THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

RESILIENCY OF THE SAUDI MONARCHY: 1745-1975

by

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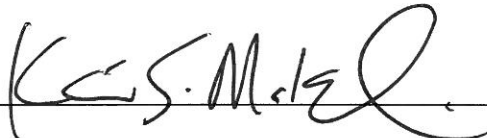
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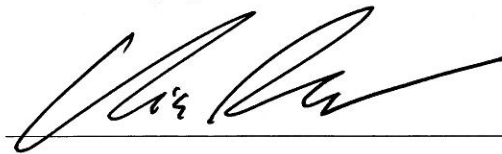
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT OF

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Title: Resiliency of the Saudi Monarchy: 1745-1975

The project examines the Resiliency of the Saudi Monarchy from 1745-1975. It begins with an overview of approaches to monarchy. Then, Chapter 3 examines the Durable Dynasties period from 1745 to the fall of the second Saudi state in the later part of the nineteenth century. Next, key authors in the literature are examined as they relate to the Chieftaincy to Patrimonial monarchy transition from 1902-1932 during the rise of Ibn Saud and the third Saudi state that continues to today. Then, Ibn Saud and the building of the Saudi state are examined from 1932-1953. The project concludes by examining the Rentier state and the Saud to Faysal transition from 1953-1975.

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MAPS

Figure

Map 1. Saudi Arabia, main regions and cities. *Source:* F. Clements, *Saudi Arabia, World Bibliographical Series* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1979; reprinted 1988). Courtesy of Clio Press.

Map 2. Saudi Arabia, main tribes. *Source:* D. Schofield and R. Kemp, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (London: Stacey International, 1990). Courtesy of Stacey International.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This project grows out of an interest in the history and politics of monarchy in the modern Arab World that has partially defined the scope of my studies at CAMES. My interests have developed through a graduate seminar on the formation of the Jordanian monarchy and continued through a seminar on the Comparative Politics of Arab Monarchy, as well as a tutorial on the dynastic politics of Kuwait. Although this project will address the broader picture on monarchical rule in the contemporary Arab World, the main focus here will be on Saudi Arabia.

In the following pages, the literature on Saudi Arabia will be examined in order to answer the following research questions: Why has the Saudi monarchy survived? Why has the al-Saud dynasty survived for two centuries after 1745? How did Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud build a conquest movement that conquered most of the Arabian Peninsula in the first decades of the 20th century? How did Ibn Saud transform a chieftaincy into a centralized state? How did Ibn Saud's sons handle succession conflicts and oil wealth's destabilizing impact in order to ensure Saudi Arabia's survival?

These research questions are part of larger research concerns that focus on why so many Middle East monarchies, in particular the Arabian Gulf monarchies, have survived. The usual answer to the question of resiliency is oil wealth, and the assumption that these states simply buy off the opposition due to large oil revenues. However, a large part of this study will look at the pre-oil era in Saudi Arabia, during

which oil revenues did not play a large part in the region's history. Even after World War II, oil revenue did not reach its apex until around 1975. This raises the question whether there was something besides oil at work. For example, the oil rich monarchies of Libya and Iraq fell to military coups during the period under study.

The appeal of Wahhabi Islam that grew out of an alliance between the al-Saud and the descendants of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab that goes back to the middle of the 18th century is often advanced as an alternative view. However, the historical record reveals that Wahhabism could be a threat to survival as seen in the Wahhabi driven expansion that precipitated an Egyptian invasion that destroyed the first Saudi state. Moreover, the al-Rashids followed Wahhabism in Hail but fell to Saudi conquest in 1921.

In addition to resiliency, the problem of *durability* of the Saudi dynasty arises after the defeat of the Rashidis in Jabal Shammar and the Hashemites in the Hijaz. Out of all these competing families, why was the al-Saud able to dominate most of the Arabian Peninsula? How were the al-Saud able to transition from a power on the periphery of the Ottoman empire to being on the oil frontier of US Empire in the Middle East? While the current project cannot offer definitive answers to these questions, it does attempt to survey the scholarly material on the topic that can be used in the attempt to reach an answer.

To this end, the study will be divided into five main parts. First, theoretical perspectives on the resilience and durability of Arab monarchies will be evaluated. Second, the period 1745-1902 will be examined from a Durable Dynasty perspective. Third, 1902-1932 will be addressed from the perspective of a transition from Chieftaincy to Patrimonial monarchy. Fourth, 1932-52 will be viewed as the period of

Ibn Saud building the foundations of a modern state. Fifth, 1952-1975 will examine the

Saud-Faysal succession struggle during the period of the building of a rentier state. In

each of these chapters, the approach will be to survey the relevant literature and then

examine the arguments of key authors in detail that are central to answering the research

questions posed above.

CHAPTER 2: APPROACHES TO MONARCHY

A. Introduction

Main theoretical approaches to monarchy will be examined in Chapter 2. The purpose is to illuminate each author's perspective and to show that there are a wide range of approaches to the study of monarchy and monarchical resilience. Samuel Huntington's main argument is that traditional monarchies will struggle to survive in the modern world, as they would fall victim to their own modernizing reforms. Lisa Anderson argues that due to their ties with European powers, monarchies are particularly strong at least during the early stages of state building. Russell Lucas argues that the modern authoritarian monarchies allow some pluralism, 'mentalities', political apathy and clear limits on government's power. To Michael Herb, the most important source of regime stability is the family's control over the state. Madawi Rasheed argues that durability is largely a result of foreign intervention. Gregory Gause argues that how oil wealth is used explains resiliency in the Gulf. Hillel Frisch argues we need to look beyond purely domestic analysis for monarchical resiliency and focus instead on external states that are centralizing. To Frisch, monarchies are forced to omni balance between internal and external forces. Beblawi argues rentier states rely on external rent, where the government redistributes the wealth. Luciani argues that in the Allocation state the state does not have to rely on its domestic base for income and instead relies on those it exports oil to. Benjamin Smith argues that it is not enough to just have oil wealth but it depends on when and how oil wealth is introduced into the system. Rolf Schwartz argues that rentierism undermines the thesis of wars make

strong states because rentier states are weak states that provide patronage and support for the population's welfare

B. Huntington and the King's Dilemma

Samuel Huntington argues in *Political Order in Changing Societies* that monarchies face a dilemma in the modern world, in particular post 1950.[1] Huntington argues that centralization of power around the monarchy was essential for various reforms, including economic and social reforms. However, traditional power bases were unable to expand due to the centralization of power in the monarchy. Moreover, it made it difficult for the new groups produced by modernization to assimilate into the traditional power base.[2] This produced a problem for the monarchy because allowing the new groups and traditional groups to participate in politics would come at the relative decline of the monarchy. Thus, the monarch who brought about social and economic reforms through modernization could fall victim to his own reforms. Huntington concludes that it is not likely that traditional monarchies will survive in the modern world.[3]

C. Hudson and Saudi Stability

Michael Hudson examines the stability of Saudi Arabia. Hudson places a lot of emphasis on Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud (1881-1953). He argues that he had "unsurpassed

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[1] Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies,* (New Haven & London: Yale University, 1968)

[2] Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* 177

[3] Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* 191

personal legitimacy."[4] Ibn Saud utilized Islam and kinship in order to establish political

order in Arabia.[5] Hudson identifies the alliance with ibn al-Wahhab as important for

expansion when they joined in 1744.[6] From that moment to even today, Hudson argues

that Islam gives the political system legitimacy.[7] Since 1953, the Saudis have faced a

dilemma. How does the monarchy "maintain traditional and historical legitimacy under

conditions of super affluence, meager government capabilities, and the spread of

modern political ideologies."[8] Hudson repeats the false dichotomy between Faysal and

Saud found elsewhere in the literature. Under Faysal, personal legitimacy was

reestablished, "tribal and family basis of support" was transcended, the Saudis made

Islam and Arab nationalism compatible, and technocracy was developed which

enhanced the entire system. Another factor for resiliency in the face of change is

"structural legitimacy" in which Saudi Arabia increasingly had a "large central

government" with trained and educated civilians and military personnel. Like Herb,

Hudson points out the Saudi family's control over key positions of power.[9]

Furthermore, Hudson points to family unity as being a key for resiliency.[10]

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[4] Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977), 169

[5] Hudson, Arab Politics: *The Search for Legitimacy*, 169

[6] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, 170-71

[7] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy,* 171

[8] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy,* 174

[9] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy,* 179

[10] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy,* 81

D. Anderson and Resiliency post-King's Dilemma

Lisa Anderson asks: Why this resiliency of monarchy in the Middle East despite Huntington's prediction that they were expected to die out?[11] To Anderson, the primary area to focus on is the era of European intervention in the Middle East. She looks at the period of state formation and nation building in the years following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The monarchies were closely tied to the European powers and indeed were considered instruments of the European powers pursuing their imperial policy in the region. She attacks the view that hereditary monarchy was a widely accepted regime type in the Middle East for over a thousand years. Such views tend to see the monarchies as being 'traditional.' However, Anderson seeks to correct this view by viewing the monarchies in a modern sense instead of a traditional context and seeing them as the byproduct of European imperial policy. The Europeans, drawing on their own experience with monarchies, viewed the monarchy regime type as a useful tool to national build and in state formation. Thus, she sees a more functional explanation that fills in where cultural arguments on monarchical resilience have failed.[12]

Anderson reminds us, in the face of the traditional and cultural arguments, that most of the ME monarchies were invented in the twentieth century. Thus, although most western analysts see traditional regimes they are actually at least composed of as much Western as Middle Eastern components. In other words, the monarchies reflect British policy. In trying to understand the resiliency of monarchy, Anderson suggests that the strength of the monarchies can be understood as the monarchies natural

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[11] Lisa Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, 106, (1991), 2

[12] Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," 3

relationship with nation building and state formation.[13] She acknowledges Huntington's

contention that in the long-term the new social groups making political demands of the

monarchies may prove to be too much for monarchical survival.[14] However, she argues

that in the early stages, monarchy lends itself well for early state formation.

Interestingly, it wasn't really until the 19th century that European powers

decided to start associating dynastic rights with the families in order to strengthen

regional stability in their own imperial interests. Again, she tries to dissociate the

monarchs with the prophet Muhammad and argues that the monarchs have more in

common with European "nation builders and state makers."[15] Overall, Lisa Anderson's

contribution to the debate on the resiliency of monarchy is valuable because she

provides a historical perspective rooted in the imperial past as a starting point for

understanding the monarchies.

E. **Lucas and Monarchical Resiliency**

Russell Lucas does a survey of six books on the literature of monarchical

resiliency.[16] The authors move beyond the 'essentialized Islam' argument that simply

sees the longevity of the monarchical regimes as little more than the support of

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[13] Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," 4

[14] Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," 4

[15] Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," 12

[16] Russell E. Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36, (2004)

traditional Islam. Anderson goes into more of a general critique of political culture.[17]

Anderson finds this cultural explanation unsatisfying and she locates its origins, partly,

in the Orientalists who came to the Middle East and encountered institutions that were

different that they were used to.[18] Thus, they argued that the institutions were

influenced by the religious tradition of Islam. Political leadership, it was argued, was

modeled on the prophet Muhammad and for Sunnis submission to authoritarian regimes

was seen as a result of Sunni interpretation of Islam.[19]

1. Sultanism

It is important to distinguish, for the sake of analysis of monarchical longevity,

between 'sultanistic' regime types and 'authoritarian' regime types. Lucas argues that

we can't characterize modern monarchical regimes as sultanistic. Rather, he

characterizes these monarchies as authoritarian. Lucas uses Chenalbi and Linz's

argument that sultanistic regimes are "characterized by personal rule unchecked by

restraints, norms, or ideology."[20] There is also a blurring line between the state and the

regime. Moreover, there is a high degree of corruption at every societal level and

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[17] Lisa Anderson, "Policy Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East," in *Theory, Politics and the Arab World* edited by Hisham Sharabi (New York & London: Routledge, 1990), 55

[18] Anderson, "Policy Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East," in *Theory, Politics and the Arab World,* 56

[19] Anderson, "Policy Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East," in *Theory, Politics and the Arab World*, 56

[20] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* ,104

although the regime has a narrow social base, the ruler enjoys a lot of "discretionary power."[21]

2. *Authoritarianism*

Authoritarianism differs from sultanism on four key issues. Authoritarian regimes allow social groups to have some degree of pluralism. Second, authoritarian regimes don't draw upon ideology but upon 'mentalities' when designing policies. Third, authoritarian regimes strive for their publics to be characterized by political apathy and they can be mobilized occasionally when needed. Fourth, in an authoritarian regime there are clear limits on a government's power whereas in a sultanistic regime the leader decides where his power starts and ends.

3. *Monarchies and Regime Type*

Lucas argues that when trying to fit Middle Eastern monarchies into regime types it important to always include the concepts of regime building, state formation, and nation crafting that Anderson touches on. Unlike the European experience, the Middle Eastern regimes tend to predate the "state and nation in Middle East monarchies."[22] For example, the Hashemites were introduced by the British to rule the previously non-existent states of Jordan and Iraq. In Saudi Arabia, the tribal regime conquered territory and then began building the state with US and British aid. Thus, in all cases presented here, the regimes came before the state apparatus. Importantly, the

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[21] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 104

[22] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 106

Middle Eastern monarchy pattern described here is different from a sultanistic regime because a sultanistic regime deconstructs a pre-existing state for a tool of the sultan's will and whim whereas the monarchical regimes constructed new states around themselves.

4. *Pluralism in Monarchies*

Middle East monarchies encourage pluralism in their domains while basing their rule on kinship and hierarchy. Monarchies encourage pluralism because it allows them to manipulate social groups to the monarch's advantage. Thus, the monarchs can serve as the linchpin in the political system and "stand above tribal, religious, ethnic, and regional divisions."[23] Then, through the monarch's patronage, identities that could come into conflict with each other are tamed. Thus, the monarchy acts as a unifying force for the nation. This is known as *watiniyya* or local nationalism as opposed to *qawmiyya* that stands for broader Arab nationalism.

5. *Utilization of the Past as 'local tradition'*

In addition, monarchs project the regime and state into the past to provide additional legitimacy to their rule. This is known as using local 'traditions.' Moreover, Lucas makes the distinction between the sultanistic regimes focus on the cult of the personality and the "guiding mentalities-if not ideologies" of the Middle Eastern monarchies.[24]

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[23] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type,"107

[24] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," 107

6. *Authoritarian Monarchies*

Lucas then goes on to categorize monarchies as a subset of authoritarian rule. The monarch is, generally speaking, a personalistic ruler, the regime coalition contains the king in the middle and it is possible that the coalition "maybe be diverse and include a broad social base," political pluralism may not be encouraged but is allowed in the regime coalition and opposition, the population, largely speaking, is quiet politically or "may be mobilized along communal or clientist lines," and it is to the benefit of the monarch to rely on the "ambiguous nature of their source of sovereignty—the person of the monarch, divine right, or the people."[25] Lastly, although not an ideology, a mentality can serve to strengthen the regime if it is based on religion.

7. *Dynastic monarchy*

Lucas points to Herbs distinction between 'dynastic' monarchies and 'linchpin' monarchies. In Herb's definition, dynastic monarchies are a regime type where the family has a tight control over the offices of the state and relies on spreading family members among the bureaucracy and has formal devices to control disputes between family members like over the right to succession. Saudi Arabia would fall under this categorization.

8. *Lynchpin monarchy*

According to Herb, in linchpin monarchies the family generally excludes itself from the state machinery, instead focusing on the monarchy itself. There is more space

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[25] Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," 108

between a linchpin monarch and day-to-day politics than a dynastic monarchy. Lastly, linchpin monarchies bring in a socially diverse population to work directly below monarchical leadership like in Jordan and Morocco.

9. Weak failing monarchies

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman looks from 1950 to 1980 and asks why so many fell. He looks at Egypt, Iraq, Libya and Yemen and comes to the conclusion that their demise was all but unavoidable. In all these cases, there were no parliamentary institutions for the monarchy to draw on for legitimacy. Second, modernization brought economic and social change and weakened the ability of the state to fix crises in foreign policy and economic development. The rise of the new middle class and their role in the military proved too much for weak monarchs. Thus, the monarchies inability to properly drive social and economic change caused them to fall.

Anderson argues that because monarchy is a regime type that is built for state formation and nation building, it has survived in the Middle East. Lucas points out that Anderson answers why monarchies survived and Weitzman only answers why they fell.

10. Herb and Regime Type

Herb is introduced with his argument for 'regime type.' To Herb, regime type, at the expense of all other theories, explains the resiliency of monarchy in the Middle East. He dismisses oil and the rentier state theory. Herb will only admit that the rentier state theory explains the unlikelihood that oil monarchies with democratize. To Herb, the rentier thesis only explains this lack of democracy, not resiliency. However, Lucas points out that Herb overlooks the argument that oil rents and the financial resources

they provide for the state could contribute to our knowledge of rentier state regime survival.

11. Gause and International dependency for monarchical survival

Guase argues, in contrast to Herb's focus on the regime type, that in the Arabian Peninsula the survival and resiliency of monarchy was not so much a result of domestic factors (regime types), but more a result of international political economy and regional security and where the monarchies fell in that picture. Lucas argues that Gause neglects the domestic picture too much. Lucas points to the example of the Shah who had a lot of money and support from superpowers, but still fell without a significant social base.

12. Leadership and Opposition

Lucas then points to the variable of 'leadership' in monarchical resilience. He points to Iran again as an example of weak leadership that contributed to the fall of the Shah. He then shifts to looking at the opposition. It is useful to look at the opposition and understand how their weaknesses feed into the strength of the monarchies. Lucas concludes that we see the opposition groups in Middle Eastern monarchies today not as revolutionary but as reformist, which further supports the resilience of the monarchies.

Importantly, dynastic monarchies have a smaller social base than linchpin monarchies. But, these dynastic monarchies can draw on vast oil wealth. Lucas argues that Herb should not abandon the rentier state explanation for monarchical resiliency. But, importantly it is not enough to just have vast resources, like the Shah, but also the variable of knowing how to use what you have. Dynastic and linchpin monarchies know how to spread wealth to the larger population in order to solidify rule in addition

to getting rich. In contrast, Sultanistic regimes do not do that and thus, in part, they fall. Lucas also points out the demographic factor as a possible competing factor that the other authors overlook. Saudi Arabia has less than 30 million people and smaller populations are easier to control.

F. Herb and Monarchical Regime's hold on Institutions and survival

Michael Herb examines why monarchy has managed to survive in the Arabian Peninsula and concluded that such an examination would require a look at monarchical institutions.[26] Herb identifies the regime type, nature of the regime, and the ruling family's role in the regimes as the crucial factor in understanding monarchical resilience. To Herb, the most important factor to note is the family's control over the state as the key factor in resiliency.[27] He notes the rise of dynastic monarchies after Al-Sabah in 1938 throughout the Gulf. He argues again that the family control over the state and not oil best explains the resiliency of the Gulf monarchies.

The families are forced to share political power and have created tools to distribute power and keep hold of key state ministries without drawing in the diluting power of outsiders.[28] These key 'ministries of sovereignty' are the Interior, Foreign Affairs, and Defense ministries. Herb's definition of dynastic monarchy requires the domination of the ruling family over these ministries as well as other high state offices

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[26] Michael Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle East Monarchies,* (New York: State University of New York Press), 1999

[27] Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle East Monarchies*, 3

[28] Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle East Monarchies,* 4

and the premiership.[29] Herb argues against the rentier state thesis, saying that oil

revenues are not directly related to monarchical resilience. He does meet Gregory

Gause somewhere in the middle by agreeing with the argument of Gause that it is not

just the "presence of oil wealth but instead how political actors, in the context of

existing political institutions, respond to the influx of oil revenues."[30]

G. Rasheed and Durable Dynasties

Rasheed examines the Rashidi dynasty (1836-1921) and concludes it is the non-

durable dynasty and she examines the third Saudi dynasty (1902-) as the example of

durable dynasty. In Rasheed's point of view, foreign intervention accounts for the

durability or non-durability in both cases.[31] Foreign intervention ended the Rashidi

dynasty and served as the catalyst for the development of a full state for the Saudis.[32]

Rasheed also introduces a number of important concepts. She sees the argument

that the Rashidis fell because they only relied on *assabiyya,* tribal solidarity, and did not

have religion in their regime survival tool kit like the Saudis who used religion as a

unifying force as too simplistic. She doesn't outright dismiss religion as a factor. In

fact, Rasheed admits that Wahhabism was important for organizing administration and

institutions. Most importantly to Rasheed, a formal relationship was established

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[29] Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle East Monarchies,* 8

[30] Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle East Monarchies* 11

[31] Madawi Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 19, (1992), 144

[32] Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia," 145

"between the ruler and the ruled."[33] Furthermore, she argues that the major ideology

behind military conquest was religion.[34] But, again, it comes down to foreign

intervention for Rasheed. She argues that Wahhabism is not the main factor upholding

the durability of the "third Saudi realm."[35] To her, the dynasties that benefited from

foreign intervention like the Saudis became states.

H. Gause and Oil's impact on domestic politics: A non-'traditional' viewpoint

Gregory Gause argues that we should most away from 'traditional' explanations

of domestic politics in the form of Islam and tribalism and should instead look into the

impact of oil on domestic politics.[36] His argument is that monarchs, both successful and

unsuccessful, used these 'traditions' and so cannot be used to describe accurately the

persistence of monarchy.[37] Tribes cannot be used to explain the resilience of monarchies

because they have often been in open conflict with the monarchies. The *Ikhwan* are a

good example in Saudi Arabia. Those monarchs that have been successful have been

those that crushed the tribes. This was the case in Saudi Arabia where the tribes were

broken and the *Ikhwan* were defeated. The tribal element that was kept was pushed into

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[33] Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia" 144

[34] Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia," 144

[35] Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia," 156

[36] Gregory Gause, *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1994), 4

[37] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis" in *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity*, ed. Joseph Kostiner, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000)

the National Guard and under the monarchy's control. Thus, the tribes have been

denied "any autonomous political and military role in their societies."[38]

1. *How Oil is utilized*

Importantly, Gause argues that it is not just the oil wealth itself but "how it has

been used" that explains monarchical resilience in the Gulf despite domestic and

regional challenges.[39] The relationship between oil and politics and what this means in

the rentier state thesis is a major focus for Gause. Gause defines the rentier state as a

state in which "government relies for the lion's share of its revenues…on direct

transfers from the international economy, in the form of oil revenues, investment

income, foreign aid, or other kinds of direct payments."[40] First, in the local economies

the government becomes the primary agent.[41] Second, at least in theory, political loyalty

is bought through services in "education, health care, housing, and consumer goods."[42]

Third, large government systems have been established due to oil wealth. Thus,

government jobs can be distributed in exchange for loyalty. Fourth, traditional

opposition forces like the tribes have been weakened, as the state does not increasingly

[38] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," 175

[39] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," 4

[40] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," 43

[41] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," 43

[42] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," 43

need to rely on them with new oil wealth. Finally, ruling families have been able to consolidate power in the state.[43]

I. Frisch and 'External Centralizing States'

Hillel Frisch argues that we must look beyond past explanations for the resiliency of monarchies in the Middle East. Frisch disagrees with what he sees as the purely domestic focus of analysis. Mainly, the focus on the divide and rule tactics emphasized throughout the literature. He would like to add a second layer of complexity to the analysis, which is the external factor, and what he calls the threat of "external centralizing states."[44] These states threaten states that are using divide and rule through increased political and social pluralism, which in turn can fragment the army and security forces, like in the case of Lebanon being invaded by Syria during the Lebanese Civil War. Despite Frisch's objections to using a purely divide-and-rule framework for understanding monarchical resilience, he spends quite a lot of time showing its explanatory power. Monarchies encourage pluralism in contrast to the "one party regimes" that push for one identity.

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[43] Gause, "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis,"43-44

[44] Hillel Frisch, "Why Monarchies persist: balancing between internal and external vulnerability," *Review of International Studies* 37, (2011), 168

1. Omni-Balancing

One of the main reasons why the monarchy encourages this pluralism is that it prevents the opposition from establishing "broad-based coalitions against their rule."[45] However, Frisch focuses on Omni-Balancing. Divide and rule domestically makes the monarch and state vulnerable externally. Thus, "monarchs have to 'omnibalance' between these offsetting and competing external and internal needs."[46] In contrast to Huntington's internal-domestic framework, Frisch argues that the major problem for monarchies is the "trade-off between internal fragmentation and external vulnerability."[47] So, monarchs enter into external alliances with major outside powers in order to stay in power. A good example is the US-Saudi Arabia alliance. Despite their vast differences the two have formed an enduring alliance. Saudi Arabia has entered this alliance with the US to protect itself from its centralizing neighbors.[48] The alliance may have prevented an Egyptian invasion of Saudi Arabia during the Yemeni civil war and may have prevented Saddam Hussein from invading after occupying Kuwait.

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[45] Frisch, "Why Monarchies persist: balancing between internal and external vulnerability," 174

[46] Frisch, "Why Monarchies persist: balancing between internal and external vulnerability," 178

[47] Frisch, "Why Monarchies persist: balancing between internal and external vulnerability," 179

[48] Frisch, "Why Monarchies persist: balancing between internal and external vulnerability," 180

J. Beblawi and Luciani: The Rentier State

Beblawi and Luciani define a rentier state as a state that it different from states that draw on taxation for the majority of their incomes.[49] Beblawi argues in his article "The Rentier State in the Arab World" that first the rentier economy in the pure sense does not exist.[50] Rather, all economies have variations of rent but a rentier economy is one where rent dominates the economy. Importantly, rentier economies rely in large part on external rent. Next, in the rentier state, being a subcase of the rentier economy, most people are only connected to the "distribution or utilization" of rent whereas only a few actually are involved in the "generation of this rent (wealth)."[51] Furthermore, the government in a rentier state receives most of the economy's external rent. There is also a rentier mentality that breaks the work-reward relationship.

Now, the oil states as rentiers will be examined. The government receives most of the revenues from rent. Only a fraction-2-3 percent-of the population is actually involved in the production of the oil wealth. 90% of the budgets come from oil revenues. The government redistributes the oil wealth. This continues tribal practices of giving out favors to the population. Thus, it is through the ruler's will that you receive a benefit from this oil rentier economy.

1. Allocation vs. Production States

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[49] Hazem Beblawi, Giacomo Luciani (eds), *The Rentier State*, (New York: Croom Helm, 1987), 10

[50] Beblawi, "The Rentier State in the Arab World," in *The Rentier State,* 51

[51] Beblawi, "The Rentier State in the Arab World," 51

Giacomo Luciani argues in "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework" that some clarifications are in order with the rentier state concept. First, not all rent revenue goes straight to the state so this dilutes the idea of a pure rentier state but you can still refer to the overall characteristics of the rentier economy.[52] The important thing about oil exports is they make it unnecessary, essentially, for the state to raise domestic income. The state is then liberated from relying on its "domestic economic base and sustained by the economic base of the countries which are importing its oil."[53] Luciani defines the Allocation state's characteristics as made up of 40% or more oil revenues and also characterized by state expenditure being a large part of GDP.[54] Saudi Arabia fits this description. Luciani argues that because allocation states do not tax, its redistributive policy will be seen, largely, as beneficial to everyone.[55] And many are co-opted into this system even if they feel they are not receiving their fair share by working within that system for his "personal advantage" instead of allying himself with "others in similar conditions."[56] Importantly, "democracy is not a problem for allocation states."[57] Many are indifferent to debating bodies that can be easily dissolved by their leaders. Thus, no real connection between these bodies and the population takes place.

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[52] Giacomo Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework", in *The Rentier State,* 68

[53] Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," 69

[54] Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," 70

[55] Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," 74

[56] Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," 74

[57] Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," 74

k. Smith and Late Development

Although Benjamin Smith is interested in Iran and Indonesia primarily, his views have relevance for Saudi Arabia and the question of monarchical resiliency. Smith is part of the second wave of rentier state theorists. He attempts to provide a model to explain why some regimes with oil survive while others fail.[58] "Late Development" as Smith refers to it, means state policies that develop "private sector capital and labor."[59] Also important to Smith is the question of when not whether countries develop oil-rich status. Furthermore, he wants to know if oil wealth comes before or after late development. The most important argument in his book is that it is not enough to just have oil wealth. Instead, it depends on when and how the oil wealth is introduced into the system.[60] Also importantly, he argues, "oil wealth can facilitate institutional development."[61] This is important for understanding regime longevity instead of just seeing resilience as the outcome of just pure repression or redistribution of rents.

l. Schwartz on "War Makes States": Not Necessarily in the Middle East

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[58] Benjamin Smith, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), 1

[59] Smith, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty*, 3

[60] Smith, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty*, 14

[61] Smith, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty*, 193

Rolf Schwartz is also pat of the second wave of the rentier state theorists. One of his fundamental arguments is that Charles Tilly's assertion and the European experience that wars make strong states does not necessarily apply in the Middle East.[62] 'Rentierism' is the key concept that undermines the "war-makes-state" argument.[63] Rentierism creates weak states that have little political accountability. However, rentierism also promotes stability through the lines of patronage it allows for state institutions and the general population's welfare. This explains the weak state lifeline in the Middle East and the rarity of the failed state. War making led to Iraq's state failure and the weak state's emergence in Jordan contrary to the Tilly thesis.[64] In the United Arab Emirates, a state without war experience, instead of a Tillyian weak state we see the emergence of a resilient rentier state.[65]

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[62] Rolf Schwartz, *War & State Building in the Middle East*, (Florida: University of Florida Press, 2012), 2

[63] Schwartz, *War & State Building in the Middle East*, 2

[64] Schwartz, *War & State Building in the Middle East,* 7

[65] Schwartz, *War & State Building in the Middle East*, 7

CHAPTER 3: DURABLE DYANSTIES 1744-1902

A. Introduction

The period of Saudi History from 1745-1902 was the pre-oil era and thus the usual argument that oil is behind the resiliency of the Saudi state does not hold. We must look for different variables to explain the resiliency of the state during this period. The rise and fall of the first and second Saudi states must be viewed here to see what made them resilient or if they can be considered resilient since both states fell, the first to Ottoman attack and the second was too weakened by in-fighting to be strong enough to resist attack. Perhaps, we can ask from a resiliency perspective, what made the state emerge a first, second, and then a third time despite being defeated twice? What was the groundwork foundation that allowed the state to keep reappearing? The first Saudi state lasted from 1744-1818. Abdullah, the leader at the time of 1818, was captured and beheaded by the Ottomans. So, it was not a totally resilient state in the pure sense in that it ultimately failed. But, while it was around for multiple decades it can be considered resilient due to a number of factors.

Contrary to popular belief that the Saudi project was largely a tribal state, many in the literature argue that a key pillar of Saudi resiliency were the settled-*hadari* communities, particularly around Najd. Local competition must always be taken into account and it is important that local amirs were fighting each other. This is important for regime resiliency. Globally, empires were enduring a time of crisis, which allowed the space to open up for the Saudi state to operate. Then came the time of the second Saudi state. Infighting destroyed the second Saudi state (1824-1891). Seemingly, almost every ruler had to fight someone in his own family, which drained the resources

of the state. This leaves some unanswered questions. Can we learn more than just the fact that infighting destroyed the Saudi state? We can add that Egyptian withdrawal opened the space for the second state to emerge. But, what lead to its over six decades in power? How important were the hadar after the first Saudi state? What role did Wahhabism play in ideological cohesion? What role did the tribes play?

B. Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties

Rasheed examines the Rashidi dynasty (1836-1921) and concludes it is the non-durable dynasty and she examines the third Saudi dynasty (1902-) as the example of a durable dynasty. In Rasheed's point of view, foreign intervention accounts for the durability or non-durability in both cases.[66] Foreign intervention ended the Rashidi dynasty and served as the catalyst for the development of a full state for the Saudis.[67]

Rasheed also introduces a number of important concepts. She sees the argument that the Rashidis fell because they only relied on *assabiyya,* tribal solidarity, and did not have religion in their regime survival tool kit like the Saudis who used religion as a unifying force as too simplistic. She doesn't outright dismiss religion as a factor. In fact, Rasheed admits that Wahhabism was important for organizing administration and institutions. Most importantly to Rasheed, a formal relationship was established "between the ruler and the ruled."[68] Furthermore, she argues that the major ideology

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[66] Madawi al-Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties: The Rashidis and Saudis in Central Arabia," 144

[67] al-Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties,"145

[68] al-Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties,"144

behind military conquest was religion.[69] But, again, it comes down to foreign intervention for Rasheed. She argues that Wahhabism is not the main factor upholding the durability of the "third Saudi realm."[70] To her, the dynasties that benefited from foreign intervention like the Saudis became states. Rasheed does not define durable and non-durability. Perhaps, she is referring to the strength of the dynasties to carry on despite domestic and foreign factors interfering.

C. First Saudi State 1744-1818

1. Najdi society in the eighteenth century

The geopolitical space for the Wahhabi dawa in Najd opened up primarily because of Ottoman weakness in not being able to extend control over Najd.[71] If the Ottomans did control Najd, it is doubtful the first Saudi state would have emerged. Furthermore, the regional powers like the Sharif of Mecca and the Banu Khalid were unable to control Najd. Importantly, Najdi society was relatively poor compared to other areas and thus may have not received the same amount of attention for expansion as it would if it were richer.[72] All these factors contributed to the rise of the Saudi state.

2. Global Politics

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[69] al-Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties," 144

[70] al-Rasheed, "Durable and Non-Durable Dynasties," 156

[71] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge University Press: 2002), 14

[72] al-Rasheed, A *History of Saudi Arabia*, 15

The rise and fall of the first and second Saudi states was tied to global politics. Due to Ottoman weakness, the first Saudi state was able to establish itself in the Najd area. However, the Ottomans responded to Saudi expansionism by sending in Egyptian forces in 1811.[73] They sacked Dir'iyyah by 1818. The withdrawal of Egyptian troops to the coast opened up the space for the second Saudi state to emerge under Turki ibn Abdullah.[74] The Rashidis were also part of the power equation that was influenced by foreign forces during this period. The Rashidis stayed allied with the Ottomans during WW1. They declined in stature relative to the Saudis who had secured an alliance with Britain.

3. Wahhabism

Most in the literature, including al-Rasheed, point to how important Wahhabism was for Saudi expansion. Al-Rasheed argues that al-Saud would have been unable to conquer Arabia without the help of Wahhabism, which helped, form a religious and political authority.[75] David Commins argues that the Sauds needed Abd al-Wahhab to turn around their fortunes.[76] Perhaps an outline of Wahhabi thought would be useful before proceeding to see what role it played in Saudi expansion.

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[73]al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 23

[74] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 23

[75] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 19

[76] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History* (London: IB Tauris, 2012), 62

The movement was founded by Muhammad ibn abd al-Wahhab. Al-Wahhab was born in 1703/1704 in al-Uyainah. By 10 he had memorized the Koran.[77] He then read fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), tafsir (interpretation of the Koran) and hadith (traditions of the prophet).[78] By 12 he was married. He then went to Mecca and Medina to see the tomb of the prophet Muhammad.[79] Muhammad arrived in al-Dir'iyah in 1744. Muhammad ibn Su'ud swore allegiance to al-Wahhab and his divine quest for God's struggle and promised to defend him.[80] Al-Wahhab set about spreading the Unitarian faith in al-Dir'iyah before setting his sights on Najd. This set the stage for the twenty-five year struggle with Dahham ibn Dawwas, governor of Riyadh, for control of Nejd. A long series of battles took place over the course of the next few years. Duhham finally submitted but then turned against al-Wahhab. Muhammad B. Saud died in 1765. Wahhab had risen to be the dominant of the two in the partnership.[81] 'Abd al-Aziz took

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[77] George S. Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia*, (London: Arabian Publishing Ltd, 2004), 27

[78] Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia,* 27

[79] Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia,* 28

[80] Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia,* 51

[81] Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia,* 116

Muhammad ibn Saud's place. Through speeches, Wahhab brought the community of Unitarians closer together.[82] Riyadh was finally taken in July 1773.

First, during the 18th century they would not have referred to themselves as "Wahhabis" but rather as "muwahhidun" which means "upholders of the one-ness of God."[83] Also, the muwahhidun were not referred to as "salafis" until the "late nineteenth century."[84] In addition they believed in *tawhid*, rejected *shirk* (idolatry) and polytheism. They also looked primarily to the Quran and the Sunnah and aspired to follow the way of the *salif al-salih*. Bida'h, or innovation, and anything that deviated from the Quran or Sunnah were forbidden.[85] For the sake of convenience due to common usage, they will be referred to as Wahhabis from this point on.   But, in the beginning it was hard to spread the Saudi-Wahhabi alliance due to the fact that numerous competing amirs and chieftains like Riyadh's Danham ibn Dawwaz existed. Also, powerful tribal chieftaincies like the Bani Khalid under al-Mu'ar'ar made expansion difficult. [86] Even Abd al-Wahhab's own brother, Suleiman, was opposed to him.[87]

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[82] Rentz, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/1704-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia, 117*

[83] Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival*, (London: Routledge, 2006) 23

[84] Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival*, 23

[85] Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power Legitimacy and Survival,* 28

[86] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History*, 63

[87] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* 63-4

4. Rashidis

In order to better understand the environment the Saudis were competing in during this period it is necessary to come to understand the Rashidis. Of particular concern to al-Rasheed is the false dichotomy between nomads and the sedentary population. Al-Rasheed argues that there was more continuity between the two groups than is commonly argued.[88] She looks specifically at the example of the Shammar. For example, the "nomads" were only partially nomadic when this model is applied to the Shammar.[89] In addition to herding, the "nomads" also owned homes in the oases and traded with the sedentary groups.[90] "Sedentary" refers to people who lived in oases who had permanent homes and were "farmers, artisans, or merchants.[91] Pastoralism, agriculture and trade dominated the economy. Many partook in two or more activities at once. Even sedentary families had desert herds.[92] Traders provided a link between the nomads and sedentary groups.[93] Thus, the two communities were not separate and independent of each other but interdependent economically.[94]

The Shammar from the Najd Desert and Jabal Shammar were known as a *gabila* or tribe. The term "tribe" is packed with controversy and al-Rasheed sets out to just use

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[88] Madawi al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis: The Rashidi Tribal Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1991), 17

[89] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 16

[90] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 16

[91] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 16

[92] al-Rasheed*, Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 17

[93] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 17

[94] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 17

the term in how it applies to the Shammar. But, she does provide some dimensions to the term used in common anthropological literature. "Common descent and kinship ties" are important dimensions for those claiming tribal affiliation.[95] Second, the "political functions of a tribe" are applied in terms of how a "tribe" functions as a security tool to protect against internal and external threats. Third, how a tribe originates is seen as primary importance.[96] Rasheed backs away from generalities and focuses on the Shammar specifically.

The Shammar split into the Shammar of Mesopotamia and the Shammar of Jabal Shammar in the seventeenth century.[97] 150,000-200,000 people made up the Shammar tribe, which was further split into ashar (tribal sections) of Aslam, Sinjari, Abde, and Uman.[98] Each sect claimed one ancestor and a specific territory. Common ancestry was the fragile link keeping the groups under one tribal banner.[99] It is important to note that the distribution of the groups across the Great Najud desert made it difficult for a sense of common unity to develop.[100] In fact, there was no "chief or head" until the Rashidis rose to power in Hail.[101] But, at the same time, the tribal sheikhs of each ashira were leaders people could rally around in each specific ashira.[102] Despite all the divisions,

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[95] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 18

[96] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 19

[97] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 19

[98] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 20

[99] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 20

[100] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 20

[101] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 20

[102] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 20

practical "unity at the level of gabila" was followed. They also all, generally, worked together militarily.[103] Also, the Shammar had common cause to help each other economically.[104]

The Rashidis derived legitimacy from the Shammar, which happened to be one of the larger tribal confederations in Arabia.[105] Moreover, the Rashidis represented the Abde Shammar-the largest ashira.[106] They were centered on Hail in northern Arabia. They ruled over "Shammar tribesmen, Banu Tamim sedentary farmers and merchants, and non-tribal groups of craftsmen, artisans and slaves."[107] Unlike the Saudis who derived a large part of their legitimacy from religion, the Rashidis derived most of their legitimacy from their Shammari tribal affiliation. Al-Rasheed defines *gabilla* as a "notion which sets standards for the regulation of social, political, economic, and military relations between people who claim kinship ties."[108]

5. *The rise of the Rashidis*

Abdullah ibn Rashid was forced out of Hail as Mohammad Ibn Ali was afraid of his rising popularity.[109] Abdullah Ibn Rashid arrived in Riyadh where he became friends

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[103] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 23

[104] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 23

[105] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 26

[106] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 22

[107] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 26

[108] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 24

[109] Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 42

with Faisal, Imam Turki's son. Abdullah took part in raids against tribes dissenting against the al-Saud.[110] Then, Abdullah helped Faisal in the siege against Mishari who had just killed Turki.[111] Thus, Abdullah became even more popular and he married Faisal's daughter al-Jawhara.[112] Faisal supported Abdullah's ambition to take over Hail and Jabal Shammar.[113] But, Faisal did not have the resources to help and Abdullah left Riyadh for Jabal Shammar.[114] He was put in a face off with Issa Ibn Ali who had gained control of Hail.[115] Issa had Egyptian support which the people of Hail resented.[116] Abdullah had some of the Shammar, the Jaatar section, his kin group, brother and slaves.[117] Abdullah solidified an alliance with the Egyptians. His brother Obeid forced Issa out of Hail and Abdullah arrived in 1836 and declared himself ruler.[118]

a. Abdullah Ibn Rashid

   Abdullah Ibn Rashid's legitimacy relied on his noble lineage connected with *beit* Rashid of the Jaafar lineage which was part of the Abde *ashira.[119]* Furthermore, his

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[110] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 42

[111] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 42

[112] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 42

[113] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 42

[114] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 43

[115] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 44

[116] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 44

[117] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis.* 44

[118] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 45

[119] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 53

military ability was highly respected.[120] Abdullah was largely referred to as Sheik. It was only until the rule of Talal ibn Rashid (1848-68) and Mohammed ibn Rashid (1869-97) that the Shaikh role was expanded politically, militarily and dynastically and the rulers became known as amirs.[121]

Dynastic rule was established with Talal ibn Abduallah following his father. Trade was strong during his rule.[122] He died in an accident in 1868. Talal's brother Mitab followed him but was killed 1 year later in 1869 by his nephew Bandar. Ibn Talal Bandar took over. His uncle Muhammad murdered him in 1869. Muhammad ibn Abduallah took over and died of natural causes in 1897. Abdul Aziz ibn Mitab took over from 1897-1906 and died in a battle against Ibn Saud. Mitab ibn Abdul Aziz came to power in 1906-7 and was murdered by Sultan ibn Hamud, his cousin. Sultan ibn Hamud ruled from 1907-8 and his brother Saud murdered him. Saud Ibn Hamud ruled 1908-10 and was "murdered by his cousin's maternal uncles."[123] Saud ibn Abdul Aziz ruled 1910-20 and was killed by his cousin Abdullah ibn Talal. Abdullah ibn Mitab ruled 1920-21 and "surrendered to Ibn Saud."[124]Muhammed ibn Talal ruled 1921 and "surrendered to Ibn Saud."[125]

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[120] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 53

[121] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 53

[122] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 57

[123] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 56

[124] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 56

[125] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* , 56

The Rashidis remained dominant due to their domination of the caravan economy.[126] Hail was an important stop between Iraq and the Hijaz. The Shammar diversified economically because they could not rely on poor rainfall to be exclusively pastoralists.[127] They got involved in manufactured goods and dates that were traded with pastoralists for wool and butter.[128] The Rashidi amirs controlled trade and enforced tribute on the caravans.[129] Money earned from trade was invested in "subsidizing tribal sheikhs, a mechanism which guaranteed their loyalty and support."[130] The Rashidis expanded the military to not rely solely on the Shammar but a force that existed outside of "shifting tribal alliances."[131] They began conquering territory outside Hail. Moreover, a sedentary Bedouin and slave police force was established to provide order.[132]

Despite its successes, the Rashedi dynasty was vulnerable politically, economically and ideologically. All three led to its downfall. Political instability was rampant as has been shown. Moreover, there were not many open channels connecting the amir and the tribe.[133] Also, the Rashidi dynasty could not exercise a monopoly on violence.[134] It

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[126] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 95

[127] al-Rasheed*, Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 95

[128] al-rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 96

[129] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 260-61

[130] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 261

[131] al-rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 261

[132] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis ,* 261

[133] al-Rasheed, Politics in an Arabian Oasis, 232

[134] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 232

was hard to keep contact with the Shammar as they migrated and to keep them connected to the amir.[135] The Rashidis became urban and sedentary in Hail which separated them from the Bedouin Shammar.[136] The Hail amirs found it difficult to rule over the tribal chiefs that operated on their own rules of violence.[137] The Rashidis tried to stop Bedouin raids on caravans but ran into problems because it was not really a matter of money, the richest Bedouin raided the most, but a matter of Bedouin identity that was at the core of raiding.[138] Caravans were aware of Hail's inability to provide security and went elsewhere bringing an economic decline to Hail.[139] Also, the Rashidi dynasty failed to really develop a religious ideology.[140] The focus was on tribal support in the Shammar tribe.[141] Thus, those the Rashidis conquered remained with an inferior non-Shammari identity.[142] When faced with the Saudi-Wahhabi force, the Rashidis stumbled. Wahhabism appealed to more tribes especially inferior ones freed of lowly status.[143]al-Rashidi focuses on historical events involving the Ottomans and British as

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[135] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 234

[136] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis*, 235

[137] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 235

[138] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 238

[139] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 238

[140] al-Rasheed *Politics in an Arabian Oasis.* 241

[141] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* 241

[142] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 241

[143] al-Rasheed*, Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 242

being just as important as Wahhabism to explain the fall of the Rashidis and the rise of the Saudis.[144]

But why did the Shammar support the Rashidis and give in to their leadership? The Shammar, according to Rasheed, were looking to strengthen the unity of the Shammar-Rashidi alliance in order to be able to better protect themselves against the Ottomans, who had accidently attacked Shammar territory believing it to be Saudi territory, and against the Saudi-Wahhabi emirate that had sent Shammari tribesmen fleeing into Mesopotamia.[145]

Four groups provided the foundation for Rashidi expansion. First, the Rashidis mobilized the Shammar to battle their enemies.[146] Second, the Rashidi's used the opportunity for material reward "to rally the non-tribal confederations" to their cause of expansion.[147] Third, making up the majority of the most important positions in the amirs force were his slaves and personal bodyguard.[148] Fourth, recruits from Jabal Shammar were used for military expansion.[149] The Rashidis relied of khuwwa (tribute) from other groups for a revenue base.[150] The Rashidis began to lose control of their territories essentially starting with Ibn Saud's invasion of Riyadh in 1902 and the murder of the

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[144] al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian Oasis,* 242-43

[145] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 27

[146] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 28

[147] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 28

[148] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 28

[149] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 28

[150] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 28

Rashidi governor.[151] A weak leadership developed as a result of increased competition

and infighting and an ill-advised pre-WW1 alliance starting in 1914 with the Ottoman

empire that ended with the empires defeat and the end of the Rashidi subsidy

contributed to the fall of Rashidi supremacy in the Arabian Peninsula.

6. *Hashemites*

Why did Husayn ibn 'Ali al-Hashimi's state, that endured from 1916-1925 when

it was conquered by the Saudis, fail? This is the central question of Joshua Teitelbaum's

work.[152] Teitelbaum focuses on the state and "revenue extraction, mechanisms of

coercion, and coalition building" as the main obstacles to the durability of Husayn's

state.[153] To Teitelbaum, the main reason why Husayn's state failed was due to his

inability to "adapt to changing circumstances."[154] Although Husayn was able to kick the

Ottoman's out of the Hijaz, he never completely dedicated himself to effective

governance. He did not become a charismatic leader.[155] He had his mind on greater

territorial ambitions where in reality he needed to focus on consolidating the Hijaz.[156]

He alienated tribal and urban elites and did not develop a "sensible administration."[157]

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[151] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 29

[152] Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* (London: Hurst & Company, 2001), 4

[153] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia*, 4

[154] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia*, 283

[155] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 283

[156] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 283

[157] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 283

They abandoned him when Ibn Saud invaded.[158] Husayn had a weak state and he had

trouble effectively gathering resources.[159] The state had trouble exercising social

control.[160] Husayn only really exercised control through force which is a sign of a weak

state.[161] Furthermore, the "governing myths" pushed by Husayn failed to solidify in the

Hijaz.[162] Also, Husayn was unable to cultivate a "supra-'*assabiyyah*'"-or a group

feeling taking precedence over individual *assabiyyahs* particular to various social

groups.[163] Husayn's particular type of Arab nationalism failed to materialize into an

effective supra-*assabiyya*.[164]

Husayn managed to alienate many in society because of his harsh style of

rule.[165] In contrast, chieftaincies that have some level of popular support maintain that

support by emphasizing a connection between the charismatic ruler and society.[166]

Husayn was simply too focused on grand visions of ruling the Arab world to pay

attention to the Hijaz.[167] The tribal and urban elite was not brought into the new

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[158] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 284

[159] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 284

[160] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 284

[161] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 285

[162] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 285

[163] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 285

[164] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 286

[165] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 224

[166] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 224

[167] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 224

administration.[168] Furthermore, Husayn did not have the skills needed to form crucial coalitions.[169]

7. Hadar

Abdulaziz h. al-fahad contributes to the discussion by looking into the role hadari communities played in the establishment of the Saudi state. The hadars were constructed, in part, to end Bedouin dominance.[170] He fits into the other argument in the literature by arguing the Saudi state, from the beginning, was not tribal but even anti-tribal in its foundations. He fits the Wahhabi movement into the hadari thesis by arguing that the Wahhabi movement was "conceived, spearheaded, and manned by the hadari communities."[171] He further elaborates his thesis of hadari prominence in early state formation by arguing that because al-Saud was not Bedouin and was not a part of a large tribe, although he did claim descent from 'Anaza and Hasama, it allowed him to put together a hadari coalition that would go on to overcome its many enemies. The Bedouins were of secondary importance to the detribalized hadaris.[172] Even after the Saud-Wahhab alliance conquered a hadar or settlement they left the ruling chiefs in

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[168] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 224

[169] Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia,* 225

[170] Abdulaziz h. al-Fahad, "The Imama vs. the Iqal: Hadari-Bedouin Conflict and the formation of the Saudi state," in *Counter Narratives: History, Contemporary society, and politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen,* edited by Madawi al-Rasheed and Robert Vitalis, (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2004), 36

[171] Fahad, *The Imama vs. the Iqal,* 36

[172] Fahad, *The Imama vs. the Iqal*, 43

power usually. If not, they appointed generally not a Bedouin but a Hadari.[173] He perhaps goes to far when he argues that the Saudis would win against the Rashidis with "relative ease."[174] Furthermore, the Ikhwan were the product of hadari conversion to Wahhabism that sought to settle them.[175]

8. Rough Beginnings

Menoret argues that the Saudi state emerged out of the Najdi urban oases that were connected by trade.[176] Menoret is important because he moves us away from imagining the al-Saud state as one grounded in the desert and composed of a tribal nature. Many authors associate the Saudi state with the tribes. But, Menoret is but one of many authors in the literature that make a counterargument that generally states that the Saudi state was indeed not tribal in nature but was in fact anti-tribal and anti-Bedouin as seen in the hujar settling projects. It appears that in the larger sense that the tribes were de-tribalized and subdued, as Saud did not want competing tribal loyalties in his fragile state.[177] The Wahhabi-Saudi alliance did not suddenly blaze forth and conquer all of Arabia overnight. In fact, it took nearly three decades for them to even solidly control southern Najd.[178] It was only after Abdulaziz ibn Muhammad (r. 1765-1803) came to power that the reach of the Saudi community grew beyond al-Dir'iyya.[179]

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[173] Fahad, *The Imama vs. the Iqal,* 45

[174] Fahad, *The Imama vs. the Iqal* 49

[175] Fahad, *The Imama vs. the Iqal* 51

[176] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 74-5

[177] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma*, 75

[178] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History*, 63

9. *From rough beginnings to expansion*

Again, in the beginning the going was rough in terms of direct military expansionism and direct control over large expanses of territory. Instead, in the beginning, the Saudi state relied on a gradual approach that focused on religious conversion. Military expansion was difficult because the surrounding emirates were stronger than the Saudi emirate.[180] After a rough beginning and barely extending their power outside of the immediate area of Dir'iyyah, things began to change.

Raids, according to Commins, were particularly important for the Saudi-Wahhabi alliance to expand. Raids had a tendency to wear down settlements over time until they surrendered or were conquered. Once areas were conquered, judges and teachers appointed by Wahhab established the foundation of Wahhabi dominance.[181] 1773 was a turning point after the Saudis took Riyadh and did not have to worry about attack from the south which caused them to keep an ever-wary eye on Riyadh. Before Riyadh's fall, the Saudis had to stay close to Dirriyah and their surrounding territories. Its fall opened up a new realm of possibilities.

Therefore, what were some factors that gave the first Saudi state some strength and durability before it was crushed by Egyptian troops? Rasheed argues that from the beginning, the Saudi-Wahhabi emirate was based on the continued support of the Najdi

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[179] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* 64

[180] Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy, Survival*, 28

[181] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History*, 64

sedentary communities.[182] The authors in this study for the most part make the argument that we should focus on the settled, sedentary communities and hajar as the primary point of emphasis in trying to understand the durability of the first Saudi state. Tribal confederations also benefited from an alliance with the Saudi-Wahhabi state as they could attack anti-Saud settlements and reap the rewards through pillage. Also, supporting the Saudi-Wahhabi expansion, indeed at its very foundation, was the peaceful embrace of Wahhabism by the Najd communities."[183] In addition, local emirs were fighting each other, like the Banu Khalid, which made them weaker and more open to being conquered by al-Saud. Tribes were also migrating to Iraq and Syria which removed them from the power equation. Also, the general crisis of surrounding empires opened up the space for state building.

Abd al-Aziz pushed into Riyadh, Kharj and Qasim by 1792. He made the Amirs pay *zakat* to subdue them and return to their settlements. Abd al-Aziz sacked Karbala in 1803. His son, Suud took over but he died in 1814. Saud ibn abd al-aziz gained control over "Taif in 1802, Mecca in 1803 and Madina in 1804." [184]Then, Abdallah came to power until the sacking of Diryaah in 1818.[185]

10. Downfall of the First Saudi State

The Saudi-Wahhabi alliance did not take into account the trouble they caused with the Ottomans by taking Mecca and Medina. The Ottomans asked Muhammed Ali of

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[182] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 19

[183] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 22

[184] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 21

[185] Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy, Survival,* 28

Egypt in 1818 to send in Egyptian troops.   After 7 years of war, Ibrahim Pasha finally

fought his way to Dir'iyyah and destroyed it, forcing the Saudis to surrender on 11

September 1818. This brought an end to the first Saudi state and the beginning of the

Egyptian occupation of the Arabian interior that lasted until 1840 through a string of

garrisons and appointments of Saudi vassals.[186] Abdullah was beheaded in Istanbul.

D. Inter-State Period 1822-1824

'Abd Allah ibn Saud surrendered to Ibrahim Pasha in 1818. Ibrahim was a

harsh occupier. Many Wahhabis were shot.[187] Abd Allah's body was put on a post and

a dagger was stabbed straight through.[188] A governor of Dir'iyah "had his teeth pulled

out."[189] It is not clear if Muhammed Ali wanted to control Nejd permanently or whether

he just wanted to smash the Nejdi military.[190] Finally, in 1819 Ibrahim received orders

to withdraw from Nejd and focus on occupying the Hejaz and return to Egypt.[191]

Winder argues that a number of factors must have weighed on Ali's decision including

the hostile Bedouin and population and his belief that occupation was just too expensive

financially and he had to occupy himself with European matters.[192] Key members of the

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[186] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma*, 77

[187] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Macmillan, 1965), 20

[188] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 20

[189] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 20

[190] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 20

[191] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 24

[192] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 24

al-Saud family and Wahhabi movement were deported to Cairo.[193] Dir'yah was

destroyed.[194]

Even though there was technically a governor of Arabia set up by the Egyptians,

anarchy reigned as rivals battled for control. In 1819, Muhammed ibn Mushari Ibn

Mu'ammar tried to control all of Najd.[195] Ibn Mu'ammar had to compete with Majid

Ibn Urai'ir from the Banu Khalid family. He tried to overthrow Mu'ammar but was

defeated when some of his units mutinied.[196] Ibn Mu'ammar became increasingly

popular. Then Turki ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn Saud began to assert himself.

Ibn Mu'ammar started running into problems. Mushari ibn Saud ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz

descended on Dir'iyah.[197] Ibn Mu'ammar found his support base evaporate with the

approach of Mushari and the al-Saud name.[198] Mu'ammar handed everything over to

Mushari.[199] Mu'ammar arrived back on the scene with the support of Mutair tribesmen

under Faisal al-Dawish.[200] He launched a surprise attack on Dir'iyah and Mushar was

imprisoned.[201] Mu'ammar was in charge of Dir'iyah and "sent his son to govern

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[193] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 24

[194] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 24

[195] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 50

[196] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 51

[197] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 52

[198] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 52

[199] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 52

[200] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 53

[201] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 53

Riyadh."[202] This spiked the interest of Muhammad 'Ali who ordered a return to direct

rule in Nejd. Turki was able to push back against Egyptian interference and delegates

arrived from the south to pledge allegiance.

Turki marched on Riyadh and captured Ibn Mu'ammar's son, holding them both

as prisoners. Turki killed both of them when he learned the Sadus townsmen who were

afraid of Turkish retaliation did not release Mushari ibn Saud. Husain Bey arrived back

in Arabia and continued his brutal ways killing anyone in the surrounding districts of

Tharmida after taking Riyadh. Husayn Bey went around killing, torturing, mutilating,

imprisoning people and imposing heavy taxes. Bey was forced to return to Egypt and

Hasan Bey abu Zahir arrived as the replacement in 1822 and went about reestablishing

some order after everything got out of control following the vacuum left when Bey

departed. Turkish rule was relaxed which set the stage for Turki's re-emergence in

1824 and the beginning of the second Saudi state.

E. Second Saudi State (1824-1891)

1. *Turki*

Turki ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn Saud ruled from 1823 to 1834 but it took

him awhile to rise to power after escaping from the Turks in 1820 and several years of

hiding.[203] Turki allied himself with Suwaid who governed Juajil in the Sudair region.

Suwaid brought a military force with him and together they attacked Munfuhah-Riyadh

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[202] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 53

[203] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 60

which held 600 Egyptians.[204] The attack failed and Turki found it hard to unite all regions to his cause drawing hostility from Tharmida, Huraimilch, Kharj, Washm and Sudair.[205]Eventually, Hasan abu Zahir removed the Turks from Nejd after an uprising against his harsh rule.[206]Some troops stayed in Riyadh and Manfuhah. Turki saw an opportunity and moved into the Najd area killing Durma's governor Nasir al-Saiyari and making Durma his center of operations.[207]Turki then found himself established north and west of Riyadh and able to start working on controlling Nejd's central districts.[208] He put down a civil war in Jalajil bloodlessly by sending out a letter to Sudair's people to join him and recognize his leadership. Many arrived to recognize him.[209] Turki then bloodlessly took Majma'ah and expelled the governor.[210] Turki then took Zilfi, Munaikh, Ghat and Washm.[211] Then Hura'milah and Manfuhah followed.[212] This left Riyadh, Thurmida and Kharj to conquer. After laying siege to Riyadh, the garrison commander 'Ali al-Bahluli al-Maghribi was given *aman* by Turki and withdrew his troops from Nejd.[213]

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[204] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 61

[205] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*,61

[206] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 61

[207] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 61

[208] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 62

[209] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 62

[210] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century,* 62

[211] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 62

[212] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 63

[213] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 63

Instead of returning to Dir'iyah, Turki made Riyadh the new capital.[214] Turki ibn

Abdullah, came back to Riyadh in 1824 after Egyptian troops had pulled back to the

coast.[215]Turki went on to reestablish control over Najd, Riyadh, Arid, Kharj, Hotah,

Mahmal, Sudayr, Aflaj and asserted minimum control in Hail and Qasim. In 1830, he

conquered al-Hasa. Wahhabism was also revived under Sheik Abd al-Rahman ibn

Hasan.[216] The Sheik went on to teach many in the royal court Wahhabi doctrine.[217]

Stability allowed time for the administration to develop and the return of important

refugees. Mushari ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mushari ibn Saud returned and would later

go on to murder Turki.[218]

The Turks being bogged down in a campaign in Assir also strengthened Turki's rule

in 1824-25 and they could not focus their energies towards Najd and dethrone Turki.[219]

Turki then sought in 1826-1828 to assert control over the Banu Khalid ruled eastern

province.[220] East of Riyadh, Turki began raiding the Ujman and Mutair tribes leading to

the submission of the Subai', Suhul, 'Ujman, Qahtan and Mutair.[221] Faisal, Turki's son,

escaped Egypt and returned to Riyadh. Qasim also submitted to Turki. The Jabal

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[214] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 64

[215] al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,*23

[216] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* 93

[217] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 66

[218] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, 65

[219] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 66

[220] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 67

[221] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 66

submitted to Turki in 1827-1828 after Isa ibn Salih ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn 'Ali arrived in Riyadh with key members of the Jabal Shammar.[222] Faysal later made 'Abd Allah Jabal Shammar's amir and went on to found the Rashidi dynasty.[223] Turki was forced to fight off an attack from the Bani Khalid from the Eastern province.[224] Faisal led the counter-attack. He gained control of the main well in the area putting the Banu Khalid in a difficult position without water.[225] The Wahhabi force prevailed. This demonstrated the victory of settled "townsmen over Bedouins."[226] Hufuf was then occupied which meant the eastern province fell to Saudi rule.[227]

A big problem in the second state was infighting among the al-Saud. Infighting went on to sap the strength of the second Saudi state and would eventually leave the Saudis too weak to defend against the Rashidi invasion. Mushari ibn 'Abd al-Ralman revolted with some of the Qahtan tribe.[228] Turki pardoned him in 1832 when Mushari returned having not been able to muster a strong military force.[229] On May 9, 1834 Mishari, Turki's cousin, rebelled again and had Turki assassinated.

2. *Faysal (1834-1837)-First attempt at a state*

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[222] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 69

[223] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 69

[224] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 76

[225] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 76

[226] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 76

[227] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 77

[228] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 83

[229] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 84

Faysal, Turki's son, came to power and allied himself with Abdullah ibn Rashid. Mishari is defeated in 1834 after ruling for only 40 days.[230] Faysal confirmed 'Abd Allah as amir of the Jabal Shammar.[231] Eventually, the Ibn Rashids would go on to become independent and even ruled Riyadh for a brief time. World War 1 spelled their decline and fall. It appeared that Faysal was going to have a stable state in large part because he choose not to invade the Hijaz and upset the Ottomans, a mistake made by the previous Saudi state.[232]

However, the Ottomans made Muhammad Ali recruit Khalid ibn Saud, a Saudi emir, to be his Riyadh deputy."[233] The Egyptians invaded and slowly started eating away at Faysal's territories with the help of Isma'il Bey and Khalid ibn Saud.[234] Khalid reached Riyadh and was accepted as the new ruler bringing an end to Faysal's first reign from 1834-1837.[235] Faisal was captured in 1838 and sent off to Egypt again.

Khurshid Pasha's occupation on behalf of Muhammed 'Ali in Nejd only lasted one and a half years. The Egyptians withdrew after the Great Powers forced Muhammad Ali to abandon his empire project.[236] Muhammad Ali's expansionist policies were brought to an end after he agreed to the Treaty of London and withdrew Egyptian troops from Arabia. This left Khalid ibn Saud without a garrison to defend himself and he fell

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[230] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 96

[231] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 105

[232] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* 93

[233] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* 93

[234] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 110

[235] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 111

[236] Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* 121

to Abdullah ibn Thunayan. Faisal threw Thunayan out of power upon his return from Egypt in 1843.

3. *Faysal-second attempt at a state*

In 1843, Faysal was back in charge and 1843-65 was the height of influence of the second Saudi state. Faysal had to contend with Ottoman influence in the Hijaz and the British presence in Oman and the lower Gulf when contemplating expansion. For example, in 1852 Faysal sent a force to conquer the Omani controlled oasis of Buraimi but al Bu Said was allied with the British. The British forced everyone to pull back from the brink of war. Thus, Faysal decided just to raise Buraimi's tribute requirement.

Faysal died and his son Abdullah (1865-71) came to power in Riyadh. Saud's half brothers, Saud, Muhammad and abd al-Rahman competed with Abdullah for power. Saud was the biggest challenger but he died in 1875. Al-Rahman and Abdullah continued fighting. Rahman eventually gained the upper hand but came to power with Abdullah and his nephews challenging for power. In 1887 Abdullah got Muhammad al-Rashid, ruler of Hail, to invade Riyadh to help him against his nephews. Saud's sons then fled to Kharj. Rashid freed Abdullah but made him a hostage in Hail. Sibhan, a member of the Rashidi elite, was left in charge of Riyadh. As a last ditch effort to reassert Saudi dominance, Rahman gathered the Mutayr tribal confederation, or at least elements of it, and the people of Qasim to take on the Rashidis. In response, al-Rashid gathered the Shammar, Muntafiq and Harb confederations and defeated Rahman in 1891. Rahman fled to Kuwait and the Rashidis occupied former Saudi territory bringing an end to the second Saudi state. The Rashidis looked on while the Saudi emirs fought each other. They only moved in after the Saudis had weakened the state

through infighting. Once the Rashidis defeated the al-Saud, they did not cause a major

upheaval in the former Saudi state. The Rashidis had already converted to Wahhabism

and encouraged its enforcement.[237]

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[237] Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History*, 96

CHAPTER 4: CHIEFTAINCY TO PATRIMONIAL STATE 1902-32

A. Introduction

Chapter 4 focuses on Ibn Saud and the beginning years of the third Saudi state from 1902-32. What accounts for regime resiliency during this period? The discussion begins noting that the mutawwa were an important source of resiliency because with Ibn Saud declared as Imam they could subdue rebellious groups through the hadar settlements and Wahhabi Islam teachings that demanded obedience to Ibn Saud. Then, the Ikhwan are discussed. The Ikhwan were converted by mutawwa in hadar and became enlisted in Saud's military where they subdued the tribal periphery. It is hard to see them as the primary force for resiliency as they rebelled against Ibn Saud in 1916, 1919 and 1926 and by the early 1930s had became an afterthought due to the emergence of modern technology. Zakat is an Islamic tax that helped Ibn Saud raise funds by subduing different regions of his emerging state. A chieftaincy is a loose political organization with a chief at the top and different tribes below held together by weak bonds and all share power to some extent.

In the initial phase of Ibn Saud's third Saudi state, the establishment of a conquest movement was important for unifying society behind him. The second phase of the state during this period involved the creation of an administration and central government. A patrimonial monarchy involves a strong ruler and rule by family ties and the establishment of patron-client relationships. Some attack Wahhabism as the main source of Saudi resiliency and instead point to foreign aid, in particular British aid which allowed Ibn Saud to gain the support of various tribes Others point to the

merchant-Saudi alliance as the main Saudi alliance and not the tribes or religious groups.

B. Tribes and Chieftaincies

1. Tribes: Reaching towards a definition

Philip Khoury and Joseph Kostiner argue in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* that there is no tribal society in a 'pure' form.[238] Despite the difficulties in defining what a tribe is exactly they set out to at least provide some parameters. They argue that generally speaking, tribes are made up of kin groups organized by blood ties.[239] Richard Tapper argues that we need to examine tribes at different levels in order to best understand them. Albert Hourani argues that we should look away from understanding tribal solidarity as a form of kinship and instead as a "myth of common ancestry."[240]

The Wahhabis focus on an *assabiyya* in order to exclude others from the polity.[241] They put the *kufr,* unbelief, label on those seen as enemies in order to expand.[242] The polity was a desert polity and the al-Saud held a number of clans in line

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[238] Philip Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3

[239] Philip Khoury, Kostiner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* 4

[240] Philip Khoury, Kostiner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* 5

[241] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, Ian Richard Netton (ed), (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 76

[242] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 76

through patrimonial connections and the early Saudi states were held together by tributary relationships with the periphery.[243] The Bedouin tribes were connected to the system through trade routes and protection fees. Tribes had to be forced into the tributary system for the al-Saud to stay in power. This was done through taxation and keeping them out of politics. Importantly, the al-Saud clan centralized the redistribution of the surplus rather than the system before where the tribes extracted it themselves through raids or *khuwwa*-protection fees. This was the triumph of "political right" over "tribal right" and this was tied up in tribal terms like *himaya*, protection, where a central authority offers protection instead of individual tribes.[244] Furthermore, Ibn Saud pursued a detribalization policy through the establishment of *hujar*-agricultural villages.[245]

2. Chieftaincies

Chieftaincies are power-sharing arrangements with pastoral nomads, tribesmen, urban dwellers and a chief or ruler.[246] In Chieftaincies, personal arrangements and not institutions define the relationship between rulers and ruled. Chieftaincies cannot just be defined by kinship alone but instead must take into account the important leadership of the chief. Chieftaincies, as seen in the case of the fall of the first two Saudi states,

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[243] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 79

[244] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 80

[245] Ugo Fabietti, "Sedentarisation as a Means of Detribalization: Some Policies of the Saudi Arabian Government Towards the Nomads," in *State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia* (ed) Tim Niblock (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 190

[246] Philip Khoury, Kostiner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East,* 8

can be weak and unstable. This is due to the near non-existence of institutions. The foundations of the chieftaincies are weak alliances with the tribes. The bonds between ruler and ruled are personal and thus fragile and can be broken at any time. Defections could take place. Open defiance of the chief by a tribe is a possibility. Thus, lacking true institutions, chieftaincies could indeed be very fragile.

According to Kostiner, the tribes of Saudi Arabia were under a chieftaincy that was the political organization during the first, second and finally revived during the third Saudi state.[247] The alliance between the chief and his tribal members was based on sharing power among tribes, towns and the urban-based Saud.[248] Tribes served as an important military base. Despite their importance, the tribes failed to gain administrative posts in the Saudi-Wahhabi power structure.

C. The Mutawwaa

The mutawwa are of particular importance. They came generally from the oases of Najd and had been raised on the teachings of ibn Abd al-Wahhab.[249] Typically, these men were from the hadar communities and they were instrumental in spreading Saudi-Wahhabi power.[250] They were "religious ritual specialists" who spread the ideas and practices of Wahhabi Islam.[251] The mutawwa enforced public puritanism that gave

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[247] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* by Philip Shukr Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 226

[248] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 226

[249] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 50

[250] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 49

[251] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 49

the al-Saud "control over social relations."[252] The mutawwa became extremely important during Ibn Saud's reign and expansion starting around 1902 as they domesticated the population through ritualistic Islam in order to convince them to accept Ibn Saud as political authority.[253] The mutawwaa in Riyadh declared him Imam when he entered.[254] Rasheed goes so far as to argue that the mutawwa were essential for state formation and the continuity of the third Saudi state.[255]

The relationship between Ibn Saud and the mutawwa was a two way street. Ibn Saud could only retain their loyalty if he was perceived, as the Imam, to be carrying out the cause of the mutawwa in the strict enforcement of Sharia law.[256] The mutawwa later went on to form the main members of the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and Prohibition of Vice.[257] The mutawwa were essential for going to rebellious groups and subjecting them to a system of discipline and in return Ibn Saud rewarded them. [258] The 1902 *baya,* or oath of allegiance, symbolically binded the mutawwa and Ibn Saud. The mutawwa were also instrumental in the program for rival tribal sheikhs who were brought to Riyadh for a religious education program.[259] It is pretty remarkable the level

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[252] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 85

[253] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* ,50

[254] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 50

[255] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 51

[256] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 51

[257] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 52

[258] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 56

[259] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 58

of agency that Rasheed ascribes to the mutawwa. The *mutawwa* caused most of Arabia to submit to Ibn Saud's rule between 1902 and 1932.[260]

D. The Ikhwan

The Ikwhan were Bedouins drawn from the hujar settlements.[261] Ibn Saud did not start out originally with a huge Ikhwan army. In fact, from 1902 to 1912 his army was mostly made up of the Najdi townsmen who, in looking out for their own economic interests, took part in Ibn Saud's raids.[262] The idea of the Ikhwan did not really materialize until 1907-8 when the Araif branch of his family began a rebellion.[263] They were instrumental in taking Ha'il and the Hijaz.[264] Ibn Saud realized the major problem to sustaining his rule came from the tribal confederations who through nomadism had managed to hold on to their autonomy.[265] The Ikhwan came from the Arabian tribes.[266] However, some scholars note that the Ikhwan were non-tribal and instead exited outside the established system and largely destroyed "weaker tribal groups."[267] Ibn Saud wanted

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[260] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 58

[261] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 85

[262] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 59

[263] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 59

[264] Keith McLachlan, "Saudi Arabia: Political and Social Evolution," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 94

[265] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 59

[266] Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia, 59

[267] Keith McLachlan, "Saudi Arabia: Political and Social Evolution," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 99

to weaken the power of the tribes and one way of doing this was by creating the Ikhwan settlements.[268] Ibn Saud relied on both the support of key tribal leaders while at the same time weakening their support bases.[269] In a sequence that would be criticized by Kostiner, Rasheed argues that the tribal confederations stopped nomadism, then joined haddar settlements and began following a *muttawwa* influenced Islam.[270] Kostiner's argument will be examined more fully later but basically he argues that the Ikhwan should not be treated as a monolithic group and that the process of integration was less linear and straightforward than traditional scholarship would suggest. The process of sedentarizing the Ikhwan made them easier to convert to the mutaawwa teachings, easier to control them and easier to enlist them in the military.[271] Ibn Saud became their Imam and it was thus their duty to respond to his calls for jihad.[272] With the consolidation of the former tribal forces, Ibn Saud had managed to make the third Saudi state stronger than the previous two states by subduing the tribal periphery and therefore eliminating the conflict that previously existed between the state's central power and the troublesome peripheries.[273] But allegiance did not come purely through religious

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[268] Keith McLachlan, "Saudi Arabia: Political and Social Evolution," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*,100

[269] Keith McLachlan, "Saudi Arabia: Political and Social Evolution," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 100

[270] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 59-60

[271] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 59-60

[272] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 59-60

[273] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 60

devotion. Rather, it took steady subsidies from Ibn Saud and the mutawwaa to keep the

Ikhwan loyal to Ibn Saud.[274]

E. Ikhwan Rebellion

The Ikhwan eventually rebelled against Ibn Saud and between 1927-1928 nine raids

occurred.[275] In fact, it may have turned into a general rebellion if it were not for the

discovery of oil and its patrimonial redistribution that solidified tribal structures.[276]

With the ulama's approval, Ibn Saud went on to pacify the rebellion.[277] Britain assisted

with the Royal Air Force and drove most of the Ikhwan rebels across the Kuwaiti

border.[278] Rasheed argues that the Ikhwan tired of being the "instruments" of Ibn

Saud.[279] Again, Kostiner would at least disagree slightly with this formulation on the

grounds that the Ikhwan were not monolithic and at least some were outside the direct

control of Ibn Saud and thus would not be considered his instruments.

F. Critical views on Ikhwan scholarship: Kostiner and 'Instruments'

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[274] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 61

[275] Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, "The Precarious Monarchy: Britain, Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud and the Establishment of the Kingdom of Hijaz, Najd and its Dependencies, 1925-1932," in *State, Society, Economy in Saudi Arabia,* 43

[276] Aziz al-Azmeh, "Wahhabite Polity," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, 86

[277] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 68-9

[278] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 69

[279] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 71

Joseph Kostiner takes a rather critical view of the mainstream scholarship on the Ikhwan. First, he takes issue with the description of the villages of khurma and turaba and argues that they were neither hadar nor ikhwan.[280] The people of Khurma held on to their tribal beliefs.[281] He applies this categorization to the period during the First World War.[282] Ibn Saud and the Ikhwan were not involved, originally, in the Khurma dispute that was rather a local battle between the village and Husayn.[283] Furthermore, the Ikhwan did not play a leading role in the Turaba event. This contradicts the dominant narrative that argues they did play a leading role.[284] Furthermore, Kostiner disagrees with many writers who create a picture where all the Ikhwan went into hujar and became farmers over a short period of time.[285] Kostiner argues the process was more spontaneous and was in many ways outside of Ibn Saud's control. [286]He points to L.P. Goldrup who explains that some hujar failed.[287] Also, settlers still had a rebellious

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[280] Joseph Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State," (Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 21, no. 3 (July 1985), 301

[281] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 301

[282] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 301

[283] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 302

[284] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 303

[285] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 303

[286] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 303

[287] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 304

streak and were known to reject some of the values Ibn Saud was trying to instill in them.[288] Next, Kostiner points out that the Ikhwan were not as militarily significant as they have been made out to be in the past. Importantly, the Ikhwan were just one of many of the fighters in the 1921 Hail campaign, 1920-23 Asir campaign, and 1924-5 Hijaz campaign.[289] Moreover, the Ikhwan did not even introduce new tactics into the Najdi army.[290] Also, he attacks the assumption that until the 1926 rebellion, the Ikhwan were a loyal and reliable instrument of Ibn Saud. As early as 1916 Ibn Saud had to fight the Ikhwan. He also had to deal with al-Dawish in 1919 in open conflict.

G. Zakat

One important way of binding the tribes to the ruling Saudis was through the Islamic payment of zakat.[291] Thus, zakat payments exercised sovereignty over the tribes.[292] Zakat is an important pillar of the Islamic faith that Muslims must follow. Thus, its requirement by the Saudi-Wahhabi alliance is important because of the pressure it put on Muslims to comply with the Islamic tax that was transformed into a

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[288] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 305-6

[289] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 306

[290] Kostiner, "On Instruments and their designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the emergence of the Saudi State, 306

[291] Anthony B Toth, "Control and Allegiance at the Dawn of the Oil Age: Bedouin, zakat and struggles for sovereignty in Arabia 1915-1955," *Middle East Critique,* 21 (2012), 58-9

[292] Toth, "Control and Allegiance at the Dawn of the Oil Age: Bedouin, zakat and struggles for sovereignty in Arabia 1915-1955," 58-9

power relationship through subjugating oneself to the rule of the Saudis. Agreeing to pay zakat, in the nineteenth century, led to submission and loyalty, and also to subjects being willing to fight for the ruler.[293] After Ibn Saud conquered Riyadh in 1902, zakat helped link the chieftaincy with the state.[294]However, Ibn Saud had to be careful as too strong a fist could push some important settlements and leaders out of his orbit and into someone else's influence. Under Ibn Saud, some tribes did not have to pay zakat. Thus, politics affected the religious implementation.[295]

H. Kostiner and Chieftaincy

Importantly, Kostiner argues that the Saudi state was a traditional chieftaincy. This is apparent because of Ibn Saud's non-institutionalized rule and the weak cooperative bond between its tribal groups.[296] Importantly, Saudi society's very function was to expand territorially as this is what unified the various elements of society into a conquest movement.[297] After Saud conquered Hijaz, the Rashidis and 'Asir he began for the first time to centralize the state with the result being the central government's domination over everyone else in society.[298] To do this he had to create

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[293] Toth, , "Control and Allegiance at the Dawn of the Oil Age: Bedouin, zakat and struggles for sovereignty in Arabia 1915-1955," 61

[294] Toth, , "Control and Allegiance at the Dawn of the Oil Age: Bedouin, zakat and struggles for sovereignty in Arabia 1915-1955," 63

[295] Toth, , "Control and Allegiance at the Dawn of the Oil Age: Bedouin, zakat and struggles for sovereignty in Arabia 1915-1955," 64

[296] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 228

[297] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 229

[298] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 233

an administration which he did after he occupied the Hijaz. Offices were established and then brought into the council of delegates (majlis al-wukala) which was established right before Ibn Saud's death.

During 1920-21 new town governors were established coming mainly from the Saudi family in order to strengthen Saud's hold on power in the provinces.[299] Saud tempered the expansionist fervor as he sought out peace treaties with neighboring states and continued to expand the strong central government. These new state values were against traditional tribal values and power as the balance of power between tribes and government was tipped towards the government. Kostiner argues that we should see the Ikwan's revolt as not just religious fanaticism. Instead, we can see the Ikhwan revolt as Najdi tribes seeking to keep the Saudi state as a chieftaincy where tribal rights would take dominance. This conception clashed with the increasingly centralizing Saudi state.[300]

Ibn Saud eventually defeated this rival claim to power. Kostiner describes the state's regime as patrimonial characterized by a strong ruler and rule by family ties and those Ibn Saud choose to take part in the administration[301] Society remained thoroughly tribal as the administration was not institutionalized."[302] Although tribal power declined, tribal values were still widespread and a battle between decentralized tribal authority and the central government's authority continued. Despite the fact that tribal elements were in the background, real authority lay in the institutions of the

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[299] Kostiner, Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 233

[300] Kostiner, Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 235

[301] Kostiner, Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 236

[302] Kostiner, Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 236

chieftaincy.[303] This was suspended by the 1930s. It was informal. Despite the establishment of Saudi Arabia in 1932, the regions remained different. The Hijaz was important for Ibn Saud with the highest revenue from taxes, and also where foreign advisors and Western businessmen gathered and local traders all looking to have their ideas heard by the privy council.[304] Najd became inferior in status compared to the Hijaz. To isolate the tribes and to keep them from seeping into state institutions, tribal subsidies were distributed.

I. Saudi Ruling Class

During this period the Saudi aristocracy began to take shape following the unification of the state. Those who helped him conquer Riyadh in 1902 were included in the aristocracy. This includes the jilwi family and a "few score brothers, uncles, cousins, and other relatives and in-laws and some Bedouin followers."[305] The Wahhabi ulama and "important tribal and regional amirs" joined these members.[306] The aristocratic power base was expanded through "matrimonial arrangements" that brought in important "regional and tribal umara."[307] The marginalization of the tribes emphasis in the literature continues with Abir who argues that newly integrated tribal amirs into

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[303] Kostiner, Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 237

[304] Kostiner, "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia," 239

[305] Mordechai Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia," *Middle Eastern Studies,* 23 (1987), 150

[306] Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia,"150

[307] Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia," 150

the aristocratic structure were considered a second tier elite.[308] Also in accordance with

the main views in the literature, the ulama were relegated to a secondary status and not

that of equal partner in the Saudi-Wahhabi alliance.[309] But as noted earlier this

arrangement was ok from the standpoint of the ulama at least after the upheavals and

civil wars in the second Saudi state. At the same time, Ibn Saud still relied on the ulama

to legitimize his rule and their support "was crucial for the process of national

integration through religion (wahhabism), law (sharia) and traditional education."[310]

Importantly for the next chapter this period of state building fell back on pre-modern

"political consolidation…firstly, the patronage and co-option of different tribal groups

and, secondly, the creation of a stable base for the dynasty through contracting of

marriage ties with a large number of families and clans, especially important tribes but

also leading urban and religious families."[311]

J. Changes to Ibn Saud's Army

Ibn Saud's army underwent changes during this period. Before 1912, his army

was mostly made up of his own clan and Bedouin and used the methods of tribal raiding

that they were familiar with.[312] The army changed with the creation of the Ikhwan

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[308] Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia," 152-3

[309] Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia," 153

[310] Abir, "The Consolidation of the ruling class and the new elites in Saudi Arabia,"153

[311] Stephanie Cronin, "Tribes, coups and princes: Building a modern army in Saudi Arabia," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 49 (2013), 8-9

[312] Stephanie Cronin, "Tribes, coups and princes: Building a modern army in Saudi Arabia," 6

settlements after 1912. In an argumentative move also seen by Christine Helms, Cronin argues that although putting the Bedouin in settlements was in effect detribalizing them, the Ikhwan, in part at least, continued to organize themselves along tribal lines in the settlements which was central in "determining both the composition of the population of each individual settlement and its internal demarcations and hierarchies."[313]

From 1902 onwards "the control of Bedouin tribes and the monopoly of both religious legitimacy and inland trade" were "sources of state-building" of Ibn Saud.[314]

In 1902, Abdulaziz took Riyadh in a surprise attack thus marking the beginning of the third Saudi state. Abdulaziz had to deal with the Ottomans, Rashidis and the British so he had to sidestep and be careful and spent a few years just working on consolidating his rule in the area surrounding Riyadh.[315] Finally, he began his expansion pushing the Rashidis back to Hail and then beat the Ottoman's in Hasa in 1913. He concluded a 1915 treaty with Britain and weapons and money began flowing into the Saudi armory and treasury. The acquisition of subsidies from Britain played a key role in winning over the tribes.[316]

K. Menoret: Saudi Enigma

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[313] Stephanie Cronin, "Tribes, coups and princes: Building a modern army in Saudi Arabia," 7

[314] Nelida Fuccaro, "Between Imara, empire and oil: Saudis in the frontier society of the Persian Gulf," in *Kingdom without borders: Saudi religious and media frontiers*, (London: Hurst, 2008), 40

[315] David Commins, *The Gulf States: A Modern History,* (London: I.B. Tauris: 2012), *96*

[316] Pascal Menoret, *Saudi Enigma*, (London: Zed Books, 2005), 82

Menoret makes essentially the same argument as Madawi al-Rasheed pointing out that with British Aid the "Saud family was able to establish its pre eminence over the other regimes in the peninsula."[317] Later, he goes on to say "British strategic support would prove invaluable, since it enabled him to purchase tribal support."[318] Menoret also argues that "three strategies governed the foundation of modern Arabia: politically the consolidation of a family whose contours closely followed those of the kingdom; socially, the removal of 'bedouinism' as a significant reality; and economically, the constitution of a class of technocrats and merchants dependent upon the royal family."[319] It is hard to find in the literature the fact that the other emirates the Rashidis, asiris, hijazis were also benefiting from treaties with the British. Perhaps, the Saudi treaty outsizes the other treaties and this explains why the Saudis were able to triumph, in part, to foreign aid.[320]

Ibn Saud was also able to consolidate power and establish a source of durability through his extensive marriages to the women of famous Bedouin tribes, tribal families, "descendants of abd al-wahhab, the great sedentary families of Najd" which bore him forty-three sons and around fifty daughters.[321] Some, in Menoret's view, have mistakenly taken this as a tribal practice or way of forging lasting alliances. This was a way of subduing the tribes by taking their most precious women.[322] Instead, he argues

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[317] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 82-83

[318] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 84

[319] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 82-83

[320] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 82-3

[321] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 84
[322] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 93

that this created a "supratribal power and the constitution of a privileged class that now numbers more than 12,000 male and female members."[323] This class would go on to represent a "supratribal oligarchy."[324]

After the incorporation of Hijaz into the growing Saudi state, the corporations of Mecca and Medina were "grouped around the najd political-military oligarchy."[325] This way, Ibn Saud could take advantage of the zakat tax revenue and hajj fees.[326] Then, Ibn Saud aligned himself with the Jeddah merchants who laid the foundation for a modern state administration.[327] Menoret argues the "alliance underpinning the Saudi regime was not tribal in nature; nor was it religious; since religious power was conceived as being directly subordinate to royal power. The truly founding alliance, then, was contracted with the merchants of hijaz, so that it was an urban capitalism and a supratribal oligarchy which, in its original matter, structured the modern Saudi state."[328] Significantly, "the third Saudi state was constructed entirely in the province of Hijaz, where it could rely upon commercial and administrative know-how."[329] After the alliance between the Hijazi merchants and Jeddah merchants, Saud went on to eliminate and then incorporate opposition groups into the Saudi state like the Hajj corporations

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[323] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 84-85

[324] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 92

[325] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 94

[326] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* 94

[327] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,94

[328] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,94

[329] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,94

and "political parties of Hijaz" who were outlawed in 1932.[330] Ibn Saud had to break the

merchants by giving them a deal. No political power in exchange for advantageous

positioning in a single unified economic market.[331] After Ibn Saud conquered the Hijaz

he prohibited the Ikhwan from entering the major cities in an attempt to gain favor from

the Hijazis who viewed Ibn saud and his Bedouin army with suspicion.[332] Interestingly,

Ibn Saud incorporated Wahhabi elite into the Hijaz administration.[333]

L. Breaking away from the tribes

The Saudis could not draw on a tribal legitimizing mechanism as a source of

durability. Instead, they demonstrated a talent for breaking "out of their natural family

group and traditional region."[334] Part of a way of having some kind of political

inclusiveness that could underline a source of durability was the "guarantee to every

member of a Bedouin tribe or a sedentary oligarchy that his grievances would find an

attentive ear in high places."[335] The establishment of the princes majlis provided such a

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[330] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,96

[331] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,97

[332] Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, "The Precarious monarchy: Britian, Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud and the establishment of the kingdom of hijaz, najd and its dependencies, 1925-1932," 40

[333] Sluglett, The Precarious monarchy: Britian, Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud and the establishment of the kingdom of hijaz, najd and its dependencies,"1925-1932, 40

[334] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,85

[335] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma* ,86

role and outlet for grievances and requests. Also through a system of 'wasta', or connections, "everyone is entitled to have access to the summit of the state."[336]

With the Ottomans gone, Britain was the only remaining super power in Arabia. In 1921, Saud conquered Hail "with British subsidies and ammunition" and the Rashidis were defeated.[337] In 1924 he conquered Mecca then Jeddah in 1925 taking most of the Hijaz. But, Saud still had to contend with Husayn's territories still left in the Hijaz. He was forced to move in because the British stopped his monthly payment of 5,000 pounds in 1924 which made him look to the prosperous territories of central Hijaz where he could exploit the pilgrimage tax and the customs duties from Jeddah.[338] Thus, for the first time since the first Saudi state, the regions of Najd, Hasa, Hijaz and Asir were under the "authority of a single ruler."[339] In the case of Hail and Hijaz, Britain played a key role with "subsidies, ammunition and weapons upset the balance of power between Ibn Saud and Ibn Rashid."[340]

The Ikhwan are a controversial topic in this period of the third Saudi state. They were formed in 1912. The conventional story, which Kostiner disagrees with at least in part, is as follows. Wahhabi preachers converted Bedouin tribes who were in hajar or agricultural communities. This made them easier to control for Saud who was trying to form a state and didn't want to deal with rival tribal loyalties. The Ikhwan embraced Wahhabism which made them easy to send out against the Rashidis and the Hashemites.

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[336] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma*, 86

[337] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* , 43

[338] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 45

[339] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 46

[340] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 47

Ingeniously, Ibn Saud recruited a Bedouin army and through his process of settling

them made them a partner in destroying their own Bedouinism by settling them and

removing a threat to his rule and dynastic durability.[341] Ibn Saud, in Menoret's view,

"made his first use of the Islamic lexicon, but as an instrument for sedentary Saudis to

take power away from the Bedouins by making them dependent upon subsidies from

Riyadh."[342] The Ikhwan "allowed the nascent state to break the tribal system."[343] After

growing out of his control, in March 1929 Saud defeated the rebellion of the Ikhwan. In

1932 the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was declared. Interestingly, Menoret argues that

only after the Hijazi merchants protested for the merging of a single market under a

unified state, did Ibn Saud make the formal declaration.[344] This goes to show just how

influential the Hijazi elite was despite their marginalization in many accounts of the rise

of the Saudi state. Heading into the next chapter and trying to understand sources of

resiliency the Saudi state should be understood mostly as a "sedentary and urban

state."[345]

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[341] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 87

[342] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 87-88

[343] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 90

[344] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 96

[345] Menoret, *Saudi Enigma,* 91

CHAPTER 5: IBN SAUD-BUILDING THE STATE 1932-52

A. Introduction

Chapter 5 covers Ibn Saud and the building of the third Saudi state from 1932-52. To stay resilient, Ibn Saud needed funds. After his fight with the Ikhwan and the global economic crisis, Ibn Saud needed funds to stay in power. He got these funds from the oil concession. This gave him the money he needed to pay the army and to give out loyalty gifts. He had to keep his family, tribes and defeated enemies happy. Furthermore, it cannot just be simply argued that multiple marriages will lead to resiliency. In fact, this can create tension that is hard to keep under control if the bonds of polygamous marriage are weak. The majlis was as source of regime resiliency as the King was able to demonstrate both his adherence to Islam and his domination over defeated rivals. It is also hard to argue that oil was the main source of resiliency during this period. The new oil wealth was spent as quickly as it came in. Greed was rampant. Islam, initially, was a useful tool of resiliency by emphasizing equality over the hierarchy of the tribes which helped create the Ikhwan. Yet, can we say this was a main source of resiliency? The Ikhwan, raised on the tenants of Islam, revolted multiple times against Ibn Saud.

B. Darlow and Bray: Ibn Saud-The Desert Warrior

Michael Darlow and Barbara Bray's book *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy* is largely a recounting of events in Saudi history through the lens of elites. There is not much here in terms of a bottom-up social perspective. However, their

account provides a valuable perspective in terms of understanding how events played out from the perspective of the elites. Before establishing the third Saudi state in 1932, Ibn Saud showed a mixture of mercilessness and mercy in dealing with rival tribes that revolted against him. For example, Ibn Saud destroyed the Ghat Ghat settlement, which was to remain in ruin for seventy years, in order to suppress any ideas of rebellion.[346] Ibn Saud could also be merciful after the Ikhwan rebellion and let the rebellion's leaders and followers live. [347] Ibn Saud also relied upon British support as a pillar of his regime's strength. Glub trained the highly effective Southern Desert Camel Corps to fight the Ikhwan raiders.[348] The British provided Ibn Saud with a strategic advantage in his fight against the Ikhwan when they agreed that they would prevent Ibn Saud's opponents from retreating to and maneuvering in Kuwait and Iraq. This pushed the rebels into Najd where Ibn Saud could attack and destroy them. As a result, many tribes who were with Darwash decided to take up arms with Ibn Saud.[349]

C. The Oil Concession

The civil war, in addition to the global economic crisis, left Ibn Saud's treasury depleted of gold. Ibn Saud had to do something to provide for his subjects and restore the state treasury so he could continue entertaining guests. That something ended up being the oil concession. SOCAL landed the concession with Ibn Saud on May 29th

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[346] Michael Darlow and Barbara Bray, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy*, (London: Quartet Books, 2010), 350

[347] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 357

[348] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 352

[349] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 356

1933. SOCAL established CASOC, The California Arabian Standard Oil Company, to handle the concession.[350]

D. Increased state funds and patronage

Increased state centralization, in particular tax collection, increased the funds of the state and thus increased its power.[351] With perhaps an eye towards the longevity of his new state, in 1934 the army received the most funds out of the state budget.[352] As noted elsewhere, the king did not give out normal salaries but rather gave out gifts to the ministers and advisors and they were housed in the royal palace.[353] This kept them under the wing of Ibn Saud and presumably away from any undermining of his position. The giving of gifts when he travelled to various parts of the country presumably made his subjects more loyal and thus strengthened his rule.[354] Perhaps this was true in the earlier stages of the kingdom. Stenslie notes that this redistributive system does not completely subdue calls for political rights.

E. Western aid to avoid crisis

Ibn Saud relied on western aid to keep the Saudi people content in 1939 after the rains failed, many livestock died and many crops did not materialize.[355] Ibn Saud relied

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[350] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 371

[351] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 380

[352] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 382

[353] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 383

[354] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 383

[355] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 406

on CASOC food deliveries to keep the people from starving.[356] Through the Lend-Lease act, President Roosevelt decided to give $100 million to Saudi Arabia that went straight to Sulaiman's accounts of state.[357]

CASOC was renamed ARAMCO or the Arabian-American Oil Company. By 1945, the number of Americans present in Saudi Arabia jumped considerably. Yet, Darlow does not mention any real Islamic resistance to these developments. Perhaps, at this stage they kept their promise allowing the king to rule in all matters and allowing them to oversee most matters of faith. Ibn Saud continued to rule as he had before. Ibn Saud's style of rule relied upon providing for his extended family, paying off tribal leaders and providing for his defeated enemies in Riyadh.[358] Darlow does not expand on why his potency was such a major factor in his hold on power. Does a larger royal family make the monarch's hold on power easier or harder? What about the chances for infighting increasing as the family gets larger and more and more people want to have a share of power?

F. Operation Enduring Strength

The strength of the Saudi monarchy in its earliest days can be attributed to two main processes. First, Ibn Saud marginalized his nephews and brothers.[359] Second, he

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[356] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 407

[357] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy,* 420

[358] Darlow, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior and his Legacy*, 423

[359] Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

focused on developing his sons as a "distinct royal group."[360] Ibn Saud had 43 sons by

1953. One point of view in the literature argues that Ibn Saud had a large number of

marriages in order to create alliances through society like the tribes, religious elite and

"sedentary nobility." [361] Marriage thus became Ibn Saud's tool to help build his state

through "kinship relations."[362] During this process, Ibn Saud forged alliances, through

marriage, with powerful tribes like the Banu Khalid, Shammar, Aniza and Ajman,

members of nobility amongst the tribes like al-Shalan and Al Rashid and powerful najdi

families like al-Sudayri.

G. Marriage: A strength or a problem?

However, Rasheed finds holes in the argument that these marriages served as a

political mechanism to create powerful alliances. Rasheed instead argues that these

alliances were weaker than they appeared. The author points to the fact that these

marriages lacked a monogamous attribute. She argues monogamy is a factor required

for "long-term political alliances."[363] Furthermore, the fact that it was easy to divorce

these wives points to a weak rather than a strong political alliance between the king and

various power centers.[364] Polygamy is a dual edged sword in the sense that although it

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[360] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 72

[361] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 76

[362] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 77

[363] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 77

[364] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 77

creates a larger "network of alliances," it ends up creating "rivalry and competition between groups" which is a detriment to unity.[365]

However, generally speaking, the marriage path the King choose set in motion some long lasting social dynamics which helped secure his rule. The nobility's success became tied to the monarchy.[366] These "privileged classes" of the king's creation were allowed to continue as nobility but in order to do so they had to be tied to the king's patronage which set in motion a dynamic of domination by the king over the nobility class.[367]

H. The Majlis

Another aspect of the monarchy's strength during this time was the expression of power through the majlis.[368] Public meetings were meant to show the king's domination over his subdued rivals.[369]Ibn Saud also used the majlis to show his devotion to Islam and thus, in part, legitimized his reign.[370] Importantly, during this time "state-society relations revolved around personalized contact with the King."[371]

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[365] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 77

[366] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 80

[367] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 80

[368] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 81

[369] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 82

[370] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 83

[371] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 86

The traditional majlis was a place for the display of power by the ruler.[372] Ibn Saud forced his defeated rivals to attend his majlis.[373] The King held meetings that were rituals that were important in "consolidating the emerging power of the royal lineage."[374] The majlis was important because it was where, after the military conquests were over, where people saw power in action.[375] The majlis was important for the "consolidation of the state."[376] Hospitality was important because it secured allegiance "at a time when neither national mythologies, nor a common sense of history and destiny, nor a well-developed welfare programmed tied subjects to rulers."[377] Marriages and royal feasts were a part of a system of domination of Arabia as personalized contact with the king dominated state-society relations.[378]

I. State Machinery

The King also began establishing the state machinery during this time. The Political Committee was established to handle state affairs.[379] Furthermore, state employees of the king didn't receive salaries but instead were dependent on gifts from

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[372] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 80

[373] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 82

[374] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 83

[375] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 83

[376] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 86

[377] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 86

[378] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* 86

[379] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 87

the king thus making them dependent on the king.[380] During the pre-oil era most revenue was derived from the pilgrimage. Eventually, oil began to play a major role in Saudi Arabia.

J. Rasheed revisited

The kingdom of Saudi was declared in 1932.[381] Ibn Saud set out to put together a royal lineage for the purpose of leadership continuity.[382] In order to consolidate the royal lineage, Ibn Saud marginalized his brothers and nephews while developing his sons into a group.[383] This whole process saw Ibn Saud struggling to ward off al-Saud claims to the throne.[384] In particular, he had to worry about his uncles after he captured Riyadh.[385] When Ibn Saud was just beginning to expand in Arabia he had to face off with his paternal cousins—the Ara'if led by 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Sa'ud ibn Faysal ibn Turki.[386] Despite freeing his paternal cousins from captivity in Ha'il from Ibn Rashid, they refused to give him their allegiance.[387] Eventually, the Ara'if staged a rebellion

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[380] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 87

[381] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

[382] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

[383] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

[384] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

[385] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 72

[386] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 72

[387] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 72

with the 'Ajman tribe against Ibn Saud in the Eastern Province.[388] They were defeated

and pacified by Ibn Saud, eliminating a paternal cousin threat to his rule.[389] Members of

the group lived under Ibn Saud's control.[390] But Ibn Saud faced other rivals as well. He

had to deal with the al-Juluwi who were incorporated into the state during state

building.[391] In exchange for his loyalty, Ibn Saud gave Abdullah ibn Juluwi the Qasim

governorship in 1908.[392] He later was stationed in Hasa.[393] Ibn Saud drew in the *al-*

Juwhuri into the government to neutralize them.[394] However, this still left the problem

of Ibn Saud's brothers and half brothers. Saud had seven brothers: Sa'ud, Abdullah,

Muhammad, Sa'ud, Ahmad, Musa'id and 'Abd al-Mohsin.[395] They were involved in the

military campaigns. Sa'ad, his only full brother died in combat and thus Ibn Saud did

not have to worry about him challenging for leadership.[396] Ibn Saud married Sa'ud's

widow Jawhara bint al-Sudayri.[397] This marriage left Abdullah and Muhammad as his

main rivals. Abdullah, leader of the Hijaz conquering army in 1924 and leader of the

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[388] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 72-3

[389] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[390] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[391] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[392] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[393] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[394] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[395] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[396] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 73

[397] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

1927 defeat of the Ikhwan, died in 1976 after being largely marginalized politically.[398]

Muhammad emerged as a serious rival.[399] Muhammad promoted his son Khalid as a

rival to Ibn Saud's son Sa'ud after Sa'ud was declared Crown Prince in 1933.[400] Some

even say Khalid in 1927 tried to kill the Sa'ud.[401] Both Muhammad and Khalid didn't

like the pacification of the Ikhwan.[402] Khalid died mysteriously in 1938. Muhammad

followed him in 1943. Thus, Ibn Saud was left without any real rival from "his own

generation."[403]

K. Political Committee

Most state affairs were carried out away from most of the population and relied

on a select group of men largely made up of the Political Committee-the al-shuba al

Siyasiyya.[404] They had administrative skills, largely received income in the form of

gifts, some stayed in the royal palace and were kept dependent on the king.[405] Although

the Political Committee dealt with foreign and domestic affairs, it was merely an

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[398] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[399] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[400] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[401] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[402] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[403] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 74

[404] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 87

[405]Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 87

advisory council without executive power.[406] They were left out of financial matters.[407] This was left to Abdullah Ibn Sulayman the finance minister.[408]

L. State Revenue

Sulayman was particularly good at acquiring money from the merchants.[409] For example, in 1927 during the Ikhwan rebellion he secured the funds necessary to fund the military campaign against them from the merchants.[410] During the 1920s and 1930s, *zakat* was the main source that the state drew upon for revenue.[411] In hujjar settlements, the mutawwaa collected zakat. But, pre-oil discovery, the pilgrimage provided most state revenue.[412] No real solid Saudi army existed in the 1930s and 1940s as Ibn Saud had just relied on raiding parties during his conquests.[413] What remained of the defeated Ikhwan became the National Guard.[414] In the 1930s, the "most important military force consisted of the jihad warriors and the royal guard, an amalgamation of urban conscripts from Najdi oases and 'Arid hadar communities."[415] Ibn Saud also held a daily meeting

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[406] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 87

[407] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 87

[408] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 87

[409] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 88

[410] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 88

[411] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 88

[412] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 89

[413] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 90

[414] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 90

[415] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 90

with the ulama after he co-opted them.[416] Importantly, after 1932 there are no reported major conflicts with the ulama.[417]

In 1933, Sulayman signed with SOCAL to begin oil exploration. Ibn Saud agreed as he had a large debt of 300,000 pounds from the Ikhwan war he needed to pay off.[418] The oil concession allowed Ibn Saud to pay off multiple debts and made up for the loss of pilgrimage revenue due to the great depression.[419] In 1935, oil drilling began and by 1938 commercial quantities began being produced.[420] World War II put a halt to a lot of operations but by 1945 21.3 million barrels were being produced.[421]

M. John Habib and Wahhabi Origins of the Saudi State

In 1932, central government was introduced although it oversaw a diverse and decentralized system and only got involved in the "most serious of problems."[422] Despite the introduction of central government, the country was still poor, public administration was weak, only subsistence economies brought together tribes, farmers and merchants.[423] The state still relied on the hajj for revenue.[424] Habib argues that the

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[416] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 90

[417] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 90

[418] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 91

[419] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 93

[420] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 93

[421] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 93

[422] John Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," *in Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia, 1910-1930* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 69

[423] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 67-8

greatest challenge to the new state was forging a common identity-a Saudi identity-for a country with a wide range of people differing in matters of "race, religion, social habits, customs, and education."[425] The Hijazis were skeptical of the Sauds return to power. They were afraid puritanical Wahhabism would pound out their version of religion.[426] Ibn Saud agreed to work with them. Saud ordered that restraint be shown with respect to Wahhabism.[427]Saud also kept the Hijazi administration from the time of Sharif Hussein bin Ali intact.[428] In Al-Hasa, the Shia were subjected to a decrease in civil liberties and left out of most of the government patronage networks.[429] Up until Ibn Saud died in 1953, he ruled as a Bedouin chieftain "with only a rudimentary administration."[430]

N. Vassiliev

Vassiliev claims that Ibn Saud attached his image to the romanticized Bedouin version of the ideal Arabian man who fought bravely, was "sexually potent," protected Islam, and took care of defeated warriors.[431] Vassiliev also contends that the Saudis

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[424] Habib,"Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[425] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[426] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[427] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[428] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[429] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[430] Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi state," 68

[431] Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* (London: Saqi Books: 1998), 289

claimed descent from the powerful anaza to strengthen their claim to rule.[432] Ibn Saud

used precedence in the Islamic tradition to justify his rule. In particular, he drew on the

ideas of the medieval thinker Ibn Taimiya. Taimiya split the leaders of society between

the ulama and the emir. In this case, the emir would be Ibn Saud. As such, he derived

immense power from his position as emir. He must make sure all Muslims are correctly

carrying out their religious observances, presides over court, is responsible for

economic projects and guarantees the community's security.[433] The general directorate

of police emerged by 1925. This was followed by the emergence of the special morality

force. Eventually, the security forces had a foothold in every major town in Saudi

Arabia.[434] ARAMCO workers began striking by the 1940s. As a response, the Saudi

government enacted a new law requiring an "eight hour work day and a six-day

working week."[435] But continuing unrest by the oil workers caused the Saudi

government in 1956 to send in Bedouin to attack the workers.[436] Vassiliev points out

that this was the last major movement of workers in the last half of the twentieth

century.[437]

O. Family Bonds versus Formal Institutions

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[432] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 289

[433] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 290

[434] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 297

[435] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 336

[436] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 337

[437] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia,* 337

David Holden and Richard Johns note that there were no real "central governing institutions" outside of the King's majlis "where all his subjects were welcome to seek an audience."[438] Furthermore, they argue that it was his first cousins "related through both blood and marriage" and the family connection that Saud really focused on to maintain his one man rule.[439] They really focus on the family bond as the main force holding the Kingdom together and they go so far as to say that the "marriage bed that did more than anything to strengthen the family bonds that held his kingdom together."[440] Slowly, this was expanded on slightly after 1925 with the establishment of some form of administration that in theory went beyond just Ibn Saud's one-man rule in the form of the Foreign and Domestic courts.[441] Their location in the royal palace raises doubts of their independence though. According to Holden, only Suleiman, the king's personal treasurer, held any real power besides Ibn Jiluwi in Hasa.[442] They take a critical view of the first years of oil wealth arguing that oil wealth led to greed.[443] Furthermore, "in those last years of his reign as oil revenues flowed in and almost as quickly evaporated, an atmosphere of disintegration and uncertainty prevailed. The whole edifice of government…centered upon Ibn Saud. His rule was personal and control over his realm lay very much in the dominance of his presence."[444]

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[438] David Holden and Richard Johns, *The House of Saud*, 99

[439] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 100

[440] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 101

[441] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 105

[442] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 107

[443] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 151

[444] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 159-60

P. McLoughlin

According to Leslie McLoughlin, Ibn Saud knew when to apply money and weapons "at the right time."[445] One strategic advantage Ibn Saud had was his reputation for ruthlessness that forced many to accept his "smile and handshake of reconciliation" rather than face his fury.[446] Curiously, she argues that not one of Ibn Saud's adversaries had the qualities of the "ability to survive on little sleep and food, his restless energy, quick thinking and resolute action, his ability to motivate his followers and to use a combination of force and what might be called psychological warfare."[447] Surely there must have been many capable leaders in Saudi Arabia. Perhaps she stretches the argument too far and elevates Ibn Saud into the Great Men of History theory. She looks at the time when Ibn Saud had to confront and crush the Ikhwan rebels. She points to the advantages enjoyed by Ibn Saud in this battle that included leadership experience, money to pay off the tribes, weapons from India, wireless radio and motor vehicles.[448] In 1932, Ibn Saud had to also put down an uprising in the Hejaz carried out by bin Rifada and "it was thanks to his excellent information service and his wireless network that Ibn Saud was able to suppress this rising so swiftly."[449] It was largely due to his utilization of the wireless network that Ibn Saud won quickly.[450]

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[445] Leslie McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1993), 93

[446] McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* 96

[447] McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* 100

[448] McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* 107

[449] McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* 122

Q. Habib

John Habib argues that Ibn Saud's strategy of the carrot and the stick in his expansion from 1913 on added to the perception that he was the "most powerful leader" in Arabia.."[451] He really focuses on the Wahhabi connection to Ibn Saud and how this legitimized his rule and thus made his reign more stable. Ibn Saud ensured this bond through force if necessary. For example, Saud destroyed the religious opposition in the 1920s. After that, the Wahhabi *ulama* accepted Ibn Saud's claim to rule while retreating into the religious sphere.[452]

R. Helms

Christine Moss Helms focuses on the ways in which the Saud's were successful in Arabia. Abd al-Aziz had to establish his authority over the tribes. To do this he had to emphasize kinship over any other bond and dissolve tribal customs that benefited the Shaiks.[453] For example, he eliminated khuwa for the Awazin. This led to a tribal force loyal to Saud and able to challenge over tribal confederations.[454] Then, Saud attempted to further detribalize by making former tribal members Ikhwan.[455] Abd al-Aziz was able

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[450] McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom,* 130

[451] John S. Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi State," in *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State*, 58

[452] David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia,* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co Ltd, 2006), 72

[453] Christine Moss Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* (London, Billing and Sons Limited, 1981), 60

[454] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 60

[455] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity*, 60

to establish his authority because he understood the three key factors of "tribal networks, Islam and foreign intervention."[456] He also used customary law and kingship bonds as tools for control.[457] Islam was a useful weapon against the tribes because it emphasized the equality of all men, a value greatly at odds with tribal values and used against these values to create the new Ikhwan force.[458] Helms brings up that Saud conquered urban areas first in order to lay the groundwork for stability economically and politically.[459] It was "in their interest to support a state structure which provided a stable environment for trade through the establishment of administrative bodies and a legal system to organize exchange relationships."[460] Central Arabia's isolation and the allying between badu tribes and urban areas further consolidated Saudi authority.[461] Then by the 1930s, for the first time in Saudi history, power and authority began to be felt not just in the cities but also in the countryside.[462] And perhaps for the first time the tribes had to ask the government before leaving their territory.[463] Furthermore, "badu began to settle in new towns, *hijras.*"[464]

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[456] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity* ,70

[457] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 70

[458] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 70

[459] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 113

[460] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 113

[461] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 146

[462] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 147

[463] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 147

[464] Helms, *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Political Identity,* 147

Britain started establishing offices in Saudi Arabia in the 1930s and 1940s with the goals to first assist Ibn Saud with controlling the tribes and Ikhwan. Second, to encourage Ibn Saud to cooperate with Britain. Ibn Saud thought help from the British would help him tighten his grip on power.[465] Yizraeli argues that after 1932 the Saudi government was "based on broad acceptance of the House of Saud's monopoly on power; on the consolidation of the regions and provinces under centralized rule; and on the establishment of the first organs of a centralized administration."[466]This was the first stage. Interestingly, and in a bit of a departure from the rest of the literature, Yizraeli argues that "it was based on the tribal form of chieftaincy, providing power-sharing between nomads and townspeople, under a ruler who himself resided in a town…Ibn Saud departed from the traditional model by setting up a much more centralized type of rule and providing it with a rudimentary administrative apparatus."[467]

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[465] Sarah Yizraeli*, The Remaking of Saudi Arabia* (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997), 16

[466] Yizraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia* 18

[467] Yizraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia* 18-19

CHAPTER 6: RENTIER STATE-SAUD TO FAYSAL (1952-1975)

A. Introduction

Saud faced a number of threats to the resiliency of the monarchy, ranging from Nasserite officers, educated middle class nationalists, etc. Helping the resiliency of the monarchy was the fact that most Saudis were poor, rural, and conservative and loyal to the monarchy. Also helping was some oil revenue that helped raise the standard of living. Furthermore, in times of great stress like the declaration of Nasser's United Arab Republic in 1956, the royal family closed ranks in order to keep the monarchy together. However, Samore points out that princes also jockeyed for positions of power in time of crisis. Faysal was important for regime stability during the fall of the Yemeni monarchy in 1962. He put out a 10-point plan that saw a rise in the standard of living and modernization. He pleased groups that threatened the regime's resiliency. He pleased the elites, ulama and middle class intellectuals. Oil wealth's utilization as a welfare weapon under Faysal reduced revolutionary fervor in Saudi Arabia that helped the monarchy's resiliency. Furthermore, the system was a far reaching oligarchy and not just a single person in the form of the monarch that made the system harder to overthrow. Indeed, during the Saud-Faysal struggle the family had demonstrated its dominance over the monarch. Most people simply wanted to reap the rewards of working with Faysal and not against him.

B. Saud (1952/3-1965)

The Council of Ministers was established in 1953. They had no real executive power as all decisions had to be approved by the King. Also during this time it became apparent that there was a problem between the King and Crown Prince in terms of how to share power.[468] Saud and Faysal fought over the Council of Ministers role in Saudi Arabia. In Saud's mind, he was both King and Prime Minister whereas Faysal thought he had more power invested in himself as both Crown Prince and deputy prime minister. During this time, the state bureaucracy expanded to include the Communication, Agriculture and Water, Education, Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Pilgrimage and Islamic Endowments, Labor and Social Affairs and Information ministries. Saud, like his father before him, began promoting his sons into key positions of power in the new ministries. They went on to occupy the Ministry of Defense, Royal Guard, National Guard and Special Guard.[469]

By 1964, "three royal power blocs" were established.[470] The first group was based around Saud and his sons. The second group was Faysal, Faysal's half brothers and Faysal's paternal uncles. The third group was Ibn Saud's younger sons.[471] The Free Princes led by Talal pushed for a constitutional monarchy during this period. Events elsewhere in the Arab World during this time also led to challenges against the monarchy. Radicalism increased amongst the ranks of ARAMCO's workers after Palestine was lost in 1948, the Suez Crisis of 1956 and the 1952 coup in Egypt by the

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[468] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 108

[469] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 109

[470] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 109

[471] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 109

Free Officers actually led to a coup attempt in Saudi Arabia.[472] However, it is important to note that this discontent should not be exaggerated. A lot of these dissidents were from the "scattered voices" of parts of the educated elite. Furthermore, Saudi society still valued "descent and tribal origin" over education.[473] The educated dissidents didn't really speak for their place of origin or the major tribes.[474] Moreover, Talal and the Free Princes opposition ended by 1964 when Saud left the throne to Faysal.

Holden remarks, in anti-Saud remarks found elsewhere in the literature, that "Saud lacked his father's energy and authority."[475] Perhaps this is addressed in the revisionist literature. Many in the mainstream literature take a very negative attitude towards Saud and there is no discrepancy here.

C. Yisraeli

Yizraeli makes a dichotomy between Saud and Faysal that is fairly common in the literature. She argues that while Saud was tribal in nature and predisposed to tribal politics, Faysal was exposed to "innovative ideas" in the Hijaz and Western ideas he had picked up as Foreign Minister.[476] The revisionist literature should address this broad generalization as well.

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[472] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 112

[473] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 113

[474] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 113

[475] David Holden and Richard Johns, *The House of Saud* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson: 1981), 178

[476] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 187

Interestingly, Yizraeli and others focus on the tribal makeup of rule under Saud and his father who preceded him. In the previous literature, many had de-emphasized the tribal element of rule arguing that Ibn Saud was in many ways anti-tribal or at least supra tribal in his rule. Why this return to tribal politics and chieftaincies?

Yizraeli differentiates the two different systems of power under Ibn Saud and Saud. Ibn Saud's power lay on a foundation made up of tribal, business and religious leaders.[477] She emphasizes the tribal nature of this arrangement arguing that the tribal leaders gave Ibn Saud troops and helped strengthen the bonds between Ibn Saud and the tribes. Business leaders have Ibn Saud the money he needed to keep the people loyal. The uluma gave Ibn Saud religious legitimacy. The Saudi family stood above all.[478]

She argues that this changed under Saud. Here, the royal family challenged to become to dominant element due to its size and the "seniority principle of succession."[479] Also, for the first time in a significant way, oil began to upset the traditional alliance system. As soon as oil began pumping, the kingdom's income increased dramatically. This in turn caused the tribal chiefs and traders to become less important in the "decision-making process."[480] But at the same time that she says this she argues that Saud still viewed the tribal chiefs and merchants as the main foundations of the monarchy.[481]

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[477] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[478] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[479] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[480] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[481] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

The National Guard was propped up with the tribal element during Saud's reign to a level to be able to compete with the national army if an attempted coup were to take place centered on the military.[482]

Faysal opposed Saud. Faysal wanted the family and not the king to become the "ultimate source of authority in the kingdom."[483]The newfound oil wealth helped Faysal tip the balance in his favor as the revenues "helped him make the family dominant."[484] In line with this theme, administrative reforms aimed at modernizing the government's structure, institutions and bureaucracy were aimed at increasing the family's monopoly on power.[485]

The family, essentially following the 1962 coup in Yemen, urged Saud to give up power. From then on, the family and not the king was the ultimate source of authority. This was translated into real power through government positions and thus a grip on policy making.[486] A balance was reached within the various branches of the family and covering many sectors of society across tribal lines, urban lines, conservatives, reformists, etc.[487] In accordance with the mainstream literature's view, Saud "obstructed the emergence of modern governmental and administrative bodies. As far as he was concerned, they were obstacles to the exercise of his own power."[488]

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[482] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[483] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 188

[484] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 189

[485] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 189

[486] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 191

[487] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 191

[488] Yisraeli, *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia,* 195

D. Hudson

Michael C. Hudson argues that the period of greatest vulnerability was during Saud's reign from 1953 to 1964.[489] Furthermore, he argues that since 1953, the Saudi royal family has faced the same problem concerning legitimacy. How does a family keep its legitimacy when they are faced with the problems of wealth, weak government apparatuses and the presence of ideas like democracy and nationalists?[490] Hudson repeats the view in the literature of Saud's incompetence, failure to handle finances, weak leadership and inability to meet external challengers like Nasser.[491]

E. Faiysal (1965-1975)

There was some opposition to Faisal after he took over the reigns of power from Saud. Many tribes did not approve of the austerity reforms of Faysal. The merchants disagreed as well having become used to contracts from the King. Army officers who were inspired by Nasser resented the Minister of Defense, Faud bin Saud and disliked the extra attention given to the National Guard. Not to mention they obviously disapproved of cuts in defense spending.[492] In addition, liberal princes within the royal family started developing their own views and called for greater change in the system. Talal returned to Saudi Arabia in 1957 with constitutionalism and governmental representation ideas. These were pretty radical ideas to bring into Saudi Arabia. They

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[489] Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1977), 174-75

[490] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, 174-75

[491] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy,* 174-75

[492] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 208

found some resonance in the Hijaz among professionals, "administrators and businessmen."[493] By 1959, the reformists argued that restoring a weak Saud and ousting Feisal would help them reach their objectives. Even though Saud had spent $30 million on the tribes over the last six months they did not come to his aid. Nor did the National Guard as the Guard was now dependent on subsidies from Abdullah who was loyal to Faysal. In this ongoing power struggle in March 1964 tribal sheiks and religious leaders declared support for Faysal. Then Faisal sent a message to King Saud that the "Royal Guard would be answerable to the Minister of Defense. Officers of the force accepted the dictate and swore allegiance to Feisal."[494] Finally the ulema issued a fatwah on March 29 "declaring the king was unfit to govern."[495] The following day, 60 of the senior princes supported the fatwah and Saud was "deprived of all executive, legal and administrative powers."[496] Faisal was made King on November 2nd.

Under Faysal the state become more and more characterized by an increased in size administration. In 1968, the Central Planning Committee was established with four hundred thousand civil servants. A welfare system was put in place. In 1970 a judicial system was established. Education and training became important as hundreds of thousands of students began attending schools and universities. The tribes changed due to the changing nature and expansive role of the state. Regional identities declined. Saudi society changed from a nomadic rural society to an urban society with nomads dropping to as little as 10 percent of the total population. Tribal chiefs became part of

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[493] Holden, *The House of Saud* 209

[494] Holden, *The House of Saud* 239

[495] Holden, *The House of Saud* 239

[496] Holden, *The House of Saud*, 240

the ruling class whereas the lower members lost their prestige and joined the lower class in urban area shacks. The tribal majlis helped facilitate this relationship. Tribal associations and quasi-tribal associations were established and were headed usually by members of the royal family which strengthened the bond between the state and the ruled.

Although the Saudi government was in crisis, oil revenue increased and brought that uncertainty to an end.[497] The five year plans began in 1970. Faysal was known as a modernist due to his promotion of education and female education.[498] It is important to note that oil really became the most valuable resource in Saudi Arabia. By 1975, "75 percent of total government income" was from oil revenues.[499] In fact, although the royal family entity had been around since 1932, the "state, funded by oil revenue, didn't really emerge until the 1970s."[500]Faysal put the council of ministers under his control. At the same time Fayal named himself King and Prime Minister. Rasheed argues that Faysal's most important act was to divide up the functions of the state "among his loyal half-brothers, thus merging important branches of the royal lineage with state machinery."[501] During this time, the ulama "were formally co-opted"[502] The bond between the monarchy and the ulama was informal. But during this period, the ulama-

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[497] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 120

[498] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 122

[499] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 122

[500] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 122

[501] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 123

[502] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 124

monarchy bond became more officially set.[503] Importantly, the monarchy awarded the ulama with concessions. In return, fatwas were released supporting Faysal's reforms.[504] During Faysal's reign, the "state became the source of welfare benefits, medical treatment, new houses…"etc.[505] The "state became a gatekeeper that mediated the existence of all citizens."[506] Oil also played a significant role in a new royal family dynamic where "oil revenues allowed the consolidation of a cohesive royal family now united by real economic interests rather than vague genealogical and blood links."[507] The tribes were also co-opted by the 1970s by economic benefits.[508] Faysal was also interested in subduing the various secular opposition groups in Saudi Arabia including "Nasserites, Arab nationalists, Baathists, socialists and even communists."[509] The secular opposition in Saudi Arabia ended during Faysal's reign. The 1973 oil embargo was important for the resiliency of the monarchy. Oil prices increased leading to increased modernization that "strengthened the ability of the regime to extend services, enforced state control over the population and created dependency on its resources."[510]

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[503] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 124

[504] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 124

[505] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 126

[506] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 126

[507] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 126

[508] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 127

[509] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 133

[510] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 135

But, while it helped the monarchy, new oil wealth made the regime vulnerable and as a result it looked to the US to be its main security patron.[511]

Hudson also contrasts Saud's incompetence with Faisal's "astute and cautious" diligence and ability.[512] During this period the resiliency of the monarchy according to Hudson can be attributed to Faisal's ability to go beyond the tribes and royal family for support, personal legitimacy which is at the core of the system was re-established, the Saudi's were able to merge Islamic values with Arab nationalism and the emergence of the technocracy and its subordination to the royal family were all important factors leading to the resiliency of the monarchy.[513] Moreover, the first government budget was designed in 1958, economic advisors were brought in to consult with the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency, thousands were trained in the professions, he abolished slavery, modernized the judicial system to bring Sharia law into contact with modern commercial law, he stopped Nasser from penetrating into Saudi Arabia from Yemen, and he increased his legitimacy with the 1973 Oil Embargo.[514] The Saudi state is heavily saturated with the royal family. The royal family including the Defense, Interior, National Guard, Finance and Foreign Affairs offices takes the most important posts in the government. Marriage and patronage still connects the far regions of the country to the royal family. And under Faisal, intelligence gathering increased.[515]

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[511] Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia,* 135

[512] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* 175

[513] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* 175

[514] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* 175

[515] Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* 179-80

F. Abir, Aramco strikes, succession struggles, War in Yemen

Saud had to deal with perhaps the greatest era dominated by Arab nationalism in Saudi Arabia to stay in power and keep the Saudi regime in place.[516] During the period of Saud's rule from 1953-64, the threat of being overthrown was very real as the royal family fought each other and Saud was viewed as a weak leader.[517] Threats came from all directions. One threat came from Hejazi "pro-Nasserite officers."[518] Another threat came from the educated middle class nationalists.[519] The army was left underdeveloped in this period to prevent any military coup. Both Saud and Faysal worked hard to make the middle class feel included while at the same time being sure not to offend traditional religious groups. Saud included the middle class in his cabinet.[520] Faysal came out with a ten-point plan to win over the new middle class nationalists.[521] Faysal still strongly persecuted those he found to be too reactionary or too anti regime, especially during the period of Egyptian involvement in Yemen.[522] Ultimately, the Saudi regime overcame threats to its resiliency. Although though the middle class educated elite resonated with

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[516] Mordechai Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis* (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), 49

[517] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 49

[518] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 49

[519] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 49

[520] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 49

[521] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 49

[522] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 50

ideas of Arab nationalism most Saudis were poor, rural, conservative and loyal to their

tribe and to the monarchy.[523] The Bedouins were reluctant to ally with and suspicious of

the urban middle class which prevented them from unifying in a large force in

opposition to the regime.[524] Socialists had trouble gaining ground because they were

viewed as atheists.[525] On top of these societal fissures, the Saudi regime pumped in oil

wealth to raise the population's "standard of living."[526] Moreover, when the Saudi

regime had to face a major threat in 1962, everyone in the regime united, despite

differences, behind Faysal. So, they were able to keep their cohesion in times of great

stress which is crucial for monarchical resilience. Eventually, the majority in the

opposition decided to work with and not against Faysal and provided him with legions

of technocrats for modernization.[527]

Saud was a weaker ruler than his father, Ibn Saud.[528] Saud could not establish a

"power base within the royal family."[529] He tried to forge stronger ties with the middle

classes as well as strengthen old ties with the tribes and *ulama*.[530] The 1956 Suez War

and blockade nearly bankrupted Saudi Arabia as it was unable to export oil through the

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[523] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 50

[524] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 50

[525] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 50

[526] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 50

[527] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 50

[528] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 29

[529] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 29

[530] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 29

Suez canal.[531] Surprisingly, the Kingdom survived despite a lack of internal cohesion at the time within the royal family. It split into 3 camps. The first camp was made up of the king and the few remaining royal princes who gave him their support.[532] The second was made up of the Faysalites who supported his demands for reform and modernization.[533] The third was made up of liberal princes who were led by Talal.[534] Talal favored implementing a constitutional monarchy.[535] During another key moment of crisis, the formation of Nasser's United Arab Republic in 1958, the royal family gathered together and decided to take away the majority of Saud's responsibilities and to ask that Faysal take the post of prime minister.[536] It seems that when regime stability is threatened, the regime gathers itself for the sake of its own survival.

In 1953, the ARAMCO strike occurred. A petition drawn up by "Saudis trained abroad" demanded better salaries and the right to organize. Facing this threat to his regime, Saud (whose father Ibn Saud was still king but whose health was deteriorating and deferred to Saud) arrested the leaders. These arrests led to a general strike.[537] He released the leaders from jail and gave the workers a "20 percent pay rise."[538] This marked the beginning of "militant opposition to the al-Saud government."[539]

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[531] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 30

[532] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 30

[533] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis*, 30

[534] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 30

[535] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 30

[536] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 30-31

[537] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 33

[538] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 33

During the 1950's, five major centers of discontent existed. First, the "urban middle class Hijazis."[540] Second, the Shiites and ARAMCO workers. Third, the tribes and *hadar* in "northern Najd and in the Eastern Province" who had traditionally fought against Saud.[541] Fourth, Asiri tribes in opposition to the monarchy. Fifth, the armed forces but they were too weak in this period to do much.[542] To fight these forces, a 1954 decree made strikes and demonstrations illegal, media controls were further implemented and security began going after "radicals."[543] However, this move to suppress was not entirely effective because the royal family was racked by infighting between 1955 and 1961.[544] Under Saud's guidance, the State Security Law came out in 1961. It made it punishable by death to take any "aggressive act against the royal family or the state."[545] Political parties were outlawed.[546]

The war in Yemen after the ouster of the monarchy in 1962 started new opposition against the Saudi regime.[547] Terrorist attacks increased.[548] The middle class

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[539] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 33

[540] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 34

[541] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 34

[542] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 36

[543] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 36

[544] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 37

[545] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 41

[546] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 41

[547] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 43

[548] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 43

nationalist Hijazis lost some support for Nasser after his invasion of Yemen.[549] The war caused everyone to close ranks in government and gave full prime ministerial powers to Faysal.[550] Faysal's new government was very inclusive.[551] Nasser at the time had his eye on jumping from Yemen to seize Saudi regime.[552] Faysal threw in with the royalists against Nasser. During the war, on 6 November 1962 Faysal put forth a ten-point plan for modernization.[553] Some parts like a National Consultative Assembly did not emerge but a substantial rise in the "standard of living" and "rapid modernization" were seen.[554] This was all made possible by oil revenue.[555] Faysal had to please a wide array of different groups in the 10 point plan in order to keep the regime in power. The traditional elites likes it because it provided for stability and kept the regime in power.[556] The *ulama* went along with it as long as Wahhabism remained at the core of the society's identity.[557] The "middle class intelligentsia" liked it as an alternative to Nasser's radicalism.[558] The regime needed to co-opt the middle class into the regime. They largely succeeded despite not coming through with key promises for reforms in

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[549] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 43

[550] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 43-44

[551] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 44

[552] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 44

[553] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 45

[554] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 46

[555] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 46

[556] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 47

[557] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 47

[558] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 47

the constitution. The oil revenue led to increased "welfare benefits, government services and subsidies."[559] This was key for ensuring the regime's survival.[560]

Part of the survival of Faysal's regime was due to the fact that it was simply more attractive to join him and reap material rewards than it was to wage revolutionary warfare.[561] Due to the material reward of oil wealth, Faysal, "by the late 1960s," had reduced revolutionary fervor in Saudi Arabia.[562] Another tool for regime survival was the ability of Faysal to arrest large numbers of potential coup sympathizers from ARAMCO workers, Eastern Province Shiites, Hijazis and army officers.[563] Also key to its survival was that the regime did not rely just of a single monarch but instead a "widely-based ruling oligarchy."[564] Also, the National Guard was expanded in the 1950s and 60s which had been a pillar of regime support.[565] The security forces were also expanded during this period.[566] After the 1969-70 coup attempts, opposition was "reduced to insignificance."[567] Fear of arrest was one issue and the nearly limitless supplies at the hands of the regime contributed to the stifling of dissent.[568] Importantly,

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[559] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 47

[560] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 47

[561] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 51

[562] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 55

[563] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 56

[564] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 58

[565] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 58

[566] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 58

[567] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 58

[568] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 58

outside of revolutionary circles, ordinary people mostly supported the regime by
1970.[569] The new elites were drawn to the rewards of working with and not against
Faysal.[570] Those elites not convinced of material rewards were scared into joining the
regime.[571] Another step taken to advert revolutionaries was the idea to get rid of Arab
expatriate workers and replace them with Asian contractors on short-term work
leases.[572]

G. Hertog: Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats

Steffen Hertog makes several useful contributions to understanding how the
Saudi state functions under the monarchy and thus makes a contribution to
understanding regime resiliency. Abdulaziz was careful to include not just his close
family but also brought in local tribal leaders into his ruling circle while allowing local
ruling patterns to continue while vertically including them in Abdulaziz's rule.[573] Thus,
he extended his rule without causing too much local disruption.[574] Moreover, Abdulaziz
could bring Hijazi oppositionists and other opposition factions and give them jobs.[575]
By 1951 as Abdulaziz was ailing, he began the policy of dividing up institutions. This

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[569] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 59

[570] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 59

[571] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 59

[572] Abir, *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crisis,* 59

[573] Steffen Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 43

[574] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 43

[575] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 43

was done with the intention of placing the royals into state institutional posts.[576] The distribution of these posts was largely the work of high politics and elite political maneuvering.[577] Thus, power balancing for example when a royal's power grew too much a new parallel institution would be created to weaken him.[578]

During Saud's time in power, distribution of posts became primarily part of his power struggle with Faysal.[579] Princes and other heads of institutions began setting up fiefdoms.[580] They began to acquire followers and they began to "distribute personal favors."[581] "Gatekeepers" established themselves as intermediaries controlling "access to princes and their institutions."[582] How much you mattered was still determined by how "close to the court" you were.[583] Ultimate decision-making was still largely informal.[584] Institutions largely only "communicated with the king and not with each other."[585] Essentially, most postings were a way to basically drop off clients where there weren't expected to do much but remain loyal.[586]

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[576] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 44

[577] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 45

[578] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 45

[579] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 46

[580] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 47

[581] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 48

[582] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia,* 48

[583] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 49

[584] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 51

[585] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 51

[586] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia,* 52

Faysal led to "institutionalize the clientist nature of the bureaucracy."[587] He could not stop the spread of fiefdoms.[588] The 1962 cabinet marked a shift away from Saud at the center of Saudi politics.[589] Princes still continued to defend the reach of their fiefdoms and clients.[590] Over centralization proved to be a problem during this time combined with little to no parallel institutional coordination.[591] As noted by Abir, non-state actors were co-opted into the regime.[592] Importantly, Faisal "bureaucratized" the *ulama*.[593] They were given key positions in society with the bargain being they would keep quiet and loyal to the regime.[594] During this time, the tribes decreased in relative value.[595] Their voices were largely quiet in the 1950s and 60s.[596] They were the losers in Faysal's modernization project.[597]

H. Samore

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[587] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 61

[588] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 64

[589] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 64

[590] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 65

[591] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 67

[592] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 78

[593] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 78

[594] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 79

[595] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 80

[596] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 80

[597] Hertog, *Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*, 80

Samore's dissertation shows that at least the outlines of Herb's argument need some critique. On the surface, the argument seems perfectly reasonable. Family control over the organs of the state prevents outsiders from diluting the system and prevents them from establishing a foothold to challenge the monarch or other system. However, as Samore's thesis demonstrates, inter-family conflict can be just as much as a threat to monarchical resiliency at least in Saudi Arabia. The very monopoly over most organs of the state by the family sets up family conflict. Even those who were most ideologically similar could be the fiercest of rivals. I'd argue, based on Samore's findings, that the presence of family monopoly without a significant commoner presence can stress resiliency. Yes, the Saudi monarchy survived under Saud and Faysal. However, with the rate of turnover in government with the constant inter-family fighting during the age of Nasserism and Arab nationalism that was threatening monarchical regimes everywhere, the regime could just have easily have fallen especially if Nasser's adventure in Yemen had been more successful.

An on again off again succession crisis between Saud and Faysal existed during Saud's rule from 1953-1964.[598] From 1953-54 and really throughout the whole period, they competed with each other in placing supporters in the government structure.[599] Roughly, Saud established control over the royal household.[600] Faysal controlled the Council of Ministers.[601] Multiple times Saud was forced to give up executive authority

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[598] Gary Samuel Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," (Phd diss., Harvard, 1984), 74

[599] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 75

[600] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 75

[601] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 75

to Faysal.[602]Faysal eventually, for the most part, put an end to it when rising to power in

1964.[603] Samore also reveals some tension in Herb's overall argument that placing

family members in the main organs of the state leads to resiliency. Perhaps most

importantly, the question of succession sticks out. Saud made it appear he was

grooming his sons for succession and this caused major tension in the monarchy as it

appeared Abd al-Aziz planned on a line of succession laterally involving his sons.

Second, it became increasingly difficult, and perhaps made things more unstable, to

have so many princes with claims to the throne and more power to please.[604] It is

important to note the false dichotomy between Faysal and Saud presented by Samore,

and indeed by everyone else in the literature.[605] It is hard to believe that such a stark

contrast between the two with Faysal being the legal-rational developmentalist while

Saud represented backwards, pre-state tribal values and irrationality existed in reality.

Recent work is attempting to correct this view. On the surface, Herb's argument makes

sense. Create a state with the purpose of inserting loyal princes in power in its organs.

However, it became problematic in practice as Saud and Faysal used princes like poker

chips to develop an advantage over the other.[606] But, however, imperfect, and here one

can see the pros in Herb's argument, the system worked. For starters, Faysal "the best

man won."[607] Again this argument is founded on the assumption that Saud was too

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[602] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 76

[603] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 198

[604] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 198

[605] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 198

[606] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 199

[607] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 200

irrational for state rule.[608] Second, violence and major domestic problems were
avoided.[609] But the system was still shaky as each crisis flared up family rivalries who
used each crisis to jockey for power.[610] According to Samore, under Faysal's rule
relative stability reigned under his "strong leadership."[611] Faysal was able to keep the
royal household in order through punishment and mediation.[612] Important for the
resiliency of the monarchy, Faysal made the line of succession clear by putting Khalid
and Fahd as next in line.[613] This was done through the creation of a second prime
minister.[614]

I. Vitalis: Saudi Oil Frontier

The Standard Oil Company of California in 1933 obtained a "concession to look for
oil."[615] Then, SOCC joined with Texaco to work the "first Saudi oil fields."[616] Oil was
discovered in 1933.[617] In 1933, 2.3 million annually (2005 prices) was given to the king

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[608] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 200

[609] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 200

[610] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 201

[611] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 284

[612] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 284

[613] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 284

[614] Samore, "Royal Family Politics in Saudi Arabia (1953-1982)," 284

[615] Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (London: Verso, 2009), ix

[616] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*, ix

[617] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*, 33

to "prospect for oil."[618] The King used the money to shore up security in Saudi Arabia with badly needed funds after the world depression.[619] As the New York Times suggested, deliveries were made along with money transfers of $18 million over 2 years to gain a greater foothold over Arabian oil during World War 2.[620] Saudi workers for ARAMCO led the second strike in Saudi Arabia's history.[621] On June 11, 1945 they rioted at the Ras Tanura refinery due to problems with the food rations and overly abusive guards.[622] Then, on July 12, 1945 protests in Dharan over unequal pay began.[623] After 1952, ARAMCO's version of events in Saudi Arabia guided American policymakers.[624] This view saw the king as a "wise warrior king" in charge of new reforms.[625]

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[618] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier,* 33

[619] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier,* 33

[620] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*, 65

[621] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier,* 92

[622] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier,* 93

[623] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier,* 93

[624] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* 131

[625] Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* 131

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