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DEDICATION

In the beginning, I extend to God with thanks and thanks for all the blessings he has given me since the beginning of my life and to this day, as I dedicate it to my country, Iraq, as I dedicate this work to my teacher, my example, and my pride in this world, to the one who does not leave me astray and his voice to the one who encouraged me and gave me confidence in reaching what I am upon him now, my dear father, as I dedicate it to those who spent the evening nights and forgot her life from my happiness and all the members of my family, my dear mother, as I dedicate it to my source of support and my partner My days are my beloved wife (**Al-Khansaa**), and I dedicate it to my children the source of my happiness and joy (**ABD-ULZEEZ, Fay, Harir**) as well as I dedicate it to my extended family the source of my trust (**Khalid**) (**May, Tamadher, Mourouj, Hind**) and I also dedicate it to the one who echoes his voice, but he will not be absent from me, as I dedicate it to all my relatives and my friends.

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Abstract

This study examines the bilateral and collaborative relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia and highlights their partnership over decades. Since the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the cooperation of both states began with the pursuit of Saudi oil. Moreover, both states also pursued allied interests in the quest for regional hegemony. Since Iran became a common enemy of both states in 1979, the regional politics of the Middle East became more complex and complicated. Both the US and Saudi Arabia had a strong influence on regional policies in pursuit of achieving their national objectives. Although the two states also shared their differences on the issue of Israel, economic and military interests helped to overcome any other identity-related issues. The United States also supported Saudi Arabia in building and strengthening its defense system, while simultaneously keeping its bases in the country as well to secure the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia. It can be assessed that both these states avoided any kind of confrontation despite having serious ideological, political systemic, and moral differences to continue their economic trade.

In this line this study aims to reveal the underlying reasons of the long-term cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the US. With this aim the analysis is based on an approach that highlights the impact of oil politics across the Middle East and addresses the hegemonic designs of Saudi Arabia and the United States across the Middle East.

Keywords: USA, Saudi Arabia, Oil Politics, Middle East, Regional Hegemony

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, ABD ile Suudi Arabistan arasında onyıllardır var olan ve sürdürülen işbirliği ve ortaklık ilişkisini ele almaktadır. Suudi Arabistan Krallığının kuruluşundan itibaren iki ülke arasında başlayan işbirliği ilişkisi petrol üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bunun yanında iki ülke bölgesel hegemonya konusundaki ortak çıkarları etrafında ittifak etmişlerdir. İran, 1979'dan beri iki ülkenin de ortak düşmanı haline geldiğinden beri Ortadoğu'da bölgesel politikalar daha karmaşık hale gelmiştir. Hem ABD'nin hem de Suudi Arabistan'ın kendi çıkarlarını gerçekleştirmek adına bölgesel politika üzerindeki etkileri güçlüdür. İki ülke özellikle İsrail konusunda ayrışıyor olsa da ekonomik ve askeri çıkarlar, bu ve benzeri kimlik odaklı sorunların üstesinden gelinmesini sağlamıştır. ABD, bir yandan Suudi Arabistan'ı kendi savunma sistemini kurmak ve geliştirmek konusunda desteklerken, diğer yandan kendi askeri üslerini de ülkede tutmayı başarmıştır. Temel olarak iki ülkenin çok ciddi ideolojik, siyasal ve moral farklılıkları olsa da ekonomik ilişkilerini sürdürebilmek ve karşılıklı çıkarlarını gerçekleştirebilmek adına çatışmadan kaçındıkları rahatlıkla söylenebilir.

Bu çalışma ABD ile Suudi Arabistan arasındaki uzun süreli işbirliğinin altında yatan temel nedenleri ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla çalışma, Ortadoğu'daki petro-politiğin etkisini vurgulayacak ve hem ABD hem de Suudi Arabistan'ın bölgedeki hegemonik tasarımlarına işaret edebilecek bir yaklaşıma dayandırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Suudi Arabistan, Petro Politik, Ortadoğu, Bölgesel Hegemonya

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARAMCO	Arabian American Oil Company
FAP	Foreign Assistance Programs
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
FMCS	Foreign Military Construction Services
GA	General Assembly
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICJ	International Court of Justice
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
NAL	Non-Aligned Movement
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdom
WW-I	World War-I
WW-II	World War-II

1. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States led by the Al-Saud family was formally initiated in 1945 after the foundation of the Kingdom in 1932. Both states have jointly witnessed several challenges over the years and the relationship between the two had their ups and downs, however, oil politics, as well as US-Saudi influence in the region, led to regularity in their bilateral relationship. The two countries have had a compact based on Saudi oil, while the Kingdom was in pursuit of a safety umbrella over the dominion to guard it against all overseas foes (Bradley, 2015, p. 44). This is a relationship very genuinely anchored in the country's pursuits, unusual ideologies, or political or social structures, which stay at extreme odds with every other development. More importantly, after the rise of religious extremism and intensity in the relationship of both the states with Iran, a renewed logic for strategic cooperation has strengthened the relationship of two, very specifically during the last few decades. It can be unarguably said that the Middle East region holds the most important role in shaping the foreign as well as domestic policies of the United States. The KSA and the US partnership was built on strong business ties, cooperation, consistency in a relationship, joint ventures on the issues of counter-terrorism, extremism, and militancy, the shared intensity in their relationship with Iran along with domination in U.S. pursuit of Saudi oil. The relationship between the two states has been tested and more importantly survived of several demanding situations which includes the 1973 oil embargo and 9/11 attacks, in which fifteen of the nineteen passenger jet hijackers were Saudi nationals (Unger, 2004, pp. 1-2). Following the U.S. governments' holding of strong ties with Saudi Arabia leadership indicates the fact that the Kingdom is a vital strategic associate of the United States. It is a fact worth noting that the US has been inclined to oversee several KSA's provocative components, including various reported

issues of human rights, specifically because it maintained oil manufacturing and supported U.S. country wide protection tips. Moreover, after the Second World War, the two states have been associated in opposing to Communism and Soviet influence in pursuit of robust oil costs, balancing the oil delivery and oil fields of the Arab Gulf in addition to balancing Western economies wherein Saudis invested their capital. Predominantly the two nations also remained associates in the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait and Soviets in Afghanistan in 1989. While much has been studied about the US-Saudi relations and their historical background, an extensive research study would be conducted on assessing the impact of cooperation in US-Saudi relationship on the Middle Eastern politics. This research study will be conducted for the achievement of the following objectives;

- To assess the upsurge of US-Saudi Arabia relations.
- To highlight the impact of oil politics across the Middle East.
- To address hegemonic designs of Saudi Arabia and the United States across the Middle East.

While analyzing the history of US-Saudi relations, it can be said that mutual interests of both states helped them to collaborate extensively in decades long relationship. Assessing the history of relationship between United States and Saudi Arabia, it can be said that despite ideological differences, and a state such as United States following the liberal values, democracy as well as non-entanglement of religion extends a greater support to a restrictive, passive and conservative Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by protecting it against its foreign enemies while subsequently strengthening the country's own defense as well. Mutual interest of both these states in terms of oil purchase, defense and regional politics of Middle East furthered their cooperation over the

decades, however fault lines in the relationship continued to exist that on several occasions intensified the proximity of relationship.

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW:

Much has been written about various dimensions of US-Saudi relations by scholars and subject experts, some of which that has been analyzed to contribute to the study is quoted as follows.

Josh Pollack in his research article “Saudi Arabia and the United States, 1931-2002” elaborated on the role and importance of the KSA for the United States (Pollack, 2002). KSA was a very influential and significant country for US foreign policy in the Middle East region. It has collaborated on many issues like the Arab-Israel conflict, oil policies, and confrontation with Iraq. The relationship changes its dynamic after the devastation 9/11 incident in which many of those rebels belonged from Saudi Arabia. The US-KSA began their military relations at the end of WW-II when the US built its airbase at Dhahran to counter the Soviet Union. A Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed between the two states in 1951 according to which the United States had to provide military assistance to the Saudi Armed forces. In return, Saudi Arabia started to buy arms from the United States worth billions of dollars in addition to providing them with their territory and military facilities. Till the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia and the US continued their collaboration against the Soviet Union. This remained a significant aspect of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US.

Another article titled “Oil and Middle East Politics” explained the enhancement of the oil industry in the Middle Eastern region (Issawi, 1973). Charles Issawi explained in the article that

there is a possibility to increase the demand for energy resources especially oil in the next ten or fifteen years. The world is facing some difficulties due to this extraction of oil in the advanced regions while the physical conditions are favorable in the less developed regions especially in the Middle East. In the Middle East, Iraq, Abu Dhabi, Iran, and Saudi Arabia have a huge potential of oil reserves and the bulk of oil production comes from these areas. There were few regional and external powers in the Middle East which created problems for the US in oil production. The development of the oil industry in the Middle East before WWI and the region was under the control of Britain until the 1950s but later it was dominated by the United States. Keeping in view that the Middle Eastern region threat by the disruptive forces that caused problems within the region and outside as well. The Middle Eastern states most dependent on their oil and got 50 percent profit from this. The author further argued that the seven American and British companies controlled the world petroleum market who had full power to control the marketing, price, and production of the oil reserves. During the oil embargo crisis that emerged in the mid-1970s, the entire oil industry had been nationalized. This raised the tension among the United State and Saudi Arabia for the first time until the Cold War period. The 2nd oil crisis emerged in the Iranian revolution that cut down the supply and increased oil prices and freezes the supply of oil. This was the turning point between Saudi and Iran on the matter of oil policies and both were a very important country for the US. The US with the help of the International community imposed economic sanctions on Iran that harmed its oil production. This situation increased the tensions among the two regional powers Saudi Arabia and Iran; however, Saudi Arabia was a very important player for the US at that time. Until the 1980s KSA dominated oil production in the region, but later America took hold and dominated oil production across the Middle East. Politics of oil played a very influential role in context of US-Saudi relations,

however policy shift between the two states during regime changes certainly impacted their relationship.

Daniel Pustelnik & Ante Lucic in their research article “American Relations with Saudi Arabia: An assessment of shifting policies” argued about the rise of the energy incomes particularly oil and the significant role of oil in the diplomatic era of the Saudi Arabia and the United States relations in the post-WW II era (Pustelnik & Lucic, 2009). This article describes the importance and role of the energy resources in the 20th century and its impacts on the Middle East states. They further elaborated that in the 19th and 20th century there was a shift in American policy towards KSA as increased importance of petroleum. This relationship was not prominent before and after WW I but after WW II the relations among the two states become more important and complex. However, at that time the two states were not primarily seen on the domestic level politics. Keeping in view that the USA at that time produced 60 percent of the world petroleum and Saudi Arabia not even produced one percent. On one hand, there was increased concern of domestic reserves while on the other hand there was growing private American activity in Saudi Arabia in the Dammam area.

Another book authored by Rachel Bronson titled “Thicker than oil: America's uneasy partnership with Saudi Arabia” explained the historical background of Saudi Arabia and the United States relationship and their convergence and divergence in interests towards the Middle East region (Bronson, 2008). Rachel Bronson argued that the KSA-US relationships have been much more than the oil and regional defense. The first thing that author argues that in the early US-Saudi relationship was not only on oil, but the two states shaped the relations by similar interests throughout the Cold War period. KSA was the anti-communist state in the Middle East

region and the US administration develop close ties with Saudi Arabia to counter communism in the region. In this contrast, the US-built projects that financially helped Saudi Arabia. The second point that author argued that the US-Saudi relations were never under much stress before the 9/11 incident that shaped the entire situation in the region. At that time, there were differences among the two states on the matter of Arab-Israel war which broke out during that time and the US-supported Israel and Saudi's was on the Arab side. In the last, the author described after the defeat of the Soviet Union and prevent the communist threat the relations between the two states were not the same kind that existed for more than half a century. There has been a series of ups and downs after the Cold War era and after the Iraq invasion Kuwait and the rise of Islamic radicalism that caused a threat to the Saudi's security in the region. Saudi's needed an external protector and were concerned about its security in the region. Aside providing security to the Saudi's in the region, role of United States in influencing the Middle East politics also cannot be ignored.

Atallah S. Al Sarhanin his article "United States foreign policy and the Middle East" critically explains the importance of the Middle East region and the US foreign policy towards the region during WW-I and WW-II(Al Sarhan, 2017). Al Sarhan elaborated that the Middle Eastern region was always the focal point for the US after the first world war and second world war. The main objective of the US was a military and economic presence to maintain its hegemonic power in the region. The relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia had a focus on regional security and oil reserves. KSA wanted the dominancy on the production of oil and protection of security in the region while the United States dominate the Gulf region that was very rich in oil reserves and also maintain its hegemonic power on the other part of the region to control the

flow of oil. The primary goals of the US in the region were securing Israel security, access to oil in the Gulf region, and maintain military bases to protect its allies from the Islamic movements and terrorist activities.

Bledar Prifti wrote the book titled “US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case for Continuity” in which he explained the importance of the Middle East region and the United States policies towards the region. Since the end of WW II, the Middle East had a very important region for the US and its western alliance (Prifti, 2017). Due to its geostrategic location and its cheap oil in which the global oil market depends. The United States and its western allies also depend on the Middle East oil especially Gulf Region. The author argues that the instability in the region causes a threat to the flow of oil and the political and economic stability of those countries that vary on this source. The author describes the post-world war II period was the beginning of the American era in the Middle East region. During the post-Cold War, the US was the only superpower that dominates the world and wanted to maintain its status quo in the international world. The United States policy towards the Middle East region depends on three factors; firstly, it secures Israel's security, secondly protect the oil reserves and lastly to prevent the other external powers from the region.

The same factors have been analyzed by John Derks in his research article titled “The Future of the U.S.-Saudi Relationship” (Derks, 2017). He is of the view that the US relations in the Cold War period and the two state's cooperation and confrontation towards each other. John Derks described that the US-Saudi relationship consistently has been described as an exchange of Saudi Oil for American security. For more than seventy years, the US and KSA have enjoyed close ties on the common interest of economic, political and military aspects. Both the states

expanded their relations during the Cold War when the US viewed KSA as a state against communism while Saudis viewed the United States as a defense against the Soviet proxies in the region. However, the two states share common geopolitical interests and the business relationship that was beneficial for them. The two states cooperate on countering Iranian influence in the region, fighting with the terrorist and Islamic radicalization, and lastly the US belief that the Saudi will cooperate rather than confront them more than any successor regime.

Another research article describes the political structure of KSA and its oil production dominance in the Middle East region. Alfred B. Prados explained in which the stable political system of KSA and the prosperous economy dominated by the oil sector. Oil got became a strategic commodity. Oil was very important for the US and the US-led world order. The full diplomatic relationships among the United States and Saudi Arabia established in 1933 and later formalized in 1952. Despite other issues between Saudi Arabia and the US during 1980, a war against the Soviet Union remained the key and fundamental building block of relationships. They kept cooperating on the economic and military front. In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and Saudi Arabia condemned it and KSA was an important member of the US that excluded Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The author further elaborates the protection of the Gulf region was the highest point of the relationship between the two countries.

Furthermore, the role of OPEC and the significance of the Middle Eastern oil in the international oil market has been comprehensively analyzed by Anton Nakov and Galo Nuno(Nakov & Nuño, 2011). The authors are of the view that the role of OPEC and the significance of KSA in the international oil market. KSA was the greatest and a leading player in the world oil market that produced more than a tenth of the world's oil output while owning a major quarter of the world's

energy reserves. It was a member of OPEC and playing a vital role in it. Two points differ in Saudi Arabia from the other producers. Firstly, it restricts its production and secondly its construction is extremely unstable. The difference in Saudi oil production has been tremendously high compared to that of the rest of the producers very less in cost. Keeping in view that the Saudi's crude oil is unchallenged in international markets and balance the International oil demand and supply. The KSA has used this dominance of sustaining long-term oil consumption to stabilize its economy in the industrialized world. These features can be rationalized that the KSA plays as a dominant producer with a competitive model in the oil market.

Strategic partnership between United States and Saudi Arabia in testing times have been extensively analyzed by Naif Bin Hethlain in his book "Saudi Arabia and the US since 1962: Allies in Conflict". He explained that the US-Saudi (Hethlain, 2010) cooperation was not in complete harmony and both these states faced difficult times during their bilateral ties. The author is also of the view that the US involvement in the region and resurgent of the Iranian revolution and a new generation of Saudi's leaders instigate a more assertive foreign policy. Since 1960s, the two states enjoyed a strategic partnership that involved in a delicate diplomatic balancing relation. The author further characterized that the common interests of the two states and the united states' dependency on the kingdom for its cheap oil and regional security explained the relationship among them. He further argued about the past events which define the two states' foreign policy towards each other. Both countries faced many ups and downs in the relationship but due to the convergence of the interest, the two states remained a firm ally.

F. Gregory Gause elaborated about the importance of the Gulf region for the United States foreign policy(Gause, 2003) in his article “The Approaching Turning Point: The Future of US Relations with the Gulf States”. Throughout history, the United States has been directly involved in the Gulf region to develop a strong relationship with many of the gulf states. There were three phases of the turning point in American policy towards the Gulf Region. The first turning point in the US and GCC states was the British withdrawal of 1971. Secondly, at the end of the Iran-Iraq war and a gulf war began the massive American military deployment in the Gulf region from 1980-90. Thirdly, the role of the American military in the smaller Gulf states will combine and open more military relations with Saudi Arabia. The main objective of the United States was that they act as a hegemonic power and maintain its strong influence in the Gulf region for its interests. However, the regional environment was changed from the first half of the 20th century. Domestically, the close military American relations with the Gulf countries become tough. The two-sided relations among the Gulf countries and the GCC determined by the events that happen in the past as well as in the future.

Anthony H. Cordesman & Nawaf Obaid in their research titled “Saudi Military Forces and Development: Challenges & Reforms” explain the Saudi security concerns in the region(Cordesman & Obaid, 2004). They argued that Saudi Arabia had no longer faces a threat from Iraq, but they concerned the growing threat of Iran nuclear power in the region. They have argued that Saudi Arabia faces the internal and external threat from Islamic extremism and terrorism, and it must pay full attention to these issues in the past. Due to these factors, Saudi Arabia seeks the united states for military assistance to counter these threats. Many events made serious adjustments in their alliance. They have made some advances in military cooperation

and internal security with GCC. Saudi Arabia was able to get the security for strengthening its monarchy and was aligned with a superpower that can guarantee domestic stability as well. For the US it was important because it was able to secure an important source of energy in the region.

Maxwell Czerniawski in his research article titled "Blood in the Wells: The Troubled Past and Perilous Future of US-Saudi Relations" elaborates on the nature of the KSA and the US longstanding security and military relations since the Cold War period (Czerniawski, 2010). The author explained the historical background of the two state's relations and focused on many difficulties and divergences throughout the relationship among the KSA and the US. The author described the American military expertise for cheap Saudi petroleum and the trade of weapons technology to KSA. Saudi Arabia was the largest foreign military sales (FMS) of the US. In return, Saudi Arabia started to buy arms from the United States worth billions of dollars in addition to providing them with their territory and military facilities.

While much has been deliberated about different aspects of the US-Saudi relationship, a gap has been left in addressing the fact as to how strong economic and military ties between the two states led to the establishment of a developed Saudi Arabia. Iran's influence as a common enemy of both states is another fact that has to be analyzed. The US influence in the country's cultural side needs also to be analyzed. It is a well-acknowledged fact that the US and Saudi-Arabia share some altogether completely different ideologies. While Saudi society remained conservative over the decades depending on the core standards of Islam, some minor alterations have been observed. At this point it will be analyzed if these changes occurred with the effect of US. The effect of oil politics in the Middle East region, helping both states secure their

objectives needs to be analyzed. The role of US forces across the Middle East will also be analyzed in-depth. Moreover, whether the economic and military partnerships with US is the main reason that made the KSA rise as a developed state has to be answered. An in-depth analysis of all the mentioned research questions will briefly project the US-Saudi international relations through a historical lens.

It needs to be analyzed in depth how ever-growing cooperation among the US and KSA helped the Kingdom grow into a developed state. Moreover, oil politics across the Middle East has been led by the duo of two nations in addition to activities against their common enemy Iran. During the Obama administration, a nuclear deal was signed between Iran and P5+1 states to which Saudi Arabia was entirely against. However, due to the intense relationship between the United States and Iran, the deal has almost collapsed. It also needs to be assessed on how oil politics has helped both states to maintain hegemony over the entire Middle Eastern region. A comparison would also be drawn amongst tenures of different US Presidents and their relationship with the Saudi dynasty. Assessing the above-mentioned literature and highlighting the gaps within the existing literature, this study would address the following research questions.

1. How US-Saudi economic and military ties led to the progress of Saudi Arabia as a developed state?
2. Why US-Saudi dominance in oil politics helped them to hold their influence in the Middle East?
3. What issues led towards the emergence of Iran as the common enemy of Saudi Arabia and the United States?

4. Will US influence in KSA impact the progress of conservative Saudi society?

The study is substantial in understanding the conceptual and manifested contours of bilateral relations of the two states within the regional context. Although much of the perspectives on the issue have been covered, an attempt will be made in this study to incorporate the existing gaps in the study so that this research could act as a significant academic contribution in understanding the concerns of Saudi Arabia and the United States throughout their historical relationship, while simultaneously highlighting the nature of their relationship in various conflicting dynamics. Though US-Saudi relations are primarily driven by energy politics, certain other factors that have also come into play signify ties of both the states. It is pertinent to highlight that the current proximity in the relationship of the US and KSA is not only defined by the roots of bilateral relations but also by the transnational relations of the Middle East. This study would help understand the establishment of a strong basis of US-Saudi relations and their impact on Middle Eastern politics.

1.2 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY:

While assessment of US-Saudi relations has been carried out with reference to various dimensions, this research study has been organized into the following chapters.

In the first chapter, an in-depth background of this study has been analyzed in addition to the research problem and objectives of the study. The second chapter of this research study is a theoretical framework. The study has been investigated thoroughly through the context of Neo-realism. The third chapter analyzes the Political as well as the Military cooperation between

both states. Furthermore, how cooperation between the two states helped them achieve their regional hegemonic orientations has also been critically evaluated. The fourth chapter of this research study assesses the Socio-Economic & Cultural cooperation between the two states. How both these states have cooperated in the context of oil exploration and Middle Eastern politics over the decades.

1.3 METHODOLOGY:

A qualitative method of research has been implied to conduct this study. Secondary sources of information such as research articles, books, online published material, reviews, newspapers, and official websites of the United States, Saudi Arabia, and of all other relevant international actors discussed in this research will be used to gather the data. While much has been deliberated about different aspects of the US-Saudi relationship, a gap has been left in addressing the fact as to how strong economic and military ties between the two states led to the establishment of a developed Saudi Arabia. Moreover, a brief analysis of how Iran being a common enemy of both states challenges the regional hegemony of the United States and gives a strong rivalry to Saudi Arabia on the issue of oil politics and its prices in the Middle Eastern region. While much development has taken place between the two states since the Cold War, US and Saudi Arabia share a much stronger collaborative relationship that lies over decades of mutual trust and understanding. A detailed analysis of how Saudi society has coped up with the US influence in the country needs to be done. Their system of governance is completely different while the social order being practiced in Saudi Arabia is entirely different than what is being preached and practiced in the United States. So despite the fact that Saudi society remained conservative over the decades while practicing Islam according to its core standards, some alterations that

have been observed in their society due to US society will be extensively analyzed. Moreover, a complete analysis of how oil politics in the Middle East region has helped both states secure their objectives while simultaneously maintaining their own regional hegemony. The role of US forces across the Middle East during the Cold War as well as during the Gulf war will also be analyzed in-depth. It needs to be researched whether US economic and military partnerships with Saudi Arabia became the sole and influencing reasons for Saudi rise as a developed state and regional hegemony across the Middle East. Moreover, how OPEC and Aramco maintained and boosted the profits of Saudi oil over the decades. An in-depth analysis of all the mentioned research questions will briefly project the US-Saudi international relations through a historical lens.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 APPLYING NEO-REALISM ON US-SAUDI INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Saudi-US relationships have been always pursued in the realm of cooperation and collaboration and while the liberal perspective pre-dominantly highlights the various economic perspectives of the bilateral relations between the two states, a much clear perspective can be objectified by putting the various dynamics of their bilateral relationship through the prism of Neo-realism. This specific theory is applied on the current study as cooperation between and collaboration between Saudi Arabia and United States is defined by traditional concept of balance of power and pursuit of self-interest. United States supported the Kingdom in terms of its defense while both states were pre-dominantly influential on oil politics of Middle East as well. Structure defines their strengthened bilateral ties as both states continued to secure its interests despite intensified relationship on numerous occasions in their relations in several decades long relations. While Neo-realism is also classified as structural realism and is a greater extension of the traditional balance of power concept, its multi-dimensional approach can better highlight the various perspective of pursuance of self-interest between the US and Saudi Arabia while simultaneously pursuing allied interests in the region as well. The theory was originally articulated by Kenneth Waltz in 1975 initially and later in 1979 (Waltz, 2010, 2-4). While neo-realism basically focuses on power and the anarchical structure of international relations, its basic focus is to find out how international structure shapes a variety of outcomes between and amongst different relative powers. The basic approaches of this theory highlight an organized approach in studying various policy shifts between different states in international politics. Structure, anarchy, distribution of power in the international system, the national interest of the

state, capability, and capacity, and polarity can be termed as the basic concepts of neo-realism. The concepts of structure and anarchy are entangled with each other in the international system. Despite the fact that international structure and system are believed to be anarchic, it does not imply the presence of absolute disorder and chaos in the system, rather an absence of supreme power or a central government is what makes this international system anarchic. Moreover, in contrast to the domestic politics of states that is structured by order and certain hierarchy, the international system can be defined by an anarchic international structure. However, an anarchic international system has also certain implications. First, because there is no central government, states within the international system have to look upon themselves with respect to each and every aspect of their states. This involves securitization from all the other foreign actors, economic and social independence, and the concept of survival of fittest in the international system. The nation states are the only legitimate entities in the international system who seeks to survive by the use of force having a legitimate authority to do so. Moreover, sovereign states are the primary actors as well as the constructive units in the international system. The organizing principle of structure can be defined in terms of states and the international system can be highlighted as anarchic. Secondly, the Neo-realist theory also determines that states have always being threatened by other state's attacks (Waltz 1979, 88-93). It is a well-acknowledged fact that states feel insecure and they intend to have certain capacity and capabilities to secure themselves and survive in the international system. Another major concept in the international system is the concept of 'security dilemma where states tend to desire more capability continuously to secure themselves from any kind of international threats. This furthers threats and dangers for the other states in the international system forcing them as well to acquire more capability. The competition between the states grows on with a boosted sense of capability and

security (Herz 1950, 36). Moreover, the concept of capability ensures the survival of any state in the international system which actually encourages the relative gains of the state. The neorealist capability of the states can be specified by five major issues. This includes the demography of the state, its economic as well as military, the natural resource it possesses, and the technological capacity (Nye, 1988, pp. 245-246). By keeping all these measures in place, each state has a different capacity and capability as its entire circumstances vary from the other states. The concept of neo-realism thus highlights the inter-relational representation of the capabilities every state has basically referring to it as “Relative Capability” (Snyder, 1996, p. 180). While states tend for the inter-relational representation of their capabilities, each state will be able to achieve an entirely different level of capability. These capabilities are referred to as the constructive units of the system. The capacity of each state is thus measured in the international system while its ranking is dependent on the relative capabilities of these components. Moreover, every state in the international anarchic system seeks to secure its National interest and while it is a relative and abstract concept, states tend to define their capacity and capability in the international system through their rival states. The ambitions and the scope of a country’s national interest are essentially determined by the level of capabilities it possesses. Hence the concept of national interest within the neorealist paradigm can be assumed by the relative capability ranking of the state. Furthermore, the concept of polarity as one of the important angles of neo-realism can better be highlighted by assessing the supply of resources across different units at a given time. While this certain tactic highlights the nature of the international system, the three types of polarity and behavior of states within these polar structures need to be defined and well-assessed as they tend continuously to change. Unipolar,

Bipolar, and Multi-polar world highlight and define the behavior of states keeping in view their relationship with the global powers.

When the six dimensions of Neo-Realism are applied to the relations of the United States and Saudi Arabia, it can be said that despite practicing completely different ideologies, both states have pursued their national interests. Moreover, the level of capacity and capability of both these states had though been altogether different during the Cold War times, however with in time, as the oil profits flourished and Saudi Arabia became a developed state its economic prosperity and geographic location helped it secure a better inter-relational capacity within the states in the international system. Yet Saudi dependence on the US military to help itself secure in the international system has increased its reliance on US structure. Saudi Arabia has survived well in the international anarchic system, rather has established itself as a developed state, yet its reliance on the United States to exploit its oil and secure its territory has reduced its capacity and capabilities. Its national interests have been achieved yet its integrity has been compromised. It can be said that Saudi Arabia cannot secure itself as well as its hegemonic interests in the region if the support of the United States is uplifted from its structure. Saudi Arabia is completely reliant on its natural resources as well as its ideal geography for the United States in terms of the Middle East to support its economic system. Moreover, the country's technological system is also imported from the United States and hence its efficiency in the field is also questionable. In terms of polarity, Saudi Arabia has survived in the international system in the bipolar world during the Cold War, whereas in the unipolar world after the Cold War, it maintained a proximate relationship with the United States. During the Cold War, Saudi Arabia had been competing against the Soviet influencethat allied its interests with the United States.

It had been one of the key sources of funding for the creation of the Taliban during the times of the Soviet-Afghan war in order to completely crush the communist ideology. On the other hand, during the unipolar world, the Saudi bases were used by the US troops to fight the Saddam regime. Hence, Saudi-US relations during both kinds of polarity remained cooperative and collaborative. Keeping in view the overall dynamics of Saudi-US relations, it can be said that the Saudi structure remained dependent on US cooperation to survive and hold its relative capabilities in the international system, else without the US support, Saudi structure is weakened and vulnerable making it vulnerable in the Middle East politics.

3. ASSESSING US-KSA POLITICAL & MILITARY RELATIONS

3.1 HISTORY OF KSA & RELIGIOUS-SECTARIAN AFFILIATION:

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Middle Eastern state with a historical background of almost nine decades. The state's ideology is based on the principles of Islamic Shariah and its laws which are thoroughly followed across the state. Saudi Arabia is the origin of the Wahabi school of thought. Wahhabism is another branch of Sunni Islam that remains the predominant strict stream in the nation and although it has spread over various other Islamic nations; Saudi Arabia is its heartland. Following Wahhabism basically initiated a political and military rift within the state that lasted in the making of the Saudi state(Kostiner, 1985, pp. 310-312). There is an expedient relationship between its philosophy, its belief system, and the legitimization of state establishments. Ibn Abdul-Wahhab himself never tried to establish a straightforwardly political development, however, the ramifications of his development called for faith in God's solidarity (Tawheed) and the solidarity of the Muslim people group (The Ummah). Ibn Abdul-Wahhab's indication of his adherents as mujahidin actually, the individuals who pursue the concept of Tawheed demonstrated the significance of the focal convention of the solidarity and uniqueness of GOD (Haj, 2002, pp. 80-81).

Hence, the Kingdom is administered by a group of Saud(Al Saud, 2000, p. 14). Its head is King Abdullah ibn Abdul Aziz, who rose to the position in 2005. In King Abdullah's hands are concentrated the intensity of a solitary lawmaker, the incomparable officer of the military, the preeminent judge and defender, and the executive of the heavenly urban areas of Medina and Mecca. The ruler is, besides, a Wahhabi imam, which implies he is additionally the most

elevated strict expert in Saudi Arabia; the entire administration includes just the children and siblings of the Saudi lord. A resurgence of Islamist developments in the Arabian promontory, beginning during the 1980s, saw the rise of analysis of the Saudi system and this increased after the first Gulf War, during which the Saud family permitted the American soldiers on Saudi soil. Concurrently, during 1992 the ruler made changes that further combined power in the hands of the group of Saud. The changes incorporated the Basic Law of Succession, which expressed that the ruler must agree to the Sharia (Islamic law), Quran, The Sunnah (The customs of the Prophet Muhammad) and the Quran is proclaimed to be the nation's constitution (Aba-Namay, 1993, p. 298). Wahhabism has an opinionated perspective on non-Muslims and even of non-Wahhabis as well. Islamic developments and it is clear likewise has affected and convoluted the country's foreign relations with the entire world. Wahhabi researchers have condemned the Saud family for their close relations with the USA and the UK, who they guarantee are non-believers, bringing social and moral corruption into the nation. The proximity of US troops on Saudi soil after the freedom of Kuwait created genuine pressures between the ruling family and within the society, and this solitary improved in 2003 once US troops had left Saudi Arabia (Emerson, 2003, p. 44).

Besides the factor of Wahhabism, Saudi Arabia's state arrangement and political power have consistently had close predicaments with Ulema (Zaman, 2010, p. 24). One has served to legitimize the other. In the Kingdom, religion is obligatory for all residents, and as per a few sources, the strict foundation controls the state to such an extent or more than the state controls religion and strict associations are regulated inside the state control structure. However, the prevailing one is Wahhabism. The verifiable underlying foundations of the development, be that

as it may, have little to do with religion: Wahhabism was a political substance that pushed for the foundation of a focal state. Saudi Arabia's role in its international relations, particularly throughout the Islamic world, is colossal (Al-Ahmady, 1995, p. 95). The Islamic factor inevitably affects the domestic and international strategy of the state. Islam is not just the ideological premise of the realm but on the other hand, is a strategy of intensity in its international strategy. The Saudi system gets billions of dollars from its oil income, which the system can use contingent upon the outcomes it is looking for. With respect to the current Bedouin Spring, the Saudi government faced new difficulties, for example, potential internal conflicts within the states, international strategic issues, and vicious and fanatic Islamic minorities. The Kingdom was bound to discover the approaches to regulate its Islamic confidence to monetary and social changes in the new Arab world, however, the changes had to be transformative and smooth so as to continue the state's advancement.

3.2 An Overview of Anglo-American-KSA Relations Since 1930s

The history of relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States can be traced back to the 18th century. However, the 19th century marked as a history of new Saudi Arabia. In 1904, King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud held the control of the central part of the country known as Al-Najd. By 1927, the British established Arabia as a protectorate and declared the independence of the two Kingdoms Al-Hijaz in the western region under Al-Sharif Al-Hussein and Al-Najd under King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud (Dahlan, 2018, p. 77). These two Kingdoms were unified by the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud in 1932. The two groups in Saudi Arabia were primarily following different path strategies. One group was conservative and did not maintain any relationship with the western powers while the other

group was greatly influenced by the European as well as the western states. During the main time of the twentieth century, a tribal chief of the Al Saud family, Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman Al-Saud (generally referred to as Ibn Saud) conquered various distinctive adversaries with the support of his Wahhabi partners and, sometimes the British government. By 1932, King Abdul Aziz had captured a large portion of the Arabian Peninsula by power and pronounced the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA)(bin Abdul Aziz & bin Abdul Aziz). Five of his children have ruled the Kingdom. Shah Saud, Shah Faisal, Shah Khaled, Shah Fahd, and Shah Abdullah have all succeeded him as the leaders of the Saudi state for seven decades. All these rulers have maintained a cordial relationship with the United States and a progression of understandings, enlightenments by advanced U.S. organizations, billions of dollars' worth arms deals, preparation of strategic plans, military arrangements and all the other financial collaborations that unveiled a compact U.S. security promise to the Saudi government since the 1940s.

After the establishment of the Kingdom, Saudi Arabia's prospects and economic situation were not stable. During this period a war broke out with Yemen over a border dispute. The reason behind this war was the Idrisi family that was ruling the south of Asir under the control of the Ottoman empire. With the end of the Ottoman rule in the region, the area had been controlled by the leaders of Hijaz and Yemen. In 1920, Ibn Saud had started a campaign to take control of the area, but Yemen's leader refused to recognize Ibn Saud's claim(Kostiner, 1985, pp. 318-320). Finally, in 1926 both signed a treaty that made the territory a Saudi protectorate. However, in 1930 Ibn Saud imposed a new treaty and took most of his power that lead to a situation of war. The peace treaty was ultimately signed in 1934, which eased the relations.

Saudi Arabia was an oil-rich country and most of its economy dependent on its oil production. The first oil concession was signed with a British company in 1923, but it was declared in 1928 (Leatherdale, 1983, p. 42). The state was affected due to a deficit in its economy because at that time the world was passing through a phase of Great depression from 1929-33 that had impacted the countries expenditures and incomes as well. Charles Crane, former US ambassador to China and the American business community played a very significant role in finding the energy reserves in Saudi Arabia. They introduced Karl S. Twitchell, a geologist and mining engineer who surveyed Saudi Arabia and Yemen (Hussain, 2016, p. 12). Twitchell recommended that the Kingdom should construct a new port on the Arabian Gulf. He found oil resources in Saudi Arabia after oil resources were also found in Bahrain. These resources specifically became the interests of the United States in the Middle East, especially in Saudi Arabia. After finding energy resources in Saudi Arabia, further explorations were initiated in different regions of the Middle East by the United States to find other reserves of Energy as well.

At the initial stages of oil discovery, the British showed a very mild interest in Gulf oil and therefore the oil concession was sold to Standard Oil of California (SoCal). Iraq Petroleum was the only British origin company that could take interest in the Saudi oil however, the British government was very late in showing its genuine interest in the Saudi oil. It was assessed that “If the Americans succeed in getting a firm footing there [Hasa], the whole political situation in the Persian Gulf may be drastically affected” (Leatherdale, 1983, p. 196). Ibn Saud demanded the concession and extraction of oil worth \$100,000 in gold, but SoCal offered for the sixty-year concession worth \$50,000 in gold (Pelletiere, 2001, p. 6). Saudi King signed an agreement with

SoCal in 1933 for the extraction of oil from the Gulf Region. Saudi Arabia was facing high depletion of its domestic oil deposits at that time and preferred the US over British. According to the agreement, the annual rental fee worth was \$5,000 in gold, and Standard Oil of California company loaned \$20,000 to the King(Warner, 2007, p. 22).

Two partners were working in Saudi Arabia for the extraction of oil reserves. The Texco company joined in 1936 to manage the marketing facilities for crude oil in Saudi Arabia(Clifford, 1976, p. 180). In 1944, SaCol changed into an Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). Later, Exxon and Mobil oil companies also joined to ARAMCO in 1946 for the extraction of huge oil reserves in Saudi Arabia. It was the beginning of the Second World War and Saudi Arabia remained neutral in this war. The outcomes of this world war had its impact on Saudi Arabia as well. With the weakening of Britain in the Middle East after the Second World War the United States came to the region to replace it. By this time the US-initiated policies to maintain its strong influence in the region to achieve its goals and aims. Saudi Arabia received this replacement well because it viewed the US as a counterbalance for Britain in the region with no history of colonialism in the region. The United States and Saudi Arabia re-defined their relations at the end of the Second World War. The oil production stopped during the war and later it released after the end of the war. In 1939, the production of oil was worth 500,000 barrels and in 1945 it increased to more than 21 million barrels(Askari, 2013, pp. 34-36). For the United States, Saudi Arabia was an important country not only due to its production of oil but also because it acted as a US base in the region. This mutual understanding led them to the building of strong ties between the two states to secure their bilateral interests. Later on, the United States signed American-Lend Lease assistance and foreign aid loans and grants

agreement with Saudi Arabia in 1943 (McHale, 1980, p. 626). The two main objectives of Americans in Saudi Arabia were first to access oil and second to build a military airfield in the area of Dhahran in order to establish its hegemonic designs across the Middle East.

Dhahran is located on the eastern bank of Saudi Arabia that connects Southern Asia with the Western world. An airbase in Dhahran was/ very important for the United States because of its strategic location, because the US undertook the protector role of security in the Gulf region. The US and SA signed the Quincy agreement in 1945 to secure oil supplies in the saltwater lake that forms in Suez Canal. President Franklin Roosevelt met with the Saudi King Ibn e Saud and agreed on a number of issues pertaining to national defense. The agreements included the American access to Saudi ports, construction of military bases on the Saudi soil, and assistance in the construction of the Trans-Arabian pipeline to the Mediterranean (Hollinger, 2005). On the one hand, the Kingdom had the desire to seek a strong ally that protects them and its oil production while on the other hand, the United States desired to dominate the huge oil reserves in the country. They were strongly agreed on this point however later their divergent views on the Arab-Israel conflict would cause a major issue between them. But the first shift in their relations aroused earlier than the Arab-Israeli conflict with the change of US administration in 1945 after Roosevelt's death. Moreover, while in the US Truman took the government in Saudi Arabia, King Saud came to power after his father died. Truman did not follow Roosevelt's policies on the Arab-Israel problem that completely changed the environment of bilateral relations between the two states (Hahn, 2004, p. 44). President Truman was an ambitious politician and his ambitions certainly influenced his presidency during his tenure. Particularly during the case of the creation of Israel in 1948 and its conflict with Palestine, President Truman

was played by the strong Zionist lobby who certainly impacted his decision making. A pro-Zionist lobby was also created within the White House of the United State and keeping in view the background of Truman, he was certainly favoring the creation of the Israeli state. The Israeli state was created in 1948 however Saudi Arabia along with the other Middle Eastern states was entirely against it. Tensions between Saudi Arabia and the United States increased after the establishment of the Baghdad Pact an anti-Soviet alliance. supported by the US, in 1955. Saudi dismissed the US military aid and signed a mutual defense agreement with Nasser in 1954. The act was dictated by the tension between the two states on the issue of Israel as well as the unhindered US stance to establish the state of Israel without amicably resolving the conflict with the Palestinians.

The relations further complicated after the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal which was owned by the United Kingdom and France. Saudi Arabia fully supported Egyptian forces and after two months Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt to retake the canal. This situation became worse when King Saud prevented Britain and France for oil supplies and had no diplomatic ties with Israel to cut. Nasser was more popular in the region thanks to his Arab nationalism policy which gained its top popularity with the nationalization of the Canal and the war. But the popularity Nasser gained was causing a threat to the influence of Saudi's Kingdom in the region. To counterbalance on Egypt, then Saudi's consolidated their ties with Jordan and Iraq. After all, after the Suez crisis Soviets maintained their ties in the Middle-East, and Britain was defeated which caused more security concerns for the United States. Thus to counter Soviet influence the US renewed its close ties with Saudi Arabia

In 1957, the Eisenhower doctrine was declared guaranteeing that the US military will provide territorial integral support to any country in the region attacked by the communist-supported nation (Hahn, 2006, p. 46). In 1958, while the US was determined to counter the Soviet influence in the region through the doctrine, King Faisal came to power in the Kingdom. He was a close ally of the West and had good relations with the Western states. At that time, Saudi Arabia was facing a high depletion in its economy and needed strong support to rebuild its economic power again. At the time of Ibn Saud's death, the Kingdom owed \$200 million and in 1958 the debt further increased to \$480 million (Riedel, 2019, pp. 8-9). In 1971 King Faisal visited President Nixon and gave him an offer for a boosted relationship of the oil business (Peck, 2019, p. 28). They decided to give an area to Saudis in the United States to import its oil. Saudi sincerity was viewed in this period when they threatened the OPEC states to withdraw from the oil crisis in 1974 because of the organization's anti-western stance (Adelman, 1990). After this crisis, the US built strong relations with other regional players Iran and Israel as well. Saudi Arabia increased its oil production to overcome the oil supplies shortages for the US. Saudi Arabia held 60 percent of oil production and concession in the ARAMCO organization and dominated the entire oil industry in the region. These close ties between the US and KSA had directly threatened Europe and Japan for its own oil business.

The 1967 Arab Israel war changed the entire situation in the Middle East region. Arab countries were on one side and the other side was Israel supported by the West, more specifically the United States. Saudi's reproached Nasser and fully supported the Arab countries. This raised the concerns of the United States in the Middle East region, however it continued on with its policy of supporting Israel from the Arab states and countering the Soviet influence in the

region. Following the 1973 oil embargo, Saudi Arabia went to some major changes in the last two decades. The Kingdom was standing on oil and was using it as a weapon to become more powerful in the region. During this period, Saudi efforts were more focused to build its infrastructure and develop its strong economy and strengthen its military to protect its monarchy. They boosted their economy and developed its fiscal and structural reforms. There were two leading interests between the United States and Saudi Arabia that brought both states together. One reason was that Saudi Arabia wanted to expand its oil industry across the world especially in the US and open doors for oil extraction and production. They also opened their oil processing plants for more production for ARAMCO, Exxon, Texan, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California. And the second reason was for the United States basically to dominate the entire oil industry with the help of Saudi Arabia for more oil reserves. Gulf region is high in its cheap oil reserves rather than the other states. During the 1980s, Saudi Arabia became the largest world financial force and became the permanent member of the IMF (Boughton, 2001, p. 72). By 1979, it is estimated at least \$133 billion in foreign investment and further increased it by \$100 billion in 1981.

Saudi Arabia was more concerned about its regional enemies after some crises in the Middle East. The Gulf war, Iran-Iraq war, and the 1979 Iranian revolution created a wave of insecurity in the region and both state's shared concerns for their interests that would serve towards each other. Now the main concern for the two states was the regional security and stability. The increasing political rivalry between Israel and Arab states was again another reason that would break the relations as both had divergent views towards the issue of Israel. The United States supported Israel and there was an intensified environment in the region. They were dividing into

two parts Arab states on the one and Israel supported by the US on the other side. Saudi leadership responded to the US support of Israel by creating an oil embargo and oil production cuts. Resultantly, inflation was created in the United States that created concerns for the foreign investments in the oil-producing countries and open debate regarding the seizure of military oil fields in Saudi Arabia and other countries had initiated. In 1974 both states developed a Joint Commission on Economic and Security relations(Cordesman, 2003, p. 18). Through this commission, they worked bilaterally and focused on increasing the growth of the oil industry, innovations, monetary, and the other sectors of Saudi Arabia as well. This commission defined the relations in the field of financial and security aspects that is the common advantage of the two states. The first and foremost achievement of this Joint Commission on security was the upgrading defense of Saudi Arabia. It estimated 1.5 trillion in assets. It perceived the dissimilarity between 1.5 trillion in assets in a landscape of the United States east of the Mississippi and restricted conflict potential. The arrangement called for maximization of the conflict potential through manageability and predominant mechanical capability. Throughout the fifty years, an exceptional relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia witnessed many ups and downs, but their mutual national interests let them cooperate with each other despite serious ideological differences.

The United States was primarily interested in achieving three objectives. This included the free flow of oil, Israel's security, and containment of the Soviet Union in the region while maintaining the hegemony in the region subsequently. Saudi Arabia was primarily interested in US support to ensure its defense and security and it through bilateral cooperation was able to achieve its desired objective. Moreover, the other objective of the advancement in

modernization, oil markets, and domestic security was also achieved. Hence both states were successful in achieving their desired results by collaborating with each other. Therefore, a constant and steady development has been carried inside out keeping into consideration every individual factor and horizontal development of the comprehensive relationship by encompassing certain other factors as well.

3.3 INFLUENCE OF REGIONAL ENGAGEMENTS ON US-KSA TIES

3.3.1. Irans Impact On US-Saudi Relations

Iran is a country that is in the heart of the Arabian Gulf region. Over a period of time, the relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia had played a very important role in the Middle East region. The two powerful regional states had many differences in their policies towards each other in the context of identity and structural characteristics. Keeping in view the influence of both these states in the Arabian Gulf, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean area, it can be said that their rivalry extended after 1979 Islamic revolution by Khomeini and while Iran being the rival state of both Saudi Arabia and the United States, a multi-dimensional conflict in the Middle East is being pursued since decades(Wise, 2011, pp. 1-2). With a glance at the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran and the Iraq-Iran war, the two states have faced more complexity and competition in their relations rather than in the past. Though Iran experienced a healthy relationship with the United States since the 1940s. During the regime of the late Shah, the US was a close ally and friend to Iran and supported it to monopolize Iranian Oil production(Heiss, 1997). The United States gave great importance to Iran in a Twin Pillar Policy in the 1970s. Iran was very important for the United States to prevent Soviet expansion in the Middle East region. However, the Islamic revolution changed the entire scenario of the relationship between the

United States and Iran. It brought the intensity to the diplomatic relations between the two states. Tehran has been the victim of unjustified aggression from the US after the 1979 Islamic revolution (MOHAMMAD, 2012). It was time influencing Iran's domestic and foreign policies and they shifted from ideological concerns towards national interests. Iran also started its economic and political activities with its northern borders where 15 independent countries were forming new borders with Iran. Iran was also working on its nuclear weapons to strengthen its position in the region. This was an alarming situation for the US and its regional allies. It was a radical loss for the US government in all areas. With the changing universal balance of power, this loss became a serious threat to the United States in addition to the fact that they were in confrontation with the Soviet Union. The United States lost all its bases and facilities in Iran that helped it for gathering information about its Cold War enemy. This increased the security tensions in the Middle East region that was a concern for the United States and Saudi Arabia as well. The US furthered its relations with the other regional countries at the same time and allocated its new bases in Saudi Arabia, Oman, UAE, and Bahrain. Iran was not only a threat to the United States but also a threat to the regional countries especially for sheikhdoms in the Gulf States because Iran was against the monarchy regime (Chubin & Tripp, 2014). These developments increased the military relations between the Gulf States and the United States for securing their interests and counter Iran in the region. The tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia were serious security concerns for the regional as well as International states especially Saudi Arabia and the United States. The two powerful states in the Middle East have huge divergences on their foreign policies. Iran seeks revolutionary change in the region while Saudi Arabia was a status quo power in the gulf region. Saudi Arabia has close ties with Western countries especially with the United States and Iran sees the western countries as its major

enemy, especially the United States. Iran seeks to expand its power across the Middle East to cut down the Western influence that was the major cause of security and instability issues in the region, while Saudi Arabia has the desire to dominate the region as well. Therefore, Saudi Arabia maintained its close ties with the United States for its protection from Iran and maintaining its dominance in the region. The United States viewed Saudi Arabia as an important ally in the Middle East to prevent Soviet expansion, counter Iranian influence in the region, and control oil market prices. Many Western States those had close ties with Iran during Shah's era and dependence on Iran's oil production were also move forward towards Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states for cheap oil(Haji-Yousefi, 2010). Saudi Arabia took advantage of all this and maintained close ties with the Western States as well to increase its dominancy on oil production and the region as well. At the end of the Cold War, a new geopolitical era has started. The United States was the only superpower in the world. This was a new era for both states in their bilateral relations as well. The Middle East was divided into two parts, with half supporting Saudi Arabia and the other half supporting Iran. The power competition was started between the two regional powers and both were in a desire to dominate the region. The United States took the benefit of this rivalry and use Saudi Arabia against Iran. At the end of the Gulf War, the United States adopted a dual containment policy against Iran and Iraq that did not provide much-desired results(Fayazmanesh, 2008, p. 44). The United States' continuous support for Israel and Iran's opposition towards the United States' strong influence won the support for Iran in the region. Iran found two regional proxies Hezbollah and Hamas against the US/Israel interferences in the region establish more hurdles between the United States and Iran. This was a serious threat to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that Iran increased its influence in the region as Saudi hegemony and its relationship with United States in terms of regional politics were being countered.

3.3.2. The Gulf War

It is important to analyze the various dynamics of the Gulf war and their impacts on the US-Saudi relationship as Saudi Arabia became a frontline ally of the United States in the Middle East to influence the war. It needed military bases and infrastructure to be able to move its forces in the region and prepare for the war. King Fahad offered President Reagan the required support and a huge military infrastructure was created at an estimated cost of around \$200 billion. US performance in the Gulf war in 1991 primarily depended on the pre-existence of enormous infrastructure and that could not be simulated promptly in many other areas. The Iran-Iraq war kept going about eight years, from September of 1980 until August of 1988 and brought about more than one and a half million people as refugees while substantial war-related losses were beard by both states. Toward the end, for all intents and purposes none of the issues, because of which the war was initiated, had been settled. The UN-orchestrated truce only shut down the battling, leaving two disengaged states to seek after a weapons contest with one another, and with different nations in the area (Xavier, 1997, pp. 114-117).

Furthermore, it needs to be assessed that how the rulers of Iraq and Iran who held force toward the beginning of the war, Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq engaged in almost a decade long conflict. This part sets up the contention that the war was fundamentally a battle coming about because of the connection between these two men, who brought their countries in the interest of personal entertainment. Moreover, military standards of both these states toward the start of the war needs to be extensively analyzed in order to make a few determinations about every pioneer's impression of different qualities, and how that may have helped them to engage in a military conflict. Iran and Iraq didn't initiate the war in 1980

just on the ground as for the reason that most Iranians are Persians while most Iraqis are Arabs. They didn't battle as a result of contrasts between the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam, despite the fact that the Iranians are managed by Shias and the Iraqis by Sunnis. They likewise didn't do battle over land, water, or oil, albeit these issues have been referred to as foundations for the war. More than likely, these two nations did battle as a result of contention between their leaders. One of these men, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, dreaded the intensity of the other man, Iranian revolutionist Ayatollah Khomeini. Saddam's dread was the essential driver of this war. Despite the fact that Iran has a bigger population and more domains; conditions that would lead Iraq to think about Iran as a geopolitical risk were much insignificant after 1979. These conditions existed before Khomeini came to control in Iran. For what reason did Saddam Hussein not assault Iran in 1978 or 1979, when the Shah was still in power. It can be said that maybe Iraq feared the Americans preceding 1980 since the Shah was very loyal to securing US interests in the region. More probable, in any case, is that Saddam's dread of Iran expanded essentially alongside the progressions which occurred in 1979 and 1980 after Khomeini's arrival to Iran. After Khomeini's arrival, there was expansion accentuation by the Iranians on sending out an Islamic upheaval that endorsed Iraq as one of its destinations with an aim to topple Saddam Hussein's commonly based Baath party government in Iraq.

Along these lines, by 1979, Saddam was living nearby to a neighbor who was bigger and possibly more grounded, yet whose pioneers were freely requiring the oust of his administration. Even Saddam Hussein, who held almost total authority over his individuals needs to locate a supportable reason so as to persuade the Iraqi populace to take up arms. Saddam's own dread of losing political force on account of Khomeini was not an adequate method of reasoning for

preparing open help. Thus, he understood he should bring to endure a portion of the profoundly established reasons for customary doubt and contempt between his kin and the individuals of Iran so as to instigate the Iraqis to viciousness. Saddam picked two significant contrasts among Iranians and Iraqis while afterward misusing them. The first being the contrasts between the Sunni and Shia sect of Islam and the subsequent one being the contrasts between Iraqi Arabs and Iranian Persians. Conversely, the Iraqi armed force remained at a strength of around 200,000 soldiers, comprising of 12 divisions, and could send and work practically the entirety of its weapons frameworks with nearly 2750 tanks, 2500 protected battling vehicles, and 920 ordinance fragments(Hiro, 1991, pp. 6-10). Iraq's aviation based armed forces were in much preferable condition over Iran's, with current Soviet and French-structure warriors. Just in its maritime powers, Iraq was outmatched by Iran. Also, Iraq had a strong order and controlled framework through which Saddam Hussein had the option to keep up sensibly precise situational mindfulness and control of his powers, while Iran had for all intents and purposes no unified order and control ability. From Iraq's point of view, an opportunity to strike was probably not going to be better than in 1980, preceding the unrest put down its underlying foundations, while Iran's powers were in chaos, and keeping in mind that its Iran's relationship with the two superpowers was, best case scenario stressed. Nonetheless, the war finished with a truce that was placed into impact on August 20, 1988, under the particulars of United Nations Security Council Resolution 598. The articles of the pact built up the truce, requiring the withdrawal of both the powers to their original positions behind globally perceived outskirts, setting up the arrangements for harmony while keeping power and ordering the discharge and repatriation all things considered, and incorporated a few other measures to guarantee a conclusion to the clash between the two states. In particular, Article four of the pact required a complete, just, and

respectable settlement of all exceptional issues between the two states. In truth, despite the fact that arrangements had been preceded for a considerable length of time, not many of these extraordinary issues were settled. For example, concurrence on the worldwide limit which separates the Shattal Arab channel had not been reached. Also, the two nations kept on holding POWs despite the fact that the war finished. Though the war had ended, the confusions and tussle between the two states continued on. The first war between the two states soon after the Iranian revolution had serious impacts on the politics of the Middle East. Because the conflict was left unfinished, it led to the establishment of the reasons for the second Gulf war in 1991. Things got worse when Iraq rejected the Saudi mediation and while reasserting its previous claims invaded its neighboring Kuwait on August 2, 1990, hence started the Gulf War in the region. After that invasion of Iraq, the government of Kuwait fled to Saudi Arabia and the Iraqi invaders were denounced by King Fahd. There were doubts among the Saudi leadership that Iraqis would not stop at Kuwait and might also invade Saudi Arabia despite previous cooperation and the assistance of the Kingdom given to the Iraqis during the Iran-Iraq war. That was the time when Saudi Arabia broke the tradition and invited the US troops and other countries to send the troops to protect the Kingdom. The 230,000 troops sent by the USA in mid-November were an integral part of the coalition force (Carey, 1996, pp. 165-168). The US in total deployed around 500,000 troops in Saudi Arabia in Operation Desert Field under the pretext of protecting the kingdom against the Iraqi invasion. Saudi national guards along with the coalition forces attacked Iraqis by air on January 16-17, 1991. In the four days of the ground war starting from the 4th of February, the Saudi national guards along with the coalition forces defeated the Iraqis and pushed them out of Kuwait. It was quite clear that the US along with its strong ally Saudi Arabia has won the war but the real implications and the consequences of this

war for Saudi Arabia were not immediately known. During the Gulf War, the stakes were too high. Had Saddam Hussain gotten control of the Saudi oil fields, he would have the world economy by its throat. The implications would have been catastrophic as he would have been able to control the acceleration of the international economy through those fields. So, on the part of Saudi Arabia and the USA, it was imminent and unavoidable to act and push the Saddam led forces out of Kuwait. Even well before the initiation of the ground operations, the coalition forces were aware of this fact that Iraqi forces were retreating and during that time President Bush even encouraged the people of Iraq to revolt against Saddam's regime. And take inspiration from that both Shiites in the South and Kurds in the North, however, they were eventually taken down by the Iraqi forces. Ultimately when the war ended, the image of USA became quite distorted in the eyes of the Iraqi public and after the ceasefire, the US army tried to help the Iraqi refugees and also established the no-fly zones over the north but till that time the lasting damage had been done to the image of the Us army among the general masses of Iraq and Middle East. While the economic impact of the war has been substantial on KSA as it did not only assist the foreign troops but also the Kuwaiti citizens. At the same time, Saudi Arabia was expelling the Yemenis and the Jordanians whose governments were supporting Iraq diplomatically. Some of the defense-related measures taken by the Saudis at that time were; increasing the size of their armed forces and purchasing more weapons Along with allowing US troops to be deployed in Saudi airbases.

Along with that, the kingdom gave financial subsidies to a number of foreign companies. The enhanced production of the oil and then the higher prices of the oil in the international market compensated some financial setbacks. But despite this, there was a subsequent increase in the

civil unrest in the country after the lower growth rate and an increase in the rate of unemployment. At that point in time, the Saudi dilemma was to respond to the dissent while keeping the status quo intact. After the end of the Gulf war, there was a lot of talk about why did the US not remained there longer or why did they not dispose of the military regime in Iraq. It was said by the Brent Scowcroft, who served as President George H.W. Bush's national security adviser that “Both USA and Saudi Arabia come out of this war as the victors but the impact of this was going to be experienced by them in the coming years if not months or the years”(Friedman, 1991).

Even after the war, in the upcoming years both for the Saudis and for the Americans, Hussein remained a continuing thorn. But the most important of all was the incensed reaction of Usama Bin Laden and the Al Qaeda on the deployment of the US troops in Saudi Arabia to enforce the no-fly zone. After U.S. forces had remained stationed in Saudi Arabia for some years, bin Laden wrote the Saudi king that;

"It is unconscionable to let the country become an American colony with American soldiers, their filthy feet everywhere" (Hakim, 2003, p. 26).

So, it is said by various historians and analysts that while keeping in view these events it can be aptly concluded that Al-Qaeda treaded onto the road of 9/11 because of the presence of the American troops on Saudi soil. The deployment or the presence of the US military bases on Saudi soil irked many Islamists and conservatives where they blamed the Saudi Kingdom of supporting the interests of non-Muslims over Muslims. Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia in 1990, he was close to the Saudi royal family but the support extended by the Americans to the Saudis in the Gulf war and then the presence of their troops on the holy land was too much for

him and due to this specific reasons, the relationship between bin Laden and the Saudis came at odd. He founded Al-Qaeda after that, he left the country in 1992 and he was stripped of his citizenship in 1994. bin Laden established his bases in Afghanistan where he was protected by the Taliban regime and from there; he issued the fatwa against the American presence in the Holy land of the Mecca and Medina. Hence it can be concluded easily that that is how the US and Saudi relationship began writing the fate of not only the Middle East but the whole of the world.

3.3.3. Saudi Foreign Policy Post-Gulf War

The Saudi foreign policy after the Gulf war was focused on one thing and that was to repay the debts of the countries whose forces had defeated Iraq particularly, the United States of America. And this debt was repaid by the Kingdom in the form of purchasing weapons in large amounts from the USA and supporting the US-led peace plan between Israel and Palestine. But things changed after the 9/11 attack not only for the Saudis but also for the whole international community. There was a strong increase in the anti-Saudi feelings among the general public within the United States specifically and across the world in general. Fifteen of the nineteen hijackers on September 11, twin tower attacks were Saudis and this created a serious impression of hate and resentment against the Saudis. As a result, the wave of the strong pessimism and hatred towards Saudi Arabia impacted the peaceful relationship between these two countries which was considered as the strongest keeping in view their mutual economic interests revolving around the oil and the similar strategic goals in the Middle East. Things got quite complex and took the 180 degrees turnaround when the George W. Bush administration omitted the twenty-eight pages from the 9/11 Commission Report added on to the speculation that the U.S.

government was covering up evidence that Saudi officials were complicit in the attacks(Lynch, 2019, pp. 72-77).Over the years the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is referred to as the strong and stable partner of the US. There had been the issuance of monetary and defense packages by the successive governments of the USA sometimes with the approval of the congress and in some instances without the congressional approval. These two countries strongly impacted the geostrategic and political dynamics of the Middle East since the end of the Arabian Gulf more robustly. Anyone can clearly see the difference and the opposition in the manner, in which these two states operate. There is the record of the suppression of the gross human rights and the violations of the freedom of the expression and USA being the beacon of the democratic values has easily ignored them as if they are illusions. This speaks a lot about the way in which international politics operates and functions at that scale. The moral and ethical grounds are masked by the economic benefits. Both countries, in the context of Middle Eastern politics, have acted in a way that they are protecting the interests of one another. Neither Saudi nor the USA has acted against each other or have formed a block against one another in the region rather they have presented strong support to each other whenever the things got tough for anyone of them.

3.3.4. ISRAEL PALESTINE CONFLICT

The US-Saudi relations changed over time to time in the Middle East region. There were some incidents where the two states had divergent interests towards each other. The Arab-Israel conflict was one of the long-lasting conflicts that changed the two state's interests in the region. Americans closed strategic cooperation with Israel and concerns for its security in the Middle East arose some complications for the US relations with the Arab world especially Saudi Arabia. The 1950s and 1960s period the Saudi's viewed Soviet expansion as the national security threat

while the US support to Zionism was also viewed as the foreign policy concern for Saudi Arabia. Due to this concern, Saudi was accused of helping Israel indirectly for the support of the US when the US was the close ally of Israel. The Saudi's helped militarily to the Arab countries especially Jordan in the 1948 war but not play a role as a frontline unit. In 1956, Americans opposed the Israel Sinai campaign because the US viewed the increasing threat of the Soviets and would lose its influence in the Middle Eastern region. The US prevented arms sales towards Israel due to the concerns of its strategic relation towards Arab countries especially Saudi Arabia. The 1967 war in the Arab-Israel conflict was the turning point for Saudi's involvement in the war. Saudi Arabia was one of the leading states which designed a unified Arab strategy against Israel. This war brought two major changes in the Arab world; The first one was Israel's capture of the eastern part of Jerusalem and control of the entire city and the second the defeat of deep-rooted Arab nationalism led by Nasser of Egypt. This conflict in the Middle East leads towards the proxy war between Egypt and Saudi Arabia in Yemen.

In the early 1970s, the US policy changed towards Israel when Jordanian crisis 1970-71 occurred and the US viewed Israel as a strategic asset to contain communist expansion in the Middle Eastern region. Americans organized to supply weapons to Israel to build its strong influence in the region. Saudi and the other Arab countries-imposed oil embargo on the US as well as the other western states those in the support of Israel. This oil embargo was a drastic effect on the Western and US industries. The threat of the spread of communism in the region was deterring the United States and it reshaped its policy towards the Arab countries if they wanted strong influence in the region. On one side the US maintained its strategic economic and military relations with Israel while on the other side the US also wanted to restore its relations

with Arab countries by engaging in the Palestine-Israel peace process to resolve the conflict. Several US administrations have engaged in blocking and delay of aid to Palestine when they objected to Israel's policies. Furthermore, Israel refused to withdraw from Palestinian occupied territories and continued its settlement in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel continued its relationship with the US to pursue a dynamic relationship between the two. Under the Bush administration, this relationship expanded towards strategic cooperation including joint strategic planning, joint weapons production, intelligence sharing, substantial military assistance, and joint military exercises. Israel continues to receive trade assistance through the US under the Free Trade Area Agreement of 1985. The Israeli lobby is pro-active active in the United States and has been influential in the decisions of the government. During the 1990s the collapse of the Soviet Union, the success in the first Gulf War, and the sponsor of the Peace Process of Palestine-Israel war, the US continued to enjoy the unprecedented influence in the Middle East region. In 1991 a peace conference was held in Madrid that brought together all the parties of Arab-Israel conflict together on one platform where the core issue was the Palestine-Israel conflict on 'land of peace'. In 1993, the Oslo accord agreement was signed between Palestine and Israel. According to the agreement, Israel recognized the PLO and Palestine also recognized Israel's right and gave up terrorist activities. Moreover, Israel also deployed its forces from the occupied Palestinian territories to the West Bank and Gaza strips. However, the extremist groups on both sides opposed the agreement and desired the complete independent state for Palestine as well as Israel. Saudi's pushed the United States to prevent Israel from occupying the Palestinian territory however, could not do so as supporting the state of Israel was primarily the interest of the United States. However, it can be said that Saudi's played a very important role during the multiple peace processes held over Palestine-Israel conflict. The bilateral relation had

felt the bone due to the Israel-Palestine conflict where Riyadh supported the Arab Peace initiative during the second intifada (2000-2005) in which there was a proposal that the Arab countries would normalize their relations with Israel in return of its withdrawal from the occupied territories of Palestine(Pressman, 2003, p. 1740). Bush and Obama traded on the path of the initiative to some extent or showed an inclination towards neutrality, but things changed under the Presidency of Donald Trump where he showed its outright and absolute support to the Israeli government and its claims(Yahaya, 2020). Having close ties with Netanyahu he even announced to transfer the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem while recognizing the Israeli claim over the lands of Palestine. In 2018, the Saudi Royal Court denounced the decision of the USA to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel(Bard, 2019, pp. 240-245). And the current quick glance at the situation depicts that some things in the Middle East have been changed while the others have not. There is no hope for Palestinians to get sovereign independence and they are still homeless. Despite the strong international condemnation of the Israeli occupation on the Palestinian lands it is getting worse day by day. And the Trump regime the things are more outright and straight than they ever were the reason is the full-fledged support of the USA under Donald Trump towards Israel (Moore, 2020). Under King Salman, Saudi Arabia adopted more assertive policy and that is reflective in the Kingdom's decision of intervention in Yemen in 2015 and Lebanon 2017.

3.4 DEFENSE COOPERATION BETWEEN US-KSA:

The United States began its Foreign Assistance Programs (FAP) for KSA in 1946 to become a point of criticism between several political oppositions of the two states and create a concern for the other regional states in terms of their security perspectives. The US provided Saudi

Arabia foreign assistance funding an estimated \$32.6 million was economic assistance and \$328.4 million of which \$295.8 million was military assistance from 1946-2006(Sylvester, 2008, pp. 2-8). In 1953, the US started its program to include the United States Training Mission to Saudi Arabia (USMTM) and in 1973 the Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program (PM-SANG) was established(Binsahoh, 2015, p. 45). The US provides funding of these programs through Foreign Military Sales purchases (FMS). It also needs to be mentioned that the United States was the largest arms supplier to Saudi Arabia since the establishment of the bilateral relationship of both these states. Saudi Arabia received weapons and military equipment from the United States through foreign military sales (FMS) from 1950 through 2006. The worth of this funding was over \$62.7 billion and foreign military construction services (FMCS) worth over \$17.1 billion. The United States also provides foreign military sale estimated \$9 billion contracts for 72F-15S aircraft that was signed in 1973 and F-15S aircraft in 1999. Over the years, defense cooperation between the two states has tremendously exceeded, very specifically during the tenure of Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Suleiman (MBS). The United States has over \$126 billion government to government defense sales cases with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. Furthermore, the signing of a \$110 billion commitment to the United States by Saudi Arabia in May 2017 moderated the defense equipment of Saudi Armed forces. Over \$27 billion of equipment has currently been bought by Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the United States has also allowed the permanent export of around \$8.2 billion worth of defense article to Saudi Arabia through the Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) program. These include military vehicles, tanks, electronics, launch vehicles as well as munitions. Furthermore, members of Saudi armed forces have also been receiving direct training from the US forces on the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC) as

well as air to ground targeting procedures. Bilateral as well as the multilateral training between the two states are primarily designed to excessively improve the understanding of Saudi security forces as well as the identification, targeting, and engagement of correct targets while subsequently minimizing the civilian casualties as well as the collateral damage. Both these states have also been collaborating on the issues of counterterrorism, intelligence sharing, and counter-extremism initiatives, specifically after the twin tower attacks of 9/11.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC & CULTURAL COOPERATION IN US-KSA TIES

4.1 Background

The Middle Eastern region remained one of the world's most conflicting regions that have been fighting civil as well as proxy wars especially since the end of the Second World War. There was hardly a time that this region was at peace. The proximity between the US and KSA had begun during the start of the 1930s, however, cooperation between the two states began after 1945. At that time, the US viewed KSA as a state against communism while Saudis look at the US as a defense against the Soviet proxies in South Yemen, Syria, and Egypt. Due to its huge oil reserves and strategic location, Saudi Arabia was very important for the US in the Cold War period. It was the only Arab country in the Middle East that was against communism. This was the one reason why these states had strong ties with each other in addition to Saudi reserves.

KSA is one of the world's major and most vital oil producers having reserves of approximately thirteen percent of the world's output and thirty-five percent of total OPEC output. The discovery of oil production in Saudi Arabia had begun in 1933 at Dammam but the first partnership on oil among the US and Saudi's started in 1936 between Texas oil (Texaco) and

standard oil company. In 1944, they further collaborated on California Arabian Standard Oil Company later became Arabian American Oil Company or Aramco. Keeping in view that the KSA dominance in the region and oil market, its crude oil rates are unchallenged in international markets while balancing the International oil demand and supply. Since 1970, the Kingdom has used this dominance of sustaining long-term oil consumption to stabilize its economy in the industrialized world(El Mallakh, 2015, pp. 44-48). The US interest in the Middle Eastern region does not only revolve around Saudi oil, but they are also responsible for safeguarding Israel and endorsing its security and simultaneously they were preventing the Soviet Union to expand in the Middle East by creating alliances and providing military and economic aid to different countries of the region. It is an undeniable fact that KSA played a very noteworthy and important role in the US foreign policy and its regional security policy that dates back to the start of the Cold War. Saudi Arabia has been one of the bases for the United States in the region. By the 1940's the extension of Saudi's oil production raised the concerns about the security and defense of Saudi Arabia for the US as Saudi Arabia was an underdeveloped economy at that time. It became important for the US to influence the region by providing defense, security, and initiate military cooperation with Saudis. US petroleum companies have started to extract oil from the deserted fields of Saudi Arabia and thus it became a serious responsibility for the US to maintain political stability and security in the region. Hence, defense and security cooperation between the two states initiated since the commencement of the Cold War.

Saudi Arabia was one of the largest foreign military sales (FMS) of the US. Since the 1950's the US army force engineers played a very important role in the civilian construction and military of KSA. KSA also allowed the US to use its airbase at Dhahran to prevent the expansion

of communist ideas and influence in the region. A Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed between the two states in 1951 according to which the United States had to provide military assistance to the Saudi Armed forces. In return, Saudi Arabia started to buy arms from the United States worth billions of dollars in addition to providing them with their territory and military facilities. Till the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the US and Saudi Arabia continued their cooperation against the Soviet Union. This remained an important aspect of the relations between KSA and the US. Both states for decades shared a common interest in the preservation of security and promotion of peace and stability in the Gulf region while at the same time thoroughly consulted each other on various issues pertaining to regional, domestic and international politics. Saudi Arabia has since its inception played a very dominant and influential role in maintaining hegemonic US-Saudi nexus in the region while having its cooperation in issues of military, diplomacy, security, counterterrorism efforts, and economic cooperation.

4.2 Convergence and Divergence

The central pillars of the relationship between the two countries were as mentioned oil and security. In the 50s and 60s, the economic relationship between the two countries remained very important. In 1950, the ARAMCO was established and both countries agreed on 50/50 profit distribution which they will get from oil. It was important to step for both countries. Saudi Arabia did not have the technology to explore oil on its own. Through the establishment of ARAMCO, Saudi Arabia was able to acquire the technology and money it needed for the development of the state and strengthening its monarchy. It was aligned with a superpower that can guarantee domestic stability as well. For the US it was important because it was able to secure an important source of energy. By getting cheap oil from Saudi Arabia, it was able to

create and maintain the US-led world order as well as its hegemony over the Middle Eastern region. Saudi Arabia started pushing for more autonomy in the ARAMCO after some year of its establishment and finally, it was nationalized. However, the Saudi and the US relationship continued to remain strong because of factors other than oil as well. The Soviet Union was a common enemy of both states which was thriving and expanding its hegemonic designs during the Cold War period. The threat from the Soviet Union was keeping the relationship between the two countries strong and deep.

In 1951, a mutual defense agreement was signed between KSA and the US which allowed trade between the two countries. It also centered the United States training missions to Saudi Arabia. In 1960, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was established (Basil, 2011, pp. 22-23). It was an effort by the oil-producing countries to create an organization to collaborate on the decision-making process related to the oil. Before OPEC seven sisters maintained complete control over the supply and production of oil. "Seven Sisters" was a term used for seven transnational companies of oil that included Standard Oil Company of New York (Socony, it was later named as Mobil and now is a part of ExxonMobil), Texaco (Currently merged in the Chevron), Anglo Iranian Oil Company (Currently known as BP), Standard Oil Company of California (SoCal, later known as Chevron), Gulf Oil (Merged into Chevron), Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (Currently part of ExxonMobil) and Royal Dutch Shell. As of 1960, seven sisters were controlling around 90 % of the world's oil trade however it has continued to decline over the period of time. In 1963 Yemen was indulged in a bloody civil war and Egypt was actively taking part in this war. Saudi Arabia was an ally of the US. Egyptian planes during a bombing mission in Yemen also crossed the border of Saudi Arabia

and bombed Saudi Arabia as well. It was a message for Saudi Arabia who was on the side of the US during the rise of Pan-Arabism. The US responded to this attack through a message that was conveyed to the Soviet Union and Egypt stating that the US is ready to keep its allies and interests in the region.

In 1973, ARAMCO and the Saudi Government started the negotiation about more Saudi control over the operations of the oil (Hertog, 2008, pp. 658-660). There was a 50/50 percent arrangement of the profit between the ARAMCO and Saudi Arabia, but when Saudi Arabia realized the importance of oil as a strategic entity, they decided that they could not allow a foreign government to control such an important strategic asset.

The relationship between the two countries remained very high and stable until 1973 until King Faisal decided to take part in the oil embargo in response to the US support for Israel in the Arab Israel war. Saudi Arabia and the United States have a very strong economic bilateral relation. The country has been KSA's one of the second-largest trading partners for decades while at the same time KSA has also been witnessed as one of the largest trading partners of the United States in the Middle East. With Iran and OPEC countries blocked the oil the embargo created a shock to the world economy and increased the price of oil. The balance of power shifted towards the twelve OPEC countries which were controlling the oil at that time. It did not only have significance for the world economy but also the relations between KSA and the US. By taking part in the oil embargo Saudi Arabia decided to remain a part of Pan Arab unity which was against American interest in the region. The oil embargo was very short-lived. In 1974, when the oil embargo ended the relationship between the two states had revived. Saudi Arabia permitted the US to explore oil in Saudi Arabia in 1975 when in 1975 the US made promises

that they can find further oil in Saudi Arabia. (Hertog, 2011, p. 54). Saudi Arabia needed this oil exploration to improve and further enhance its economy.

While KSA has also been the 2nd most important source of imported oil for the country accounting for around 1 million barrels of oil to the United States market per day and the tradition has continued for quite a long time. Both states have also signed a Trade Investment Framework Agreement as well. The extraction of energy resources in the Middle East was initiated after Second World War and while the United States held its influence over the majority of the countries in the region, a possibility of upsurge demand for energy resources especially oil was assessed by the developed states. The world was facing difficulties in the extraction of oil in the advanced regions and while the physical conditions were favorable in the less developed regions especially in the Middle East, developed countries tend to capture or even buy the resources of Gulf States. In the Middle East, Iraq, Abu Dhabi, Iran, and Saudi Arabia had huge reserves of oil and hence extraction of oil production was increased from these areas during the 1970s and '80s(Luciani, 2005, pp. 102-104). However, no state was left at peace as regional and international powers started to create problems in the Middle Eastern region and thus conflicts started amongst them. An effort was made by the British to develop the oil industry of the Middle East before the WWI. The region was under the control of Britain until the 1940s but later it was dominated by the United States.

However, misperceptions between the states initiated after an oil embargo was initiated by the Arab states. States supporting Israel during the Youm-Kipur war were targeted during this crisis and the prices of oil were significantly increased by almost 400% from \$3 per barrel to \$12 per barrel. Countries targeted in this oil embargo included Japan, United States, United Kingdom,

Canada, Netherlands, and later was extended to states like South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal (Rabinovich, 2007, pp. 94-97). However, the fact those Middle Eastern states were mostly dependent on their oil to support their economy and got a major chunk of profits from it highly impacted countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq. Before this crisis was initiated, these oil-producing countries received approximately 20-25 cents a barrel but later it was increased to 70-80 cents a barrel. During 1959 and 1960, there was a reduction in oil prices that increased the pressure over oil markets and disturbed the oil prices leading to the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Yet another major issue was that the seven American and British companies were controlled the world petroleum market that had the power to control the marketing, price, and production of the oil reserves. In the 1969 Arab-Israel war, the Suez Canal crisis raised tensions in the Middle East. In 1970 there was a shortage in oil production because of the civil war in Nigeria and the damaged Saudi pipeline that transfer its oil all the way through Syria raised the European dependency on Libya allowing it to take advantage of the situation. Ultimately, during 1972-73 the entire oil industry had been nationalized and the oil embargo crisis emerged (Brosche, 1974, p. 1). At that time, the Arab-Israel war broke out and Saudi Arabia prevented the US oil shipments, which raised the tension between the United States and Saudi Arabia for the first time since the Cold War period was started. The second oil crisis emerged in 1979 during the Iranian revolution that led to the cutting down of the supply ultimately increasing oil prices in the global market (Kesicki, 2010, pp. 1598-1599). Moreover, the oil supply was also stopped in the United States. This was the turning point between Saudi and Iran on the matter of oil policies and the fact that both Iran and Saudi Arabia were very important for the US also signified the issue. The US with the help of the International community imposed economic sanctions on Iran that harmed Iran's oil production

and its capacity to a greater extent. This situation increased the tensions among the two regional players Saudi Arabia and Iran; however, Saudi Arabia was a very important player for the US at that time and was comprehensively protected as well. Till the 1980s Saudi Arabia dominated oil production in the region, but later the United States took control of certain Middle Eastern states through its influencing policies, and hence it took hold and dominated the control of oil production in the Middle East.

Furthermore, in 1979, the US got another important ally in the region when Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty, but this was not well received by Saudi Arabia because they were not ready to accept this development. Thus it cut off their relations with Egypt and sought help from other Arab states to put economic sanctions on Egypt. While US-Saudi relations were expected to be affected by this development, both countries continued their bilateral relations without indulging in any major conflict. In 1980, the cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the US further developed. Saudi Arabia was playing an important role in the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The role of Saudi Arabia was instrumental on two important fronts, first creating an ideological movement against communism. This ideological base was very important for recruiting young Muslims around the world and bringing them into the fight against the Soviet army in Afghanistan. The financial role of Saudi Arabia was very important as well. Saudi Arabia was giving millions of dollars for buying weapons and paying for the operations of fighters in Afghanistan. It became an important source of funding for them. Despite other issues between Saudi Arabia and the US during the 1980s, a war against the Soviet Union remained the key and fundamental building block of the relationship. Till the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the US and Saudi Arabia continued their cooperation against

the Soviet Union. This remained an important aspect of the relations between KSA and the US. Both countries till this point faced many ups and downs in the relationship but due to the convergence of the interest, both countries remained a firm ally. They kept cooperating on the economic and military front.

The Gulf War which broke in 1990 was the highest point of the relations between the two countries reached. The relationship which was damaged during the oil embargo and other issues was revived. Saudi Arabia was an important oil exporter and the stability of the world economy was depending on the security of Saudi oil facilities. An Iraqi attack on Saudi oil facilities would have catastrophic effects to the world economy. United States also wanted to secure its interests on the Saudi soil and hence defending Saudi Arabia was critically important at that stage. United States helped Saudi Arabia to defend its self by supporting it in terms of its defense and with the help of the US and other allied states, Iraq was defeated by Saudi Arabia in just four days. The Gulf war highlighted the importance of the US for the security of Saudi Arabia. It also showed how the interests of both countries are aligned with each other. The survival of Saudi Arabia was depended on the security provided by the US while on the other hand security and stability of Saudi Arabia were important for the world economy and the US reputation as the Superpower. Both the above-mentioned events, the Gulf War, and Saudi support of the war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union played a significant role in the future of the relationship.

4.3 MULTI-DIMENSIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

4.3.1 Petro-Dollar Impact

In the 1970s, after the collapse of the Bretton Woods gold standard, the US and KSA signed an agreement in order to regulate the price of oil in dollars. Through this system, the US dollar was

elevated as a stand-in currency globally and the country continued to enjoy the status of a global economic hegemony (Yousefi & Wirjanto, 2003, pp. 762-763). According to this agreement, the dollar is waged to oil-producing states in exchange for their oil. The Nixon administration took this step by ending the conversion of U.S. dollars into gold. The move was considered a great shock in the economic world and hence in the wake of this “Nixon Shock”, an end of the gold era was witnessed in addition to free fall of the U.S. dollar despite rising inflation. As an outcome of this agreement, worldwide economies altogether initiated to pay for oil in dollars. Oil-exporting countries needed to obtain dollars for their exports and not their own money. This increased the demand for dollars in the global market ultimately benefitting the United States. It needs to be mentioned that the then President of the United States, Nixon and his Secretary of State felt the decline in the dollar demand before signing the pact with Saudi Arabia for the petrodollar. The United States came up with a plan to increase the demand for oil and it needed the support of Saudi Arabia for this purpose. The Plan was simple. As Saudi Arabia was a close ally of the United States, it was convinced by the US after offering that the US military protection will be given to Saudi’s for the oil reserves and in return, Saudis would conduct oil business in the US dollars. Accordingly, Saudis must refuse all other currencies for oil trade. In addition to that, the United States would also put all their dollar reserves into their treasuries. The US tried to influence OPEC countries to trade for oil in dollars as well. In return, the Kingdom and other Arab countries safeguarded the United States influence in the Palestinian-Israeli clash alongside the United States military aid throughout a progressively troublesome political environment, which saw the Soviet attack of Afghanistan, the downfall of the Shah Iran, and the Iraq-Iran War. Benefits of Petrodollar to the United States included the recycling that created a demand for the United States assets. When dollars received for oil sales were

ultimately consumed to purchase major reserves in the US. Moreover, reprocessing of petrodollars was also useful to the greenback as it promoted the non-inflationary development(Lubin, 2007, pp. 88-92). Voices have been raised several times by different states including China and Venezuela against the petrodollar; however, the US hold on the system was so much influential and widespread that the concerns were not acknowledged by any other states. Officially Aramco and formally Arabian American Company started manufacturing a considerable quantity of oil and immensely generated huge profits in the Kingdom's earning. The American Private Oil Company was responsible for managing, developing, and discovering the oil of Saudi Arabia. It had good standing in the world and was considered one of the best at the time. The company is one of the largest profitable companies in the world while the Kingdom had the second-largest crude oil reserves in the 1970s with a production of around 110 billion barrels which was one of the major oil productions across the world. KSA also allowed the United States' private sector to work but not its government. The private was allowed on the condition that American firms would not discriminate against the Saudi companies. It was agreeable as the kingdom's political environment was predominantly based on the stable situation of the economy. Before 1940, the US played a milder role due to the existence of British. Nonetheless, all this transformed with the American Lend-Lease Pact to Arabia signed in 1943(O'Sullivan, 2012, pp. 94-95). This contract charted after a call for financial aid by ARAMCO in 1941. Saudi Arabia was facing a fiscal deficit and it required advance assistance of \$12 m to feat the oil resources. Subsequently, during the Second World War increasing oil incomes safeguarded the fact, that the Kingdom would not breakdown economically. Through the ascendance of King Saud to the cathedra in 1953, economic and political associations initiated to feel pain just as they were attaining impetus. Arab- Israel war and Nasser's

nationalism created more space between the US and Kingdom. The year 1950 witnessed so many changes in the supply-demand of oil in the international market. Those who were using coal left this system and switched to oil. Therefore, instead of discoveries of new reservoirs, the demand increased. The US became a net oil importer of the world. Since oil prices were being determined by the oil companies that created a rift between producers of oil. This situation led to the establishment of OPEC in 1960. The seller market lifted due to OPEC. The oil companies were obligatory to deal together with OPEC members, which was itself an exit from the 1960s when they, from a site of power, insisted on dealing with the manufacturing nations on a discrete bilateral base. OPEC gained control over price setting due to the US government's non-involvement. The world energy crisis of the 1970s augmented the importance of Saudi Arabia in trade and commerce. The initiatives of petrodollar initiated by the US and multidimensional economic opportunities for the Kingdom furthered the level of cooperation to a maximum level. However, later concern was raised over Saudi's increased economic involvement in the United States. They feared that the petrodollar would be used to buy the US firms which would hurt Jewish interest and Jewish lobby based in the United States. In the US upper house, the concern was increased that OPEC and Arabian oil states would gain money which would be used to buy weapons and ultimately to be used against them in any way possible. However, in the 1970s the Arabian companies came under scrutiny and lost their respect due to corruption and null practices. Moreover, because of continued cooperation between the two states and allied interests in the region, the US seldom feared the Saudis rising against them.

4.3.2 Technological Cooperation

The information and communication technology (ICT) plays a very important role in the growth and infrastructure of any country. It provides computer software and the acquisition of equipment programs that helps to increase the economic growth of a state. KSA is believed to be one of the biggest IT markets in the entire Gulf region. According to estimates, the region has a yearly gross revenue of around \$1.2 billion of which Saudi Arabia accounts for around 40% of the market(Tuncalp, 1994, p. 6). Saudi Arabia developed its ICT industry with the help of financial institutions after the Saudi Aramco. According to the report of the Research Department of the US-Saudi Arabian Business Council, Saudi Arabia was the highest Middle Eastern state that spends its capital on computers and its related accessories(Sorenson, 2014, pp. 120-124). In 2000, the increase in its import market for computers was to be reported at 2.5% (Al-Maliki, 2013, pp. 2-4). More than 30 different projects that had been initiated in different areas from higher education to underground water and agriculture to vocational training. The total worth of these expenditures was \$1.5 billion with about \$200 billion annually. During 1990, the annual budgets of these areas were less than \$40 billion (Harbinson, 1990, pp. 274-276). In 1974, the Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation was established among Saudi Arabia and the United States. According to its Joint statement, the two states were working together to promote Saudi's programs of industrialization, agriculture, manpower training, trade, science, and technology. In 1975, the two states signed a technical agreement that provided technical and advisory services to implement the goals of the two states. The US funding in technical assistance estimated \$250 million in the trust account and \$12 million in interest account in 1978. Cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia furthered after Muhammad Bin Suleiman (MBS) emerged in the cabinet of Saudi Shah Salman. He was rather a liberal and reformist who intended to bring modernization in Saudi Arabia. As a result

of joint diplomatic efforts between the Saudi and the US leadership, educational and technical cooperation between the two states has significantly improved. As of 2020, thousands of Saudi students are pursuing their higher education in US universities through scholarship programs. Furthermore, the value of the investment position of US bodies in Saudi Arabia has tremendously increased, specifically after 2010. Furthermore, a framework agreement for Trade, Economic Investment, and Technical Cooperation between the cooperation council for the Arab States of the Gulf and the government of United States of America were signed on 25th September 2012 in Newyork(Minnerop, Wolfrum, & Lachenmann, 2019, p. 805). Saudi Arabia was also one of the countries in the cooperation council for the Arab states. This agreement was signed to influence and further bilateral and multilateral cooperation between and amongst the Arab state and the United States in the field of investment and technical cooperation. While cooperation between the two states has continued to increase over the period of time, internal conflicts within the Saudi leadership as well as its foreign military engagement has subsequently diverted the funds towards defense and security, and hence cooperation in terms of educational and technical assistance has significantly decreased. However, it can certainly impact the Saudi vision of 2030 as it is more focused on diverting its economy from oil to infrastructure and telecommunication.

4.4 CULTURE OF SAUDI ARABIA

It is important to analyze the culture of Saudi Arabia as the United States has held its presence in Saudi Arabia for decades. Military cooperation between the two states led to the establishment of US bases in the country. Furthermore, US influence on Saudi leadership was very strong and hence it needs to be assessed if the US was influential enough to bring any changes in a very

strict and conservative Saudi culture and society. The origin of the people of Saudi Arabia is Arab as they predominantly practice Islam as their religion while strictly follow Arab traditions in their cultural life. Arabs belong to the sematic tribe. The culture and society of Saudi Arabia are conservative, religious, family-oriented, and traditional(Hamdan, 2005, pp. 60-64). There were many traditions still being followed which are inherited from centuries-old practices and are derived from the ancient Arab civilization. Due to rapid change throughout the world, the country transformed from a nomadic society into a rich commodity producer in the 1970s. Islam plays a very significant and dominant role in Saudi's practice of life. Saudi Arabia has two holy shrines Al-Masjid Al-Haram in Mecca and the Al-Masjid Al-Nabawi in Medina that makes Saudi Arabia a very prestigious state in the Muslim world. The daily life is dominated by Islamic observance and Muslims strictly follow the practice of praying five times each day throughout the country. The country uses the lunar Islamic calendar and not the International Gregorian calendar. Business is closed three to four times a day to offer prayers. There is no permission for non-Muslims to worship in churches, temples. There are nearly a million Christians and Hindus, as well as other religious members who belong to this country however the government does not allow them to celebrate Christmas or Easter in Saudi Arabia. The inhabitants of the desert nomad's area are known as Bedouin. These are the influential minority indigenous population of Saudis who call themselves "Bedou". Bedouin is very much engaged in the government sector and its culture is preserved by the government as well(Bell Jr, Rota, & McComb, 1960, pp. 523-526).

The political system of Saudi Arabia is a monarchy and based on Sharia or Islamic legislation. There is no power in the hands of women while men are more active in society. Women were

previously forbidden to drive motor vehicles and were confined in a limited boundary; however recent Saudi government has eased down the restrictions on them and they have been allowed for certain actions that include driving as well. The level of illiteracy rate increased in Saudi Arabia in the recent past. The percentage of illiteracy rate was 48.9% in 1982 in which females were higher than men(AlMunajjed, 1997). Now the illiteracy rate is improving and females attending schools and colleges almost are equal to that of males. There is absolutely no freedom to the press and public expression has recognized by the government. Those who are educated tend to remain quiet. Many newspapers are restricted not to publish any news against the state and the government has also restricted to discuss any public policy in informal public discussion. The social life of Saudi Arabia revolves around the family and home. Keeping in view that Saudi's are conservative, so the religion and customs of the state unified a dress for men and women. There are different dresses of different areas but after re-establishment of Saudi rule, became compulsory for all women to wear the veil in public. The Saudi's are family-oriented society, so they do business and socialize with family members rather than outsiders whether they are living in foreign or in the same state. Traditionally Saudi families encouraged their sons and daughters to marry cousins or relatives within the same tribe rather than an outsider to strengthen their family and tribe.

Saudi Arabian cuisine is being influenced by Turkish, African, and Iranian food. The national sport of Saudi Arabia is football (Soccer). Camel racing and basketball are also popular games in Saudi Arabia(Sadat-Ali & Sankaran-Kutty, 1985, p. 28). The visual arts tend to be design and abstract designs by calligraphy and the country prohibited the representation of people in the artwork. Bedouin poetry, also known as 'Nabati' is popular in Saudi Arabia. Many popular

instruments include Rabbah, tabla (drum), and tar (tambourine). The cinemas are prohibited in Saudi Arabia according to its Islamic point of view(Sakr, 2008).

Since the birth of the Kingdom and before that Saudi Arabia has been undergoing several changes in their family structure. The roles, functions, and status of members of the family are widely being discussed. The social changes have been undergoing due to urbanization, industrialization, and an increase in education and literacy rates that is observed in large cities as well in small cities in Saudi Arabia. These changes played a very significant role in Saudi Arabia in the developing and progression of new societies.

4.4.1 Transformations Within Saudi Culture Due to US Influence

With the advent of globalization, Saudi Arabia has been undergoing transformations and reforms in their societies. These reforms took place in the inception of industrialization, technological, and educational openness as well as cultural values within the state. Though much has been not being evident of US influence in the Saudi culture despite decades-long proximity in their relationship as Saudi culture is primarily driven by Islam, rules of which they practice very strictly. However, the United States has though managed to play a very significant and influential role in these reforms in Saudi Arabia. The US introduced new digital technology in Saudi Arabia that shifted the societies in a better way. From conservatism to progression, the culture within Saudi Arabia is changing. Education is improving in Saudi Arabia day by day that shifts the conservative society towards an open society, though in a very slow manner. With the inception of the 20th century, Western influence also changed the lifestyles and housing styles of Saudi people. Though KSA still practices norms of Islam very strictly and their urban, as well as rural society, is still very conservative in comparison to other Arab states, progressive

attitude and reforms across various sections of the domestic sector are helping them grow into a progressive society.

The US influence within Saudi society only impacted a certain class of their society who was wealthy enough to explore and live a very luxurious life standard. The wealth of oil and construction industry had also its tremendous impacts on the lives of a common man and while the entire society was living a very poor and miserable life during the mid-1950s, people slowly and gradually initiated to experience a wealthier life. Religion still plays a very dominant role in Saudi culture and according to their strong roots; it will continue to do so. The government's strict hold on the domestic policies of Saudi Arabia has helped the Kingdom's monarchy to hold its population and establish the rules the way it intends them to be.

4.4.2 Human Rights Violations In KSA

Due to the US interest in Saudi Arabia, it always ignored many normative violations and gave it pass on human rights violations. The US remained an advocate of democracy around the world but when it comes to Saudi Arabia, the US ignored it completely because of its strategic and economic interests. As both states had diverse bilateral economic and military interests, the United States never focused on human rights violations in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi strict fundamental human rights laws have been followed by its residents over the decades. There was no independent media while there was no freedom of expression given to people to express their opinions and views on any issue, very specifically no criticism was allowed on the policies of the Saudi government. Media completely remained under the control of the royal family and only pro-state policies were allowed to be on-air. There were no political parties or unions that can oppose the activities and decisions of the royal family because the country

follows a monarch system ruled by the royal family since the inception of the Kingdom. There is a suppression of the civil liberties and absence of the elected bodies at the national and local levels. Moreover, there has been a complete check and balance on the social life of the residents of the KSA. Furthermore, women's rights are not acknowledged in Saudi society. However since the transformation of the Kingdom after Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Suleiman, women's rights have begun to be acknowledged on the state level, yet very limited. Religious freedom merely exists in Saudi Arabia. Shia's residents are estimated to be around 6 to 7 percent in the country. The country's foreign labor workers who are from different countries also faced restrictions. The government's officials take their passports and restricted their freedom of movement and they have no right for trade unions.

Furthermore, the Kingdom also restricted international human rights organizations to intervene or point out any human rights violations being taken in Saudi Arabia. Apart from that, the Saudi's women had no legal status like men. They were not allowed to exercise their rights in matters of marriage, divorce, and child custody, etc. They have less presence in schools, colleges, and universities in comparison to men. Despite its poor record in Human rights, in 1999 the KSA was elected as a member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR).

The United States ignored all these problems in the KSA and never focused on them. The US aims were just to export oil and counter Soviet expansion in the Middle East during Cold War Era. Moreover, the US is also more focused and concerned about the security of Israel people in the Middle East and until and unless Saudi Kingdom's interests are allied with that of United

States, both these states will continue to thrive their economic and defense cooperation without taking in to account any human rights violations happening in the country over the decades.



5. CONCLUSION

The United States and Saudi Arabia shared bilateral collaborative relationship since the official acknowledgment of both states towards each other. While both states shared common pursuits of extracting oil profits from Saudi wells and maintaining regional hegemony in the Middle East, the two states have also stood side by side in dealing with conflicting issues like the Second Gulf War and Iran. Though they witnessed ups and downs in their bilateral relationship which spans in a decade less than a century, it is evident from the historical analysis that US pursuit of oil in Saudi Arabia and shared opposing agenda towards the Soviet Union during the Cold War led to the establishment of a strong basis of the relationship. This study basically highlighted all the events in the relations of two states that led to the strong establishment of relationships in addition to the progression of Saudi Arabia as one of the developed states of the world. This study also highlighted the impacts of US influence on Saudi Arabia and if it has been able to make any notable changes in the Saudi culture. Following are some of the concluding points of this research study.

The progression of Saudi Arabia as a developed state is marked by its bilateral and strengthened relationship with the United States, more dominantly in terms of oil trade. Saudi Arabia after its establishment in 1932 was a poor state with no armed forces of its own to protect its territorial integrity and no technological advancement to drill oil from its wells. After the establishment of Saudi Arabia's relations with the United States and the signing of the agreements with ARAMCO, Saudi oil was exported to the US markets which paved the interests of both states. Moreover, shared interest of opposition to the Soviet Union helped both states get along in building bilateral trust on each other while simultaneously focusing on all the other issues of

mutual interest. It also needs to be mentioned that conflicting ideologies between the two states over the issue of Israeli state led to intensity in the relationship, however, ideological conflicts were overlooked due to mutual economic interests throughout the history.

While shared opposition of Iran in the Middle East after 1979 Islamic revolution intensified and complicated the politics of the Middle East, mutually agreed policies of KSA and USA had a great deal in the shaping of the events. It is critical to highlight that the United States also played a very important role in strengthening the military progression of Saudi Arabia. It also established its military bases in the country to protect it from any foreign aggression. During the inception years of Saudi Arabia, a cooperative bilateral relationship with the United States turned out to be one of the major reasons that helped KSA secure its territorial boundaries. Furthermore, the technological advancement of KSA over the years can be attributed to US influence in the domestic and foreign policy of KSA which helped the country advance and progress in the IT sector in government as well as domestic sectors. KSA was one of the major importers of IT products in the Middle East in the year 2000.

US influence in the Middle East can largely be contributed to its support by Saudi Arabia and vice versa. Firstly, the establishment of US military bases in Saudi Arabia and joint collaborative counter-terrorism efforts by both states to address the issue of terrorism and secondly influence in all the regional matters pertaining to oil and conflicts have been jointly dealt with by both states. While Iran emerged as a common enemy of both after the Iranian revolution of 1979, its opposition in the Middle East greatly helped Saudi Arabia to establish and influence its regional hegemonic designs. Oil is one of the major commodities of Arab states and Saudi Arabia that accounts for a major portion of global oil reserves. Its bilateral partnership strengthened with

the United States due to the influence and export of Saudi oil to US markets. The export of energy reserves also helped the KSA to emerge as a developed economy over the years and this development led to the global influence of Saudi Arabia, however, it is also a fact that if US backs out its trade with KSA, the Kingdom will face a major setback in pursuing its regional and domestic designs as it intends to.

Though the United States holds a very strong bilateral relationship with the Kingdom in pursuits of its economic and regional interests, it being the largest advocate of human rights in the world completely ignored the human rights violations across the state. The United States is being seriously criticized for this act, however, is a realist and anarchic world; states tend to pursue their national interests rather than focusing on moral and ethical issues. Additionally, Saudi culture has been very minimally influenced by US dominance in the country. Islam being very efficiently practiced across the state and Islamic laws basically formulate the rules and regulations of the state is being strictly followed and hence the country's society can be termed as a very conservative society in comparison to the rest of the world. Though as the Saudi ruling elite is getting its education and coming into power, openness has been observed in recent decades, yet it is far away from any of other developed states around the globe.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

QUSAY MOHSIN

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Profile

Student at Altinbas University – Turkey- Istanbul Master of international Relations Program. Focused on develop research, analytic and communication skills relevant to many professional fields. Collaborative and hardworking with strong research, program support, and organizational skills. Demonstrated academic success through Master of international relations graduate studies, and 10+ years of professional experience in various leadership positions. Skilled at providing individual and group support to meet diverse needs and promote self-sufficiency. Prepared to leverage experience and strengths to take on dynamic position with career growth potential.

Core Skills

- Programming
- Cross-Functional Leadership
- Program Coordination
- Bilingual Communicator
- develop research
- Coaching & Mentoring Techniques
- Intervention & Needs Assessments
- Staff Training and Development
- Verbal & Written Communication
- analytic and communication skills

Summary of Qualifications

- *10+ years of experience in diverse industries including Program Coordination, and Management*
- *Demonstrated success in leading others to be disciplined and achieve goal-directed outcomes*

- Experience with developing alternative strategies to create positive coaching to clients, and community through accurate needs assessment, intervention, and modeling desired behavioral outcomes
- Deliver training for employee, and utilize bilingual status (Arabic and English) (Arabic and Turkish) to provide translation services
- Skilled at managing program strategies that incorporate existing activities, identify gaps, and works toward service integration and collaboration
- Build and maintain positive relationships with community leaders & partners to build program support
- Assist, direct, and motivate the continuing development of staff skills to ensure high performance teams

Professional Experience

Regional Operation Director

Kalem VIP-Istanbul

2017 to Current

- Responsible to provide guidance and oversight to all the long-term facilities and local leadership for each facility within their assigned region.
- Monitor Survey preparedness.
- Assist with and monitor implementation of Plan of Corrections
- On-site to assist the facility in managing the survey process
- Policy and Procedure Reviews
- Monitor Quality Indicators Monthly
- Monitor Budgetary Progress including monthly operation calls, licensing items.
- facility staff plans and all regulatory items
- Monitor Human Resource activities for the facilities · Host weekly conference calls to review risk management events in the buildings.

Professional Experience

Director of Office Management

2003 to 2006

MSC company, – Erbil, Iraq

- Point person for maintenance, mailing, shipping, supplies, equipment, bills and errands, Organize and schedule meetings and appointments
- Partner with HR to maintain office policies as necessary
- Manage relationships with vendors, service providers and landlord, ensuring that all items are invoiced and paid on time. Manage contract and price negotiations with office vendors, service providers and office lease
- Provide general support to visitors
- Responsible for managing office services by ensuring office operations and procedures are organized, correspondences are controlled, filing systems are designed, supply requisitions are reviewed and approved and that clerical functions are properly assigned and monitored
- Establish a historical reference for the office by outlining procedures for protection, retention, record disposal, retrieval and staff transfers and Ensure office efficiency is maintained by carrying out planning and execution of equipment procurement, layouts and office systems
- Responsible for developing and implementing office policies by setting up procedures and standards to guide the operation of the office, Responsible for recruiting staff for the office and

providing orientation and training to new employees. Responsible for ensuring office financial objectives are met by preparing annual budget for the office, planning the expenditures, analyzing variances and carrying out necessary corrections that may arise

- Responsible for developing standards and promoting activities that enhance operational procedures and Evaluate and manage staff performance. Design and implement filing systems, Establish and monitor procedures for record keeping. Ensure security, integrity and confidentiality of data, Design and implement office policies and procedures. Prepare operational reports and schedules

Additional Experience

Office Manager, Al-Nawasi Technologies Company, 2006-2008

- Provided exemplary customer service to owners in 3 separate locations in Erbil/ in the North of Iraq area.
- Coached new employees on administrative procedures, company policies, and performance standards.
- Managed all the three locations.
- Create and implement a variety of inventive policies and strategies.
- Oversee program coordination & program management for programs designed to assist clients or customers.
- Lead planning and achievement of goals and objectives consistent with agency mission and philosophy.
- Consistently research possible grant opportunities and create proposals to submit along with grant applications to ensure community members and clients can receive appropriate resources.

Staff Manager, First Step Company, 2010- 2017

Technical Skills

- Microsoft Office Suite

Education

Student at Alfinbas University – Turkey- Istanbul

Master of international Relations Program

Bachelor of Political Science:Honors Student, 3.8 GPA

University of Baghdad- Iraq-Baghdad