger to its stability.

At the economic level, Saudi partnership with U.S. witnessed an increased cooperation between both sides to gain an appropriate power, which would allow it to maintain the needed permanence in the region. In recent years Saudi Arabia economy was in a prosperous grade and huge gratitude would go to oil prices. High oil prices have contributed in making Saudi Arabia economy a number one in the Arab world, but United States did not like the way oil prices are driven by OPEC policy makers. Originally, Saudi Arabia active role in OPEC has designated special oil policies to make a logical oil prices. Hence, the Kingdom policies have been put for setting both oil market and prices in a balanced way and to avoid speculation system. At the same time, Saudis action noted their attempt to bring US-Saudi relationship back as that existed in the cold war. In other sense, Saudi Arabia's economic privatization in regard to global demands has in a way achieved some advantages as U.S. economic ally to be classified as one of a high quality economy in the Middle East hemisphere. So, in the wake of this economic achievement, US-Saudi relationship would create a new ambition to be expanded in the upcoming years.

The Middle East structure was the central actor in maintaining permanence in the neighboring parts. Nevertheless, any deterioration as occurred in Iraq, Palestine, and Iran would expel Saudis security outline out, and thus Saudi Arabia political and economic infrastructure have been highlighted by a certain consideration. In these circumstances, there is no choice but to be in the side of United States to get a full protection and establish a kind of trade bondage between them. On this basis, US-Saudi trade relationship has been built to accomplish specific blocks starting from the encouragement of Saudi's military defense to economic enrichment based on predominance commodity, which is oil. In this tendency, Saudi Arabia trade relationship with U.S. has succeeded in realizing its sketched objective by

joining WTO. Therefore, Saudi Arabia has reformed its commercial policies to fit global norms in which the United States was denounced to be the main cause for the development of Saudi Arabia's economic and even political measurement.

The authority of Saudi Arabia did its best to project to the world supremacy that it was really enjoying the American coalition to guarantee U.S. arms sale in its military package. In short US-Saudi Military Corporation has been shaped in a form of arms sale to the Kingdom in terms of U.S. dollar value. In essence, Saudi Arabia feared that regional instability would also put its regime on the line. Thus, it was seeking U.S. partnership not only for arms transformation but also to engage American economic initiatives to advance its economic compromise. Having the regional permanence in galvanizing position was something that the Gulf States have already coexisted with, but what worsen more the situation was the development of Iran's nuclear program. This, without a doubt, has compelled Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to call for nuclear equivalence as well to protect its borders from Iran's threat. Nonetheless, United States is reverting to type in its agenda a nuclear non-proliferation for global security. So, US-Saudi relationship was established in regard to a specific occurrence, which has been depending on oil commodity to fulfill security breadth. Beside this information, some prospects would not be in the right direction i.e. US-Saudi relationship was not that perfect and many have considered it to be drawn on both negative and positive side. Now the only Question left is what is next for US-Saudi "Special Relationship" especially with the coming of Donald Trump administration and Crown King Selman bin Abdel Aziz.

Actually, before Trump presidency, the Crown King Abdullah and Barak Obama administration relationship was lacking the presence of political willingness. Thus, there was certain distrust between Saudi Arabia and the United States. For that it did not envision the impetus of the relationship as expected by the Saudi officials. Therefore, the coming of

Trump in 2017 was a new leverage that many were curious about. Trump eccentric personality compelled some political analysts to predict the end of U.S. several diplomatic relations especially with the Middle East region. Nevertheless, Trump administration surprised the world by making its first visit to Saudi Arabia to revitalize the credibility of US-Saudi relations that have been built on up to that time.

Trump visit to Saudi Arabia was something incredible as some have expected a different kind of welcome. How bigger and more important it could be than this visit which has ensured Trump compliance towards the Middle East region. The meeting with the royal family has pressed the security aspect of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States decisive role in making this relationship the best alliance in the Middle East periphery. This means that the Kingdom has guaranteed the protection of U.S. and a powerful ally against the Persian Shiite Iran. Finally, the success of this bilateral relationship would relay on both side's commitment to each other and the way each part absorb the ideological and cultural differences for the continuity of US-Saudi relations.

Appendices

Appendix A

Letter from President Roosevelt to King Ibn Saud, April 5, 1945.

GREAT AND GOODFRIEND:

I have received the communication which Your Majesty sent me under date of March 10, 1945, in which you refer to the question of Palestine and to the continuing interest of the Arabs in current developments affecting that country.

I am gratified that Your Majesty took this occasion to bring your views on this question to my attention and I have given the most careful attention to the statements which you make in your letter. I am also mindful of the memorable conversation which we had not so long ago and in the course of which I had an opportunity to obtain so vivid an impression of Your Majesty's sentiments on this question.

Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action, in my capacity as Chief of the Executive Branch of this Government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

It gives me pleasure to renew to Your Majesty the assurances which you have previously received regarding the attitude of my Government and my own, as Chief Executive, with regard to the question of Palestine and to inform you that the policy of this Government in this respect is unchanged.

I desire also at this time to send you my best wishes for Your Majesty's continued good health and for the welfare of your people.

Your Good Friend,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Majesty

ABDUL AZIZ IBN ABDUR RAHMAN AL FAISAL AL SAUD

King of Saudi Arabia

Riyadh

(<http://www.crethiplethi.com/letter-from-president-roosevelt-to-king-ibn-saud-april-5-1945/usa/>)

Appendix B

The Successful Termination of Dhahran Airfield Negotiations.

The American Ambassador (Childs) to the Saudi Arabian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (Yassin)

Secret

Jidda, June 23, 1949.

Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note No.

10/4/68/2119 of June 23, 1949 reading as follows:

“I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herein below the articles upon which our two Governments have agreed concerning the means for the use by military aircraft of the United States Government of the facilities and services at Dhahran Airfield. It is my hope that your Excellency will agree to this and consider this note and Your Excellency's reply an agreement which will constitute a complete accord in this regard...”

A given part of the negotiations has been noted in Arabic text Note No. 10/4/68/2119 of June 28, 1949 as following:

Sir: I have the honor, with reference to the Embassy's telegram No. 419 of June 23, 1949, to report that the notes embodying the new Dhahran Airfield Agreement were signed and exchanged at 10:30 a. m. on Thursday, June 23, 1949—just three hours before the departure from Jidda on leave of Ambassador Childs.

([https:// www history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v06/d1119](https://www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v06/d1119))

Appendix C

Al-Qaeda Letter of its Terrorist Attacks Responsibility.

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,

Those who have been attacked are permitted to take up arms because they have been wronged — God has the power to help them [believers] victory.

The believers fight for God's cause, while those who reject faith fight for an unjust cause. Fight for the allies of Satan: Satan's plays are truly weak...The Islamic Nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself; the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance.

If you Americans refuse to listen to our advice and the goodness, guidance, and righteousness that we call them to, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades in which you were humiliated at the hands of the *mujahidin*, fleeing to your home in great silence and disgrace. If you Americans do not respond, then your fate will be that of the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan to deal with their military defeat, political breakup, ideological downfall, and economic bankruptcy.

This is our message to the Americans, as an answer to theirs. Do they now know why we fight them and over which form of ignorance, by the permission of God, we shall be victorious?...

(www.versobooks.com).

Appendix D

President Bush's Most Respectful Letter to King Abdullah on Energy Cooperation.

June 22, 2006

“Your Royal Highness,

I have such fond memories of your visit to the ranch at Crawford last year. Strolling along hand in hand was truly a highlight of my days at the ranch. A few questions have come to mind which permit me, Your Highness, to set forth below.

When you visited in April 2005 the price of oil was in the upper 40's a barrel. A few months later it jumped to some \$70 a barrel, where it remains today. Laura asks me nearly every day what was it that I said to you that encouraged you to persuade your brethren in OPEC to allow prices to jump that high. And so quickly after our visit. I know there was “Katrina” (which I hear a great deal about from my friends in the oil business) but to stay there yet, after all this time. A near fifty percent jump in price almost immediately after our meeting really isn't good for my image, though I must tell you my friends in the industry are delighted.

That you agreed to increase your production capacity to 12.5 million barrels from some 10 million barrels a day by 2009 really impressed me. And that you were going to commit \$50 billion to expanding your production was a gesture I found especially moving as I told you at the time. But since then I've been doing some arithmetic and I've begun to realize it's a little thin. Fifty billions by 2009 to help bring the world economies and oil production into closer balance (I know you don't like to hear this- and possibly bring the price of crude oil down). At today's prices and your current announced production levels (\$70/bbl x 10 million barrels shipped daily) that's barely two weeks of oil revenues a year, each year through 2009. Not very much given the dimensions of all that is at stake. I won't go into comparisons with our commitments elsewhere.

It is only natural that we agreed to cooperate; we have so many interests in common. You are a major source of energy for us and the world. We are, in large measure, the de facto guarantor of your independence (remember Gulf War1 and Saddam Hussein, and now think of Iran on your left flank and Al Qaeda on your right). And yet we know so little about your true production capabilities. We are happy to provide you with whatever information you may wish to have about us through our Department of Energy on crude production, known reserve's, refinery capacity, transportation infrastructure and energy generation in all its manifestations (coal, nuclear, wind, hydroelectric and on) or through the Department of Commerce should you wish to have additional data on consumption and distribution. Yet we, in turn, know so little about your reserves, your production capacity. We all know your resources are the world's largest currently known (I'm sure you are aware that only 10 percent of Iraq's land mass has been prospected for oil, no telling what one may find there if the Sunni insurgency would abate). But basically we are flying blind on specifics. If we are to cooperate as partners you have to be more open with us and the rest of the world. We have major responsibilities in planning future steps for our economies for which we need facts and not hearsay on energy capabilities. Transparency on your part would be helpful as well. It would make our cooperation more fruitful and convey a greater sense of shared mission in the economic realm.

Oh, Your Highness, one last question. Back in the 70's Saudi ARAMCO brought out a study calling for Saudi Arabia to increase its oil production capacity to 20 million barrels a day. Do you happen to have a copy of that study?

Your Highness, With My Highest Esteem,

President George

(http://www.huffingtonpost.com/raymond-j-learsy/president-bushs-most-resp_b_23558.html).

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