

**ASSESSING SAUDI ARABIA'S DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THE
LEBANESE CRISIS FROM 1975-2008.**

By

Zaid Al Harbi

Supervisor

Dr. Abdullah Naqrash, Prof

**This Thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Master's Degree in Diplomatic Studies**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies
Jordan University**

May, 2009

تفويض

.

::

::

The University of Jordan

I, Zaid Al Harbi , authorize the University of Jordan to supply copies of my thesis to libraries, establishments or individuals upon request.

Signature:

Date:

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my loving family for all their support in helping me attain one of my life's greatest achievements.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks to my Supervisor Prof. Abdullah Naqrash for his guidance and support, and the Examination Committee for their time and effort.

Many thanks to all my Doctors, who paved the way during my years of studying, and special thank Dr. Walid Abu-Dalbuh.

ZAID AL HARBI

List Of Contents

Subject	page
Committee Decision	II
Dedication	III
Acknowledgement	IV
List Of Contents	V
English Abstract	IX
Introduction	1
The Importance of the Study	3
The Problem of the Research	4
Study's Objectives	4
Study's Methodology	5
Tools of the study	5
Study's Hypothesis	6
Time Framework	6
Literature Review	6
Chapter One	10
Foreign Policy within Theoretical Perspective	
1.1 :Understanding Foreign Policy	11
1.1.:1 Foreign Policy Tools	17
1.1.2: Diplomacy in International Relation	20
1-2: Diplomacy Development Phases	22
1.2.1: The diplomacy has been through three main phases	22
1.3: Saudi Foreign Policy	24
1.3.1: Political Foundations of Saudi Arabia Foreign policy	25
1.3.2: The Evolution of Saudi Diplomacy	31
1.3.3: The characteristics and distinguishing feature of Saudi Diplomacy	32
1.3.4: Variables Affecting the Saudi Diplomacy	36
1.3.5: Religion	39
1.3.6: Security	41

Chapter II The Lebanese Crisis: 1975 - 2008	48
II.I. A historical overview: the nature of the Lebanese political system and the problem of the relationship between the constitutional structure and community structure	49
I.I. The Lebanese political system	52
I.II. Authorities in the Lebanese political system	54
II.III. The Executive Authority	55
II.IV. Legislative Authority	56
II.V The Active Political Parties and Trends	57
II.VI: The roots of the Lebanese crisis	58
II.VII: Israel and stability in Lebanon	63
II.VIII. The Lebanese crisis linkages on the regional and international levels	66
II.VIII.I: Foreign interference in the Lebanese crisis	67
II.VIII.II. The external interventions and the manifestations of the Lebanese divisiveness	73
Chapter III The role of Saudi diplomacy Toward Lebanese crisis, 1975-2008	82
III.I: The role of Saudi diplomacy in the Lebanese crisis, 1975-1989	83
III.I.I. The Lebanese crisis before the Taif Agreement	83
III.I.II. the Taif conference in September 30, 1989 and the end of the Lebanese crisis	90
III.II.II. The role of Saudi diplomacy in the management of the Lebanese crisis 1990-2008	97
Chapter IV Assessing Saudi Arabia "Diplomatic Role towards the Lebanese Crises"	119
IV.I. Changes that affected Saudi Arabian Diplomacy in Lebanon	120
IV.II. The Transformation of the Saudi diplomacy toward the crisis in Lebanon at the present stage	136

IV.III. Features of the Saudi initiatives	138
IV.IV. Constraints of the Saudi role	141
IV.V. Elements of power in Saudi Arabian Diplomacy that influenced the crises parties	150
IV.VI. The Regional effects and the Diplomacy of Saudi Arabia from Arab, regional and international perspective	151
Conclusion	165
Recommendations	172
References	174

Abbreviations

ANM	Arab Nationalist Movement
AP	Arabian Peninsula
AGC	Arabs Graduates Conference
ASBP	The Arab Socialist Baath Party
CUP	Constitutional Union Party
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
HC	High Commissioner
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LCP	Lebanese Communist Party
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NBP	National Bloc Party
NAP	Non Alignment Policy
NPM	National Progress Movement
SA	Saudi Arabia
SNP	Social Nationalist Party
TA	Taif Agreement
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

ASSESSING SAUDI ARABIA'S DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THE LEBANESE CRISIS FROM 1975-2008

By

Zaid Al Harbi

Supervisor

Dr. Prof. Abdullah Naqrash, Prof

Abstract

This study aimed to examine and analyze the role of the Saudi diplomatic in dealing with the Lebanese crisis as one of the political crises, which have had regional and international repercussions that affected directly the security and stability of the Lebanese state. Saudi Arabia has realized the gravity and the dimensions of this crisis on the Arab region; hence, the Saudi intervention came to address this crisis since the beginning, where Saudi Arabia used the diplomatic and economic tools, and its regional and international status to find satisfactory and consensus solutions to all parties.

The study found that the success of Saudi Arabia diplomatic and political efforts helping the Lebanese leaders to reached to put the foundations of a realistic and integrated form of a practical framework and to resolve the crisis in Lebanon and preserve Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and unity, which translated by the National Reconciliation, that stressed the Arab identity of Lebanon, and the efforts focused on restoring security and stability to Lebanon and the continued emphasis on national and constitutional unity in Lebanon. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was keen from the beginning in its movement to maintain the same distance from all Lebanese parties and urged them to pursue dialogue and compromise and put the national interest to narrow factional interests. In addition, the study recommends the need to continue the diplomatic efforts by Saudi Arabia aimed to reach a final solution to the Lebanese crisis.

Introduction:

Diplomacy is the art of representing the government where a political process is used by states to implement its foreign policy. Through such vital mechanism, states deal with other states and international institutions and organizations to formulate their interests that coincide with national interests. This may encompass, the pursuit of preserving the country's rights, respect for dignity abroad, managing international activities guided by political obligations, and the endeavor to apply international law in foreign relations, and for the legal principles to become the base for communication between nations.

In turn, diplomacy is construed a key instrument of states as it considerably determines the political structure amongst states and the nature of their relations taking into account their common interests within changing global order. Hence, diplomacy becomes an indispensable mean to implement and translate foreign policy to achieve a particular end in a given circumstances. Its main goal revolves around opening avenues for communication between countries in order to reach compromises, settle disputes, and/or putting end to conflicts. Ostensibly, diplomacy plays an important role within international relations considering its principal role in establishing international political relations by finding solutions for all issues that concern different countries. Accordingly, the interweaving of diplomacy and foreign policies is undisputed issue due to absolute bond between diplomacy and foreign policy. An array of examples demonstrates such attachment.

In this respect, when examining the Saudi-Lebanese paradigm, historical evidence reveals the Kingdom's key role in attempting to settle the Lebanese crisis particularly since its major outbreak in 1975. The crisis had have a great impact on policies undertaken by Arab leaders at that time, as the leaders of the Arab countries worked diligently to put an end to this crisis, and to the conditions that led to the manifestation of the crisis.

The efforts of Arab countries to solve this crisis were different and in some cases totally contrasting, but the Saudi Arabian role appeared clearly through the attempts of the Saudi decision-makers to reach a peaceful solution. Its efforts have followed the Lebanese crisis since its outbreak, and continued at all political, diplomatic, economic and military fields. Saudi Arabia since the beginning of crisis attempted to reach a just solution that preserved the interests of all parties, and was concerned in its actions from the beginning to maintain distance from all Lebanese parties, and persuaded them to use dialogue, and to put national interest ahead of the interests of a minority. Since the outbreak of the Lebanese crisis, Saudi Arabia has attempted continuously to find a comprehensive solution that preserved the interests of all parties, and used its influence in the Lebanese arena, because of its membership of the tripartite committee formulated by the Arab Summit to stop the Lebanese Civil War, and culminating in the Taef Accord, in Saudi Arabia on the 30th of September 1989.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia continued its economic support to Lebanon, and to the re-construction that resulted from the Saudi Arabian nationalistic obligation towards a brother Arab country without the presence of any hidden agenda, or in light for any undeclared plans in the region, except to enable Lebanon to overcome its misfortune and achieve security, stability and prosperity.

In this way since the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War the Kingdom started to adopt the responsibility to stop the war. The first Saudi Arabian endeavor took place during the era of King Khalid ben Abd Al Azzez, when he made a visit to Syria on the 25th of September 1975, and met with the Syrian and Palestinian presidents to find a solution to this crisis. The talks between the three leaders resulted in an agreement regarding the need and the importance of settling the Lebanese crisis as quickly as possible. The results of that meeting instated a real change in the crisis solution track as the fighting between the left and right parties had stopped until 1981, when it was renewed in Lebanon, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon took place in 1982.

At later stages, Saudi Arabia's efforts continued until the formation of the tripartite committee that included Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Tunisia within which Jeddah's statement was issued on 6th of June 1989. Saudi Arabian diplomacy succeeded in achieving the Taef Accord, in Saudi Arabia 1989 and its diplomatic efforts continued in supporting Lebanon's stability during the presidency crisis and continued to develop in the aftermath of the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri.

The Importance of the Study:

Saudi Arabia's foreign policy was based on amalgam of determinants: geographic, religious, national, economic and security facts. Though, along with their national security interests, the overall regional vital interests sought to trigger good neighborliness, and enhancing the good relations with the Arab countries, adopting their issues in a way that serves the security and stability in the region.

From this point emerges the importance of the study in its attempt to analyze the Saudi Arabian diplomacy used in dealing with the Lebanese crisis. Its significance evolves with the rising of different regional and international players who rigorously seek to impose their 'diplomatic' role towards reshaping the political configuration of the crises to suit their national interests. Indeed, the Lebanese political crisis goes back years ago since the independence of the state of Lebanon in 1946. However, the crisis was mainly manifested itself in 1975, and the instability was halted relatively with the signing of the Taef Accord that was an important landmark in the political life in Lebanon under the sponsorship of the Saudi successful diplomacy. The treat established a new constitution and determined the basis for national consistency and political reform. Since then, the political arena in Lebanon was comparatively calm until the assassination of Prime Minister Rafiq Al-Hariri.

The Problem of the Research:

The internal geopolitical regional factors were interwoven and reacted with the external environment through which it has exacerbated and complicated the Lebanese crisis particularly during the past three decades. Against these backgrounds, the recognition of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia of such facts facilitated as well as boosted the role of the Kingdom to use its political weight and diplomacy to put an end for the civil conflict.

To this end, the study attempts to answer the following enquiries:

1. What are the basics and the tenets of Saudi Arabian diplomacy which have evolved from dealing with the Lebanese crisis?
2. What is the result of the diplomatic intervention in the Lebanese crisis?
3. What was the political role played by Saudi Arabian diplomacy in the Lebanese crisis during the period (1975-2008)?
4. How did Saudi Arabian diplomacy deal with the development of the Lebanese crisis, and with the regional and international influences?

Study's Objectives:

This study seeks to achieve the following goals:

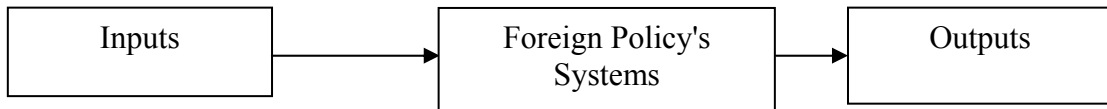
1. To identify the theoretical definition of diplomacy as a means for foreign policy, diplomacy and the administration of Saudi Arabian international relations.
2. To cast a historical Review of the internal and external dimensions of the Lebanese crisis at regional and international levels.
3. To analyzing the fundamentals of Saudi Arabian diplomacy in the Lebanese crisis.

Study's Methodology:

The topic of human and social studies imposes on the researcher the use of more than one methodology, so the topic of this study imposes a set of methodologies to better investigate the development as well as the turning points of the role of Saudi Arabian diplomacy in dealing with the Lebanese crisis.

In order to study the differences in the relations between the study's variables to reach reasonable results and to check the credibility of its hypothesis, this study will use the system analysis methodology, as it is considered one of the preferable methodologies in analyzing the results in relations between the study's variables, as it merges external political behavior with the internal environment, and helps in exploring the similarities and the repetition of the political behaviors' styles.

This study will depend on this methodology in the following manner:



Where the inputs indicate the impact of regional, international and internal environments on the Saudi Arabian diplomatic role in dealing with the Lebanese crisis during the period (1982-2008). The outputs indicate the success of Saudi Arabian diplomacy in dealing with the crisis until reaching realistic solutions as in the case when the crisis occurred in the Taef Accord.

Tools of the study

The Primary resources used as a basic reference to accomplish this study are books, periodicals, magazines and articles. While the secondary resources will mainly be internet sites, research papers and newspapers.

Study's Hypothesis:

The Study evolved from the following hypothesis:

1. There is a relation between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's position (political, economic, and religious) and the influence of diplomacy on the parties of the Lebanese crisis.
2. International and regional changes affected the role of Saudi Arabian diplomacy in dealing with the Lebanese crisis.
3. There is a relation between neutrality, transparency, the experience of Saudi Arabian diplomacy and the effectiveness of Saudi Arabian diplomacy's impact on dealing with the Lebanese crisis.
4. There is a relation between the historical trustworthiness of Saudi Arabian diplomacy and its success in the Lebanese crisis.

Time Framework:

Generally speaking, the leverage of Saudi foreign policy and diplomacy in particular began to impose its presence at regional and global arenas in the aftermath of the oil crises of 1973. Accordingly, the study recognizes the fact that the Lebanese crisis is dated decades before the 1975 crises, though, it nonetheless will focus in the aftermath of this period realizing the absence of a concrete Saudi diplomatic role before 1975.

Literature Review:

1. A study conducted by Fahed Al-Oabi (2002) in title "The Role of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Lebanon's Peace and Stability", aimed at identifying the role of Saudi Arabia in resolving the Lebanese crisis through ratifying the document of the national

agreement that resulted from the Taef Summit that formulated the turning point in the Lebanese political track.

The study affirmed the acceptance of the mediation role that could be played by Saudi Arabia with its Arab brothers, and it considers that this role gains its power and its effectiveness and impact from the methodological basis of Saudi Arabian perspective about Arab relations, and its perspective in renouncing interfering in others internal affairs.

2. A study conducted by Abd Al-Fatah Abu Alia in 1998 in title "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Issue". This study deals with the topic of contemporary Islamic history, a central topic in Arab history. The Saudi Arabian complete position is clear regarding the Palestinian issue as the basic issue within Islamic and Arab World issues.

3. A study conducted by Omar Al Madani in (2003) in the title "Means of Implementing the Foreign Policy". The political means developed by Saudi Arabia's relations. This study aimed at identifying the development of Saudi Arabia's relations since the establishment of the Kingdom and its progress at all levels. The study concluded that there has been a great development in the Kingdom's foreign policy, and in diplomatic relations in the Kingdom in all fields.

4. A study conducted by Khaled Al-Ali in the title "Principles and Goals of the Saudi Foreign Policy" at the Islamic Gulf's level and at the international Level "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy in 100 year" that emerged from the idea that Saudi Arabian foreign policy is the policy of a conservative country holding Islamic intellectual principles.

5. The Foreign Policies of Middle East States / edited by Raymond Hinnebusch, Anoushiravan Ehteshami. Boulder, Colo. ; London : Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.

The work edited by Hinnebusch and Ehteshami goes country by country through the Mideast to explain the foreign policy dilemmas of each state including Saudi Arabia.

This includes historical developments, domestic concerns, and both regional and global power structures.

6. A study conducted by Abdullah Ben Kalem Ben Ali Al-Dalan in (2007), in the title "The Diplomatic Priorities in Saudi Arabia During the Period (1985-2007)". The study pointed to the fact that Saudi Arabia made prominent international contributions that matched its message in the international group in the political, economic and security fields, in addition to its distinguished Arabian and Islamic position that attracted the interest and the respect of more than one thousand million (one billion) Moslems and continues to do so.

The leaders of Saudi Arabia since the era of their father the founder King Abd Al-Azeez Ben Abd Al Rahman Al-Saud until the era of King Abdullah enjoy the respect and appreciation of the leaders of World Nations because of the Kingdom's leading and prominent role at the different international, Islamic and Arabic Levels. What distinguishes the present study from other studies is one of the Arabic that deals with the Saudi Arabian diplomacy to and role in the Lebanese crisis during the period (1975-2008).

7. The War for Lebanon, 1970-1985: Ithaca ; London : Cornell University Press, 1985.

The above work depicted the main events undertook during the Lebanese crises from 1970-1985. It covers the main actors involved, the struggle and the outcome. The Lebanese Civil war began in 1976 with the attempted assassination of Pierre Gemayel, a Lebanese Christian leader. In retaliation a cycle of violence broke out originally between Phalange militias and PLO elements, widening into a costly wider war, that dragged in all communities eventually dividing the nation between christian and Muslim. In the ensuing violence and massacres more than 100,000 may have been killed. The Syrians intervened in the first year and in 1982 so did the Israelis.

8. Saudi Arabia in the balance: political economy, society, foreign affairs / Paul Aarts, Gerd Nonneman, editors. London: Hurst & Company, c2005.

The authors contend that Saudi Arabia in the Balance brings together today's leading scholars in the field to investigate the domestic, regional, and international affairs of a Kingdom whose policies have so far eluded the outside world. With the passing of King Fahd and the installation of King Abdullah, a contemporary understanding of Saudi Arabia is essential as the Kingdom enters a new era of leadership and particularly when many Saudis themselves are increasingly debating, and actively shaping, the future direction of domestic and foreign affairs. Each of the essays, framed in the aftermath of 9/11 and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, offers a systematic perspective into the country's political and economic realities as well as the tension between its regional and global roles. Important topics covered include U.S. and Saudi relations; Saudi oil policy; the Islamist threat to the monarchy regime; educational opportunities; the domestic rise of liberal opposition; economic reform; the role of the royal family; and the country's foreign relations in a changing international world.

Chapter One

Foreign Policy within Theoretical Perspective

Preface :

International relations are a set of interactions that occur between two or more international units: international relations assume the interaction, which means keeping an incessant action of sequence and interdependency, that is, it will not be applied, but through the approach of interaction between two units or more only. As for foreign policy, it stems from one international unit. It is considered as one of the key components for the general policy of the state, it is the process that includes decision-making on national security and its territorial entity, and thus occupies a central position in the public policy. However, the importance of foreign policy in the context of public policy varies according to the State. It is considered as an essential tool to achieve public policy's objectives, whilst it occupies a marginal position in some other countries depending on a combination of variables affecting political processes of the bodies working in the field of foreign policy. These variables do not produce their effect automatically as foreign policy makers adapt with the changes that "believe" it affect their state, and trying to influence those variables consistently with their vision of what should be the position of their own state in the international framework. In parallel, diplomacy occupies a privileged position in the contemporary international relations, where these relations can be established and developed in accordance with mutual as well as conflict of interests between nations. Moreover, the diplomacy has a major role in the settlement of international disputes and to promote an atmosphere of friendly

relations between different countries. Each State can – through it - strengthening its international standing and enhancing its influence in facing the other countries⁽¹⁾.

Indeed, the tremendous progress in communication and transportation means has played a great effect on transformation of the international community - despite its vast magnitude – to a small village of interrelated interests, and taken into consideration the knowledge exchange with each other. The countries realized that the development of mutual relations and fostering their interests require a kind of permanent diplomatic representation with other states and to achieve this purpose, and thus diplomatic missions were established to reflect the will of these states.

To this end, the aim of this chapter is to examine various conceptual issues surrounding foreign policy as a whole. Accordingly, it will firstly address the definition of foreign policy and its diplomatic tools as one of foreign policy instruments. Secondly, the chapters will specifically examine Saudi Arabia's foreign policy and its key diplomacy measures. Such theoretical foundation is expected to facilitate the mission of this paper to better assess the overall Saudi Arabia's diplomacy towards the Lebanese Crises at later stages of this research.

1-1: Understanding Foreign Policy

It is worthy to mention that several definitions for foreign policy have been emerged, due to the political importance of this process in the structure of the countries and international order. One of these definitions is attributed to Marcel Merle, who

⁽¹⁾ Rabiee, Hamed,(no date), **The foreign Policy theory**, Cairo, new Cairo library, D.T, pp 5

assumed that foreign policy is “part from the governmental activity directed towards the outside, which on the contrary of domestic policy deals with overseas problems”⁽¹⁾.

According to Reus-Smith, assumed that country's foreign policy, called the international relations policy, is a set of goals outlining how the country will interact with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily, and to a lesser extent, how the country will interact with non-state actors. The aforementioned interaction is evaluated and monitored in attempts to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Foreign policies are designed to help protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation⁽²⁾.

According to Dr. Raghunath Mahabir foreign policy "is composed of goals sought, values set, decisions made and actions taken by states and national governments acting on their behalf in the context of the external relations of national societies. It constitutes an attempt to design, manage and control the foreign relations in national societies."⁽³⁾ .

Leopold von Ranke, propounded a view known as a policy pursued by a nation in its dealings with other nations, designed to achieve national objectives⁽⁴⁾ .

Usually, creating foreign policy is the job of the head of government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In some countries the legislature also has considerable

⁽¹⁾ Marcel, Merle (no date), Foreign Policy, translated by Dr. Khader Khader and Geris Press , **international Series**, Bruit, Page 3.

⁽²⁾ Reus-Smit, Christian (2005). "**Constructivism.**" **Theories of International Relations**, ed. Scott Burchill ... [et al], page 209, 216. Palgrave.

⁽³⁾ <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/foreign+policy>

⁽⁴⁾ Stephen White (2008). "**foreign policy**", University of Glasgow, UK. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd New York, NY 10.

oversight. As an exception, in France and Finland, it is the head of state who is responsible for foreign policy, while the head of government mainly deals with internal policy. In the United States, the head of state (the President) also functions as the head of government.

International relations theory attempts to provide a conceptual model upon which international relations can be analyzed. Each theory is reductive and essentialist to different degrees, relying on different sets of assumptions respectively. As Ole Holsti describes them, international relations theories act as a pair of coloured sunglasses, allowing the wearer to see only the salient events relevant to the theory. An adherent of realism may completely disregard an event that a constructivist might pounce upon as crucial, and vice versa ⁽¹⁾.

The number and character of the assumptions made by an international relations theory also determine its usefulness. Realism, a parsimonious and very essentialist theory, is useful in accounting for historical actions (for instance why did X invade Y) ⁽²⁾but limited in both explaining systemic change (such as the end of the Cold War) and predicting future events. Liberalism, which examines a very wide number of conditions, is less useful in making predictions, but can be very insightful in analyzing past events. Traditional theories may have little to say about the behavior of former colonies, but post-colonial theory may have greater insight into that specific area, where it fails in other situations.

⁽¹⁾ Daniel Kolar, (1980). **International Relations**, translated by khardr khardr, first edition, Beirut, Dar Al – Taleeah for Printing and Publishing, P. 37.

⁽²⁾ Cantor, Robert, (1989). **The Contemporary international Policy**, translated by Ahmad Dahir, the Jordanian book center, Amman, P. 55.

International relations theories can be divided into "positivist/rationalist" theories which focus on a principally state-level analysis, and "post-positivist/reflectivity" ⁽¹⁾ ones which incorporate expanded meanings of security, ranging from class, to gender, to postcolonial security. Many often conflicting ways of thinking exist in IR theory, including Constructivism, Institutionalism, Marxism, Neo-Gramscianism, and others. However, two positivist schools of thought are most prevalent: Realism and Liberalism; though increasingly, Constructivism is becoming mainstream and post positivist theories are increasingly popular, particularly outside the United States.

From this definition, it can be argued that the foreign policy is decisions and actions. Its decisions because it is a part of government activity directed to the outside, and it's an act because it addresses the overseas problems. Foreign policy could be considered as the principles and actions taken by the bodies and institutions within the State. Thus, the foreign policy includes external actions taken by decision-makers in order to achieve long and short-term goals⁽²⁾. Furthermore, the action is restricted by the perceived conditions for the benefit of the decision-maker and what they are looking forward to achieve, such as geographic, economic, conditions, demographic, political structure, tradition and culture, military and strategic position. However, the action taken should take into consideration the role of other similar apparatuses which operate on the international arena and restricted by it. The elements interact with each other in the international environment. And among the restrictions for the decision-makers are the internal and external conditions that affected them in the selection of appropriate

⁽¹⁾ Barakat, Zinam, Others, (1987). **The science of politics**, Amman, Dar Al – Kermil, P. 53., Al – Jasoor, Nazim Abdul Wahid (2005). The science of politics encyclopedia, Amman, Dar Majdalaw, P.44.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, P.4.

means, in some special cases. These options are also affected by the actions and processes that determine and identify those options⁽¹⁾.

Commonly, foreign policies are made through a series of official and informal bodies, which are usually considered as a process consisting from lengthy contexts, where multiple bodies are involved, culminated mainly by the legislative and executive powers. The impact generally varies and it depends on the nature of political system. However, the executive power generally has prime role in foreign policy-making, but it is restricted by the nature of the political system, as the executive power under the democratic system can not operate except in accordance with control of the legislative power. In practice, no one can object on executive power right in taking the initiative, which is the process of foreign policy⁽²⁾.

Alongside activities, foreign policy include also includes programs, roles, goals and policies. Thus, the approach between the "foreign policy" and the external activity lead us to look at foreign policy as that "the wide door which lacks the methodical limits" ⁽³⁾. Ference provides a definition for the foreign policy, where he synonymous between the foreign policy and the rules of work, as well as, the test methods are used to deal with the problems, as he contends that foreign policy is: "a course of action or set of rules or both, which were chosen to deal with a problem or a certain event that has already taken place, or occurring or it is expected to happen in the future"⁽⁴⁾.

In order to avoid criticism of the latter, the definition of some scholars determined that the foreign policy activities are intended behaviors and attitudes. In

⁽¹⁾ Rabiee, Hamed,(no date), **The foreign Policy theory**, Cairo, new Cairo library, D.T, pp 7

⁽²⁾ Ibid, P.6.

⁽³⁾ Marcel, Merle, Page 50.

⁽⁴⁾ Edgar Furniss and R. Snyder, (1955), **An Introduction to American Foreign Policy**, New York: Rinehart, pp. 6, 28.

order to avoid criticism of the latter, some scholars present a definition to foreign policy clarifying that the activities are the intended behaviors and manners. For example, Charles Herman defines the foreign policy as a synonym for the foreign policy demeanor applied by the official decision makers, he assumed that "the foreign policy is composed from those official distinguished behaviors that followed by official's decision-makers in the government or their representatives and that they intended to influence the behavior of international foreign unit⁽¹⁾"

Indeed, the multiplicity of definitions and the varying aspects of focus reflect the complexity of the phenomenon of foreign policy and the difficulty of reaching the set of dimensions that fall within its framework and the relationship between them, which gives the conceptual dimension of foreign policy an importance of value associated with the importance of the subject of foreign policy itself. The objectives of the foreign policy of any state revolve around political goals, which are⁽²⁾

1. **Protection of Self-existence and the support of national security.** The sense of maintaining the independence of the country and to ensure its freedom of movement on both domains internally and externally, with the protection of the social and economic achievements and gains that achieved by the state and defending them from all external threats.
2. **Participation in development and economic progress.** All countries, especially developing countries are looking to pursue development by utilizing of foreign policy tools to reach out to the causes of economic wealth through commercial and economic relations that arise among international units, and the

⁽¹⁾ Morgan ,Patrick, (1975), **Theories and Approaches to International Politics**, Ficklin, Palo Alto, Calif, p. 166.

⁽²⁾ Badran and DoDa, (1982), Foreign policy planning: theoretical -analytical studies, **international politics**, issue (1969).

attempt of the developing countries to work on narrowing the gap and achieve justice in distributing of wealth recourses among the constituent units of the international order

- 3. To promote the prestige and standing of the State in the international community.** Foreign policy with the ultimate goal aims to strengthen the influence of the state and create a good reputation in the international community, that is, to achieve its other objectives and respect its slogans and take their views into consideration .

1-1-1: Foreign Policy Tools

Achieving the objectives of foreign policy requires using a set of tools which requires the mobilization of a range of appropriate resources and skills to achieve those goals. Without the availability of such resources and skills, it is difficult to achieve foreign policy objectives, unless those goals and objectives are entrusted to another country to be achieved. Even in that situation, the existing fact that achieving the goal requires the use of a range of diplomatic tools to persuade the latter to bear the burden of achieving that goal. Indeed, the significance of foreign policy instruments stems not only from their importance for achieving the goals, but also as a major factor in the course of foreign policy and determinant to the course and the characteristic of that policy. As the availability of a certain tool for the foreign policy is a temptation to be used in order to achieve the foreign policy objectives. No doubts, the countries, which have adequate military force, they tend to use that force more than the States that might not have such a force. More over, it can be said that the intensity of using a certain tool in the foreign

policy that has “military” character came as a result of frequent employment for the military tools⁽¹⁾.

Foreign Policy Tools are divided into the Following:

1. **Diplomatic Tools:** This tool is one of the most used tools of foreign policy in this period because of its vital importance in international political relations, which includes the skills and resources used by the State in self representation towards the other international units and negotiate with, including the explanation of its policy towards international issues and the protection of its citizens and their property abroad and organizing their dealings with foreigners. Diplomatic tools depend on employing different resources, which are a network of embassies, consulates, commissioner and other tools of international communication.
2. **Economic Tools:** Economic tools include activities that are used to influence the management and distribution of economic wealth of the State or any other international units. Such activities include production, distribution, consumption of goods and services, and exchange of wealth and financial transactions, etc..., for example, those activities of granting or asking for economic aids, negotiating about organizing the commercial transactions, custom tariffs, trade protection instruments, sanctions and economic boycotts, and to give trade preferences, and the tools for determining the exchange rate of the national currency .
3. **Military Tools:** a group of capabilities related to the use or threat of using organized armed violence against the other international units. These tools

⁽¹⁾ Pear Novan, translated by Jalal Yahia (1980), **The History of International Relation, 19th century**, Cairo, Dar Al- Ma'rif, page 165.

include the establishment of armed forces, armaments, training, distribution and use or threat of use of force, military assistance, armed invasion, provide logistic assistance such as distribution and transportation of forces both by sea or air, or the threat of military tools and weapons development, change the size of the military capabilities, holding military alliances and armed attack.

4. **Domestic Political Tools:** the tools to act on those internal political skills and resources used by the State to win the support of internal political forces in dealing with foreign policy issues. That such support which forms one of the resources for the foreign policy that strengthens the might of the state in dealing with the other units. Thus, the ability of foreign policy-maker to deal with the various political forces in his country and to gain their support for his policy, as well as his understanding to the nature of the regime movement and its legal and administrative tools, financial and organizational capabilities are among the important tools that can be used in the process of foreign policy ⁽¹⁾.
5. **The Tools of Intelligence:** These tools meant the skills and resources used to collect and interpret information on the capabilities, plans, intentions and behavior of other international units, Which include those skills, tools on the method of collecting information, and interpretation of such information, as well as a range of resources as reconnaissance and espionage, tools of coding and decoding, and others.
6. **Symbolic Tools:** these tools fall under a set of symbolic tools of foreign policy that include an attempt to influence the ideas of others. Such tools include a set of propaganda, ideological and cultural tools. The propaganda tools are devoted to those oriented activities to influence the concepts of normal individuals and

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, page 167.

informal elites of the other international units. The propaganda tool aims to urge and motivate the intended segment of people to support or reject an opinion or a certain conduct, such as the attempt to convince the American public to support the Palestinian demands in the Arab – Israeli conflict. But the ideological tools are aimed to deploy an ideal and comprehensive vision of what the community should be like in the future. The cultural tools are different from the ideological and propaganda tools, which focus on the employment of cultural production and folklore to influence other international units, such as, holding the cultural exhibitions and spreading of national education abroad and other similar activities⁽¹⁾.

7. **The Scientific and Technical Tools:** the scientific and technological tools of foreign policy resources and skills involving the use of scientific and theoretical knowledge and applications to solve specific problems. They range from simple scientific exchanges, technical assistance programs to the satellites for the purposes of external communication, the exploration of outer space and oceans with the others .

1-1-2: Diplomacy in International Relations

Diplomacy is the science and art of representation and negotiation; it is a science which assumes full knowledge by the practitioner to the existing international political relations between the various States, as well as, the legal framework of those relations and the tradition and history of the States and the provisions of treaties to which the

⁽¹⁾ Badran and DoDa, Page 71.

State is involved in⁽¹⁾. It is an art because its pivot rotates on the management of international affairs which require accurate observation and the ability to guidance, persuasion, and tracking events. The status of art in diplomacy is possibly predominant because this science should be accompanied by the necessary talent for the proper use of intelligence, good conduct, good humor and insight in the attitudes and the consequences, where the diplomat should enjoy those talents to achieve the required success in his mission. The diplomacy is a science with certain rules and at the same time it is an art where its secrets should be fathomed. Hasan Sa'ab identifies the diplomacy as: "a science and art, law and history, institution and the profession". It is a science: because it has rules and certain principles that are governing its practice and the method of its application in the relations among the countries. It is an art: Since its application requires the talent and the ability and art of persuasion among who were entrusted with the exercise and put it into practice. It is a law: Because its rules and the mode of its practice principles become unified among various international bodies, therefore, it has become an important part of public international law. It is a history: the fact that its evolution has been associated and linked with the development of international relations. It is also a record of the date of the transaction and communication between nations. It is an institution: as it is exercised through specialized and independent bodies within the framework of each country. It is a profession: "Those who are practicing diplomacy today are devoted to it with their full activity, and therefore, they are dedicated to perform their jobs like any specialized and independent political and administrative activity"⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P 72.

⁽²⁾ Pear Novan, page 168-169

1-2: Diplomacy Development phases:

1-2-1: The diplomacy has been through three main phases⁽¹⁾ :

1. Old diplomacy: It started from the immemorial ages and continued up to the end of the Middle Ages.
2. Permanent diplomacy: It began with Italian Renaissance era and continued until the conference of Vienna in 1815.
3. New diplomacy: It started at the end of the Second World War in 1945 and continues until now .

Each of these three stages was characterized with a number of advantages :

Phase one: The diplomacy was intermittent and irregular. The mission of the diplomat was limited to express the point of view of his country and to defend it. At the end of this stage his mission has become to explore the secrets of the State, where he was sent to represent his country. Thus the observer diplomat replaced the orator diplomat.

Phase two: This stage witnessed the emergence of permanent diplomatic missions, but the rules of diplomatic work were not clear or specific, and diplomatic representatives were considered as the same level, with no degree to distinguish between them, despite their different names as ambassadors or deputies representing the presidents of their countries. The diplomats at this stage were categorized into three degrees according to the Vienna Agreement of 1815: the first is the level of ambassadors or authorized of the Pope, or Apostles, and the second is the degree of Commissioners delegates or ministers or others who depend upon the kings, and the third is the level of (charge d'affaires), at

⁽¹⁾ Badran, DoDa, Page 79

this stage, the role of spying and observation role retreated , which focused on providing information to assist the Government in formulating its foreign policy and explore the areas of international cooperation, diplomacy remained a secret and confined to a narrow number of specialized personnel .

Phase three: public or opened diplomacy emerged with the establishment of League of Nations, and the progress of communication means, the increasing importance of public opinion and diminished the role of envoys in favor of presidents and foreign ministers, who took the responsibility of dealing with diplomatic missions. And then came the United Nations and specialized bodies and agencies, where a large part of diplomacy moved to technical conferences that being held by these functional bodies, this stage has witnessed the emergence of representatives of public and technical international organizations.

According to Voderaih the diplomacy: "is an art of representing the authorities and the interests of the country upon the governments and foreign forces, and work vigorously to be respected and not violated, or under estimated the rights and the dignity of homeland abroad, in addition to administrating the financial affairs abroad, and unifying and follow up the political negotiations according to the government instructed and regulations ". The "diplomacy is the political process used by the State to implement its foreign policy in dealings with international countries and international individuals bodies, moreover, to administrate its formal relations with each other within the international order", additionally, it is "the art of the government's representation, and taking care of the interests of the country upon foreign governments, and to ensure that the rights of the country are protected and its dignity should be respected abroad. Administrating the international actions and follow up its political negotiations, as well as follow up its stages according to drawn directions in accordance with intended

directions and pursuit for the application of law in international relations, as the legal principles to become the legal principle of the interaction between people⁽¹⁾.

Thus, it can be concluded that diplomacy is considered a key tool in the foreign policies of countries, which deals with its relations and interests. The effective diplomacy is backed by all the tools of political or propaganda, psychological, economic, and military tools. Many analysts considered that the first goal of diplomacy is to reconcile differences between the States and the opening of the peaceful conduit between them to achieve this goal. Diplomacy plays an important role in the international relation extent, with which the establishment of international political relations, strengthens and corrective all matters of concern to various countries and to reconcile conflicting interests and divergent views and through diplomacy, each country can enhance its influence in the face of other countries. Diplomacy is the dynamics of international life and a source of its activity, it is considered an administration for each country and if properly used, they can get all the benefits they seek, and take its rightful and decent position in the international community⁽²⁾.

1-3: Saudi Foreign Policy

An Overview:

Generally speaking, for being able to have a strong foreign policy of the state, the KSA continued to bolster its internal policies to support its foreign policy. Therefore, the kingdom seeks to build a strong state able to adapt to international and regional variables, and the foundations of an active foreign policy that does not live apart from the rapid pace of changes in the global environment especially if the depth

⁽¹⁾ Marcel, Merle, Page 53.

⁽²⁾ Badran, DoDa, Page 78.

and magnitude of changes in the international environment in a fast and sudden pattern⁽¹⁾.

1-3-1: Political foundations of Saudi Arabia foreign policy

The political foundations of the Saudi Arabia have taken into consideration a number of fundamental pillars, in order to achieve its overall foreign policy goals⁽²⁾:

First: The preservation of the Islamic faith, advocacy and dissemination :

Saudi Arabia has committed to a constitution sets its course and direction, derived from the teachings of Islam and not by made-up laws comparing with other States, where they took a comprehensive constitution of Islamic law governing the relationship of the individual with creator, and the individual with society, and the individual with state, the state and society, and the other States .

Second: The protection of national security :

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia placed its national security in the forefront when making strategic priorities and the implementation of its domestic and foreign alike, so it is mapped out for itself a policy of diversifying sources of arms and keep pace with technological developments in the areas of weapons, taking the most advanced weapons in the world, owned it based on its great economic potential, which allowed the kingdom the freedom to make decisions according to their needs and requirements of their military planning . The Saudi Arabia does not believe in the use of force as a tool for the implementation of its foreign policy, but believes in the right to defend itself

⁽¹⁾ Al Omari, Baker, (2000), the Foreign Policy, **the national guard journal**, issue 214, p 18

⁽²⁾ Al- Kayyal Malek, (1998), The external Media: its role in achieving the foreign policy, implementing studies on kingdom of Saudi Arabia, **Diplomatic research**, Al- Riyadh, issue 8, , page 89-94

against any attack⁽¹⁾. Each State places the national security at the forefront of strategy and objectives, which are concentrated in the protection of its borders and its internal institutions and its citizens as well as its internal and external aggression .

Third: The Arab and Islamic Solidarity :

That any decision taken by the State or any political movement outside of the kingdom stems mainly from the fact that Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Arab state, it is part of the Arab and Islamic nation and working in serving of Arab and Islamic solidarity based on that solid perspective in its foreign policy, they are always called to the solidarity, and all the submitted financial and political support to its Arab and Islamic sister States based on the belief in the words of our Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him: "Muslims in their mutual love, and to be merciful toward one another such as one body, if a member complained other parts to call upon each other in staying up at night and in fever." Therefore the role of Saudi Arabia highlighted effectively in this area through its role as a founding member of both the League of Arab States, and the Organization of Islamic Conference⁽²⁾ .

Fourth: Ensure Human Rights :

Saudi Arabia believes in the freedom of thought and expression, employment, education, accommodation, transportation, marriage, divorce, and others, it also recognizes and confess the right of peoples to self-determination and the selection of social, political and economic philosophy under the conditions "it's not incompatible with the precept of the Islamic Sharia which stated the Holy Quran and the "pure" Sunnah of the Prophet and this which guarantee human rights. Due to the Kingdom of

⁽¹⁾ Madani, Nizzar, (1410) A.H, The fundamental basic of Kingdome of Saudi Arabia, **Ministry of Foreign Affairs - International Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, issue No. 1, page 21

⁽²⁾ Al Omari, Baker. Page 19

Saudi Arabia reservation on the signing of the International Convention for the Conservation of human rights; advertisement campaigns launched to criticized the kingdom for its policies, but the wisdom, prudence and balance which characterized the Saudi policy was able to stop that campaign and made clear that the reservation was the result of the terms of the agreement was contrary to the Islamic Sharia specially with regards to personal freedoms and practices against the public administration and other items prepared by the States that the terms of the agreement had something legitimate and in accordance with the philosophy of the political, economic, social and cultural of that states, while inconsistent with the facts stated in the Islamic Sharia .

Fifth: the call for peaceful coexistence :

The Saudi Foreign Affairs Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal has summarized the kingdom view in this regard and says: "The tools of killing and destruction possessed by the major powers had reached the power of action and the severity of impact to be able to destroy civilization in a short time, therefore, our duty imposed on us is a continued sincere effort to prevent the start of this immense destructive power, and the promotion of world peace for every possible way⁽¹⁾".

On the basis of the principles of justice, peace and security, the Kingdom called of the principles of peace based on justice, fairness and concern about the stability of the international situation, especially in Arab and Islamic world, relying on diplomatic means to settle disputes, these efforts has succeeded to resolve conflict and disputes between the Arab and Islamic sister countries, and has succeeded in its effort in reconciling the internal disputes among themselves, as they sought to protect

⁽¹⁾A.H, (1410) , **Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, issue No. 1 , page 6.

themselves from the risks of sliding into the regional and international conflicts, it believes in the importance of world peace and the importance of limiting the arms race .

Sixth: the providing of economic assistance

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia provides international economic aid from the reality of the application of the tolerant Islamic Sharia, which urges the integration and humanitarian cooperation, so the kingdom external assistance stemmed from humanitarian perspective which based on the great noble of Islamic ethics, and by this it gains the confidence and the respect of other States. The Saudi Arabia is the most providing foreign aid in the world, compared to its gross national income⁽¹⁾ .

Seventh: participation in international conferences :

The Kingdom is always a presence in international and regional conferences, in the belief of the importance of the international organizations and conferences in achieving peace and international understanding and acquaintance.

Eighth: Respect for treaties and international covenants and agreements :

The Kingdom is always respects and complies by the treaty, which signed with other countries and this commitment based on the principle of legitimacy in its dealings and international relations⁽²⁾.

Ninth: rejection of foreign intervention :

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stand against the intervene in the internal affairs of any State, it rejects the principle of interference, whether in their affairs, or others because they refuse others to interfere in any one of its internal affairs in the

⁽¹⁾ Dais Ismail, (1410) A.H., **Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, lectures in international economic relations, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

⁽²⁾ Al- Kayyal Malek, pp 93

corresponding non-interference in the affairs of others, given that foreign interference is considered a serious threat of international relations and world peace, and is a violation of the laws and international norms because it is the right of every State to defend its sovereignty through various means available to the legitimate defense .

Tenth: moderation and keeping away from political altercation

The foreign policy of Saudi Arabia based primarily on the foundations of morality stems from the tolerant Islamic faith, values and the glorious of Islamic heritage, it believes in the serious moderate policy in its dealings and relationships, and keep it away from the clamor and noise and political altercations, so the Kingdom always gain the trust and respect among all peoples, nations and governments of the world⁽¹⁾.

Eleventh: the establishment of diplomatic relations, and respect :

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia concerns in developing relations with all peace-loving nations from the recognition that diplomacy considered as a means of foreign policy due to the importance of its role in the international relations, where Saudi Arabia is always ensures establishing relations and respect of diplomatic exchange and representation with the other States through common interest. Mohammad Omar Madani, mentioned in his publication; the diplomatic relations of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, that Saudi Arabia has a diplomatic representation in more than (85) countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas and Australia⁽²⁾.

Based on these cornerstones, the Saudi foreign policy is working in several areas and contexts and impacts it. The Arabian Gulf obtained a particular concern and interest

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, pp 93

⁽²⁾ Madani, Mohammad, (1401) A.H, The Diplomatic relation of Kingdome of Saudi Arabia, **Ministry of Foreign Affairs - International Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 31

of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and perhaps the source of this interest is as a the result of main three factors:

- a. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a Gulf state, and its not their strategic interest for this region to be affected by any shocks or disturbance which turbid and prejudice its security of its safety and
- b. The family ties between the ruling families in the region and the historical links between the Governments imposed collaboration and cohesion between them in facing the external threats
- c. The oil wealth owned by the Gulf states is a factor of attraction and its urges the temptation for many of the aspirants and envious, which necessitating the need of coordination at the highest levels to defend the interests of wealth and for devoting is in the purposes of development.

There is no doubt that the importance of security and political stability factors, and economic in the Arabian Gulf region is one of the important key factors in strengthening and the bonds of brotherhood, trust and common interests and mutual concerns and remove the tensions that without any doubt impede convergence, or a fusion between the Gulf countries. These factors considered the main theme, which were based Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in a regional scale to achieve the integration, cooperation and consolidation among the Gulf States⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Al Omari, Baker and Hashim, Waheed (1990), **The Saudi Foreign Policy : between the theory and application**, Riyadh, al Sabbah library, pp 165

1-3-2: The Evolution of Saudi Diplomacy

The Saudi diplomatic relations began since the founding of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered a huge development in the history of diplomatic relations of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The exercise of these relations are carried out by specialized agencies and professional diplomats in accordance with the direct guidance of the top leadership of the State, and this refers to the expansion of the Kingdom's relations with other countries and its increasing importance⁽¹⁾.

The creation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has left significant impacts on the exercise of diplomatic actions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and increased the diversity of ways in which such diplomacy succeeds to achieve its goals of Foreign Affairs. There was also an important development on the objectives that the King Abdul Aziz aimed to achieve in the early stages of kingdom formulation⁽²⁾. Accordingly, Saudi Arabia exercised provisionally diplomatic representation since the early stages of the formation of the Kingdom; the interest in the permanent diplomatic representation has been delayed until the reunification of the country and the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1930. Prior to this date, the diplomatic representation of foreign countries in Arab peninsula was limited to a few consulates in Saudi Arabia to take care of Hajj affairs. The number of persons who carry out such a representation was very limited, and not any of them has the status of the diplomatic representation of the internationally recognize⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Al Zarkali, Kheireddine, (1985), **Arabian Peninsula in the rule of King Abdul Aziz**, (3rd ed.), Part 1, Beirut, Dar Al elem to al malaeen (the house of science for millions).

⁽²⁾ Madani, Mohammad, pp 31

⁽³⁾ Ibid, pp 31

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established its first overseas commissariat in London in 1930. Then follow the opening of representations (embassies - commissariat-consulates) abroad, and in 1951 it was fifteen representatives. On the other hand, the states expanded in opening of its representative offices in Saudi Arabia and the number of these representations the kingdom in 1951 arrive to twenty-one representatives, all taken from Jeddah as location, because of the presence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁽¹⁾. The reason for the expansion of the kingdom in the exchange of diplomatic representation with other States, was in order to enhance the relations between the kingdom and those states in which the provisionally diplomatic representation is not sufficient to meet its obligation, thus the establishment of the permanent representations was to ensure maintaining these relationships and work on its development.

1-3-3: The characteristics and distinguishing feature of Saudi diplomacy

One of the most important characteristics of Saudi diplomacy is that it based on a clear basis of openness and publicity; objectives announced by the kingdom directly. And the kingdom avoids to be surrounded by vagueness and mystery, but is expressed in precise terms in accordance with the Arab and Islamic traditions .

Saudi diplomacy was characterized as a moderate in attitudes and decision-making, its avoids extremism and exaggeration in the assessment of things, so as not to give them more than it deserve, also the policy has been characterized by the balanced nature, and avoiding getting into altercation and reactions to media mob. Saudi diplomacy adopt the method of dialogue and persuasion and avoiding sensationalism and exchanges curses and insults, and this should not be interpreted as weakness or

⁽¹⁾ Al Zarkali, Kheireddine, pp 289

fatigue, when things tend to overcome its limits, the Saudi diplomat hardening quickly and handling these matters in fair-minded to put an end to such practices and to restore things right⁽¹⁾.

Saudi diplomacy was characterized by following the approach of compromise between different views and positions, especially when it comes to the Arab and Islamic affairs. Diplomacy was not only interested in removing the causes of dissension and disagreement between them, but strive and spending its effort for the reunion and bring them on the basis of the Book of Allah; the Holy koran and the Sunnah of His Messenger Muhammad⁽²⁾.

The Saudi Arabia diplomacy characterized by as well as an Islamic diplomacy, based on respect for the provisions of Islamic law and international conventions and diplomatic norms, in their relations with other States, and this is what distinguishes them from diplomacy which does not respect its international obligations, rather their actions depends on the whims and opinions of the one who controls the reins of government, that has earned respect to Saudi Arabia diplomacy and appreciation at the Arab, Islamic and international levels.

Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations have witnessed significant development in various fields and various trends, and its moved from success to another due to the principles established on the basis of these relations; on the level of exchange of visits, the Kingdom considered a destination of foreign delegations coming to it, in order to discuss and exchange views with officials in charge of Saudi foreign relations and, in turn, the Saudi delegations do not stop on the visit of Arab and Islamic countries and to discuss with foreign leaders on matters of bilateral and international relations,

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, pp 320

⁽²⁾ Mohammad, Fadel Zaki, (1987), **Saudi Studies Journal**, lights the diplomacy of Saudi Arabia: constants and development, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp 85-88.

particularly with regard to the Arab and Islamic affairs. On other hand, the Kingdom ensures to have a permanent presence and influential role in international conferences, regional and global. The leaders of the kingdom often headed delegations to these conferences, in order to reflect the views of the Kingdom, and to identify the positions of the leaders of other countries participating in this conference and their views. And some of the conference that the Kingdom make sure to participate in is the Arab summit conferences, conferences and the Non-Aligned Movement and the kingdom participate in the conference on dialogue between the North and South, to reflect on the issues of third world and to defend them. The role of Saudi Arabia has developed in term of holding international conferences, not merely participate in the conference called by the other States, but has initiated the call for the convening of such conferences in order to discuss topics of interest to the Arab and Islamic nations⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, the kingdom foreign policy aimed at supporting humanitarian issues and supporting the world peace as a Muslim country that aspires to peace, and concerned about the human being. To achieve these goals, Saudi Arabia has diplomatic and economic assistance to many countries in the developing world, to help them solve problems and to ensure stability and development, as the kingdom always the first in providing humanitarian assistance to countries affected by natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes⁽²⁾.

Based on the recognition of the importance of the role played by the diplomatic and consular missions in bonding of brotherhood and friendship relationships, and strengthen economic and cultural and trade relations; Saudi Arabia continued to expand the exchange of diplomatic representation and consular both in positive and negative sides with the various nations of the world. Until now the Kingdom's diplomatic

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, pp 91- 103

⁽²⁾ Alkabbaa, Abdullah, (1986), **Saudi foreign policy**, al Riyadh, Alffersdq trade Press, p. 197-199

missions, covering the various nations of the world, and in turn become the city of Riyadh headquarters of the diplomatic missions of various countries around the world⁽¹⁾

Despite the tremendous development of the Saudi diplomacy, it remains committed always to the provisions of the Shariah in all aspects of its activity. This is due to all the leaders of the Kingdom's adherence to this basic rule, on the basis of which the Saudi Arabia established. In the interest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the good representation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia abroad, it has to include "general instructions guidance of the public official staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and employees of government agencies, who works in the Saudi foreign representative", its issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1408 H.A, The diplomatic reprehensive has several duties must be commitment to when he performing his duties abroad, such as⁽²⁾:

- a. Taking into account the general feeling in the State delegated to, and a sense of its citizens, and the prevailing customs and traditions.
- b. Respect the laws of the State Delegate to and the prevailing norms and in accordance with the provisions of international law .
- c. To refrain from any action or business or personal career .
- d. Stay away from suspicious points, and not to be involved in the special relationships that contradict with the teachings of Islam, religion, or inconsistent with the regulations and instructions in force in the Kingdom .
- e. The use of diplomatic privileges granted for the purposes for them .

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, pp 201

⁽²⁾ Madani, Mohammad, pp 115-120

1-3-4: Variables affecting the Saudi diplomacy

1- Geography :

Geographical locations frequently play an important and decisive role in its relationship with other countries, as the geography affect the ability of States to influence other countries, and the geographical location imposes a security, economic and cultural aspects to the decision-makers on foreign policy. For the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the status, its impact and its geographical location implies on it to carrying out the regional, Islamic and international responsibilities, which can not be overcome in the political decision-making internally and externally⁽¹⁾.

As for the religious dimension of the geographical location of Saudi Arabia, it's the birthplace of Islam and in their land the sanctum of Mecca and Medina and the Muslim pilgrimage, that has been given the legitimacy to the of Islamic led to the respect of all Islamic and other countries of Saudi Arabia, and imposed on the political Saudi decision-maker the commitment to the principles and believes of Islamic law in the formulation of political decisions. As for the geographical location and its impact in influencing the political decision-maker for the region and the world, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies approximately 80% of the area of the Arabian Peninsula, which is equivalent to one third of America and has borders with eight Arab countries have connection with the East Arabian Gulf with dominating coast of the Red Sea⁽²⁾. Such location oblige the kingdom a huge political responsibilities such as :

⁽¹⁾ Al-Sheikh, Mohammed, How to make a political decision in Saudi Arabia, Asharq Al Awsat, issue No. 9638, April 18, 2005, page 16

⁽²⁾ Salameh, Ghassan, (1980). **Saudi foreign policy since 1945**, Beirut: Institute for Arab development, p. 120.

First: it is overlooking the Arabian Gulf: this is politically means the need for the process of political commitment to the Gulf and working towards promoting the stability in this region .

Second: the neighborhood with Iran: Saudi Arabia location next to Iran forced the kingdom pursue a foreign policy based on the need to create a positive balance and keep it far away from raising any claims of historical or strategic demands, which will lead to an escalation of the challenge and increase the tension with Iran, a large regional force in the Gulf region. Saudi Arabia is also aware that Iran is involved in the control of the main outlet for oil from the Gulf states after the tightened control over the islands of Abu Musa and the Lesser and Greater Tunb⁽¹⁾.

Third: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia along the Red Sea coast, making the Saudi government set the priorities of coordination with Arab and African systems in charge of this sea, hence the interest in the Saudi political situation in these areas through the provision of economic aid to resist the tide of the former Soviet, and now to win the support of these countries to Saudi Arabia international initiatives, and Saudi Arabia established a pipeline to transport oil to the port of Yanbu on the Red Sea for the distribution of the export process between the Gulf and Red Sea⁽²⁾

Fourth: the Saudi Arabia borders states adjacent to the Yemen border, generating disagreement between the two countries and the emergence of crises between the two countries, and Saudi Arabia are works to resolve these disagreement through diplomatic means based on good-neighborliness and Arabism, and now the relations in the reign of King Abdullah is thriving because of the good experience of King

⁽¹⁾ Helmi, Nabil Ahmed, (1981). The legal status of the border and the Strait of Hormuz, **the journal of international politics**, No. 63 January, pp 97 - 98

⁽²⁾ Sabra, Naila, (1980), Financial assistance to the States of the African Red Sea, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 59.

Abdul-Aziz in the roots of the political environment in Yemen, and the former Yemeni revolution had created a clear view has led to a foreign policy with Yemen, based on the dimensions of Arabism and Islam and good neighborliness. In the North with regard to the border with Jordan, Saudi Arabia, it has an inescapable fact, making it participates directly or indirectly in dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict, therefore Saudi Arabia, drew many of its policies and decisions on the basis of country harmed by the conflict in the region without engaging in military confrontation. But Saudi Arabia has provided political support and financial support for the steadfastness and stability of the Palestinian people and the preservation of Islamic sanctities. And The King Abdullah has a significant role in this support⁽¹⁾.

Thus it appears that the geographical location of Saudi Arabia impose immense responsibility on the kingdom to control over a wide swath of land inhabited by a small number of people and the responsibility to protect the vast border parties. And to ensure the security and stability on the border means either the creation of a huge military capability or the search for the protection of external foreign countries. However the Saudi Arabia does not have the first choice and refused the second choice. Therefore since 1982 Saudi Arabia has pursued a wise foreign policy, and the economic and religious were predominant among the geographic perspectives⁽²⁾.

(¹) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

(²) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>, Ibid

1-3-5: Religion:

When talking about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, one can see that the overall role of religion affects the nature of the quasi-theocratic political system. The existence of the Two Holy Mosques has embraced the territory of Saudi Arabia for the Islamic leadership and has struggled to coordinate the foreign policies of many Islamic countries and to mobilize public opinion in these countries to support the Arab issues. Islam has had a significant impact on the Saudi foreign policy since the reign of King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman until now as it remains the foundation of its political practices. In the speech by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz said after the pledge allegiance to King: 'I promise GOD that I took the Koran as a constitution, Islam is my approach and that I concern with the realization of the right and the establishment of Justice⁽¹⁾'.

The Saudi foreign policy adopts two major settings to manage this Islamic policy. First, through the official sponsorship by the direct Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the second one through informal non-governmental organizations such as the (Muslim World League), which provides humanitarian relief to the impoverished Muslim communities in Afghanistan and Africa, and it engaged in activities associated with the Islamic call, and there is a third organization may be more important, namely, (the Conference of Islamic jurisprudence) its a non-governmental organization held its annual meetings in Mecca before the pilgrimage season, to discuss religious issues facing the Great Islamic world and this conference is a forum for the respectful scientists, scholars and the jurisprudent from all over the world in order to issue advisory opinions for the vital issues facing the Islamic nation, through such governmental Islamic organizations and non-governmental organizations of Saudi

⁽¹⁾ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

Arabia was able to consolidate its standing among the Islamic world and the policies that have influence in the Islamic world, which has strengthened its regional and regional policies⁽¹⁾. In spite of that each king has his way and his policy, which may differ in some respects from the policies of his predecessors due to the different local and regional and international surrounding conditions, along with the different methods and tactics in dealing with it.

Nowadays, King Abdullah remain to focus on the Islamic unity that he saw hope for the rebirth of the nation and the return of past glories and getting out of the current crises facing the nation, and this renaissance is the best way to achieve comprehensive development and the eradication of all the problems of the Arab and Islamic worlds. These concepts demonstrated with relation to the great Islamic renaissance in a speech addressed to Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques for Muslim leaders on the seventh of December 2006 during the holding of the Third Extraordinary Islamic Summit in Mecca in response to the call of King Abdullah. The king said in his speech as follows

“I look forward to a unified Islamic nation, and a provision for the injustice and oppression and the comprehensive development of Muslim to eradicate poverty and destitution. I also look forward to the spread of moderation that embodies the tolerance of Islam, and I look forward to Muslim inventors and industrialists, technical and advanced Muslim techniques, and I look forward to the Muslim Youth works for his life and also works for the afterlife, without excessiveness or remissness, the Renaissance is made by hope turned to ideas and then turns to the goal, and our nation can achieve its goals with the assistance of God alone, secure in the Koran saying (Verily never will Allah change the condition of people until they change what is in themselves), and God

⁽¹⁾ Swedee, Jamal Hassan, (1996), **Iran and the Gulf**, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, UAE, pp 228-29.

promised (If ye will aid (the cause of) Allah, He will aid you, and plant your feet firmly”⁽¹⁾.

The King Abdullah has clarify to the world the true nature of Islam, its far from excessiveness and extremism, in his speech after receiving an honorary doctorate in Islamic development in the first Royal Medal for Excellence in the promotion of Islamic unity, he said “you all know that the Islamic letter was a mercy to the hole worlds, and the spirit of Islam, carried all the meaning of compassion and mercy and love ... but some continued in their excessiveness and extremism to the extent of crime and bloodshed, and Islam is innocent of them”⁽²⁾.

1-3-6: Security :

The goal of any foreign policy of any State is to maintain the independence and the internal and external security and the protection of economic interests and the preservation of national identity. when faced with a threat towards one of these goals political decision makers usually start to examine the situation of a threat and then figure out its strength and its ability to examine the use of countermeasures based on the nature of such particular threat. This is all conducted in the light of the possibilities available to the state in addition to the possibility of an alliance with outside forces, shared interests and strategies³. This means that there is a security dimension in the political environment affects the making of foreign policy. Since the reign of King Abdul Aziz, the internal and external security dimension composed a range of threats to the security of Saudi Arabia. The foremost one is emanated from Israel. Also, at some

⁽¹⁾ Al – Jazeera, issue 12599, 28 March 2007, p. 3

⁽²⁾ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

⁽³⁾ Boutros, Boutros and Khairy, Mahmoud, (1984), **Introductory to Political science** ,(7th ed.) , Cairo: Egyptian Anglo Library, pp 354-355.

historical stages, the kingdom faces threats emanated from its regional surroundings states but at different levels (Iraq and/or Iran).

In addition, the KSA has suffered after the September 11, 2001 events from scourge emerged strongly of terrorism. Such terrorist acts have vividly a great impact in the foreign policy of the Kingdom. King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, took the initiative to convene a conference to combat terrorism which focused on two main grounds. First: to clarify the true image of Islam and the fight against extremism and terrorism and to refute what was attributed to the relationship of Islam with terrorism, and the second to protect the security and stability of Saudi Arabia.¹. The king also called the Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz at that time to establish cooperation and networks amongst states to eradicate terrorism. He defended that

“It is our hope that this conference will initiate a new era of effective international cooperation for the establishment of an international community free of terrorism and in this aspect I call upon all States to establish an international center to combat terrorism would be staffed by specialists in this area, with the objective of sharing and passing the information immediately in line with the pace of events to avoid it with God will”⁽²⁾.

To this end, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in its foreign policy aims to protect the Saudi political system, the preservation of the independence, internal security, and protection of economic interests, the preservation of national identity, the defense of Arab and Islamic issues and to achieve international peace and security. It seeks to achieve this through the good-neighbor policy and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the strengthening of relations with the countries of the Gulf

⁽¹⁾ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

⁽²⁾ Al Zarkali, Kheireddine, pp 385-386.

and the Arabian Peninsula, and the strengthening of relations with Arab and Islamic countries for the benefit of common interests of these countries, as well as advocate their issues, adopt nonalignment policy, establish cooperation relations with friendly countries, and play effective role in the international and regional organizations. This policy is activated through several circles such as Gulf, Arab, Islamic, and international circles according to the following:

First: Gulf Circle

The Saudi Arabia's foreign policy in the Gulf Circle is based on major permanent basis and principles that are:

- The security and stability of the region is the responsibility of the states of the region.
- The Gulf States have the right to defend their security and maintain their independence according to their own discretion and as guaranteed by the international law to confront any internal or international challenges.
- Decline the interference in internal affairs of these countries, and work out to cooperate and stand against any aggression on one of the state members, with regard to any aggression, at the same time member states consider aggression on one country as aggression on all member states.
- Strengthen cooperation between the Kingdom and the member states of the GCC in different political, economical, security, social, cultural fields and others, through deepening and consolidating relations and ties among member states.
- Coordinate policies of the GCC when possible, especially toward the regional and international momentous issues. Such cooperation and coordination were

obvious during the crisis witnessed by the region, especially during the Iraq-Iran war, and the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait.

- Take serious and persistent action to solve all disputes (especially border disputes) among the countries of the region through understanding that is based on brotherhood and good neighboring principles.
- Sound enthusiasm on the importance of economic coordination among member states through continuous support for unifying economic policies and establish suitable integrated contexts, paying special attention to coordination with regard to oil policies of the member states in a manner that serves their interests, considering that oil is the strategic source of these countries⁽¹⁾

Second : Arab Circle

The Saudi Arabia's foreign policy in the Arab Circle is based on major permanent basis and principles that are:

- The inevitable connection between Arab-nationalism and Islam. The Kingdom is distinguished by being the birthplace of Islam and the origin of Arab-nationalism. This trend has been always emphasized by Saudi Arabia since the era of the kingdom founder King Abdulaziz, and his follower's sons.
- The necessity of Arab solidarity, together with coordination among the Arab countries with the aim to unify Arab stances and utilize all potentials and resources of Arab countries to serve the Arab interests.

⁽¹⁾ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>.

- Realism, which is represented in avoiding slogans and overacting, which negatively affect the security and stability of Arab World, and prevent the interference in Arab internal affairs.
- Commitment to the principle of Arab brotherhood through offering all types of support and assistance.

Third: Islamic Circle:

Saudi Arabia's foreign policy in the Islamic circle aims at achieving the following objectives:

1. Achieve comprehensive Islamic solidarity.
2. Open new horizons for economic cooperation among Islamic countries aiming at the support of their potentials and resources on different levels.
3. Stand against different types and techniques of cultural overflow and intellectual invasion that threaten the Islamic World.
4. Work out to develop the Organization of Islamic Conference and support its activities to achieve more effectiveness in confronting the issues encountered by the Islamic World⁽¹⁾.
5. Activate the role of Islamic countries within the framework of new world order.
6. Provide assistance and support to Muslim minorities worldwide, and look after their rights in accordance with the principles of international law.
7. Introduce the real and true image of Islam and its tolerance law *Sharia'a*, and protect Islam from all the clear accusations and slanders addressed to Islam, such as; terrorism and human rights violations.

⁽¹⁾ Alkabbaa, Abdullah, pp 197-199.

Fourth: International Circle:

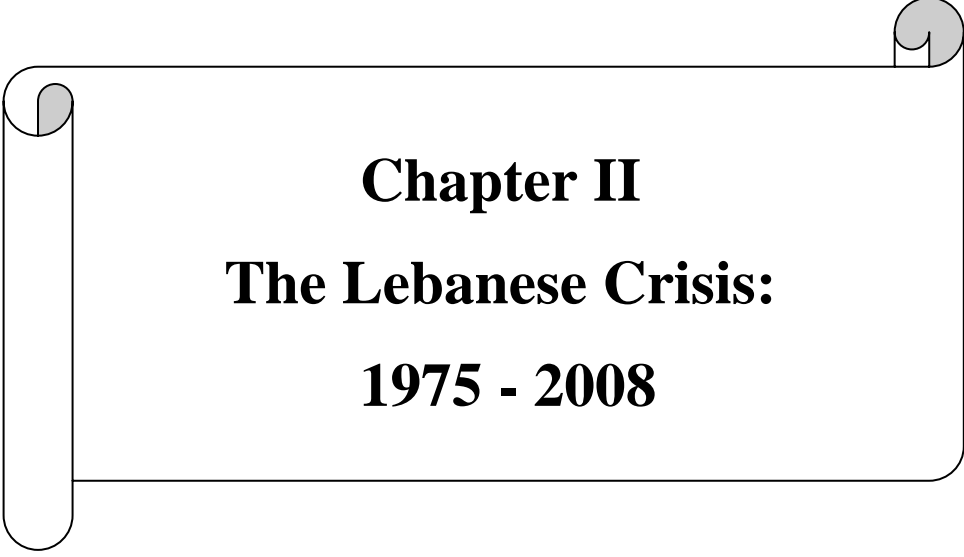
Saudi foreign policy is based on major permanent basis and principles, among which are:

- Kingdom's keenness to react with the international society through Her commitment to the UN Charter, concluded international agreements, and the basis of international law, which determine the framework of general conduct of civilized countries and societies.
- Commitment of the Kingdom not to use power and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. As well as, condemn violence and all means that negatively affect international security and peace. And emphasizes the principle of peaceful existence among the countries of the world.
- Keenness on the stability of international oil markets, and seeking to develop international trade on fair basis and through the fundamentals of free market economies.
- Form the Saudi foreign policy with moral shape through Her adoption to the principle of supporting the victims of natural disasters, homeless, and refugees in many countries of the world⁽¹⁾.

In spite of the relative novelty of Saudi Arabia emergence, the kingdom did not fail to keep cope with the tremendous development of international diplomatic relations. King Abdulaziz- God bless his soul - after he consolidate the pillar and the key elements of the kingdom, by exterminated the disturbance and turmoil was surrounding the kingdom; he began in strengthen the position of the Kingdome in international relations. Accordingly, delegations were sent and exchanged with other States, and treaties

⁽¹⁾ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

entered into, and contributed to the founding of several international organizations, and interested in the exchange of diplomatic representation with the other State.



Chapter II
The Lebanese Crisis:
1975 - 2008

Chapter II

The Lebanese Crisis: 1975 - 2008

II.I. A historical overview: the nature of the Lebanese political system and the problem of the relationship between the constitutional structure and community structure:

Lebanon like other Arab countries was fallen under Ottoman rule, when the Arab resistance force has intensified in the face to the Ottoman Empire before the First World War - and during that period when Sharif Hussein Bin Ali erupted the Great Arab Revolt - Lebanese and Syrian Christians and Muslims resistance exploded in the face of the Ottoman Empire, and a large number of them hanged to death by the Ottoman authorities⁽¹⁾.

The First World War Ended up and manifested the deception of the English to Sharif Ali Bin Al Hussein and plant Lebanon under the French mandate, according to the Sykes – Picot agreement. As a result of the weakness of Arab resistance at that time, two trends has evolved: the first trend was Christian which links the loyalty to a homeland with the loyalty to the sectarian in an attempt to make the Lebanese Maronite synonym or equivalent to Lebanese, and the other trend was Islamic one who developed their tendency from the decentralization to independence, especially after the invitation of Sharif Hussein⁽²⁾. Then came the Great Syrian Revolution of 1925 and attracted hundreds of volunteers from Lebanon where the Lebanese once again divided into two directions: the direction of a Christian of great majority insists on maintaining Lebanon

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni (2008), Lebanese presidency, a new crisis in an extended conflict, *Journal of International Politics*, No. 171, January, p. 67

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, P. 36

as it is with adhering being under the French mandate, and an Islamic direction of great majority calls for the union with Syria. In 1936 the treaty with the French Mandate was approved, Christians and Muslims agreed on an independent state and gained its independence on November 22 of the year in 1943⁽¹⁾.

Ethnic groups were present in Lebanon through its long history, but after the First World War appeared clear, the religious ethnic dilemma contributed to the deepening of the regional trend, the reason for that was due to the fear of unitary historical experiences that have characterized by Islamic content and this content assured the Muslims. However, its increase the fears among Christians and prompting them towards the regional trend. And when the political parties were established in Lebanon, a penetrate happened to the sectarian schism, and new trends of the secular parties and some parties with sectarian trends has evolved, and one of the most important of these parties: the Communist Party, the Syrian National Social Party, in addition to the nationalist parties, and the sectarian parties, such as: Al Kataeb Lebanese Christian Party and, by contrast, the Muslim established Al-Najadah foundation, and the Druze established the Progressive Socialist Party. Along with the emergence of religious ethnic in this obvious status, it facilitates the way for the infiltration of sabotage factors from abroad to the Lebanese arena ⁽²⁾.

Lebanon gained independence in 1943 and in the same year it was agreed that a settlement between Lebanese and it was known as the Lebanese Charter (various thinkers and historians in Lebanon agreed on the validity of the facts and the steps that

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali (2006). Solidere and the "reconstruction of Beirut's commercial center" an analytical study, a Postgraduate Diploma in Sociology, non published thesis Lebanese University, Beirut, p. 119

⁽²⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 67

the settlement was agreed upon), which was held between President Bishara Al-Khouri* and Riad al-Solh**. One of the most features of the agreement revealed Christian objection to seek foreign protection, and the similarly the Muslim abstain from requesting for union with Syria. By close examination to the terms of the agreement, it notes that there are factors that affected and affects Lebanon's historical and political formation, including the international factors which was obvious and reflected in the demand of Christians to refrain from seeking the protection of foreign, and including Arab factors reflected by the request of the Muslims to refrain from seeking union with Syria⁽¹⁾.

Settlement agreement has been obtained based on the National Charter, which grants that the President of the Republic is Maronite Christians, the prime minister is Sunni Muslims, and the parliament presidency is Shiite Muslims. It's noteworthy to cite that the agreement occurs between the two Lebanese entities, Maronite Christian, and the other Sunni Muslim, and this referred to the Maronites appearance in the forefront of political action due to the Europe support after the of sectarian massacres that took place in 1860. In the meantime, the Sunni was a sect that was historically considered as the Islamic Sharia or legitimacy throughout the centuries, and the period of Ottoman rule (1516 to 1918)⁽²⁾ was its ultimate. Indeed, it's obvious here the absence of the role

* Lebanese President Bishara Al-Khouri Maronite Christian (1890 - 1964), Lebanese Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim (1893 – 1951)

** National Charter in 1943 which was held between President Bishara Al-Khouri and Riad al-Solh, and the objectives of the Charter is as follows:

- A. Real and full independence of Lebanon for all Western countries.
- B. Real and full independence of Lebanon for all Arab countries.
- C. No guardianship, protection, privilege or preference for any state.
- D. unlimited cooperation with the brotherly Arab countries.
- E. Friendship with all foreign countries that recognize Lebanon's independence and respect.

⁽¹⁾ Fayyad, Ali, (2008), **Hezbollah and the Lebanese state, the harmonization of national strategy and the role regional**, [http / arabjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabjelioul.idogspot.com)

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 11

of the Druze, the Sunni, and the Shiite sects in addition to the absence of other Christianity sects from the National Charter at that time.

The Search in the reality of the Lebanese constitutional system and its development poses the dilemma of the relationship between the constitutional structure and the community structure; the constitutional structure evolves and arises naturally in the context of the development of the community structure. The constitutional system is influenced by the dominant relation patterns in the community structure. The Constitution defines the form of constitutional institutions and determines the rules of the political game within its framework, but the forces that exercised politics within these institutions are political forces emanating from the reality of the general community structure, and reflects in it political practices and the governance administration, the patterns of community relations, especially political ones, and the balance between the constitutional institutions in turn affected by the balance of these forces, but the constitutional institutions on the other hand, should take into account the general constitutional principles, which were the result of a long experience, and as a result of the evolution of governance systems, due to overlapped objective and subjective information and data. These principles constitute a guarantee for the proper functioning of constitutional institutions ⁽¹⁾.

I.I. The Lebanese political system:

The Lebanese political system is based on the division of the important governmental posts among various Christian and Muslim sectarian parties and ideological groups in line with the National Charter of 1943. It is clearly has a French imprint in that it relies

⁽¹⁾ Mekdad, Ali Suleiman (1999), **Lebanon from sectarian to Taif**, (1st ed.), the Arab Center for Research and Documentation, Beirut, p. 74.

on the jurisprudence of the political elite to formulate this project during the reconciliation conference in Paris- known as the Versailles of 1920 and the imposition of the guardianship of France for Syria and Lebanon.

At the time, the monarch (King Faisal in 1919) admitted in all communities and sects of Syria and Lebanon. Of course, this system collapsed, and a High Commissioner of the region was appointed under the French guardianship, and the administration of Syria and Lebanon become under this guardianship, but in 1926 the Constitution was issued so that the system is based on the fact that Christians in Lebanon own the power and the ascendancy, but the French High Commissioner make a promise that all parties, sects, communities and trends in Lebanon will have an equitable representation within the government. Therefore, many researchers in Lebanese affairs viewed that the Constitution of 1926 was the initial of the National Charter, which was issued in 1943 and on its ground the division of power between Christians and Muslims occurs⁽¹⁾.

The Constitution of 1926 considered the root of the National Charter of 1943, and because the Constitution was approved by the majority; it contributed in achieving a relative political stability until the early seventies. Based on the National Charter the President of the Republic is Maronite Christians, the prime minister is Sunni Muslims, and the parliament presidency is Shiite Muslims. Parliament division set up in favor for the Christians, for every six Christian deputies there were five Muslim members of the parliament, that it was (66) Lebanese parliamentarians. In forties and fifties decades there was a (36) Christian deputies versus (30) Muslim deputy. In the sixties the Parliament deputies were increased from (66) to (99) members. Hence all various trends

(1) Sayegh, Daoud (2006). **Lebanon and the world between the role and necessity**, Dar al-Nahar for publish, Beirut, p. 19.

and communities under this division were able to participate, but the majority of privileges and concessions gained by Maronite Christians⁽¹⁾.

I.II. Authorities in the Lebanese political system:

Lebanon have been subjected to many events changed the composition of classis and political structure, due to overlapped internal and external factors, for example, the establishment of the Mt Lebanon (jabal Lebnan) governorate, which includes both the Druze and Maronites and their deadly impact events in 1886, at the instigation of France and Britain under the rule of the State Ottoman Empire. The characteristics of the communities and sects in Mount Lebanon in 1886, which is one of the main causes of classis consciousness in Lebanon, that each community and sects has been marked by the certain characteristics distinguish them from others. The mountain environment made the Shiites, Maronites and Druze a folk with strong tribal neurological tendency and a wild individualism tendency. Druze overtop Maronites in term of the discipline and solidarity and to submit to their leaders, and despite of revolutions spirit of revenge, if they had not been subjected to severe challenge, they are considered as the more inclined to compromise and cooperation between other groups. The Maronites have been known of their individualism, despite superior to Druze in construction, the individualism trend weakened their cohesion and forced them to concern about tiny matters⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mustafa, Amin (2003). **The resistance in Lebanon: 1948-2000**, (1st ed.), Dar Al-Hadi, Beirut, p. 55.

⁽²⁾ Sayegh, Daoud, P. 22

II.III. The Executive Authority:

The executive authority consists of the President of the Republic and the Ministry. The President is elected by two-thirds of the members of the Parliament, which is required to be an educated Lebanese citizen, and have his or her civil and political rights, has completed the twenty-fifth, and that should belong to the Maronite community. The President is elected for a period of six years, and he is prevented from being re-elected until six years passed after he left the presidency.

The Prime Minister and the Ministers shall be appointed by the President, and there is no restriction on the President to choose a prime minister, however, unless he should be Sunni Muslim. The ministry is responsible in front of the Parliament, and become in charge of the exercise of the President of the Republic in the case of the absence of the presidency, as the president can - in turn - to dissolve the Parliament with the consent of the ministry and calls for new elections.

The President own extensive powers would hold the treaties, without acknowledging the Parliament with regard to the interests of the country, and he could propose declaration of war and the holding of peace. The President also has the right of propose some legislative jurisdiction, so that he can proposed laws and issued it, and may return it back to the Parliament; it shall become effective only with the consent of an absolute majority of the members of the Parliament. The President also has the power to special legislation in cases of necessity, the President of the Republic also issued laws based on the delegation of the Parliament, in particular topics and for specific period⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mustafa, Amin, p. 56

The Taif Agreement has been introduced an important modification in the structure of the executive power, it is no longer in the hands of the President assisted by ministers, but have become vested in a Council of Ministers in the first place, which strengthens the characteristics of parliamentary government in the Lebanese political system. In turn, Taif agreement introduced amendments on the powers of the President of the Republic, to become high commander of the defense, however, defense functions performed by specialized Council named the Council of Defense, which is subject to the authority of the Council of Ministers, despite the fact that the President of Council of Defense appointed by the President of the Republic, however, that the latter has to consult the Parliament before choosing the Defense Council President and appointment him. And this enhances the position of prime minister in the face of the President of the Republic, and enhances the status of the Parliament in the face of the government¹.

II.IV. Legislative Authority:

The legislative authority formed until 1989 from one council known as the Parliament, which was comprised of ninety-nine members, elected for a period of four years of direct secret elections. Under the Taif agreement the number of Parliament members become 108 members, The Council of Ministers in May 1991 appointment forty (deputy) member of parliament in the vacant seats since the last elections in 1972 and in the new created seats, and the total number of Parliament become equally representative between the Muslims and Christians, unlike the previous situation, which did not reflect the demographic weight of the Muslims in Lebanon, where they were distributed between Christians and Muslims, by (5:6), respectively since 1960, the Christian is a fifty-four seats, and forty-five Muslim deputies. Moreover, the quotas have been

(¹) Sayegh, Daoud, P. 23

established within the representative Christians (Maronites, Greek, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenians etc...) and also within the Muslims (Shia, Sunni, and Druze). The head of the Parliament elected from the Shia sect⁽¹⁾.

The Lebanese Parliament members selected through a system of direct election by individual secret ballot, taking into account the rules of the electoral representation of the communities and sects. The right of voting is ensured for every citizen, male or female – reached the legal age of twenty-one years old. The number of electoral districts is twenty-six, the number of seats allocated to them ranged between two and eight seats. There is commitment to the sectarian representation in each district, so that the total average number for each community and sect are achieved within the Parliament. While the nomination considered sectarian base, the election is on the basis of non-sectarian, where all voters - regardless of their communities and sects - to elect the required number of deputies under the condition of being from the determined communities and sects⁽²⁾.

II.V The Active Political Parties and Trends⁽³⁾:

The party organization in Lebanon contributed in the crystallization of its sectarianism; as parties emerged from every community and sect. Although the parties in Lebanon were not in its history a source of fragmentation and disintegration, but taken as a means to get rid of political and feudal sectarianism. In the era of the princes, two parties spread across the country, Qaisi and Yemeni, then came their successor Al Junbalti and Al Yazbaki. With the emergence of independence era, and the increasing

⁽¹⁾ Suliman, Essam (2001), **the reality of the Lebanese parliamentary system**, Dar al-Nahar for publish, Beirut, p. 85.

⁽²⁾ Mekdad, Ali Suleiman, p 75

⁽³⁾ See Annex I: List of Lebanese political parties and activities.

deteriorated situation in Lebanon; the parties has increased, including: the Al- Neda National Party in 1954, the Progressive Socialist Party in 1955, the National Body Party in 1950, the National Liberals Party in 1957, the Democratic Party in 1969, let alone the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in the fifties. As well as, the numerous rallies and Lebanese fronts and blocs calling for reform⁽¹⁾.

II.VI: The roots of the Lebanese crisis

Lebanon has witnessed since 1975 a devastating civil war, in which the local, regional and international forces have played an important role during that war. The underlying causes of the explosion in Lebanon since its establishment relies in sectarian system under the National Charter of 1943, the Charter consolidate the existing sectarian status, and the appointment of all the important positions both civilian and military were sectarian base. This sectarian system reflects the balance of local forces existed at that time, and both the Maronite and Sunni communities gain most of the positions; the Maronite gain the position of President of the Republic and the Sunnis gain the prime minister position. It was logical for communities and sects that have not yet attained what it considers its right to amend the sectarian distribution in accordance to the increase in the number of communities and sects, and the change occurring in the composition of the population⁽²⁾.

The war continues between the two groups since 1975, and the local and regional alliances has changed, and during that period, repeated attempts took place to resolve the crisis without any of them to succeed in putting an end to it. The crisis reached its

⁽¹⁾ Mustafa, Amin, p. 57

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 39

peak with the end of President Amin Gemayel rule on 23/9/1988 when the Parliament was unable to elect a new President of the Republic¹. The president was then unable to achieve a meeting attended by 51 members to elect a new president according to the constitution requirement, therefore, before the end of his presidency he formulate an interim military government headed by army commander General Michel Aoun. However, the appointed Muslim members of the interim government refused to participate in it. Two governments has emerged in Lebanon; each claiming legitimacy, the Government of General Aoun in East Beirut, controlled by Christians, and the Government of Salim Al-Hoss, who headed the future Government of Rashid Karami as acting premier after the assassination of Karameh in a plane crash. Additionally, the rule of President Hussein Al-Husseini, the president of the Parliament ended in the 18/10/1988, and the Parliament was not able to convene to elect a new President, thereby increasing the severity of the crisis, where there is an executive vacuum due to the absence of the President and the authority suspend, and the division in the State of Lebanon². In fact, the Government of General Aoun, and the Government of Al Hoss does not have authorities similar to government authorities in any country. Whereas (the militias) imposed their control over most of Lebanese territory, and each (militia) ran the part they controlled as an independent state, the most prominent of these forces (Lebanese Forces) a (militia) the Lebanese front, and (militia) of AMAL, and (militia) of Socialist Progressive Party, in addition to the forces of the Syrian army in the Bekaa region, since the Syrian interference in 1976 and Israel's occupation of part of southern Lebanon since the invasion of Lebanese territory in 1982, and established also in the south an army loyal to it known as the South Lebanon Army or the army of defining

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali, p. 121

⁽²⁾ Ibid

Lebanon in addition to the Palestine Liberation Organization forces who have left from Beirut and from Tripoli during the years 1982 and 1983⁽¹⁾.

With the outset of the situation stabilization for President Elias Hrawi, the Lebanese government headed by Dr. Salim Hoss and then Mr. Omar Karami after him, unanimous on the reunification of Lebanon; politically by the formation of a national unity government of 30 ministers, seven of them were leaders of the Christian and Muslim militias, and military by working toward Beirut unite and demand militias to hand over their heavy weapons in accordance with the Taif Agreement. The Council of Ministers on 28/3/1991 decide to dissolve the armed groups and militias of Lebanon, and gave it until 20/6/1991 to hand over their arms and ammunition to the Lebanese Army, and decided to deploy the legitimate security forces outside the Greater Beirut in a period up to 20/6/1991⁽²⁾.

The security situation remains unstable. After the outbreak of fighting with heavy weapons during March 1989, the security situation confronted a severe crisis, which Taif Agreement was trying to handling it. In November 1991 the building of American University of Beirut was blown up, which sparking a severe political and security storm, and found that it was an act of the Israeli intelligence network in cooperation with the mercenary army in the south, and it was to impede the security and stability, which began with the wave of the hostages release in Lebanon, which the latest was the American hostage Terry Anderson on 4/12/1991⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 70

⁽²⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

⁽³⁾ Hamad, Magdy (2006). Sectarian and Al-Taif, **Al-Hilal magazine**, Cairo, Arab Organization of modern printing and publishing and distribution, number (115), September, p. 86.

The political stability of the Lebanese society since early seventies and beyond was vulnerable to collapse. With the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 and the attacks by the Christian's paramilitary forces and Beirut incidents, and accidents that have occurred after such as the siege of Palestinian camps and killing more than a thousand Palestinians in Tel Zaatar camp siege; began a phase of instability and the events of the internal strife and armed conflicts between various factions. In addition, the military operations carried out by Palestinian organizations in southern Lebanon and the aggressive and expansionist Israeli campaigns leads to confuse the situation in southern Lebanon. In 1978 the Israeli army invaded southern Lebanon under the pretext of the face of Palestinian factions (fedayeen) and they work on the establishment of an occupied area, despite the issuance of UN Security Council Resolution 425, which is not acknowledged by Israel and, shortly Israel established a group of armed forces on behalf of Saad Haddad, and later known as Antoine Lahad, and this army was assigned to protect the South areas for the benefit of Israel ⁽¹⁾.

The rival groups collided against each other and began a civil war between Palestinian factions in the Bekaa and Tripoli (1982-1984), and clashes also occurred between the forces of the Shiite Amal and the Palestinian groups known as war camps (1985-1987), and a bloody conflicts broke out between the Islamic Unification Movement and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, and in 1985 the war began between Amal movement and Hezbollah, and a bloody conflict began between the wings of the Maronites (Samir Geagea and Michel Aoun)⁽²⁾.

Many observers and researchers in the past knew Lebanon as one of the most democratic and stable conditions in the Arab States, but the situation changed as a result

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali, p. 121

⁽²⁾ Hamad, Magdy, p. 88

of the civil war and the spread of chaos and instability and the loss of democracy. The political life and political activity in Lebanon was absent since 1975 until the early nineties, and it should be noted that the lack of stability in the seventies and eighties due to a breakdown in the consensus model of democracy in Lebanon. In other words, the internal changes or the surrounding changes around the state of Lebanon since the seventies and the results that emerged later, and the terms and conditions of democracy based on consensus, were not adapted to or consistent with the real facts, which means that the causes of any instability in the years following 1975 is the deviation of the political and social foundations in Lebanon from the democratic principles of compromise. In addition to that, it was not proportionate to the division of power and structure of the political system and the normal components of the community, from here, there were some deviations emerged from this basic model (a model of democracy based on consensus)⁽¹⁾.

One of the important conditions of democracy based on consensus is the role of political elites through the compatibility of the solution to the conflicts, which Lebanese political elites undertake this role previously and played an important role (especially in the era of former Lebanese President Fouad Shehab). However, this decline in the late sixties and early seventies by the social and economic developments and internal policies, as well as by external factors have emerged within each communities and sects an elites called sub-elite, which adopted radical trend with the leaders of the communities and sects to which it belongs. These elites have become a factor in fueling the conflict and a part of the internal conflict, and the new elites led paramilitary forces that undermined

⁽¹⁾ Fayyad, Ali, <http://arabjelioul.idogspot.com>

the attraction ability of former social and economic elites. The emergence of these new elites considered one of the reasons for the outbreak of civil war in 1975⁽¹⁾.

II.VII: Israel and stability in Lebanon:

The suffering of the South started with Arabic – Israeli first war, in which Lebanon participates with their novice army, "it is not over with the signing of the Armistice Agreement of Lebanon - Israel on 23 March 1949, but continued for half a century ... and the Lebanese - Israeli border was subjected to intermittent operations even after the 1967 war". Since that time, we can say that the south has become the more Arab inflamed fronts, so that between 1968 and 1998 it was the single military battlefield of continued conflict and daily struggle without stoppage. Lebanon witnessed during that period, four invasions, and the Israelis call it: Litani operation in 1978, Operation Peace of the Galilee in 1982, The operation of account liquidation in 1993, Grapes of Wrath 1996. On the other hand,

Lebanon held several conventions address the South as a main issue: The Armistice Agreement in 1949, the Cairo Agreement in 1969 , the Agreement of 17 May 1983, the Understanding of July 1993, and the Understanding of April 1996.

Since 1967 and through three decades Israel has persisted to the maximum extent by the occupation of Beirut and most of Lebanon and expelled the Palestinian resistance men, and then retreat to the "security belt" which consist (10%) of the area of Lebanon due to the resistance blows⁽²⁾. When the Lebanese crisis exploded in 1975, the Lebanese problem viewed by Israelis through ⁽³⁾:

⁽¹⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

⁽²⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali, p. 123

⁽³⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

- 1- The face of the Palestinian factions (fedayeen) confrontation
- 2 - Christian fears of exploitation by the growing Palestinian presence in Lebanon, both quantitatively and qualitatively.
- 3 – Counting Syrian reactions in Lebanon and its regional reflections

The most recent of these attacks, the second Israeli war on Lebanon in the year (2006) as a response to a military blitzkrieg carried out by Lebanese Hizbollah. Accordingly, the Israelis use it as a means to mobilize its forces and invaded southern Lebanon, where Israeli aims behind it to remove the Hezbollah and its missiles beyond the limits of the Litani River because of Hezbollah missiles that threaten northern Israel. Israel began its operation following the capture of two soldiers from the army on (12) July (2006), they considers the aggression as a needed act since (2000) to avenge the defeat and re-consideration of the army. They were preparing for this aggression since the extended American pivot on local, Arab and international level proved to be unable to implement the decision of transfer Lebanon from the center of opposition to and rejection of the America's project to be under American pivot submission. America tried to invest their occupation of Iraq to impose all countries region to be submissive, but they faced three obstacles:

- 1- The first obstacle:** It is in Iran, which refuses to abandon its nuclear program, also refused to extend the necessary facilities for the American occupation of Iraq stability.
- 2- The second obstacle:** It is in Syria, which has refused to disarm Hezbollah in Lebanon, as well as it refused to provide America with security and military

services inside Iraqi to make the Iraqi occupation easily going, and it refused to expel the resistance from its territory.

- 3- The third obstacle:** The main obstacle to these Hezbollah defeated Israel in the (2000) and continued to build a unique military capability among the traditional strengths of formal and informal forces.

The United States of America undertake alone or with members or allies directly or indirectly the role of inducement to issue International resolutions against opposition or resistance elements. The (1559) resolution was one for the most important resolutions as its shortened the issue of changing the system in Lebanon, the isolation of Syria and disarming Hezbollah, and the latter is the crux of the matter. Nevertheless, it turned out to America that no one inside can implement the resolution, so they decided to entrust Israel the task and waited for the appropriate condition for implementation. The U.S. and Israel used the abduction of the Blue Line in southern Lebanon by the resistance in order to free internee, and to exchange the Lebanese internee, and they and launched their action as planned.

That Lebanese society is the best example of the community where there are differential religious trends that have influenced socially, politically and economically in the building of the Lebanese state, whereas the percentage of loyalty to these trends noticeable more than loyalty to the state in contrary to the other countries in the Middle East. That the sectarian loyalty more powerful of national loyalty. In general, we find that the Lebanese society is dividing into two main sections: the Muslims and Christians, in fact, we find that these sections are dividing to small subdivision based on sectarian beliefs.

Political developments in Lebanon in the nineties led to enhance the political stability and the establishment of democracy in the Lebanese society. However, to devote the political stability and the relative democracy depends on two important factors: first, the Lebanese state should work in the field of development planning and to providing employment opportunities to attract internal and external capital in an effort to reduce the economic pressure, and to bridge the gap between the layers of the Lebanese society. And the second factor is to end the presence of the Israeli occupation and the restoration of all occupied Arab territories, such as the West Bank to the Palestinians and the Golan Heights to Syria, in other words, that continuation of the conflict between the Arabs and Israel is a key factor for the undermine of political and democratic stability in Lebanon.

II.VIII. The Lebanese crisis linkages on the regional and international levels

Lebanon represents an ideal model of the Arab state in which it has abroad organic links, not only, not only in relation to its policies and internal and external interactions, but also the basic idea used by the Lebanese state to stand on, starting from its creation till now. Therefore, the Lebanese state structure and its essence is simply a reflection of external factors that found a strong compliance in the Lebanese internal fabric to the extent that differences between the external forces concerned about Lebanon were often dwarfing by the huge gaps between the Lebanese themselves, this problem are not connected with a particular Lebanese forces, nor in a specific time, but its a constant feature arising in the composition of the Lebanese state and its inherent in it⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 70

As the link between the Lebanese state and abroad, a major reason behind many of the crises in Lebanon, it was also the most influential reason on the existence of the Lebanese state and maintain it. It could be argued that the time in which the Lebanese state was vulnerable and threaten in their survival, were the times when some strong internal or external forces seeking to change the precision equations that governing Lebanon's survival, either by acting to exclude groups and strong internal forces in favor of other groups, or by work on subject Lebanon to the control of a certain outside forces

The civil war broke out in 1976 presents a typical example of the resulting attempts of individual power or specific powers to dominate alone the authority or control over Lebanon, and the repercussions of external non-compliance and the conflicts of situation between the external actors - regional and international - on Lebanon.

On the other hand, Al Taif Agreement provides an example on the success achieved by the compromise between the interests of foreign interest, especially if it coincided with the internal forces sensor to return back to the consensus square based on the acceptance of one another⁽¹⁾.

II.VIII.I: Foreign interference in the Lebanese crisis:

Lebanon association with abroad is linked to the State and not linked to a force, part or trend, and the direct result of this is that the outsider considered the compass of the Lebanese situation, whether by mobilizing, calming or suspending. The recent crisis in

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 39

Lebanon linked to the external changes, which have changed in their balance, positions and pillars from the situation at the signing of the Taif Agreement.

Lebanon has emerged in respects to many unique characteristics that distinguish it from the rest of the region countries, its geographic position on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean on limited geographic space, given the extent of power and in the same time cause its weaknesses, as it enhance the tearing between the belonging to the West on one hand and to the east in other hand. As well as the Lebanese human resources formed additional advantage and distinguish feature as they were outperforming the rest of the people in the region in terms of level of education and proficiency in foreign languages and the links with the world, especially France, in addition to the waves of migration to distant continents⁽¹⁾.

These links characterized by a sectarian basis, it was noticeable that Christian communities were more closely related to the West and in particular France, which had a mandate on the territory of Lebanon. Also Lebanon was noticeable at the economic level, where it witnessed the first signs of early capitalist transformation in the region. Lebanon has successfully launched the course of rapid economic development and creates distinguished and strong relations with the Arab countries, and gradually overtakes multiple roles at the brokerage business, financial and industry in the global market and the Arab region⁽²⁾.

Lebanon is a part of the Arab Near East, where Islam emerged in a period characterized by severe lack of ethnic and religious homogeneity, and on the religious level division its exists within the region and between Christianity and Judaism Al- Mazdakiah⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 45

⁽²⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

⁽³⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 113

The external interference under the situation of sectarian conflicts led to the lack of internal stability during the second half of the seventies and eighties. The Palestinian armed forces were expelled from Beirut and Lebanon, and then there was an attempt to engage in the State as a result of national reconciliation, in an effort to the expulsion of Israeli forces and devote stability and security. However, the intransigence of the political elites, especially the Maronite Christian led these efforts to an impasse⁽¹⁾.

With the beginning of the second half of the eighties, a serious discussion took place among the political elites to reform the political system of the State and the completion of the National Charter which sponsored by the Arabic efforts to putt an end to the bloody conflicts between the Lebanese armed groups, and to achieve these aims; an Arabic committee was formulated and includes Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Algeria. In September 1989 and by Saudi Arabia mediation the National Charter was amended in the city of Taif in Saudi Arabia, despite opposition from some of the Maronites, such as Michel Aoun. In the end result, Al Taif Agreement was adopted after the inclusion of the amendments. After 17 days to the election of Rene Moawad as President of the Republic he had been assassinated, so the Lebanese parliament elects Elias Hrawi as a new president of the Republic. In 1990 the Lebanese Parliament held a meeting to amend the National Charter on the basis of the Taif Agreement, Michel Aoun, however, opposed these amendments, and the Syrian forces attacked Ba'abda headquarters in October 1991⁽²⁾. After a short period of time the armed militias was disbanded, and the Lebanese army undertake the establishment of security and system, and then the release of Western hostages in June 1992. In September the first formal security agreement between Syria and Lebanon was signed. The same year witness the organization of the first parliamentary elections in Lebanon since twenty years, and the Lebanese elect 128

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali, p. 124

⁽²⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 46

deputies in the Lebanese parliament. In the era of Elias al-Hariri, the Prime Minister Rafeeq Al Hareeri was appointed, and in October 1995 the Lebanese parliament amended Article 99 of the Constitution, and extended the mandate of President Elias Hrawi for three years. And in the 1996 electoral law was amended to take into account the new electoral areas which paved the way for the organization of the second election of the Lebanese parliament in the same year. The elections have mentioned witnessed the participation of political organizations in Lebanon, and this was the widest participation compared to the last election in 1992, which resulting in the prevalence of political stability and relative democracy that prevailed in Lebanon. At the level of foreign policy Lebanon has pursued an active diplomatic in the regional and international arenas.

Lebanese government has succeeded in establishing internal stability, and in bridging the gap between political elites within the Lebanese society. In the era of President Elias Hrawi the disputes and armed conflicts between various groups and communities were declined ⁽¹⁾.

The failure of the Lebanese political system to adapt with the model based on democratic consensus, and the tendency toward the adapt with the reform of the distortions that were prevalent at that time, were then the tribulations of the trend toward relative democracy of Lebanon, meanwhile the trend towards reform and the tendency towards a democracy based on consensus clarified through the clear desire of elites to the coalition with each other, despite the opposition of the Maronite elites in the early eighties in return for a new coalition government and the introduction of political reforms to the National Charter. And in spite of the insistence of a large number of Islamic groups and organizations on the abolishment of sectarianism in Lebanon, there

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 46

are some parts within the community are a betrayal of the sovereignty of Lebanon, and they exertion of pressure on the parliament to prevent the Christians from the ratification of this agreement, which forced the Christians to oppose Michel Aoun, even the commander of the Lebanese Forces, Samir Geagea, rejected the ideas of Aoun, which raised an armed conflict between the two sides in 1990 killed more than 800 people⁽¹⁾.

As for Hezbollah, it has implicitly agreed to the Taif Agreement and the Government of National Reconciliation, and participated in the 1992 elections, however there was an important development in which the Amal-Hezbollah alliance in the parliamentary elections of 1996 reaped most of the votes in the Shiite areas. In summary, the basic trends and factions of Muslims and Christians, was able to modify the political system, which contributed to the formation of a grand coalition between the various elites. And to the fundamental principle of democracy and in the return back of stability and relative tranquility and democracy to Lebanon so that it is confined to the conflict between the forces of the Islamic Resistance and the Israeli occupation.

There is no doubt that Lebanon represent an open area to various forms of regional and international interactions, but the key factors that governing the Syrian-Iranian consensus in Lebanon, the first factor relatively old; the Syrian influence in Lebanon, and the second is the emergence and growing role of the Lebanese Shi'ite (Hezbollah). In light of the agreement on the files and issues other than Lebanon, it was easy to reconcile the Syrian influence (the old), and the presence of Iran (new). And because of the contexts of the events in Lebanon's with its equations internally and externally in the past three years, it's created many common enemies to the influence of Syria and Iran's role, it was noted that the new developments in Lebanon took place in the tow countries

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali, p. 126

accounts. This consonance is in the benefits of the tow parties, which prompted the Syrian-Iranian alliance to continue, rather than to disconnect or terminate. Despite the success in reducing the Syrian influence in Lebanon to a minimum level and moving the (Hezbollah) file from the postponed area and put on the table to discuss it and resolve it, but this success was not subjected to be employed in another direction which's the bilateral ties between Syria and Iran. There are various manifestations reflect the new equation, starting with the decision (1559), as a punishment for the extension of the former Lebanese President (Emile Lahoud), and ending with raising the file of (Hezbollah) weapon for the debate in the Lebanese national dialogue that followed the war in June 2006, through this and that, the assassination of President Al-Hariri, and the exit of Syrian forces from Lebanon⁽¹⁾.

There are fluctuated opinions in Lebanon regarding the issue of the court, of an international character between the rejection with cautious and the support with delight, in a time where the Lebanese people fed up, and they looking forward without tiredness, fatigue or boredom with the brightness of every morning, for the lifeline to shield them from the wickedness of the unknown. However, there are no doubts that all the various Lebanese sects and groups have a strong desire to know the truth in the case of the bombing that killed Rafik Hariri and his companions, in February 24, 2005.

Disagreement in Lebanon with its the various political, sectarian and multi-sects belonging took place between supporters and opponents of the establishment of the first criminal court of an international character in the Arab world, after the Security Council has given the Lebanese parties a chance after the other to unified their opinion concerning the establishment of this court, which's unique in its composition, jurisdiction, and the laws that govern it, and judicial decisions issued by it.

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 148

II.VIII.II. The external interventions and the manifestations of the Lebanese divisiveness:

One feature of this divide is the lateness of Lebanese president election to succeed former President (Lahoud). The election dates were postpone continually, without the majority and the opposition being able to overcome their differences. Moreover, under the situation of the absence of any consensus, there is a fear of constitutional chaos that led to an increase in the complexity of the crisis that began in the second half of in 2006, when the Shiite ministers resigned from the government headed by (AL-Sanuorah), and since then the assassination operations targeting anti-Syrian bloc began, which resulted in the deaths of four of the deputies.

As a result of the insistence of each party's on their opinion; the mission of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States failed, which took the initiative of the League to call for the election of the President based on consensus, followed by forming a national unity government with no overrule in decisions of any part on others or to disrupt the work of the government, and them followed by the development of a new election law to allow a organizing a new election. The opposition insists on a bulk of understandings include new government and nominate a new leader of the militia, and a new election law, and the weapons of Hezbollah, and other things, which rejected by the majority as they view that as the encroachment on the Constitution and a withdraw of the President of the Republic the authority, and the election of the Republic President based on consensus which's General (Michel Suleiman) is the key access to ensure the stability.

The sectarian associated with sectarianism abroad has increased in its ruggedness, which competing on their regional projects in the region; the Lebanese sectarian crisis

headed abroad thrived due to the Lebanese-Syrian rivalry because of Syria criticism to the forces of March 14, and because of Iran depiction of the victory of Hezbollah in the war in June 2006 as a victory of them against Israeli side.

There is a belief that Israel is preparing for war, more than ever before, the report of the judge (Winograd) on the outcomes of the war in June 2006 with (Hezbollah), to incite the rehabilitation of the dignity of deterrence and discipline of the Israeli army. In addition to that the current Israeli government and direct the future governments to the need for carrying out initiative military operations (pre-emptive strikes to prevent the growth of the enemy), and in light of what promised by the Secretary General of the (Hezbollah) to assassinate the leader of the military wing of his party (Emad Mughniyeh), which said: "The blood of (martyr) will not be in vain, and that Israel will hardly pay for this". As the Chairman of the Division of Military Intelligence in the Israeli army submit a report to the Government that there is a high likelihood of a war with the (Hezbollah), and there is a tendency in Israel to demand the government stop waiting for international action against Iran, and begin to hit it gradually, starting first with the (Hezbollah), Syria, and (Hamas) until putting an end to the conflict⁽¹⁾.

Lebanon entered in chaos status, as if it had written to be continued without a radical solutions, both parties in support of the government and the opposition is still persist in its position towards the other with regard to the status of constitutional chaos; each party's own its interpretation of the constitutional authority, and the decision whether or not have the legitimacy, and the legality of other part actions, in addition to that each part has their own vision to determine Lebanon location in the regional, and each of them accusing the other of subservience to the outside.

(¹) Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 154

The supporting part says that the Syrian and Iranian regimes are arming and funding the opposition specifically Hezbollah, and that they are manipulating the opposition according to their agenda, meanwhile, the opposition defend the subservience by refer it to the Arabic guardianship in general, and America and France in particular, and that guardianship did not allow the government to have a margin of freedom and decision-making⁽¹⁾.

The reason for the division between the majority and the opposition in relation to that election could be refer to several things, some internal and other external. On the internal level, there are differences in views and agendas between the representatives of the majority and the opposition, at a time when the majority believes that Syria is behind what is happening in Lebanon from successive crises, especially those related to the successive assassinations in Lebanon in the recent period, beginning with the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, and ending with the assassination of Parliament deputy Antoine Ghanem, which calls for a firm stand against any Syrian presence in Lebanon.

Against the that vision, which held Syria accountable for what happens in Lebanon, the opposition believes that the majority of the Lebanese with a Western agenda, and the goal behind all of this to eliminate the Lebanese resistance represented by Hezbollah on the one hand, and changing the internal balance, and the role of Lebanon in the region on the other hand, using external forces that exert pressure and make decisions. And the change of the internal balance means in the opposition point of view to weaken the forces allied with Syria, as the opposition considered the trend of (Al- Mustaqbal), trying to take advantage of international sympathy for them, in order to tighten its control over the government and security agencies, after cleared them from all those

⁽¹⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

who were agrees with Syria, and in this regard, they emphasize that everything that happens has nothing to do with democracy.

On the external level, there was more than one party are pushing to the edge of the abyss, at the head of them is the Zionist entity, the observers to the Zionist affairs notice that there is a rule followed in the official Jewish state with regard to this crisis despite the complexities its going through, which's non-removal of the entity attention and their fingers on the Lebanese arena, while maintaining the course of developments with no threat to what it calls "the Israeli national security", and as an expression of that the "shadow war" that engaged in by the Zionist intelligence continue, including the conduct of sabotage operations, and continue with attempts to build bridges with Lebanese forces to keep some of the threads in the hands of the Israeli entity.

The General outlines for the declared Zionist situation reflected that vision, as its outlined through the deliberations and meetings of the Government and the Minister's remarks. For example, some expressions repeated continually by the Zionist officials on "Israel's desire to conduct peace negotiations with Lebanon", and reject any foreign intervention on its territory, and the call to "protect democracy", through the weakening Hezbollah, and stop supporting it by Syria and Iran⁽¹⁾.

It was also agreed to work in various ways - without media fanfare - to enhance Al – Siniora's power, and to curb the Iranian and Syrian interference in cooperation with the United States, which it must lead the way in this regard, in cooperation with other Arab and international parts, and working to break the link between Hezbollah and opposition

(¹) Mohammad, Husni, p. 50

forces and isolating it from the Lebanese allies, on top of them Michel Aoun, and the leader of the "Amal", Nabih Berri.

From its part, the United States began its intervention in Lebanese affairs through the emphasis on the freedom of Lebanese, and sovereignty, which grabbed after the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon, and considered that the elections which will took place after the withdrawal was "an excellent opportunity for the Lebanese in order to demonstrate that the long-established democratic traditions are still alive and strong"⁽¹⁾.

However, what is happen actually was the replacement o Syrian interference in Lebanon's with US-French intervention, which means that nothing "substantially" has changed on the assumed level of democracy, because what happened to go beyond the call of democracy to what is more serious, whereas Lebanon witness in less than six months (between the elections in July 2005 and December 2005) a number of development, which driven the assumption of what is happening is in harmony with the U.S. project of the Greater Middle East⁽²⁾.

Right after the end of the parliamentary elections, the emphasis of US-French on the implementation of the full terms of the resolution 1559, regarding the disarmament of militias, and is intended specifically to disarm Hizbollah resistance in the south, and since it was impossible for any Lebanese or non-Lebanese part do this, the debate over this issue was reluctantly declined, without closing it due to the fear of the continued escalation may lead to the internal Lebanese clashes and turn the whole thing upside down and make it out of control. And so the successive developments that engulfed Lebanon since the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri in February

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 163

⁽²⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

2005, and the exit of Syrian troops during the same period to more declared external intervention (American - France), on the one hand, and the United Nations directly, without expanding the democratic space, and not to be a priority in this continued intervention for the achievement of "sovereignty of Lebanon".

Lebanon considered an arena for external interventions, in light of the sharp division, the external parties will resort to direct intervention in internal Lebanese affairs, in order to put an end to the others, and at the forefront of those will be the U.S. administration who will be backed by the international community, on top them the Zionist entity, which is working hard on Prevention of the Syrian and Iranian influence in Lebanon, after it proved beyond doubt after the recent war with Hezbollah, the extent of support received by the party from the two countries, which would threaten regional security and stability, on the one hand, and on the other hand the U.S. wants to blockade Iran, and to eliminate all their cards, in order to pave the way for a military strike against its nuclear facilities, like the Zionist strike against the Iraqi nuclear installations⁽¹⁾.

In contrast to that, Syria and Iran, would not let Hezbollah and the parties supporting it in Lebanon a prey for America and the Zionists, on the basis that the elimination of the Lebanese resistance in Lebanon – represented by Hezbollah - would be extremely damaging for the Syrian and Iranian situation, on the basis that Lebanon represent as strong strategic depth to each of them, which can greatly benefit from it in case the United States or the Zionists entity to launch a military attack on Iran⁽²⁾.

Since the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, the opposition position to the American hegemony in Lebanon fighting regressively, it regret a step back then the forces allied with the U.S. a step ahead ... which encourage them to pursue more pressure

⁽¹⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 38

⁽²⁾ Fayyad, Ali, [http //arabcjelioul.idogspot.com](http://arabcjelioul.idogspot.com)

for further declines. However, perhaps based on this model, which could be, inducted from the events of the past, the U.S. ambassador who was acting as a high commissioner when he rush to conclusion when he concluded that in public, that even in the case of the election of the President, without consensus, the opposition will always threaten, but they will not do anything as usual.

Syrian forces withdrew unilaterally without a treaty to regulate the withdrawal and its consequences; so it was explained a defeat for the part and victory to another part. The truth is that even if we assume that the Syrian presence was an occupation, the withdrawal and the recognition of Lebanon sovereignty as the consideration of ex post facto occupation that should end all the issues that have been, and turning it retroactive to the sacrifices in the struggle against the occupation. It is no surprise that Michel Aoun, the only one who deal with the Syrian presence in Lebanon as an occupation at the time, is also the part which considered the Syrian withdrawal as an achieve to the objectives of the struggle against it to justify the sacrifices that have been, and a new chapter must be followed by normal relations with Syria. Michel Aoun is the only prominent Lebanese political dealing with Syria as another state. The ruling Party once treated it as part of the ruling powers in Syria and Lebanon, and after the Syrian withdrawal has to deal with Syria to be part of the Syrian opposition, and in either case does not deal with Syria as a foreigner, not considered as the State of the occupation, and was not withdrawn.

The crisis of the election of President of the Republic in Lebanon pass through many stations up and down the broader linked to the political crisis. This crisis considered the widest since the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, the subsequent repercussions led to the change of positions, roles of the political forces of

Lebanon as the opposition forces came to the authority, and the power used to be existed in the authority came out and formulate an new opposition power.

The crises become deeper and exaggerated more with the outbreak of Israeli aggression in 2006, and when some political leaders in authority who played roles considered by Hezbollah and the forces aligned with it later to form the opposition, within the framework of treason to the Lebanon and the resistance; these powers, according to Hezbollah, attempts to cooperate with the United States and Israel to wage the war at the outset, and then pressure to continue it to achieve its objectives of crushing Hezbollah and its military force completely⁽¹⁾.

These matters did not stop at this point of fear for the self-interest by each of the communities and sects but also to the interests of regional and international forces allied with each group.

Group of (14 March) allied with the United States and France and with the so-called moderate Arab forces represented by Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and their decision linked with the developments in the region, the other group (8 March), they to rely on opposition alliance, which includes both Syria and Iran. This alliance perceives themselves that they are standing in front of the U.S. directives to make changes and transformations in the region are in favor of the West and Israel. In addition, this alliance has been able to make significant progress, especially after the victory achieved by Hezbollah during the war of the summer (2006) in front of Israel, which represented the failure of the West - Zionism schemes in the region⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 165

⁽²⁾ Mohammad, Husni, p. 38

Nevertheless, the political system based on the division of power between the parties and the various parties was able to achieve political stability and relative democracy for 30 years. However, the crisis has intensified during the mandate of former Lebanese President Camille Chamoun in 1958 and then returned to calm and stability to its previous status after the intervention of American forces and French and after that took Fuad Shihab presidency. This situation continued until the early seventies, and after the emergence of the Palestinian resistance movement, the problems emerged in Lebanon, as the Lebanese state disagreed with the Palestinian forces, especially after the escalation of the Palestinian Islamic activities in southern Lebanon, but an agreement was signed in Cairo in 1969 through the mediation of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, between the PLO and the Lebanese authorities, and Palestinians situation in Lebanon became clear⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Arab, Ibrahim (2007). European - American and Arabic conflict on the crisis of the presidency of Lebanon, **International Journal of truth**, Beirut, the number (11), volume (6), p. 89.

Chapter III
The Role of Saudi Diplomacy
Toward Lebanese Crisis, 1975-

Chapter III

The Role of Saudi Diplomacy Toward Lebanese Crisis, 1975-2008

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia played a key role in trying to deal with the Lebanese crisis since its inception, and this crisis has a significant impact in the policies adopted by the Arab states to confront the Lebanese crisis. The Arab leaders sought to put an end to this crisis and to end the conditions that led to its detonation. However, the Saudi role has been evident through serious attempts of political leadership in Saudi Arabia in order to reach a peaceful solution to the Lebanese crisis with Israel, and Saudi Arabia has dealt with the diplomatic crisis in Lebanon since its inception and has continued in various areas of political, diplomatic, economic and military. In this chapter we will try to analyze the role played by Saudi Arabia in resolving the Lebanese crisis, through dividing this chapter to the following topics:

III.I: The role of Saudi diplomacy in the Lebanese crisis, 1975-1989:

III.I.I. The Lebanese crisis before the Taif Agreement:

Since the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war, and the Saudis continue to be committed to adopt the responsibility of stopping the war. The first effort has been made by the Kingdom in the reign of King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz, when he visited Damascus on December 25, 1975 and met with Syrian president to resolve the crisis⁽¹⁾. This meeting was deemed a significant milestone in creating a real shift in the course of the crisis resolution⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Sammak, Mohammed (1984), **the Arab decision in the Lebanese crisis**, the book House of Lebanon, (1st ed.) Beirut, p. 17.

⁽²⁾ Shafiq Al-Rais (1978). *Lebanese challenge*, (1st ed.), Beirut: Dar al-Massera, p. 179

Saudi Arabia did not stop its attempts to resolve the Lebanese crisis as King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz considered it then as the priority of Saudi Arabia diplomacy. In October 16, 1976 the King called for the convening of a conference in Riyadh to try to discuss the Lebanese crisis on the Arab arena to find solutions that can stop the drain of Arab blood. In this conference an agreement signed on ending the war in Lebanon based on following grounds⁽¹⁾:

First: the cease-fire by all the Lebanese parties in conflict.

Second: to make the Syrian forces nominally under the Committee of four countries including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Syria.

Third: The Arab States undertake to respect Lebanon's sovereignty, integrity and unity.

Fourth: PLO respect to Lebanon's sovereignty and integrity, and non-interference in its internal affairs, with its commitment to the goals of the Palestinian cause only.

The Saudi effort to resolve the Lebanese crisis has led to improved relations between Syria and Egypt during the meetings that took place between Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, sponsored by King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz and Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdul Aziz. This is considered as an evidence of the keen of King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz and Crown Prince of the Arab solidarity and unity, which is one of the most important strengths of the Arab world as viewed by Al-Saud⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Nofal, Sayed (1978). **The Arab States League and the Lebanese crisis**, (1st ed.), Cairo :Arab Organization for Cultural Education, pp 711 -712

⁽²⁾ Abdul Samad, Habib (2006). **The role of Saudi Arabia at the Arab summit, non published thesis**, University of Jordan, p. 92

Since the beginning of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 and until the agreement was reached in 1989 in Taif; Kingdom of Saudi Arabia played a key role in attempting to settle the internal Lebanese conflict⁽¹⁾, the study of Saudi role in the Lebanese crisis draws its importance from the fact that this role and was focused and constant. Hence, Saudi efforts to end the fighting in Lebanon and its attempts to achieve national reconciliation and the settlement of the Lebanese conflict were not a temporary or interim, but accompanied the Lebanese war since its inception in 1975 and continued throughout the war until Saudi role success in accomplishing Al - Taif agreement, and continued to date.

The explosion of the crisis in April 1975 has a significant impact on the Middle East and influence the policies adopted by the leaders of Arab States, which struggled to put an end to this crisis and the elimination of the volatile conditions that led to the bombing. The Saudi role shows clearly in Lebanon since the crisis detonated, and many attempts have been made in order to reach a peaceful solution. The Saudi role in Lebanon differs from the other Arab roles in order to address the Lebanese situation, in term of⁽²⁾:

1. It is accompanied by the Lebanese crisis since its inception in 1975, but did not stop until 1989, after the settlement of all internal conflicts in Lebanon.
2. It included the political, diplomatic, economic and even military field.
3. Its role did not deviate from the framework of compromise and reform, both among the conflicting Lebanese parties, or between the parties and the

⁽¹⁾ Dr. Mansour bin Abdullah (2001). **Saudi role in the settlement of the Arab conflict: the case of Lebanon**, working paper submitted to the symposium of foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the era of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz, held in Riyadh, 21-22 Sha'baan, .Riyadh: Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Dabas Press, p. 261

⁽²⁾ Sammak, Mohammed, p 194

Palestinian resistance, or those between Syria and the Lebanese parties, or even between the Syrian and Lebanese governments.

4. It was a fundamental influence power on the United States to exert pressure on Israel, especially after Israel imposed it self directly to involve in the events of Lebanese internal affairs.
5. It was the cornerstone of the Arabic policy of Saudi Arabia since 1975, has grabbed its thread by King Faisal and King Khalid, and continued after King Fahd and King Abdullah is this constructive role.
6. It is the only external role, and the only Arab role, which was in response to the various Lebanese parties and to which hopes to comment on it, and was also the only role which requested by all of these parties, despite their sever differences⁽¹⁾.
7. The continuity that characterized the Saudi role in attempts to settle the Lebanese conflict and the achievement of national reconciliation, for the most part due to the attention of the Saudi leadership of the Lebanese crisis, and that special attention was emerged based on close ancient brotherly relations between the two countries.

And although the Kingdom has since the beginning of the war in Lebanon in April 1975 distinct efforts to end the fighting and tried to consistently achieve national reconciliation and the settlement of the Lebanese conflict, however, the familiar with the history of these efforts will stop at three main stations: the Summit in Riyadh in 1976, Conferences and the national dialogue in Geneva in 1983 and the Conference of Lausanne in 1984 and the Taif conference in 1989.

⁽¹⁾ Salame, Ghassan (1980). **Saudi foreign policy since 1945: a study in international relations**, (1st ed.), Beirut: Arab Development Institute, p. 641

• **First: The Summit of Riyadh in 1976:**

In 16/10/1976 an Arab Summit held in Riyadh, according to Saudi- Kuwaiti initiative in which a time participate in it: King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz, Emir Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Mr. Yasser Arafat. The Summit issued following decisions⁽¹⁾:

1. The cease-fire and end the fighting in Lebanon by all parties completely.
2. Strengthening the current Arab security forces to become a deterrent force operating inside Lebanon, under the command of President of Lebanese Republic personally, and to be within the thirty-thousand troops.
3. The return back of normal life in Lebanon to the situation that existed prior to the beginning of events as a first step according to the schedule agreed upon.
4. Implementation of the Cairo Agreement and the appendixes and a commitment to the content of the letter and spirit, and with the guarantee of the combined Arab countries
5. The Palestine Liberation Organization emphasis to respect Lebanon's sovereignty, integrity and non-interference in its internal affairs, based on their full commitment to the goals of the Palestinian national cause.
6. The commitment of all of the combined Arab countries to respect Lebanon's sovereignty, integrity and unity of its people and territory.
7. The emphasis of all of the combined Arab countries on their commitment to the decisions of the summit in Algiers and Al Rabat, and the support of the Palestinian resistance represented by the PLO, and the support and respect the

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Hassan Yousef (1992). The role of Saudi Arabia in the case of Lebanon, **Diplomatic Research**, No. 8, Riyadh: Institute of Diplomatic Studies, p. 284

right of the Palestinian people in the struggle by all means to recover their national rights.

In the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the tension escalated and condemnation against Israeli actions on Arab world and international levels, and King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz considered this invasion a phase of the genocide carried out by Israel to occupation a part of the Arab land. And he called on Islamic countries to unite their ranks and mobilize their energies to confront Israel⁽¹⁾.

Second: The Lebanese national dialogue conference in Geneva in 1983 and Lausanne in 1984:

After the death of King Khaled bin Abdul Aziz in June 13, 1982, Prince Fahd became the king of the Kingdom. The newly arrived monarch kept the continued efforts in the process of addressing the situation on the Lebanese arena to avoid serious consequences as a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In the light of the developments and the subsequent events and on Lebanese arena, Saudi Arabia in June 16, 1982 has warned through the Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Saud Al-Faisal, that the lack of American intervention to stop the Israeli aggression on Lebanon will force the Arab countries to take the necessary actions to compel Israel to withdraw, and this will affect relations of Saudi Arabia with United States of America⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Hassan Yousef, p 284

⁽²⁾ Maatuq, Maha (1983). **Events of the Israeli – Palestinian war in Lebanon**, (1st ed.), Beirut: The Institute for Maatuq Press, p. 60

In the twenty-fifth of September in 1983 a cease-fire was announcement based on the efforts of Saudi Arabia through its envoy, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, after a meeting between the President of the Lebanese Republic and the Prime Minister, the two sides hold talks about the mediation of Saudi Arabia, the Mediation Committee chaired by Prince Bandar was able to reach a ceasefire agreement in all Lebanese territory under the supervision of neutral observers to facilitate the return of migrants, and the formation of a committee composed of: the Lebanese army and the Lebanese Front, the National Salvation Front and the Amal Movement to arrange a cease-fire and stabilizing it. And the President of the Republic to calls for an urgent and comprehensive national dialogue meeting and to start immediately. And the President welcomed the presence of delegates from each of Saudi Arabia and Syria⁽¹⁾.

It was agreed that the cease-fire will be effective at sixth on the morning of Monday, September 26, 1983, and since that time Saudi Arabia did not stop their efforts to assist Lebanon to find a solution to the crisis, despite efforts faltered several times. The efforts of the Saudi diplomacy renewed due to the tension in the Lebanese situation and the renewed fighting at the end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984 because of continued disagreement over the truce agreement for a cease-fire with Israel in the May 17, 1984. In February 16, 1984 announced a project that was described as a Saudi project, and was the most important of which it includes : a cease-fire, formulate a national coalition government, the abolition of the Agreement of 17-May, and resume the national dialogue and determine the constitutional reforms required to get out of the crisis⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p. 63

⁽²⁾ The document of the Lebanon war (1975-1982), the siege of Beirut - Al Jabal war (1982). Beirut: the modern Library of printing and publishing, pp 295-261-349

In February 23, 1984 Lebanese President decided to abolish the agreement of 17- May at that time, and in March 5, at the same year, the Lebanese Parliament held a meeting to approve the cancellation of the Agreement of 17-May, these developments paved the way for conducting the second national dialogue conference in Lausanne during the period from March 12 – 20, 1984, in which Saudi Arabia participate as an observer, and in opening of this conference the Lebanese President praised "the generous efforts of His Majesty King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz and the role of Saudi Arabia which could be described as an active and constructive approach toward Lebanon and its suffering, and events"⁽¹⁾. The conference ended with emphasizes on the unity of Lebanon and its stability in the light of international and regional variables, and to find the reasons that lead to restore security and stability to Lebanon.

III.II. the Taif conference in September 30, 1989 and the end of the Lebanese crisis:

Unlike the national dialogue conferences; the Taif agreement succeeded by reaching to an agreement with regard to a number of reforms in the Lebanese political system and to confirm the identity of Arab Lebanon. After the expiration of President Amin Gemayel term in late 1988, there was a vacuum in the Lebanese presidency (due to lack of consensus on a candidate) which led to have two governments in Lebanon: one headed by General Michel Aoun and the second, headed by Dr. Salim Al Hoss, and this situation together with the disagreement over the presence, contributed to increase the deterioration level of security in Lebanon. The urgent Arab Summit Conference in Casablanca (23-26 May, 1989) handles the deteriorating situation in Lebanon by calling for respecting the cease-fire, moreover, a mechanism to reach a settlement to the

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Hassan Yousef, p 286

Lebanese crisis has developed through the formation of a tripartite committee comprising of King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz and King Hassan II and Tunisian President Shazli Ben Jaded, and the essential function of the committee is to communicate and taking the proper procedures of providing the suitable environment to invite members of the Lebanese parliament to discuss the political reforms document, and the holding of elections for the Presidency of the Republic and form a government of national reconciliation, and all these functions to be done within a maximum period of six months. Commenting on the work of this Committee, the former Lebanese President Elias Hrawi, said that the Kingdom practically undertake "most of the work of the Tripartite committee because it was closest to Lebanon from various aspects, while Morocco and Algeria were closest in their interaction with the issues of the Arab Maghreb or Africa⁽¹⁾.

On September, 16 1989 the Tripartite Arab Committee issued "Jaddah declaration", which was one of the resolutions is to call upon the members of the Lebanese Parliament to meet in September 30, 1989 in order to prepare a document of national reconciliation and discuss it, and after the consultations with Arab League envoy Lakhdar Brahimi to Lebanon, it was decided that the meeting place to be in al-Taif in Saudi Arabia, and the choice of the city of Taif to be the venue of the meeting preceded by the selection of King Fahd as a member of the Tripartite Committee which clearly reflect the confidence that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia enjoyed as an intermediary in the Arab conflict⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Younis, Emad (1985). **A series of basic documents of the Lebanese crisis**, 1973 ·Part 5, Beirut, p. 348

⁽²⁾ The document of the final declaration of the extraordinary Arab summit conference in Casablanca in 1989, (December 1989), **Diplomat Journal**, No. 12, Riyadh: Institute of Diplomatic Studies, p. 4-5

During the period from September 30 to October 22, 1989 an exceptional meeting of Lebanese parliament Council was held in the city of Taif, and was the adoption of the Lebanese national reconciliation document, known as the "Taif Agreement", which stressed the Arab identity of Lebanon and its came with a number of reforms in the Lebanese political system⁽¹⁾. Taif Agreement represents "a giant and qualitative leap in the way of resolving the Lebanese problem and an inescapable formula of the National Salvation". This giant leap in the history of the Lebanese conflict was the result of outstanding efforts by the Saudi Arabia, which have been appreciated at the international level, thus, seen from the above the role played by Saudi Arabia and continues to play it to restore calm and serenity to the land of Lebanon after a war lasting more than fifteen years. It is clear from the political, security and economic literature review that Saudi Arabia role was not interim role, but it was associated with the crisis since its inflammation. And the Saudi government has made efforts to clarify the vision and the conception to all the conflicting parties of the consequences of continuing conflict and the need to reach a common agreement of all parties to the cease-fire and begin a dialogue to overcome difficulties and obstacles which had been the cause of the continued fighting throughout this period⁽²⁾.

Moreover, Saudi Arabia did not cut off calls to Lebanese opponents of the need for meeting face to face to have mutual understanding and to find satisfactory solutions for all to be comprehensive and complete solution, not an interim or temporary, and the language of weapons will not lead to the peace, as there is foreign parties concern with devastating without control or deterrent, and this indeed what Israel -as a first beneficiary- has sought to prolong the fighting and the weakening of all the conflicting parties and the flooding of the Arabs and Syria in the Lebanese problems in order to

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Hassan Yousef, p 297-317

⁽²⁾ Younis, Emad, p 350

forget the peace issue and the restoration of the denied right to Palestinian people by return their lands.

The Saudi policy has not forgotten ever, and sought between the Lebanese parties, individually or collectively to illustrate the bleak picture for the future of Lebanon if it does not culminate in a collective agreement endeavors to find the solution and the acceptable formula to all parties in order to save Lebanon from degradation. The Taif Agreement considered the fruit of the efforts of the Tripartite Committee which culminated in its efforts through its envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi, who was a link between all the parties to narrow the gap in views between Christians parliament members in the eastern part of Beirut and Muslims parliament members in its western part, before the situation become complicated in the light of the intransigence of General Michel Aoun, who declared himself as a governor of Lebanon and he does not admit any legitimacy to the land of Lebanon except himself.

It is noted that the role of Saudi Arabia did not stop at this point but was still continues through the Saudi leadership has pledged to contribute to the reconstruction through the Fund for the reconstruction of Lebanon and the building of what was destroyed by the long war in Lebanon, and this shows the continuity of the Saudi role in Lebanon. Foreign policy has been at that stage characterized by the commitments based on the fundamentals of Islam and Arabic values and positive contribution to the stability and prosperity of human society and the commitment of the international law and treaties, and the non-interference in the internal affairs of the States. King Fahd pays a great attention to the Arabic and Islamic issues, in his speech he addressed to the pilgrims in July 14, 1989 and said: "We have no ambitions or aspirations toward any, and we are

performing upon what's imposed on us by the Islamic faith, and is protected by a common destiny, and what's entailed as an Arab brotherhood".⁽¹⁾

At the annual meeting of the Saudi Consultative Council, King Fahd clarified that the first priorities of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia foreign policy is the Arab issues, and in his speech where he said at the beginning of the meeting: "Our country in its external relations distinguished through its keen to maintain the ties of brotherhood and love existing between us and our brothers in the Arab and Islamic worlds, and our country gives all the attention to the Arab and Islamic issues, and defend it and consult with our brothers in all that matters these issues"⁽²⁾.

These beliefs formulate the bases of King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz positions in support and adopt the Lebanese crisis in order to resolve it and to maintain security and stability of Lebanon, and after the death of King Khaled bin Abdul Aziz, King Fahd continued efforts in the process of handling the situation in Lebanon after the Israeli aggression in Lebanon in 1982³, and there was another recognize effort to King Fahd when the Palestinian forces depart from Lebanon safely, particularly since Israel's fundamental goal was to eliminate the Palestinian resistance, and a number of Palestinian officials described the role of King Fahd by saying: "without the efforts of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques; the situation is quite different and the Palestinian forces were not able to exit safely from Lebanon"⁴. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also has a key role in ending the siege of Beirut, and the Lebanese Prime Minister says that: "The Kingdom of

⁽¹⁾ Baqradawani, Karim (1990). **The curse of the homeland: from the war of Lebanon to the Gulf War**, (1st ed.), Beirut: The Middle of the publication, p. 210

⁽²⁾ the site of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd on the World Wide Web : www.alnadawi.com-31790.html

³ Maatuq, Maha, pp. 112-116

⁴ Habib bin Muhammad, p. 93

Saudi Arabia played a major role in ending the siege of Beirut and to continue to provide possible solutions to resolve the crisis", as well as the glorification by many of the Lebanese officials to the role of King Fahd in his handling of the crisis in Lebanon⁽¹⁾.

The king was at the Arab Summit in Fez, which was held in September 1982 to discuss the situation on the Lebanese and Palestinian arenas, and King Fahd contributed in the formulation of the common project for the peaceful settlement of the Arab Middle East crisis, and the declaration of Fez conference was re-statement the texts of King Fahd initiative when he was a prince in 1981, and King Fahd position was practically identical with the position of the Soviet Union to the crisis.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia took the lead of the political initiatives to resolve the crisis in Lebanon, in September 25, 1983 was the announcement of a cease-fire based on the efforts of the Saudi envoy Prince Bandar bin Sultan between the President and the Prime Minister, Prince Bandar was able to play the mediator role and was able to reach a cease-fire under the supervision of neutral observers, and the formation of a committee of the Lebanese army and the Lebanese Front and the National Salvation Front to put the arrangement of the cease-fire, and the Lebanese President welcomed the presence of delegates from Saudi Arabia to participate in the Lebanese national dialogue, which resulted in the cease-fire, and King Fahd announced that he is very happy about that. The Arab media express its appreciation of the role of King Fahd in the solution of the crisis, and King Fahd sent a message to U.S. President (Ronald Reagan), calling for America to exercise pressure on Israel to withdraw from Lebanon².

⁽¹⁾ Vasiliev, p. 512

⁽²⁾ Maatuq, Maha, pp. 427-428

Saudi Arabia continued its diplomatic efforts, especially after the renewed fighting at the end of 1983, and in February 16, 1984 Saudi propose an initiative to read as follows⁽¹⁾:

1. Cease-fire.
2. The formulation of a national coalition government.
3. Cancellation of the Agreement of 17 May.
4. The resumption of national dialogue and determine the constitutional reforms.

In addition to these significant achievements the Saudi's efforts included the following⁽²⁾:

1. Dealing with the Lebanese crisis by providing financial support to rebuild Lebanon, including the implementation of the revival of Beirut.
2. Also included the role of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques in addressing the crisis in Lebanon, in addition to the achievements which will be reviewed in this research the continues mediation efforts, in addition to sending many appeals to the Lebanese which asked them to stop the fighting and the bloodshed. in the appeal of the King Fahd in Jun 4, 1986 to the Lebanese people to stop the progressing civil, he said: "to the Lebanese brothers .. this is a sincere faith words of a brother and a friend, I address it to you not only as an official of the fraternal country of Lebanon, but the motives of love and my concern for the future of the generation, I address it to everyone of you to each family and to all a you, in order to address it through the minds which I am sure of its wisdom, and the conscience which I know its extent and its sense of

⁽¹⁾ Younis, Emad, p 348

⁽²⁾ King Fahd from the Iran-Iraq war to the Taif agreement,, Asharq Al Awsat newspaper, number 9744. on the World Wide Web: www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=article=315507aissue=9744

presence in your chests a long time, since Saudi Arabia has its role and their will known positions to the good of Lebanon since 1952 until this date, and we are with you on the fulfillment and the Covenant".⁽¹⁾

Hence, the serious role of Saudi Arabia has resulted in a comprehensive reconciliation of the Lebanese, and Saudi Arabia has succeeded in dealing with the crisis in Lebanon because of the obtained confidence by all parties, which contributed to the access and the achievement of the Taif Agreement, which paved the way for the rebuilding of Lebanon and put an end to the internal war, and this has made the Kingdom to have a sense of responsibility towards the events which took place in Lebanon. Because of its credibility in dealing with the crisis in Lebanon has succeeded in intervention since the beginning of the crisis in 1975 and continue its role, however, the culmination of its efforts was the Taif Agreement which occurred in 1989, which ended decades of controversy, and contributed to the introduction of constitutional reforms that contributed to the stability and sovereignty of Lebanon, and to promote the political agreement; the Kingdom worked on providing financial support to the consolidation of political stability in the State of Lebanon.

III.II.II. The role of Saudi diplomacy in the management of the Lebanese crisis 1990-2008

A) Saudi Arabia deal with the political events in Lebanon:

At the end of the eighties and the nineties a number of political, economic and social problems has emerged in Lebanon, these problem have a direct impact on the political

⁽¹⁾ Article in an internet

Dr. Osman Yassin bin Al Rawaf, The role of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques in addressing the crisis in Lebanon. A research through the Web search: [www.ksu.edu.sa / kfs-website / source / go.htm](http://www.ksu.edu.sa/kfs-website/source/go.htm)

stability of Lebanon, and specifically there were two main problems have had more impact on the political stability of the Lebanese state, the first problem was internal represented by the refusal of the some Lebanese forces to the Taif Agreement and particularly Michel Aoun trend, and the Taif Agreement which was before the invasion of Kuwait, was aimed to find an Arab formula to end the Syrian presence in Lebanon, and to find a formula to save the face of Syria, but the Iraqi invasion, however, change the balances and the Syrian presence in Lebanon continued⁽¹⁾. The regional and international conditions played a role after the Iraqi invasion, as well as differences in the Lebanese to remain the Syrian as powerful force to the Lebanese arena, but the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri contributed in exploding the situation in Lebanon, and the Franco-American understanding toward Lebanon played a key role in the creation of an international consensus to bring out the Syrian army from Lebanon⁽²⁾.

In 1990, the Lebanese parliament held a meeting to amend the National Charter on the basis of the Taif agreement, Michel Aoun, however, opposed these developments; consequently, the Syrian forces attacked his headquarters in October 1991. And the armed militias were disbanding, and in September the first formal security agreement between Syria and Lebanon was signed. The same year witness the organization of the first parliamentary elections in Lebanon for twenty years. The Lebanese elected (128) members in Parliament, and Rafiq al-Hariri was appointed as prime minister, and in October 1995 the Lebanese parliament amended article (99) of the Constitution, and

⁽¹⁾ Barqee, Nasser Ali Mohamed Ahmed (2008). **future problems and the teaching of history**, the Egyptian Anglo Library, Cairo

⁽²⁾ Hamadi, Abdul Rahman (2008), attempts will not succeed in disarming the Lebanese resistance, armed with ... Nasrallah: Lebanese resistance is led away to guarantee non-sectarian war of Lebanon. Halab
http://jamahir.alwehda.gov.sy/_archives.asp?FileName=96037044920080511205200

extended the mandate of President Elias Hrawi for three years. In the 1996 electoral law was amended to take into account the new electoral areas, which paved the way for the organization of the second election of the Lebanese parliament Council in the same year. The elections witnessed the participation of political organizations in Lebanon, this was the widest participation compared to the last election in 1992, resulting in the prevalence of political stability and relative democracy that prevailed in Lebanon, meanwhile, on the level of foreign policy, Lebanon has pursued an active diplomacy in regional and international arenas⁽¹⁾.

The crisis began to be aggravated with extension of the second term of President Emile Lahoud, the French-American understanding was of the significant impact on the opposition so that they express their opposition loudly and succeed in gathering some support groups. And then began the difficult stage; where the conflict and the differences between the positions is more pronounced than in the past, especially after the assassination attempt on Marwan Hamadeh⁽²⁾.

The political events after the assassination of Hariri become successively, or it can be said that the circumstances of Hariri's assassination has led to a series of political transformations that have affected the political stability in Lebanon, notably the establishment of the International Tribunal for the crime of murder which took the life of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri, and then the war in July 2006, and after that a series of political assassinations, and the weapons of Hizbollah, and the crisis escalated after the expiration of the term of President Emile Lahoud.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali (2006). **Solidere and the "reconstruction of Beirut's commercial center" an analytical study**, a Postgraduate Diploma in Sociology, non published thesis, Lebanese University, Beirut, p. 119

⁽²⁾ Atwan, Abdel Bari (2008), it is not a sectarian war, the number (2784) eighth year
<http://www.syriahr.com/13-5-2008-syrian%20observatory3.htm>
<http://hassan2007.nireblog.com/post/2008/05/25/ooo-ouooous-ouuou-ouuo-uusoo-oooo-ooooouso>

Under terms of the National reconciliation document - the Taif Agreement in 1989, it contains the redeployment of Syrian forces in Lebanon to the Bekaa region of Lebanon in preparation for full withdrawal from Lebanese territory, but it has not been put into the execution effect, but the change of international politics than it was until the early Nineties, has had an impact on the international movement, in particular France and America to persuade the Security Council to issue the decision of expedite the exit of Syrian troops from Lebanon, and because of the Syrian intransigence and lack of flexible diplomacy to deal with major powers which possess great impact on the international political decision, has the greater impact in the urgency with issuing the resolution (1559) in September 2, 2004 in which pointed to the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon and called for⁽¹⁾:

- A. In the second item of the resolution, therefore "calls upon all remaining foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon".
- B. As called for in item (6) of all the concerned parties to cooperate fully and urgently with the Security Council for full implementation of this resolution.
- C. In item (7), the Security Council asked the United Nations Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within thirty days a report on the implementation by the parties of this resolution⁽²⁾.

In April 26, 2005 the Syrian Foreign Affair Minister Faruq al-Shara has sent through the Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations a formal letter that the Syrian forces operating in Lebanon, has fully returned with its security and military equipment

⁽¹⁾ Hamadi, Abdul Rahman

⁽²⁾ Abul-Fadl, Waheeb (2004). **Lebanon in the stages of brief history**, (1st ed.), the library of Antoine, Beirut

to its location in Syria, in this day of April 26, 2005¹, after its completed successive withdrawal which started years ago, and this date considered the "official" date of the complete Syrian Army withdrawal from Lebanon pursuant to resolution (1559), as the consequences of the effects of the "revolt of Independence", which erupted after the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri in February 14, followed by an enormous international pressure on Syria in this direction. Syrian forces withdrew, but Syria still has an unannounced intensive and security intelligence activity in Lebanon², because it has become illegal and contrary to international law, but Syria still exercising a strong political intervention, moreover it's egregious and intensive intervention, evidenced by the repeated violent statements of the pillars of the Syrian regime against the President of the Lebanese government Fouad Siniora, and against the pillars of the new majority that emerged after the parliamentary elections that followed the withdrawal of Syrian forces. Syrian troops withdrew from Lebanon, but the relations of Lebanon - Syria is still hanging in the air, because the Syrian regime did not "absorb" after the withdrawal, nor it acknowledged the new reality in Lebanon or recognized it³). With the increasing international pressure on Syria was the opening of the Lebanese embassy in Syria in 2009, and this came as the consolidation of the normalization of Syrian-Lebanese relations.

The Lebanese government while the preparation for the parliamentary elections under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Omar Karami in January 27, 2005 admit the amendments of the electoral law, which contains dividing Lebanon into electoral districts based on administrative regions (the district), and it appeared that the settlement acceptable to the government and the opposition alike. But the vote on the

⁽¹⁾ Sayegh, Daoud (2006). **Lebanon and the world between the role and necessity**, Dar al-Nahar for publish, Beirut, p. 19.

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim (2006). Lebanon Internal situation after the war, emulation between the state and community, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, October, p. 10

⁽³⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim

draft of the law did not take place as scheduled on 28 February 2005, under the fact that the Parliament had decided to urgently discuss the repercussions of the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri⁽¹⁾.

Until April, 26, 2005, it has not been a law for the parliamentary elections in Lebanon yet; the new prime minister obligated to organize and conduct the elections on time before the end of May 2005, and formed a new government in the April 19, 2005 to undertake this mission⁽²⁾.

During this period a series of assassinations occurs to a number of politicians, whereas one of an activist in the "revolt of Independence" Samir Kassir a journalist in the Al-Nahar newspaper was assassinated by an explosive was planted under his car in Ashrafiya in Beirut in June 2, 2005, as well as the assassination of George Hawi, former Secretary-General of the Lebanese Communist Party in June 21, 2005 by a bomb planted under his car in Beirut⁽³⁾.

After Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah had reached an advanced stage of organization and military training⁽⁴⁾, a number of Lebanese leaders expected that Hezbollah to dissolve the military and its cadres, and to keep the political cadres such as some other political groups in Lebanon, and the response of the Islamic resistance on this, it can not to dissolve the military wing, but after achieving two goals⁽⁵⁾:

⁽¹⁾ Ibid,

⁽²⁾ Ibid

⁽³⁾ Ibid

⁽⁴⁾ Hamadi, Abdul Rahman

⁽⁵⁾ Arab, Ibrahim (2007). European - American and Arabic conflict on the crisis of the presidency of Lebanon : **International Journal of truth**, Beirut , the number (11), volume (6), p. 89.

1. The return of Shebaa Farms to Lebanon, which is still occupied by Israel
2. The liberation of all Lebanese prisoners from Israeli jails, and on top of them the leader of Lebanese prisoners (Samir Kantar).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognized the aggravation of the political events in Lebanon and the repercussions of these events on the security and stability to Lebanon, where King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz aware of the dimensions of the Lebanese crisis since he was crown prince, and it seems that the Lebanese people had appreciated the role of King Abdullah when he was crown prince so the Lebanese refer to him and ask for his intervention to solve the crisis, because they saw the king personal preparedness so they wrote to him for help⁽¹⁾.

The new for the Lebanese crisis in the era of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz was due to two reasons led to the deterioration of security and economic situation in Lebanon, and the reasons for these are⁽²⁾:

First: the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and its repercussions on the disunion of Lebanese.

Second: the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 2006, and the destruction of Lebanon as the result of it.

For all these reasons the King Abdullah have to deal with the causes of the Lebanese crisis, and therefore, King Abdullah set the position of Saudi Arabia from the Lebanese crisis during his chairmanship of the Saudi Council of Ministers in 2004, and the

⁽¹⁾ In a letter addressed by Lebanese Arab woman to the King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz (Prince at that time), which states: "I am confident of your highness, although I do not trust any leader or Arab head... I beg you to free Lebanon from the occupation".

www.saudiinfocus.com/ar/forum/archivc/index.php?t-3687.html

⁽²⁾ Arab, Ibrahim

Council issued a declaration setting out the Saudi position of the Lebanese crisis in the following points⁽¹⁾:

1. Support the unity of the national decision in Lebanon, and to ensure the legitimacy of the Lebanese state as stipulated in the Taif agreement and the meetings of the Lebanese national dialogue, and support the control of the State and national institutions on the entire Lebanese territory.
2. The Kingdom support of all its political and economic potential to the brotherly Lebanese people.
3. The reconstruction of Lebanon and to work on the application of all the Parties to the Security Council Resolution (1701), which led to end the Israeli war on Lebanon.
4. Hold Israel's moral, political and financial responsibility fully by the massacres and war crimes against the Lebanese people and its institutions and structure, and all its components and existence.
5. To emphasize the need for Israel's compliance with international resolutions and the complete withdrawal from all Lebanese territory without exception, in order to facilitate the operations of the United Nations peace-keeping forces to carry out its functions, so as to provide the necessary climate to enable Lebanon to be able to reunite the national unity and to direct towards the reconstruction of what has been destroyed by Israeli war and the restoration of its health and vitality.
6. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques confirmation on the need on all the Lebanese to work on the Lebanese unity and to strengthen security and stability, and the legitimacy prevail, and the wisdom and dialogue to overcome the current

⁽¹⁾ the website of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs
www.mofa.gov.sa/detail.asp?insectionid=4568&innewsitemid=58564

circumstances. The continuation of which would prejudice the stability of Lebanon and its well-being, national unity and political independence of its decision, stressing the Kingdom's full support for the good of all Lebanon.

B) Saudi Arabia diplomacy in dealing with Hariri's assassination and the July War 2006:

Lebanon returned to the stage of internal conflict after the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, as the objective of this assassination to undermine stability in Lebanon and it seems that the Lebanese opposition began planning to overthrow the government of Fouad Siniora, through the continued demonstrations, and the features of the internal Lebanese crisis began to show again. The religious and national responsibility prompts King Abdullah, who inherited the responsibility for the security and stability of Lebanon to move quickly to stop the Arab Lebanese blood and to maintain Lebanon's unity, stability and security. Hence the movements of the King Abdullah at the Arab, Islamic and international level where the Lebanese concern held always in his movements and his meetings with world leaders. In his speech, which was opened by the meetings of the twenty-seventh session of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf in December 29, 2006, he said: "In beloved Lebanon, we see the dark cloud that threatens the unity of the homeland and threaten in slithering into ill-fated nightmare and lead again to the conflict between the sons of the one-state"⁽¹⁾, and this confirms that the King Abdullah convey the concern of the Lebanese to the Gulf States to give effect to its role in resolving the crisis.

⁽¹⁾ the website of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs
www.mofa.gov.sa

At the Arab level, King Abdullah warned of the danger of sedition in Lebanon and stressed the impact of this sedition to the security and stability of Lebanon, in his speech in front the participants in the nineteenth Arab Summit Conference in Riyadh said: "and in Lebanon, which was set as an example to be ideal of the coexistence and prosperity of the nation is paralyzed in its movement, and its streets turning into hotels"⁽¹⁾.

The King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz on Monday, December 4, 2007 warned about harming the stability of Lebanon in light of the tension experienced by some people because of their claims to drop the Siniora government, and he urged the Lebanese to refer to the legitimacy and primacy of reason and dialogue to overcome the crisis, stressing his support for the interests of Lebanon⁽²⁾. At the international level King Abdullah raised the Lebanese crisis in strict and strong manner, during the European tour he met French officials in particular, this shows the far-sightedness of King Abdullah in his choice of France due to it allies with Lebanon, and is expected to be France's positive role in resolving the Lebanese crisis, and a summit meeting held between King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz and French President to discuss the Lebanese issue, France conference has concluded the following resolutions⁽³⁾:

1. Condemn the crimes of political assassinations in Lebanon.
2. Help Lebanon control its border with Syria.
3. Activating the role of dialogue and support the French initiative and communication carried out by Saudi Arabia, with Iran.

⁽¹⁾ Fahd bin Abd al-Rahman, Al Malaki: the analysis of the contents of the royal speech, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, at a summit in Riyadh (19) Al-Jazirah newspaper, the number of (12607) 5/ 4 / 2007 , on the web

⁽²⁾ Islam Online www.islamonline.net/arabic/news/2006-12/05/05.shtml

⁽³⁾ Fadi Al-Qaws, King Abdullah and Sarkozy's summit, Okavi newspaper on the Web

4. Mandated a delegation headed by Arab League Secretary General Amr Moussa to visit Lebanon to deal with the Lebanese crisis and finding solutions to it.

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, exert a major effort to create a positive environment to resolve the Lebanese crisis, and alert the King Abdullah to the United States trying to accuse Iran of supporting the Lebanese opposition. From here, the Islamic dimension plays a role in the convergence of King Abdullah bin Abdul Zizith with Iran in an effort to resolving the Lebanese crisis, and in the summit held between King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz and the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadi Nejad, the two sides agreed on the need to respect the legitimacy of the Lebanese government and the establishment of an international tribunal to investigate the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri, in addition to an Iranian response to Riyadh initiatives to resolve the Lebanese crisis⁽¹⁾, and King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz was capable due to his proficiency and diplomacy to direct the Iranian policy to serve the Lebanese crisis, which contributed in finding a way out of the crisis in Lebanon.

C) The King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz position toward the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in the summer of 2006:

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz considered the Israeli aggression on Lebanon as one of the greatest dangers in the world, and called the nations of the world to follow a balanced policy towards the aggression, in his speech during the gala dinner which hold by the Turkish President in Ankara, said in August 8, 2006: "The world in which we live, which including risks and opportunities; requires its members of the international

¹ Dawood Al- Shiryani (31/1/2007) Saudi Arabia from preferring to change, on the Web

community to follow the balanced, wise policies and to be far from recklessness, and perhaps the greatest evidence for the inherent risks of our world is the Israeli attack against the brotherly Lebanese people these days"⁽¹⁾. This is a clear indicator on the size of Saudi Arabia recognition to the elimination of the Israeli aggression on Lebanon and its repercussions on Lebanon and the region.

The efforts of King Abdullah towards the Israeli aggression based on the link between the Lebanese and the Palestinian issue, considering that the key to solve the crises is the same, and focusing on the importance of the Arab Peace Initiative adopted by the Beirut Summit (2002) as the basis for peace in the Middle East. The Israeli aggression on Lebanon has a significant impact on the position of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, who appeared emphasizing and condemning this aggression, and determined to continue to support the Lebanese resistance against the aggression. In Saudi Arabia speech in the summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Malaysia November 3, 2006: Saudi Arabia indicated its position of aggression, said Minister of Foreign Affairs: "as the Kingdom stood firmly with the resistance in Lebanon until Israel ended the occupation of southern Lebanon, today the Kingdom return to confirm that they stand against the brutal Israeli aggression on Lebanese territory"⁽²⁾.

The King Abdullah appealed to the world and the United Nations and the United States in particular to address the Israeli aggression on Lebanon and the termination of the war, King Abdullah warned that the fall of the peace option because of Israeli arrogance and its persistence in aggression would lead to the survival of the war option, which may extend. This Saudi message received Arab and Islamic support, in the text of the

⁽¹⁾ The website of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs : www.mofa.gov.sa

⁽²⁾ The website of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs : www.mofa.gov.sa

Royal declaration issued by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah outlined his position on the crisis in Lebanon and linked it to position on the Palestinian issue, and the text of the statement as follows: "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has in turn posed by religious and national duty on the situation in the region and the implications of events in Lebanon and the occupied Palestinian territories, and warned exhort, and advise without paying attention to the outbidding and the bidders, not only satisfy by this, but has since the first moment to stop the aggression and moved on more than one level and more than a means to urge the international community to compel Israel to cease fire, and has sent Foreign Minister and the Secretary-General of the National Security Council to meet with President Bush in Washington, and to inform our viewpoint and perspective on the serious consequences of the continued aggression which no one can predict the consequences if things get out of control, as I assigned personal delegates to visit the capitals of the permanent members of the Security Council to communicate the same message. Arabs have declared the peace as strategic choice to the Arab nation and have a clear and fair project involving the retune of the occupied Arab territories for peace, and refused to respond to the provocation and had ignored the extreme calls to fight the peace, but it should say: that patience can not last forever, and that if the Israeli brutal military continue in the killing and destruction, no one can predict what might happen, and when the prohibited occurs the regret is useless, therefore the Kingdom addressed its appealing and warning to the entire international community represented by the United Nations and the United States in particular, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia calls upon everyone to act according to the dictates of their conscience and the moral, humanitarian and international laws, and warns everybody that if the peace option fails because of Israeli arrogance, there will be no other option but war, and then God only – Almighty- did know the what the region will

witness and the spared of conflicts and its worst to every one, even those driven by military strength now to play with fire"⁽¹⁾. Thus we believe that King Abdullah took undertake the issue of Lebanon to the whole world, as if its his own issue, to show the world the serious consequences that may arise due to Israeli violations of international legitimacy.

D) The political and humanitarian Saudi support to Lebanon after the war in June 2006:

The repercussions of the Israeli war on Lebanon formulate an influential action of the Arab movement to confront the war, prompting the Arab countries to act to confront this war, and its repercussions of the greatest impact on the stability of Lebanon politically, economically and socially. Political events continued in Lebanon until they held a summit in Riyadh, which Lebanese people have high hopes for the nineteenth Riyadh summit held in year (2007), and all Arab leaders has confirmed that to respect the unity and sovereignty of Lebanon, and reaffirmed support for Lebanon in its political right to the exercise of its political choices, the final draft of the Arab summit confirmed on the following resolutions related to the Lebanese crisis, namely⁽²⁾:

1. To uncover the truth in the assassination of terrorism which claimed the life of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and the appearance of the accused before the International Tribunal in accordance with the rules to be adopted in the framework based on the Lebanese consistence on the court system which will be established on the basis of Security Council resolutions (1644 and 1664) and at the request of the Government Lebanon.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Jazirah newspaper, No. 12599, 28/3/2007, p. 6

⁽²⁾ Al- Rai newspaper- Jordan, number 13325 on Tuesday 26 March 2007, p. 37, the final details of the project for the Arab summit,

2. Arab support for Lebanon's claim to the sovereign right to exercise its political choices within constitutional institutions and in conformity with regulations.
3. Arab support for Lebanon's demand the release of Lebanese prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons as hostages, and the removal of hundreds of thousands of mines left behind by the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in the summer of 2006.
4. To call on all Lebanese groups to the national dialogue on the basis of the commons among the Lebanese, as well as what has been achieved on the level of national consensus to miss an opportunity to all those who want to trifle and meddle with the security of Lebanon and its stability and national weft.

First: the reconstruction of Lebanon and the role of Saudi Arabia:

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz was the first to help the Lebanese people to overcome the tragic situation caused by Israeli aggression on Lebanon, and perhaps the national feeling associated with the humanity of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz emerging from Islamic tradition made him move at all levels to address the present tragic humanitarian situation. On the humanistic level, King Abdullah found that the situation in Lebanon catastrophic and worrying, especially the situation of people detained in their homes and schools in southern Lebanon and the hospitals, which are concentrated by the Israeli bombardment since the start of military operations, and the loss of food, medicines and cut off the supply.

Therefore, the humanitarian tragedy in Lebanon requires generous support from every Arab and every Muslim and every noble human being. From this standpoint, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques was concerned of making the Kingdom the first contributor in the efforts of restore the life to its normal in Lebanon, he drew the

allocation of a grant of half a billion dollars to the Lebanese people to be the kernel of an international Arab fund for the reconstruction of Lebanon. In addition to deposit a deposit of the amount of one billion dollars in the Lebanese Central Bank in support of the potential and support of the Lebanese economy. Also organizing public contribution campaigns in all regions of the Kingdom to collect donations for the Lebanese people, and the establishment of a large moving field hospital in Beirut with the full equipment to provide medical aid to those in need with treatment and to those affected, and help to mitigate the pain of the wounded and injured, as well as, the allocation of fifty million dollars of the High Commission for Relief to help in its urgent relief to the Lebanese people.

On the economic level, it was the Kingdom's decision to deposit the sum of one billion dollars in the Lebanese central bank a positive effect on the monetary stability in Lebanon since the lifting of liquidity and the assets of the Central Bank in foreign currency, and served the goal of the Bank of Lebanon to maintain the stability of the exchange rate and the purchasing power of the Lebanese, and had a positive effect on the balance of payments ⁽¹⁾.

The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, appealed to the Arab and Islamic world to contribute to the relief of the Lebanese people and to contribute to the reconstruction of Lebanon in the wake of the devastation caused by Israeli aggression, and in the nineteenth Arab summit which was held in Riyadh, King Abdullah raised the Lebanese issue, particularly the humanitarian aspect, accordingly a

⁽¹⁾ Al Jazeera Talk Forums, the Saudi provides billion-dollar aid to Lebanon, citing the electronic link <http://www.aljazeerataalk.net>

resolution for the support of Lebanon was drafted, and the most important of which was⁽¹⁾:

1. Thanking the Member States ought to help Lebanon in the areas of distress relief and reconstruction, and for the support announced at the conference sponsored by the Arab and international support for Lebanon (Paris 3), held in January 25, 2007.
2. Tribute to the Conference of the Arab and international support for Lebanon (Paris 3), who kindly invited by the French Government, and the important results issued by, and the paper of the reform program of economic and social advancement by the Lebanese Government to modernize the Lebanese economy, and the promotion of sustainable growth and improve living conditions for the entire Lebanese people.
3. The adoption and the support for Lebanon plans in the reconstruction and development of its economy which developed by the Economic and Social Council, which met in Beirut in a exceptional session on October 16-17, 2006, and urged Member States to expeditiously implement the recommendations made by council, and thanking the Member States and Arab funds provided aid and financial assistance previously to the Lebanese government, and request the rest of the Member States to fulfill their obligations in the Arab Summit Conferences and the support of Lebanon and the steadfastness of its people and its reconstruction.

⁽¹⁾ The website of the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs : www.mofa.gov.sa

Second: to emphasize the security and stability of Lebanon⁽¹⁾:

- A. The sovereign right to exercise its political choices within constitutional institutions and in conformity with regulations, taking into accounts the right to establish relations with sisterly and friendly countries on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, and national interests, good neighborliness, equality and parity.
- B. In demanding the release of Lebanese prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons as hostages in violation of the provisions of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Convention in 1949.

The Lebanese values the significant role of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, to maintain security and stability of Lebanon, in a meeting with the Okaz newspaper, said Saad Hariri, the leader of the majority in the Lebanese parliament: "The movement of Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, to contain the internal crisis in Lebanon has contributed positively and in significant way for calming and not to expand its scope, and this comes within the framework of the Kingdom's enduring keenness on the unity, the safety, security and stability of Lebanon"⁽²⁾.

The Saudi foreign policy is based on the fundamentals and facts of geographic, religious, national, economic and security, and within the framework of the most important key of good-neighborliness and strengthening relations with Arab countries and the adoption of issues including security and stability in the Arab countries, and through these established principles the Kingdom dealt since the reign of King Khalid

⁽¹⁾ Al- Rai newspaper- Jordan, number 13325 on Tuesday 26 March 2007, p. 50. The most prominent texts of the draft resolutions of the Arab summit

⁽²⁾ Okaz newspaper on the web, on June 9, 2007, No. 2579. www.okaz.com

and until the reign of Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah with the Lebanese crisis motivated by religion and Arab nationalism and the spirit of humanity that enjoys.

This dedicated through great efforts to resolve the internal crisis in Lebanon, and stop the Israeli aggression and its effects on Lebanon, and King Abdullah has called on the brothers in Lebanon to unite their word and their positions in order for Lebanon to enjoy security, stability and development⁽¹⁾. With respect to the position of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in the summer of 2006, it was a political position and another human for King Abdullah; for the political position King Abdullah condemned the attack firmly, and considered it as an Israeli arrogance and rebellion of the legitimate, aimed to occupied another part of Arab lands, and King Abdullah linked of aggression on Lebanon and the Palestinian case⁽²⁾.

In international forums, King Abdullah appealed to the whole world and the United Nations for the need to exert pressure on Israel to stop its aggression, and warned of the dangers of was only God know its implications. King Abdullah said that the Arab peace initiative in 2002 is the basis for a justice peace which is the basis for resolving the crisis between Israel and Lebanon. And in the humanitarian side, King Abdullah gave financial assistance to the Lebanese people and the Lebanese government to maintain the necessities of life for the Lebanese people and to maintain the stability of the Lebanese state's economy and contribute to the reconstruction of Lebanon⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Jalal Ahmed Hammad, commitment to international legitimacy, p. 220

⁽²⁾ The document of the Lebanon war (1975-1982) the siege of Beirut – Al - Jabal war, (1982). Beirut: the modern Library of printing and publishing, pp 295-261-349

⁽³⁾ Okaz newspaper on the web www.okaz.com.sa/okaz/osf/20061204/con2006120468197.htm

King Abdullah continued his efforts for the reconstruction of Lebanon and to provide the basic necessities of life for the Lebanese people, and at Riyadh nineteenth conference, King Abdullah raised the Lebanese issue and calling the Arab and Islamic countries to provide all types of assistance to Lebanon for the reconstruction of what has been destroyed by the war. The Lebanese values the positions of King Abdullah which motivated by religion and Arab nationalism and the spirit of humanity he enjoyed. The Lebanese see the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah's as their rescuer from the internal crisis and the danger of Israeli aggression⁽¹⁾.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia characterized by having a considerable political weight on the conflicting parties, and that has emerged through their ability to intervene to solve the Lebanese presidential crisis⁽²⁾. The most recent manifestations of the American position on the Lebanon crisis in the statement made by U.S. President George W. Bush, at the end of the last tour in the Middle East, said he supports the Siniora government by name (this is unusual) and say further: he called on other Arab leaders to support this government, and when he returned to Washington he confirmed this position. The support of President Siniora government means to support its continuation, and continuation would not be possible, unless the crisis continue, and the end of the crisis means, the election of the President of the Republic and the formulation of a new government to replace the government of President Fouad Siniora. America used Lebanon in its current situation as a means of exercise of pressure on the rest of the forces of the region. Through Lebanon, America put pressure on the Palestinians and

⁽¹⁾ Lakhdar Brahimi, President of the Lebanese between Arab and international solution, 10/5/2008 · www.zayzafoon.com, Al-Arab future newspaper

⁽²⁾ Saudi Arabia adheres to the Arab initiative to resolve the crisis in Lebanon and calls upon the parties resume the dialogue, the Council of Ministers approve negotiating with Pakistan to the conclusion of an agreement, "the exchange of convicts in prison," Al-Riyadh, April 1, 2007, the number 14160

the Syrians and the Iranians and the Saudis and others, and all of them represented through certain forces inside Lebanon⁽¹⁾.

The position taken by the Saudi with regards to the confrontation on the ground of the Lebanon between Israel and Hezbollah raised and stimulated a lot of confusion in the Arab world, as the Kingdom exceeded the position of the "condemnation and denunciation", which familiar to the Arab regimes, to condemn the resistance and what is being held responsible; as characterizes the process of resistance and the capture of two Israeli soldiers as a "misadventure" or "uncounted adventure", and soon the official positions of Egypt and Jordan, followed the official Saudi position, using the same vocabulary, particularly about "uncounted adventure"; which is clearly reflected in the declaration of the Arab foreign ministers meeting in Cairo⁽²⁾.

The reason for this position of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan was in order to avoid engaging Lebanon in any unequal war with Israel leading to the destruction of Lebanon. This position was as Saudi Arabia recognition that Iran's trying for the transfer of the political crisis faced by the result of its nuclear program and international implications to Lebanon and use it to achieve political objectives. In addition to that, the desire of Iran to create and expand its Shiite influence in the region through Hezbollah. King Abdullah II, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was the first to realize this ambition of Iran and warned of a "Shi'ite crescent" including Iran, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq⁽³⁾.

(1) The document of the Lebanon war, p. 349

(3) Middle East Journal, Thursday, No. 9522, December 23, 2004,

Third: Saudi support for the Arab solution to the crisis

The Saudi Arabia – Egypt summit has supported the efforts of the Secretary-General of the Arab League Amr Moussa in the continuation of his mediation in Lebanon, and the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's renew their demand for Syria to support the Arab initiative in Lebanon practically and to overcome the issue of media statements, and stressed the seriousness of weakening that initiative⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Saudi Arabia adheres to the Arab initiative to resolve the crisis in Lebanon and calls upon the parties resume the dialogue, the Council of Ministers approve negotiating with Pakistan to the conclusion of an agreement, "the exchange of convicts in prison," Al-Riyadh, April 1, 2007, the number 14160

Chapter IV

Assessing Saudi Arabia "Diplomatic Role towards the Lebanese Crises"

Chapter IV

Assessing Saudi Arabia "Diplomatic Role towards the Lebanese Crises"

The relations of Saudi Arabia characterized by natural brotherhood and balanced with all Arab countries, on the basis of the principles underlying its foreign policy based on cooperation and solidarity among brothers of one language, history, and one common destiny. According to this principle and its substance; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia does not interfere in the internal affairs of Arab countries, and at the same time dose not allowing other countries to interfere in its affairs. On some occasions however, the kingdom interfere for the purpose of conciliation among the Arab countries based on the principle of a strategic consolidation of the Arab inner House, to be able to confront Israel. As for Saudi Arabia's relations with Lebanon, it's characterized by special features, which has been strengthened over the course of a long history of the brotherhood relations and the cooperation between the two states. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its people affected by what's affecting Lebanon, especially when Lebanon was exposed to the danger in the integrity, independence, sovereignty and unity of its people and territory. The Kingdom found that the disturbance situations in Lebanon will have serious repercussions on the Arab and regional levels, and from here, Saudi Arabia concerned about pumping compromise initiatives in the Lebanese body, and to take positions that are in the interest of Lebanon and to end the crisis.

The initiatives of Saudi Arabia gained a considerable weight and significance due to the acceptance of the Lebanese as an honest mediator by the Lebanese communities and the leaders of sects and political parties, as well as by the Palestinians and other Arab countries, and the international community. Certainly that the emergence of the

kingdom after the war in 1973 as a financial - economic growing power, and the providing of financial and economic assistance to Arab countries including Lebanon, have given the kingdom an Arabic and international considerable weight and significance. The Kingdom has employed these capabilities, and its religious status as the guardian of the religious holy places of Islam in Mecca and Medina in its foreign policy through the exercise of an influential role on Arab, Islamic and international levels. And even if it used its financial strength in some cases to exercise pressure here and there, it was for purpose of its compromise policy in the Arab world and the Islamic world⁽¹⁾.

IV.I. Changes that affected Saudi Arabian Diplomacy in Lebanon

It was likely that Saudi Arabia intervention in Lebanon to help end the crisis. The pursuing of Saudi quiet diplomacy in Lebanon will observe that it was sometimes in accordance with the initiatives of a number of Arab countries to understand the political and party balances in the Lebanese arena, and those of Arab and international as well. But it had its own unique initiatives, which supported on Arab and international levels, when it's required to have an acceptable honest mediator to the Lebanese and all international parties⁽²⁾.

And by the observation of Saudi diplomacy in the Lebanese arena, it can be concluded that its role revolves around two main phases: the pre-Israeli invasion in 1982, and post-invasion until the end of the eighties, that is, until the Taif Agreement in 1989⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Annan, Muhammad (2005). **Saudi Arabia and the anxieties of the Arabs during the half century 1923-1978**, Beirut: World Print Publications for Publishing, p. 159-182.

⁽²⁾ Madani, Mohammad, (1997). **The Diplomatic relation of Kingdome of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs** - International Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

⁽³⁾ Hadrami, Omar (2002). **The economic dimension of Saudi Arabia foreign policy**, Jordan: Dar al-Fatah for publication and distribution, p. 29

- **Phase I:** Saudi Arabia began in its quiet diplomacy towards Lebanon from the perspectives of Arab solidarity and the consolidation, and unified their words to reduce the repercussions of the Lebanese crisis, in order not to affect the Arab region by its repercussions so that Israel may benefit from it. Therefore, it could be said that based on many of the facts, data, position, which we have mentioned in this study: The aim of Saudi diplomacy in the first phase has been to prevent Israel from carrying out their schemes and plans against Lebanon and the Palestinians, or the division of Lebanon on sectarian base.
- **Phase II:** it's the phase which witnessed the first Gulf War in 1990 and which have had direct repercussions on the Arab region and the Gulf area, in which Saudi Arabia and the remained Gulf countries affected by the war, and was accompanied by the growth of some of fundamentalist Islamic movements in Lebanon after the Iranian Revolutionary Guard to the country. The Kingdom was afraid of not to export the Iranian revolution to the countries of the Arabian Peninsula through Iran, but through Lebanon. There was an equation to Saudi Arabia, which is that the growth of "terrorism" in Lebanon is equivalent in the lack of stability in the Arab region in general, and in the Arabian Gulf in particular, in other words, that the solution to the Lebanese crisis means the elimination of all the justifications for the growth of fundamentalism and "terrorism" and prevent any threat to the national security of Saudi Arabia⁽¹⁾.

From here, Saudi diplomacy in Lebanon focused to end the Lebanese crisis based on the settlement of the Lebanese disputes through the reforms agreed upon by all the

⁽¹⁾ an article from the Internet:
Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf (2005). Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, statesmanship,: www.islamonline.net

Lebanese. Saudi initiatives were acceptable by all in spite of the stumbles due to the ramifications of the Lebanese crisis on the Arab and international level, and conflicting interests of States in the Lebanese arena, but the integration of Saudi Arabia initiatives across long years of hard diplomatic effort and the continuing quest by all means to find a way to resolve the Lebanese crisis; must led to achieve the Lebanese consonance at the end Thus, Taif Agreement came in the fall of 1989 as a personal initiative of King Fahd.

This international and regional concerns with the Lebanese crisis, intersects in one way or another with the Arab concerns, but were not the same degree, and led to this Lebanese political settlement represented by Taif Agreement, and this agreement find an acceptance among most Lebanese factions of different political and sectarian affiliation because of what its represent of principles which considered the outcome of continued domestic and external efforts, and as a result of clear regional cover. The accelerated Arab and international positions towards the Taif Agreement was supportive and calling for the implementation of its principles, which created a comprehensive political mechanism for the completion of the Lebanese national reconciliation and to stop the destructive domestic war⁽¹⁾.

The international and Arabic Care:

The Taif Agreement gained a significant international support, and formed a sufficient cover to implement its provisions and to help Lebanon transition from the domestic war with extensions and regional factors and periodic to the situation of civil peace. At the beginning of November 1989 the five permanent members of the Security Council

⁽¹⁾ Hadrami, Omar, p.36

adopted a joint declaration which welcoming the agreement of Taif, and called on all Lebanese to its implementation, and requested the expansion of full sovereignty of Lebanon over all its territory. The declaration said: "The five permanent members of the Security Council welcomed the agreement signed in Taif under the sponsorship of the Tripartite Arab Committee of the League of Arab States to bring peace and national reconciliation." The declaration called for "all Lebanese to unite their efforts" to implement the agreement, and confirmed the determination of the five countries to support the extension of full sovereignty of Lebanon over all its territory, and as for the final result of the peace process. "The declaration praised the Tripartite Arab Committee and announced that the major countries will continue its support to achieve the unity of Lebanon and its sovereignty, independence and the security of its territories, under the peace and fully accord with its neighbors". Of course, this declaration intended to establish peace between Lebanon and Israel, as called for reconciliation between Lebanon and Syria⁽¹⁾.

France has a preparatory role in the issuance of this joint declaration, in the interest of the five major states in the international peace and security. It reflects the international will to support the content of the Taif agreement, and calls for the implementation of all its items. Then the Security Council stressed in a declaration on November 23, 1989, three weeks after the declaration of the five major states to support the Taif agreement, and convict the assassination of Lebanese President Rene Moawad, as a criminal act and a terrorist. Over and above, the successive Soviet positions to advocate for the support of the Tripartite Arab Committee efforts to help Lebanon in exceed its crisis. Moreover, European countries - later to become the European Union - called for the

(¹) Madani, Mohammad, p. 29

preservation of the dialogue potential among the Lebanese in order to continue the peace process, which began in Taif in collaboration with all the Lebanese.

All these international positions indicate the support of the Taif agreement, and the need for following-up the efforts of the Tripartite Arab Committee to implement it, and to maintain the unity of Lebanon and its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. After the Lebanese crisis exploded in 1975 between Palestinian militants and militants of the Kataeb Party, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia undertake clear and effective actions to contain the crisis in Lebanon, based on its foreign policy objectives of promoting and strengthening Arab solidarity and unity. The most prominent work of Saudi policy was setting a constant target, which is to achieve the Lebanese national reconciliation on the basis of the settlement of the Arab-Arab differences in order to achieve true and comprehensive Arab solidarity in order to build the foundation of the strategy to confront Israel, but without exceeding the compromise and reform framework, which led to gain acceptance and response from most of the conflicting parties⁽¹⁾

The first diplomatic efforts carried out by Saudi Arabia to address the crisis in Lebanon after its explosion in 1975, was by King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz - may Allah have mercy on him – when he visited Syria in November 25, 1975, and the result of the visit was the agreement on the need to settle the Lebanese crisis as soon as possible. Saudi policy has evolved through a unique and distinctive approach of King Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz (Prince at that time) in four points, namely:

⁽¹⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf,

- Continued emphasis on the unity of Lebanon. And legitimacy of geography. And its National authority.
- Raise the error in practice and the relationship between the fedayee actions and the legitimate authority.
- Early warning of the dimensions of this war.
- Permanent assistance as much as possible both diplomatically and financially.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognized that the Lebanese arena suffering from the conflict and its external dimensions, thus, it took a neutral approach of involvement, and maintained its credibility, as irreplaceable mediator. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz said: "The painful conflict that has ravaged Lebanon and continued throughout these years, is in its reality and essence a political conflict, and therefore the political dialogue is the best way to contain the conflict and the return of harmony, consistency, and brotherhood, and the communication between the sons of one homeland"⁽¹⁾.

King Khalid was supportive to every effort aimed to restore security, peace and justice for all groups and brothers in Lebanon. The Prince Sultan bin Abdul aziz emphasis that Saudi Arabia wants Lebanon to restore its calm and peace, and this will be possible only when the various parties decide to stop foreign interference in Lebanese internal affairs⁽²⁾. With this understanding to the inputs of the Lebanese crisis and the best way to solve it and the sincere desire supported by clear Saudi policy to resolve the Arabic differences and to remove the specter of Arab conflict out of the region; the Saudi diplomacy moved with its will known quietude and flexibility and held the sextet Arab Summit in Riyadh in 1976, in which King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz participate in it -may

⁽¹⁾ Ibid

⁽²⁾ Madani, Mohammad, p. 30

God have mercy on him- and The Emir of Kuwait, as well as presidents of Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The summit announced the rejection of dividing Lebanon, and the preservation of its territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The formula of the resolution they reached to solve the crisis could be summarized by the formation of joint Arab forces to replace the Syrian forces in Lebanon. These Syrian forces came to Lebanon according to an official request from the Lebanese government to help establish security and put an end to fighting between rival groups, but the greater part of these deterrent forces remains Syrian. Thus, we could say that the sextet Arab Summit in Riyadh had led to Arab recognition of Syria status and its mission in Lebanon.

The Prince Saud al-Faisal, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia performed clear efforts to contain the crisis, and Prince Bandar bin Sultan played an active role in the cease-fire. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques observed the mission of the Foreign Minister and his envoy, and he support them by personal contacts to achieve the necessary first step to find solutions, which make it possible to reach a cease-fire and agree on a national conference of the dialogue contains the various conflicting and influential Lebanese forces on the scene⁽¹⁾.

At the Arab Summit Conference in Casablanca in May 23-26, 1989 concerning the examination of the Lebanese crisis and the latest developments, accordingly, its decided to form a higher Tripartite Arab Committee composed of Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King Hassan II and President Chadli Ben Jadid, and granted the Committee all the powers to deal with the crisis in Lebanon. The Tripartite Arab Committee exercised its functions, but in the first of Muharram in 1410 a .h. announced

⁽¹⁾ Annan, Muhammad, p.142

the arrival of an impasse, but in 17 of the same month announced the resumption of the functions in another attempt to put an end to the serious situation experienced by Lebanon, and was not able to accomplish their tasks because of repeated violations of the cease-fire, then convene a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Tripartite Committee in Jeddah in September 1989 and issued a declaration explained that a ceasefire should be immediate in all parts of Lebanon, and the formation of a Lebanese security committee chaired by Lakhdar Brahimi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria (former) and the representative of the Tripartite committee, also decided to end the siege by sea, and the opening of Beirut Airport, and stop media campaigns, and called the concerned counties to work on stop the flow of weapons to Lebanon, and sending an invitation to the members of the Lebanese Parliament to meet in order to prepare a document of national reconciliation and to discuss it later in a date to be determined⁽¹⁾.

After the stabilization of the cease-fire, the Lebanese dialogue began in the city of Taif in Saudi Arabia and attended by the Foreign Ministers of the Tripartite Committee; it was agreed on the National reconciliation (Taif Agreement) in October 22, 1989 in the city of Taif. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia continued in its support of the stability of Lebanon, and the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz pledged to contribute to the reconstruction. The Taif Agreement does not satisfy all Lebanese parties, and this is understandable, because it carried out new fair vision affect some interests that are used by those parties. Whatever the reservations of those parties, the credit of the Taif Agreement is the termination of the status of war in Lebanon, creating a platform for dialogue in the various spectra of the Lebanese state.

⁽¹⁾ Hadrami, Omar, p.45

The Saudi-Lebanese relations have witnessed a remarkable development in the past twenty years (1982-2008), since the Lebanese arena have witnessed security, political, economic and social prominent developments, and events proved that Saudi Arabia has provided all support to Lebanon in response to the demands of the Lebanese people and their rejection of the division of their homeland. In 1982 Saudi Arabia condemned the aggression and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Syrian forces operating in which to consolidate the security and stability. It's President Elias Sarkis (1976-1982) and Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan, the Mufti of the Lebanese Republic, Sheikh Khalid Kaplan and the rest of the Lebanese leaders to obtain the support of Saudi Arabia to face the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of its capital Beirut, which was a decision of the Prime Minister of Israel Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

Saudi Arabia contributed in resolving the Lebanese crisis after the presidency candidate Bashir Gemayel was called to visit the Kingdom for meeting him, and stated on him to dissociate his relationship with Israel as a condition, in order to reach an acceptable settlement in Lebanon with all parties, especially that the Palestinian resistance has left Lebanon in that period. Indeed, after this meeting, which was attended by Abdul-Halim Khaddam, Bashir Gemayel was elected as the President of the Republic, and immediately held a secret meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Nahariya in northern Israel in the course of informing him that the relationship of Bashir Gemayel as the Lebanese Forces commander with Israel are not the same relation to Bashir Gemayel as the President of the Lebanese Republic, which led to the differences between the two men ended in the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, in

September 14, 1982, and then the invasion by Israel of Lebanese territory and access to the capital Beirut, and the massacres of Sabra and Shatila⁽¹⁾.

In the period between the years 1892-1989, Saudi Arabia in coordination with Syria contributed in the solution of many problems in Lebanon, but the most important achievement made by the Arab for Lebanon, was the meeting of the Lebanese parliament members in the city of Taif in Saudi Arabia sponsored by Saudi Arabia and Syria, and Arab and international, which resulted in reaching to the "Taif Agreement" in October 1989 after a devastating war that lasted for more than fifteen years⁽²⁾. From here, it can be recognized that the dimensions and the importance of Saudi-Lebanese relations, which was not limited to political relations, but exceeded it by social, economic, scientific, health and hospitalization relations, as well as the Kingdom's support for charitable and social institutions in various regions of Lebanon⁽³⁾.

Saudi Arabia Aid's between the years 1982-1988 by Al- Hariri institutions in Beirut⁽⁴⁾:

1. The remove the debris and waste from the capital and its environs.
2. Rehabilitation of the Lebanese capital Beirut after the end of the Israeli invasion in 1982.
3. Rehabilitation of the southern suburbs of Beirut.
4. Disablement and bombing nearly ten thousands of mines and explosive.
5. Reconstruction of the Beirut and the suburbs docks and road.

⁽¹⁾ Madani, Mohammad, p. 44

⁽²⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

⁽³⁾ Sammak, Mohammed (1984), **the Arab decision in the Lebanese crisis**, the book House of Lebanon, (1st ed.), Beirut, p. 17.

⁽⁴⁾ Suadi - Lebanese relations in the era of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud .- Riyadh: King Abdul Aziz Darat, (2002) , 381 p. . (a series of issues of the King Abdul Aziz Darat; 131).

6. Street lighting and the rehabilitation of the affected columns.
7. Cleaning and rehabilitation of commercial markets.
8. Distribution of (500) thousand share of food worth ten million U.S. dollars between 1983-1985
9. Distribution (600) thousand share of other food between 1987-1988
10. Providing social, humanitarian and educational assistance value of one hundred million U.S. dollars.

Table 1. Saudi Arabia Aid's between the years 1990-2000⁽¹⁾:

Year	The amount of Aid	The aim and objective
1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33 million U.S. dollars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the rehabilitation of government institutions
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 60 million U.S. dollars • a grant of \$1 million for projects the of Council for Development and Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The rehabilitation of the government buildings, water and sanitation • projects for the Council for Development and Reconstruction
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100 million U.S. dollars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the Lebanese currency
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25 million U.S. dollars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relief Aid's and items
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130 million U.S. dollars • loan of one million Saudi Riyal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the Program for the urgent reconstruction and rehabilitation of infrastructure. • projects for the Council for Development and Reconstruction
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100 million U.S. dollars • Grant of one million Saudi Riyal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • financing of education projects, youth and sport • projects for the Council for Development and Reconstruction

⁽¹⁾ Suadi - Lebanese relations in the era of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud

1996	• loan of one million Saudi Riyal	• projects for the Council for Development and Reconstruction
1997	• a deposit of 600 million U.S. dollars	• support the Bank of Lebanon and the national economy
1998	• loan of 6 million Saudi Riyal	• Financing of development projects in areas of Lebanon.
1998	• loan of 100 million U.S. dollars	• The financing of development projects in areas of Lebanon.
2000	• loan of 44 million U.S. dollars • loan of one million U.S. dollars	• The financing of water projects in Ukkar. • projects for the Council for Development and Reconstruction

Total grants, soft loans and Saudi Arabia aid's to Lebanon in the recent years⁽¹⁾:

1. Saudi Arabia the total grants for Lebanon until 2002 a total of (260) million U.S. dollars.
2. The total soft loans from the Saudi Fund for Development, a total of (275) million U.S. dollars.
3. Invisible Grants and aids to charitable, humanitarian and social institutions operating in Lebanon, a total of (100) million U.S. dollars.
4. Kingdom contributions to the funds of supporting Lebanon and other countries: the Arab Fund for Development (28%), Islamic Development Bank (38%), OPEC Fund (16%), the World Bank (4%).

Saudi Arabia support to Lebanon Characterized through political and humanity channels in general, but after the political stability that followed the Taif Agreement, the economic relations began to evolve more by starting to invest in financial markets, companies, banks and institutions, in addition to participate in the reconstruction and

⁽¹⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

relief projects and financing projects through soft loans and grants which exceeds (500) million.

Among the most prominent aspects of Saudi Arabia to support the Lebanese economy, was the proposal made by King Fahd for the emergency Arab summit held in Baghdad in 1410 a.h. of the establishment of an international fund to help Lebanon, and the Arab leaders agreed the establishment of international fund. The kingdom has made prompt and continuous efforts to remain the international community to contribute effectively to the reconstruction efforts Lebanon through this fund⁽¹⁾.

The Saudi Arabia was behind the idea of the Fund for support and assistance to Lebanon when Prince Saud al-Faisal announced that the starting is billion dollars as a support to the capital of the fund. Prince Saud al-Faisal announcement came in conjunction with a European tour carried out by the Tripartite Arab Committee comprising Saudi Arabic - Algeria - Morocco at the ministerial level in the hope of Europe participation in the Fund's support in particular that it Arab and international fund. Saudi Arabia Contributed in the reconstruction of Beirut by contributing to the capital of the "Solidere" company, as Saudi investments are distributed in the Lebanese financial market on the purchase of the existing buildings to invest it in different works, or the purchase of land for the establishment of new projects, especially in the field of tourism, for example, a group of Saudi businessmen to invest in the commercial center of the capital Beirut for the construction of tourist hotels.

⁽¹⁾ Madani, Mohammad, p. 45

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia contributes in financing the reconstruction projects in Lebanon through grants and loans. According to the sources of Council for Development and Reconstruction CDR; the kingdom funded projects by a grant and under the Memorandum of Understanding signed in March 23, 1994 with the Saudi Fund for Development which to be assigned for administrating and supervising around (13) projects in the sectors of education, service and health and sports, of total (100) million dollars. The Kingdom also awarded Lebanon the amount of (300) million dollars to finance the construction and service projects and to support the Lebanese lira. In the area of loans, in total loans signed (487.5) million Riyal with the Saudi Fund for Development, that is equivalent to (130) million dollars to finance construction, administrative official, educational, health, lighting and roads projects, and areas of the emigrants. Some of these projects was accomplished and other projects will be completed in the later stages, and the duration of each development project loans is (25) years, (5) year permit fees amounting to about 2% per year¹. The Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri, point that "faithfulness, induce me on the recognition of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd; Hasm addin building was not raise at this university and the institutions to the thousands of young people, if the kingdom did not open its arms to Lebanon"⁽²⁾.

The study shows the importance of Saudi Arabia role in supporting the Lebanese issue, and the manifest role of King Fahd and in the role of Arabism and Islam in the formation of his political ideas. His calls to the Lebanese people, his speeches and his positions, show a clear political framework, emanated its elements from the Arabism and Islam, which formed the base to support Lebanon. It is clearly evident in the

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim (2006). Lebanon Internal situation after the war, emulation between the state and community, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, October, p. 10

⁽²⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

historical tracking of King Fahd positions and policies to the Lebanese cause, the extent of its link to his deep faith and his adherence to Arabism and Islam links, and how the events of the Arab arena and its realities which he experienced and coexist with, shaped his political thinking towards the Lebanese issue⁽¹⁾.

The research concludes that the nature of the relationship between the concept of Arab and Islamic solidarity in the political thought of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia contributes in directing its efforts to resolve the Lebanese conflict, which destroyed Lebanon from 1975 to 2008.

After reaching the Taif Agreement, and in addition to the political support for Lebanon; the financial and economic support by Saudi Arabia continued and donated the following to Lebanon in 1991 as a grant amounted to (60) millions U.S. dollar, worth (56) billion liras, which were allocated for the provision of services and rehabilitation of the infrastructure of Beirut to restore the capital to its normal after a devastating war. Beirut was not able to revert to its bright shine image without the Saudi support and the Saudi donation, and hospital, social, humanitarian and charity assistance, which is in the forefront of many of the financial assistance to Al Makassed Islamic Foundation charities and the institutions of the Dar Al-Fatwa in the Lebanese Republic, and to rest of Lebanese institutions in addition to the working groups, as well as food and social aid on behalf of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, to all Lebanese people and without discrimination in their jobs or areas. As well as the Hariri Foundation in coordination with Saudi Arabia to secure scholarships for

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Sameh (2006). Iran, Syria and the alliance on Lebanon, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, p. 134

more than thirty thousand Lebanese students to follow up their education in Lebanon, Europe and the United States of America⁽¹⁾.

IV.II. The Transformation of the Saudi diplomacy toward the crisis in Lebanon at the present stage:

The international changes which occurring worldwide dictating on the kingdom of Saudi Arabia to play a greater role on foreign policy. Today, the Kingdom become the elder brother of the Arab countries, and has become expected to play a main role in many of the files starting from Lebanon and end with Somalia. This is apart from the required basis global role, not only in the field of oil, or even economically as it seemed clear from the summit of the twenty-economic but even on the political level, as its evident in the policies of Arab rapprochement with Latin America as well as with respect to changes in the balance of power by Russia and China. Today, the great pressure on the Kingdom to take a leadership role if not on the world level is certainly at the regional level. These pressures should influence foreign policy of Saudi Arabia, caused in changing the old approach based on quiet policies build on consent rather than the positive response and take the first initiatives⁽²⁾.

It is known that the constant changes at the international level dictated changes on the conceptual framework level of the foundation of the foreign policy of States, and the numerous changes witnessed by the Kingdom and the world must be reflected on the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia. It is not reasonable that the same foreign policy pursued by the Kingdom during the era of the eighties will continue today, and if it is the case, certainly it will not return the same interest and results returned in the past. From this

⁽¹⁾ Madani, Mohammad, p. 49

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p.19

point, and based also on the era of King Abdullah which witnessed a wide political movements at the external level, it is a must to open the dialogue regarding the expected changes and the proposed changes of the intellectual frameworks which mobilize the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia.

There is no doubt that the Arab region is full of many of the chronic problems that have to seize the Arab and Islamic nation since long era, added to it in the current period another files and other emerging issues, sometimes derived from the roots of those chronic issues, or this new issues adopt a new line, and digging a groove in liver of the bereaved nation. Although of the several Arab summits, which includes the Arab leaders annually, and often fail to reach a decision to deal effectively with those issues due to several considerations, the triangular axis of Egypt - Syria and Saudi Arabia, considered to form the minimum level of the Arab consensus, especially in the crucial issues. Moreover, the Saudi role in these conditions is very complex; it has started to regain the lead again, and seems to interfere with clear vision in both the old chronic files and the new current files, which took place recently on the map of the Arab and Islamic interests⁽¹⁾.

There is a consistence among observers of Saudi diplomacy, that its characterized with dynamic and positive dealing with many of the Arab and regional issues, and its a feature different from what characterized the diplomacy of the previous years, as numerous initiatives emerged and these initiatives considered the solid basis for moving the Saudi foreign policy⁽²⁾. There is no doubt that the "new" Saudi role toward the regional issues is not new phenomenon, but that Saudi Arabia has issued a number of

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, 29

⁽²⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan (2007). Saudi role: the limits of engagement with complex issues, **Journal of International Politics**, No. (170), p. 118.

declarations and appeals were a distinct features of the Saudi diplomacy over the past year 2006, however, that this role has taken a new form with the beginning of 2007, which is effective intervention the in crisis in the framework of the "neutrality" without prejudice to a party without the other, which is consistent with the principles of Saudi foreign policy, including "good neighborliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States".

IV.III. Features of the Saudi initiatives

This Saudi move did not come out of vacuum; as it's a result of the tension caused by the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, which had made many negative repercussions on the regional parties, those impacts, and in light of the evolution of the regional situation after the invasion, had increased in intensity in relation to Saudi Arabia due to a number of reasons, which is based on several factors and among them are⁽¹⁾:

Factor I: Sectarian factor

The viewer of the demographic map of the Middle East, however, can not avoid noticing that multi-ethnicity is an inescapable reality, with all the attendant potential for multiplicity of possibilities for its transformation into a source of richness, and diversity of culture and civilization, but it is no doubt that the noticeable topic and especially in light of the critical current reality of sectarian in the Arab world and its inherited Historically, is the shift of this diversity form a source to enrich community to a mine field blocked its way². Putting forth the sectarianism in the region has become a key issue than ever, and the risk of division between Sunnis and Shiites are affected by all the Gulf states including Saudi Arabia, despite the confirmation of the new U.S.

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan, p. 119

⁽²⁾ Osman, Khalil, the political sectarianism in the Arab world, through an electronic link:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/>

Defense Secretary Robert Gates during his meeting with King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz said in January 17, 2007 that "Iraq will be blocked in the face of Iranian expansion in the region".

Factor II: The Tensions factor

Tensions in the region today has a negative impact on world oil markets and therefore, similarly affect the economy of the Kingdom, at a time when the ruling power to address the problems of development and modernization in most parts of the Kingdom, and even limited military action would leave unlimited negative repercussions in the region.

Factor III: the Imbalance in the regional system

Its the situation of imbalance in the "the Gulf" regional system, after the departure of Iraq from the equation of regional balance, and the absence of the main curb in front of Iran's attempts to dominate and strengthen its influence, which not only limited to develop nuclear programs, but the entry of Iran as a semi-centralized or decentralized part in a number of conflicts region, and its competition with the United States, which would require a new role re-balance between the interests of the parties, and prevent the exacerbation of the regional situation, because the main loser will be the entire Arab system ⁽¹⁾.

Thus, there was Saudi recognition of the existence of a regional vacuum and there are some powers seeking to fill the vacuum, which needs a new diplomatic moves and especially that the fire of civil war raging in Iraq, which is almost fester in Lebanon and

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Sameh, p. 135

the Palestinian territories. And the fact that the Saudi role in influencing emerged from the available capacity and potentials combined together, Perhaps the most important are⁽¹⁾:

- First: The Kingdom's strategic weight in the region, as being one of the most frequent Arab States in its response and the effectiveness of the various files, which make it in the forefront list of States that visited by come to the decision-makers when they visit the region.
- Second: the economic potential that increase their capacity and potential between the countries of the region, which can exert pressure or draw parties to resolve conflicts, or at least reduce its effect.
- Third: maintaining friendly relations with Great countries, especially the United States, Britain and Russia, which has the influence in the international resolutions and positions on the Arab region.
- Fourth: the existence of Islamic holy sites in Saudi Arabia brings greater prestige and influence, and perhaps this factor among several other factors contributed to the establishment of "Mecca agreement"⁽²⁾.
- Fifth: The Saudi links to the vital and essential files in the region, which is not available to the leadership of the others, except Egypt can exercise some level of influence in many of the other files.
- Sixth: the presence of the Kingdom in almost all the regional groupings.
- Seventh: a "balanced" policy of intervention, this position exemplifies an inherent Saudi principle in the foreign policy, which is to move away from the "policy of alliances and axes"⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan, 121

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p 22

⁽³⁾ Rashid, Sameh, p 139

IV.IV. Constraints of the Saudi role

Given the importance of these Saudi movements towards the Arab and regional issues, and the centrality of Saudi Arabia as a leader in the Gulf or the Arab or Muslim framework, but that role is still facing several challenges, most notably is the penetration of the Iranian role in the region starting from its interference in Iraq, through its role in the Lebanese crisis, and ending with its alliance with Syria, and the results of Saudi- Iran's coordination remain limited under the exclusion of coordination with a crucial regional party, which Syria, where it has a strategic alliance with Iran, and therefore one of the growing role of Saudi Arabia issues is how to activate the current Saudi-Syrian relations, and return Syria to the Arabic region, and this is difficult today, in light of the sharp differences between Syria and the international community in multiple files on top of it the situation in Lebanon and its support for Hezbollah, and the international court to punish the perpetrators of the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri .. Etc.

In any case, this move towards active regional crises considered a Saudi Aware of the strategic long-term potential risks, which implies that, the kingdom to be more effective party in the form of interactions and the prevailing pattern in the region. Despite the challenges involved in this new evolved regional role, the preservation of the Saudi national security, and work to restore some missing balance in Arab and Gulf framework; are central determinants impose the continuation of Saudi policy on the line to become a regional power and to balance other roles in the Gulf region.

Saudi role in front of the sectarian balance

Sectarian system which was established by France after the First World War in Lebanon still existed and lasted until now, despite the minor amendments made by the Taif Agreement in 1989, which ended the Lebanese civil war. But in recent years two logical themes emerged and in which the Lebanese political division are divided among them⁽¹⁾:

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan, p. 124

The Groups Logic:

The logic of March 14 Alliance, which later became known as the alliance of February 14 after the exit (Michel Aoun), this Alliance raise the slogan of accusing Syria for the responsibility of the assassination of President (Rafik Hariri), and calls for freedom, sovereignty and independence, based on his positions to the International decision issued concerning Lebanon, especially the resolution (1559), which calls for the disarming of militias in Lebanon, also calls for the demarcation of the border with Syria, including in plantations (Shebaa) territory, and calls for the disarming of the Lebanese resistance (Hezbollah) and the Palestinian resistance, and the alliance adhere to the current formation of government as it considered constitutional and represent all the forces and blocks in the parliament, and believes that the discussion about early elections and the disbandment of this government as unconstitutional. Perhaps this alliance supports any international move to prevent the arrival of weapons to Hezbollah from Damascus or Tehran, with the exception of the Future Movement alliance (26 representatives), in particular, does not agree with the views of international calls for the deployment of international forces on the Syrian-Lebanese border ⁽¹⁾.

On the other hand, the alliance of March 8 raises various slogans, in addition to its demands to build a state of institutions based on the balance and partnership, it gives priority to maintain the position of Lebanon in the equation of the conflict with Israel, and that translates to uphold the arms of resistance for the liberation of the rest of the occupied territories in (Shebaa Farms), and (Kafr Shuba), and the release of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails, and to confront the ambitions and the Israeli threats, and believe that the to decide the opinion about the weapons of the resistance is determined in the light of the Lebanese agree on a national defense strategy for Lebanon. As for the

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Sameh, p. 141

Palestinian weapons they sees the need to be addressed in the context of the national interests of Lebanon, and the requirements of the conflict with Israel, which requires quiet dialogue with the Palestinians and grant them full civil rights, which guarantee them a decent living. Also emphasizes the special relationship with Syria, and there is no objection to the demarcation of the border with Syria, except of the (Shebaa Farms) because of the Israeli occupation of the it ⁽¹⁾.

This alliance, especially the (Hezbollah) and Patriotic Movement accused the majority of government of widespread political and financial corruption, and overburdening the country with local debt exceeded one U.S. billion dollars, as well as increased unemployment, and even the exploitation of the destruction inflicted by Israel in Lebanon to achieve financial ambitions by the process of reconstruction, which emerged from the severe exaggeration in estimating the extent of the damage and losses after the end of the Lebanese war.

Division and chaos in Lebanon:

Lebanon entered in chaos status, as if it had written to be continued without a radical solutions, both parties in support of the government and the opposition is still persist in its position towards the other with regard to the status of constitutional chaos; each party's own its interpretation of the constitutional authority, and the decision whether or not have the legitimacy, and the legality of other part actions, in addition to that each part has their own vision to determine Lebanon location in the regional, and each of them accusing the other of subservience to the outside. The supporting part says that the Syrian and Iranian regimes are arming and funding the opposition specifically Hezbollah, and that they are manipulating the opposition according to their agenda,

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim

meanwhile, the opposition defend the subservience by refer it to the Arabic guardianship in general, and America and France in particular, and that guardianship did not allow the government to have a margin of freedom and decision-making⁽¹⁾.

Regional Interactions in Lebanon:

There is no doubt that Lebanon represent an open area to various forms of regional and international interactions, but the key factors that governing the Syrian-Iranian consensus in Lebanon, the first factor relatively old; the Syrian influence in Lebanon, and the second is the emergence and growing role of the Lebanese Shi'ite (Hezbollah). In light of the agreement on the files and issues other than Lebanon, it was easy to reconcile the Syrian influence (the old), and the presence of Iran (new). And because of the contexts of the events in Lebanon's with its equations internally and externally in the past three years, it's created many common enemies to the influence of Syria and Iran's role, it was noted that the new developments in Lebanon took place in the tow countries accounts. This consonance is in the benefits of the tow parties, which prompted the Syrian-Iranian alliance to continue, rather than to disconnect or terminate. Despite the success in reducing the Syrian influence in Lebanon to a minimum level and moving the (Hezbollah) file from the postponed area and put on the table to discuss it and resolve it, but this success was not subjected to be employed in another direction which's the bilateral ties between Syria and Iran. There are various manifestations reflect the new equation, starting with the decision (1559), as a punishment for the extension of the former Lebanese President (Emile Lahoud), and ending with raising the file of (Hezbollah) weapon for the debate in the Lebanese national dialogue that followed the

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan, p. 124-128

war in June 2006, through this and that, the assassination of President Al-Hariri, and the exit of Syrian forces from Lebanon.

The Features of the Lebanese division and its risk⁽¹⁾:

- A. One feature of this divide is the lateness of Lebanese president election to succeed former President (Lahoud). The election dates were postpone continually, without the majority and the opposition being able to overcome their differences. Moreover, under the situation of the absence of any consensus, there is a fear of constitutional chaos that led to an increase in the complexity of the crisis that began in the second half of in 2006, when the Shiite ministers resigned from the government headed by (AL- Sanuorah), and since then the assassination operations targeting anti-Syrian bloc began, which resulted in the deaths of four of the deputies.
- B. As a result of the insistence of each party's on their opinion; the mission of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States failed, which took the initiative of the League to call for the election of the President based on consensus, followed by forming a national unity government with no overrule in decisions of any part on others or to disrupt the work of the government, and them followed by the development of a new election law to allow a organizing a new election. The opposition insists on a bulk of understandings include new government and nominate a new leader of the militia, and a new election law, and the weapons of Hezbollah, and other things, which rejected by the majority as they view that as the encroachment on the Constitution and a withdraw of the President of the Republic the authority, and the election of the Republic

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 24-29

President based on consensus which's General (Michel Suleiman) is the key access to ensure the stability.

- C. The sectarian associated with sectarianism abroad has increased in its ruggedness, which competing on their regional projects in the region; the Lebanese sectarian crisis headed abroad thrived due to the Lebanese-Syrian rivalry because of Syria criticism to the forces of March 14, and because of Iran depiction of the victory of Hezbollah in the war in June 2006 as a victory of them against Israeli side⁽¹⁾.
- D. There is a belief that Israel is preparing for war, more than ever before, the report of the judge (Winograd) on the outcomes of the war in June 2006 with (Hezbollah), to incite the rehabilitation of the dignity of deterrence and discipline of the Israeli army. In addition to that the current Israeli government and direct the future governments to the need for carrying out initiative military operations (pre-emptive strikes to prevent the growth of the enemy), and in light of what promised by the Secretary General of the (Hezbollah) to assassinate the leader of the military wing of his party (Emad Mughniyeh), which said: "The blood of (martyr) will not be in vain, and that Israel will hardly pay for this". As the Chairman of the Division of Military Intelligence in the Israeli army submit a report to the Government that there is a high likelihood of a war with the (Hezbollah), and there is a tendency in Israel to demand the government stop waiting for international action against Iran, and begin to hit it gradually, starting first with the (Hezbollah), Syria, and (Hamass) until putting an end to the conflict⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan, p. 125

⁽²⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 154

The Arab summit in Riyadh appeared as the apparent manifestation of the role of Saudi in the Middle East. In this summit, Saudi Arabia was the undisputed star, a star that began to be brilliance and glitter in the period before the summit and paved to it, and the continued its rise in the tracks which were under the work of the summit, and the outcome of the summit results of which appeared to be in benefit of Saudi policy. Although Saudi Arabia has not achieved a break in the Lebanese issue, it spend all its power and effort to be present at depth, which is not consecrate in the direct presence of the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia in Lebanon only, but also to the Saudi multi-level interventions with the symbols of the Lebanese crisis, in addition to other efforts have been made in the regional scope, and especially with the Iranians and Syrians, and Riyadh was able to create convergence in the dialogue, and created a margin in handling the Lebanese issue by Tehran and Damascus⁽¹⁾.

The importance of Saudi movement before the summit, enhanced by two factors regional and international factors, which have an important impact on Saudi Arabia's new era. The most important of the regional factor that the Arab parties, who participated with Saudi Arabia in the leadership of the region in the previous phase, namely Egypt and Syria chose to participate out of this choice as Egypt chose to quit and Syria chose to ally with Iran, as a result the triangular group disbanded, which led the kingdom to undertake this central role in the Arab Region alone, this direction found the support on the international level in the positions of the European Union and the United States, and from two different angles, where the Europeans and the Americans are betting on a moderate country such as Saudi Arabia, to have regional role to help in

⁽¹⁾ Shirbil, Nassar, **a victory over the division, and the division against the backdrop of a victory**, (current issues), The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. www.ecssr.ac.a

dealing with regional hot issues in the region on the one hand, and redressing the trends of Iran and its alliances on the other.

By combined various factors on Saudi, regional and international levels, it became possible to express more about the Saudi role, which means Riyadh progress to took the leadership in the Arab system, which exceeds the sub-address files - but not forgotten it - to the collective level to address the issues, which make the issue of the Arab peace initiative that adopted by the Beirut summit years ago, the key element at a summit in Riyadh, but with a high-level focus on the promotion and strengthening of Arabic relations, in a clear message to the Iranian policy in its Arabic dimension without any clash with it or with the policy of the Turkish neighbor⁽¹⁾.

Because the new Saudi role appeared to be governed by the aspirations and capabilities of Saudi Arabia and the suitable conditions regionally and internationally, there are some fears and obstacles surrounding this role, based on the fear of having political, economic and security tumbles to hit the region as a result of wills and positions struggling between regional and local forces with the U.S. policy, which the formulate greatest challenge to the role of Riyadh in the next phase. The Saudi-Lebanese distinctive relations between the years 1943-2008, and Saudi support for Lebanon in various fields, stresses the importance of these relationships, and this support is integrated clearly with Lebanese-Arabic relations, and then with the Arab support for Lebanon. The importance of Saudi Arabia to Lebanon and the Arab and Islamic worlds illustrated clearly with the emergence of religious weight and prestige to the kingdom, for that reason it has this prestigious position for the Lebanese. The observers of the

⁽¹⁾ Ghali, Ibrahim, (2007). Lebanese crisis.. Temporary consonance or approve a constitutional vacuum?, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 169, July, p. 133

history of the relations between the two countries will be aware of their importance in the fields of education, tourism, summer, health, hospitalization and Trade⁽¹⁾.

IV.V. Elements of power in Saudi Arabian Diplomacy that influenced the crises parties

Diplomatic tools and means are different from county to another because the conditions are usually different, depending on what is available in term of possibilities and capabilities of the state; the state of geographical or population depth, its moving behavior in the international level is quite different from the State has little or sparsely populated area. The same applies to the poor or the rich countries, and the technically advanced, and the other backward. States usually take into account the optimal way to achieve its objectives, some may achieve its objectives through diplomatic means, or some may focus on the economic means, and the resort to military means, and the adoption of power or strength of media or belief, and based on its international prestige or standing. The countries are different in using these means due to the different circumstances or the international environment or the ability to control the results. Some States have also to move from one means to another or to use more than one means at the same time.

In addition to Saudi Arabia, including its status, regional and international elements of power in its foreign policy, whether religious, economic and political; the political decision-making process remains tied eventually with the king decision, who is the head of the Authority. And this is the reverberation of the U.S. President Truman saying, "I who make foreign policy," despite what appears in the political system of the

⁽¹⁾ Sammak, Mohammed, p. 98

participation manifestation represented by the powers of the Council of Ministers and the (Shura) consultation Council⁽¹⁾.

IV.VI. The Regional effects and the Diplomacy of Saudi Arabia from Arab, regional and international perspective

1. Saudi Arabia was keen not to engage in armed conflict as an instrument of its foreign policy, and has supported the trend towards the use of diplomatic means, and moving from taking positions traditional support to raising the initiatives.
2. Saudi Arabia realized the importance of economic determinant and use in order to achieve its political objectives. Likewise, many of the States such as the United States of America, which is considered the first among the nations of the world using their economic power to achieve political purposes, as well as the Soviet Union (previously).

Saudi Arabia employed its economic capability and other assistance to compensate for the weakness of its military capability, which was cautious to use it to avoid being potential to any dangerous as a means of pressure and bargaining and to achieve their political objectives.

Saudi Arabia has sought to pass its assistance to the States is keen not to confront or to States with common interests with them, in order to achieve security and stability or to devote its leadership to some of its national blocs (the Islamic world) or regional Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG). Some times Saudi Arabia behavior trying to use that potential to the provisions of its control over the events and then adapted to conform to its foreign policy. Hence, we can

⁽¹⁾ Zrcelli, Kheireddine (1984), **The brief biography of King Abdul-Aziz**, Beirut, Dar Al elem to al malaeen (the house of science for millions), p. 94.

interpret that Saudi Arabia take some position against countries that do not agree with its actions during the Gulf War or after, as its hasten to issue a detailed disclosure of the assistance provided to these countries.

3. Saudi Arabia do not desire to resort to military force to achieve its objectives¹, and although it was aware of the spending billions of dollars on its military forces in multi-project⁽²⁾; it is not capable of resorting to the use of the military factor to implement its policy and, hence, reaching to its targets, or protect its territory and, therefore, resorted to a method of compensation so used the economic power to implement its foreign policy, since countries usually take such action actually if its potential strength did not enable the other uses. Since the foreign policy of any State based primarily on the need to know the capacity and the formulation of objectives and means of realization in a way which does not leave room for interpretation or speculation, accordingly, the Saudi Arabia realized that ⁽³⁾:

- A. Study of its modern history, and this correlates with the Islamic thought, which is the reference to the legitimacy of the governance system.
- B. To recognize it is a country of a wide area and it is a country that has a border with eight neighboring countries, together with the occurrence of tow seas (Gulf see and Red see).
- C. The exploitation of its economic capacity created by the explosion of oil wealth in order to draw a foreign policy that has its own specificity.

⁽¹⁾ Zrcelli, Kheireddine, p.95

⁽²⁾ The "shield of peace" project, "guard the peace" project, the " guard of emergency" and finally, the "Peninsula Shield."

⁽³⁾ Khalil, Hassan Ahmed Al-Mahmoud (1986). **The foundations of international political relations of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**, Saudi studies, , a set of specialized research, the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Part I, Riyadh, p. 293.

Especially if we know that there are statistics that say 65% of the world's population are in need of economic aid.

The aid provided by rich countries - including Saudi Arabia - do not reach the least developed countries, although more numerous, but it is reach to the countries that create zones of influence of the donor or it's a way to achieve the national interest, and this is a legitimate right. Saudi Arabia confirmed while implementing its foreign policy, its willingness to follow the call of cooperation in international relations. In the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (1989) declared that it does not believe in the use of force as an instrument of foreign policy, and it "condemns the use of weapons of mass destruction and the instruments of death and destruction possessed by the major powers had reached the power of action and the severity of impact to be able to ruination landmarks of civilization, therefore, it is the duty to continue in preventing that and to support world peace"⁽¹⁾.

4. Saudi Arabia, keen to demonstrate its faith in the policy of respect others and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and to renounce the principle of expansion of some countries at the expense of neighboring countries.
5. Since 1967, Saudi Arabia adopts the principles of reform to safeguard the security of the Gulf region by building a special relationship with Western countries and the United States.
6. Saudi Arabia has built its foreign policy on the foundations of playing a moderate role within the Arab region and does not reach a high degree of drive towards the integration or fusion. Therefore, it gave a particular interpretation of the concept of the Arab unity, and belief that the concept must be based on the foundations of cooperation between States, each with its own independent

⁽¹⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

political entity and sovereignty. This is the doctrine adopted by all Arab states. Saudi Arabia also found in the Islamic compilation a superior manifestation to exalt the Arab convergence, and this is what its provenance since it was founded, where he was the King Abdul Aziz focused on the cooperative relations between the countries of the Arab Group, without approaching the area of convergence or integration or unity.

7. Saudi Arabia has worked to create a balance in its foreign policy between the assertion that it has a distinct position in the Arab and Islamic worlds and the desire to be a state with its own political identity. The growing wealth gave the Kingdom a wide margin of movement and control in its relations with neighboring countries. Saudi Arabia has invested their economic capacity to carry out more of its foreign policy.
8. Saudi Arabia has worked to create a kind of privileged relation with the United States and European countries, and this accompanied with merging the Saudi economy with the economies of these countries and established joint commissions, and the military procurement become active, and entered into joint ventures projects. There is no doubt that the Saudi Foreign relations has a clear and direct influence, and in this regard, the kingdom stresses on the need for Saudi Arabia to attain a strong support from the United States of America, in addition to call for this relation to become part of the Saudi-American relationship as a domestic issue, as well as become the issue of the foreign policy of America. As Saudi Arabia considered that its relations with the United States of America is one of the cornerstones in the understanding of the trends of

American policy to the Arab region. It is also a crucial element in any relationship with an Arab nation toward the United States⁽¹⁾.

The importance of Saudi Arabia has increased because of the OIL weight, which means the economic side as a component of the State. The growing strength of Saudi-American relations after the West has increased in their need for Arab oil, accordingly the trade volumes increased between the two countries. For example, but not exclusively, the Saudi imports from America in the mid-eighties exceed 21 billion Saudi Riyal, and this is without counting the value of imports of arms and military equipment, which recorded a staggering figures. In addition to the Saudi Arabia funds deposited in the American banks and investment within the United States is up to the other great figures. The American experience took control of the Saudi oil industry; mining, storage and shipment as well as marketing, and Saudi Arabia exercised pressure on OPEC to take decisions are not detrimental to American interests, as Saudi Arabia make sure to cover any shortfall in oil production because of the events in the region⁽²⁾.

The Saudi-American relationship was one of the important influences in the Saudi diplomacy, while Saudi Arabia, sees it is necessary for its security and stability to develop the relationship with the United States, on the other side, their is an Arabic and Islamic obligation to take the position of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which the United States constitute one of its important pillars because of Strategic Relations between them and Israel.

⁽¹⁾ Abdul Ashal, (1978). Book review (The USA and Saudi Arabia) Authored by Ameen Naklah, **Journal of the Gulf and the island's Studies**, No. 13, University of Kuwait, p. 97.

⁽²⁾ Khalil, Hassan Ahmed Al-Mahmoud, p. 295

In the Lebanon crisis, Saudi Arabia provided the support to the militias and the Lebanese resistance movements, and bearing in mind that the importance of Saudi Arabia for the United States due to the⁽¹⁾:

1. Saudi Arabia has more than a quarter of the world's oil reserves. It is also the largest in the oil-rich Gulf region.
2. Saudi Arabia is located in middle area between the Iranian East, the source of fundamentalist (as seen by the United States) and the Soviet Union, the source of the communism, which was the obsession of U.S. strategy to fight against.
3. In political side, the interest of the United States in Saudi Arabia as a country with traditional system and manageable easily, although it lacks the democratic principles of America.

The United States afraid that if the Saudi Arabia become stronger to rebel and thus become a source of concern for Israel. And Saudi Arabia is aware that its external security depends on the survival to a significant degree on the western economic stability and the support of the U.S⁽²⁾. The Saudis continue to attribute their relations with the United States, not only to the common economic interests, but they say they are convinced that they have this great state that is able to keep the peace and stability in the region.

The Saudi-American relations have completed in the early nineties its sixth decades, and have developed from oil relations – even its evolved form it- to broader inclusiveness relationship. It is with a clear impact on the process of regional stability in the Arab region, and affects directly and indirectly, on the pattern of international

⁽¹⁾ Vasiliev (1986), **the history of Saudi Arabia**, translated by Kairi A- Damen and Jalal Al Mashta, Progress House, Moscow, p. 505-514

⁽²⁾ Richard Perlis and a team of analysts, **the United States and Saudi Arabia: the integration of the moment .. Dissonance for the future**, a report by the U.S. Congress, the translation of Saad Hjursi, culture library, Beirut, and the Sina publication, Cairo, 1992, N. S. 11/25.

relations, and on the distribution balance of power, from here, and as previously mentioned that the American-Saudi relations is a crucial factor in the formulation of the Saudi foreign policy⁽¹⁾. At a meeting of the Sub-Committee for Foreign Affairs of the U.S. Senate (summer 1973) Joseph Sisco, Assistant U.S. Foreign Minister of the Middle East and South Asia – at that time - to the Gulf Arab region, and describe it as a region that the United States has serious economic, strategic and political interests, and to ensure the protection of these interests Sisco believes that the American strategy is based on⁽²⁾:

1. Support efforts to achieve collective security and regional levels, and provide stability in the region.
2. Emphasis on peaceful solutions to regional conflicts and other non-regional and ensure continued contact between the countries in the region.
3. To ensure the continued flow of oil at reasonable prices and in sufficient quantities to the United States and its friends and allies.
4. Trying to ensure the protection of the U.S. financial interests and trade in the region.

It is recognized here the importance of the Saudi-American relations, considering that oil will remain in the foreseeable future, is ranked first among the energy sources and because the cost of access to alternatives is large, and takes a long time to produced it in economic rates. And the United States will remain dependent on imported oil increasingly abroad. The Lebanese civil war has evolved dramatically, and it found many of the Arab, regional and international parties participate in the event, whether creating it, the influence or affected by, and Saudi Arabia was one of these parties,

⁽¹⁾ Abu Taleb, Hassan (1992). **Saudi Arabia and the shadow of Jerusalem**, cultural Library, Beirut, and the Sina publication, Cairo, Cairo, 1992, p. 11-17.

⁽²⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

where the kingdom draw its foreign policy, including dealing with crises -as saying previously- on an approach based on ⁽¹⁾:

1. Be careful not to engage in Arab or regional conflicts directly and only participate in the treatment of the event, in a way that ensures it's to achieve the objective in developing its influence.
2. To be patient in the start of participation in dealing with the crisis.
3. The uses of its economic and financial power and to avoid enter into a military confrontation or even the threat of them⁽²⁾.

Saudi Arabia has focused on this in its relationship with the direct conflicting parties by providing economic aid or the adoption of funding it, and with the indirect conflicting parties, by using the direct relations with the United States, especially when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. It is known that this relationship is economic relationship in the first place⁽³⁾. Thus, we can appreciate the nature of the Saudi role in this crisis. In the political Arab summit called by the King Khaled, which was held in Riyadh in October 11, 1976, Saudi Arabia worked during this meeting on: first, stabilization its role, which was seeking to play it on the Arab and regional level. Second, get as far away as possible from the engage in military confrontational and satisfy with the financial support. Therefore, contributed to finance the budget of the deterrent forces, while it didn't trying to insist on its proposal to take over these forces by the Saudi military attache in Lebanon (at that time) General Ali Al Sha'er. Thus, this emphasis the Saudi desire to move away from playing any direct military role, although it found itself

⁽¹⁾ Rashid, Hassan Yousef (1992). **The role of Saudi Arabia in the case of Lebanon**, Riyadh: Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 8, p. 12.

⁽²⁾ Al Rassi, Shafiq (1987). **The challenge of Lebanon**, Beirut: Dar al-Maseerah for printing and publishing, p. 179.

⁽³⁾ Maatq, Maha (1983). **Events of the Israeli – Palestinian war in Lebanon**, (1st ed.), Beirut: The Institute for Maatq Press, p. 60

obliged to send symbolic troops to participate in the deterrent, but it is quickly withdrawn at the first appropriate opportunity⁽¹⁾. This role was limited to provide assistance without engaging in military issues. This means that the Saudi intervention was part of a compromise framework, on the opposite of the roles of France and the United States that tried to play, although it failed⁽²⁾. Saudi Arabia recognized that the economic factor has an influential impact and although its limited it has return many papers on the Lebanese issues to Saudi decision-maker who remained aware of the sensitivity of the crisis and did not enter its battlefield only in the extent to which the guarantees of non-involvement in military conflict. The Saudi role has continued in the interaction in the Lebanese arena even if it was indirectly, until a (Lebanese - Saudi) businessman Rafik Hariri was assigned to head the position as Prime Minister of the Lebanese ministry (former). And give the support which enabled him to constitute an important reference point to get out of the crisis on the Lebanese arena.

The religious dimension:

The gratification of a special religious status of Saudi Arabia has been concentrated in the following⁽³⁾:

1. Saudi Arabia emerged as a political project based on the political movement of Ibn Saud alliance with the religious call of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, whereas the two parties exchange their interests, in which Ibn Saud asked the religious legitimacy and to give protection to Al – Wahhabiah and the gains as well as remains committed to its principles and it is remains the religious legitimacy.

⁽¹⁾ Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf

⁽²⁾ Sammak, Mohammed, p. 195-200

⁽³⁾ Annan, Muhammad, p. 195-203

2. The fact that Saudi Arabia is the cradle of the Islamic Mission gave Saudi Arabia an important extent because the use of this distinction in the process of the passage of many of their foreign policies, in the mid-Arab nationalism and to contain the effects of the Egyptian presence in Yemen. However, this employment shrunk to a noticeable degree when the Egyptian regime has eased from the use of nationalist slogans after the defeat of June 1967, and began using the position of the Islamic Al-Azhar, in an attempt to restore some of the leading role of the loss, and to justify its socialist actions as is not inconsistent with Islam.
3. Despite the fact that the religious dimension of Saudi Arabia has given many reasons for excellence and distinction, however, it become politically exhausted especially when Iran has emerged as neighborhood country announced that it has the same religious legitimacy, even more it raise the line of liberal Islamic thought in the governance. Which forcing Saudi Arabia to spend many efforts to overcome this situation and go beyond this antagonism without internal crisis because of its afraid of Shiite population erupted in the kingdom.

Thus, Saudi Arabia has been associated as a location and as a system of government with Islamic leadership; it's trying to spend efforts in order to coordinate between the Arab belongingness and religious legitimacy, therefore its foreign behavior is fluctuate between the tow dimensions while not neglecting the development of its relations with the West, particularly the United States of America⁽¹⁾.

(¹) Ghali, Ibrahim, p. 151

The Economic dimension (aid):

Saudi Arabia relies heavily on its economy on a single resource, at least for the time being; the oil that has an impact on many of the features of the policy in Saudi Arabia⁽¹⁾:

1. Oil is a limited production material; it means that it is limited in the size of economic movement, and its impact came from being a raw material. But it needs to be many tributaries until it reaches the capacity to act in the economy and in politics. Although this requires having the consumer as another party, and although this is true for most of the raw materials produced internationally, but the oil counted as a unique strategic material with huge impact.
2. The oil transfer the Saudi economy from the primary stage, where it was to rely largely on revenue of Hajj or hunting or simple trafficking to the stage of economy based on returns of enormous wealth activated by the Oil sector, and characterized by the comprehensiveness of the commercial sectors and the penetration of the development sector.
3. The oil industry relies in the detection, extraction, manufacture and marketing on the foreign expertise, and has linked the Saudi economy directly and indirectly to the economies of America and Western capitalism, rather the United States considered that the security of Saudi Arabia is one of the pillars of its strategy.
4. The oil revenues gave the kingdom of Saudi Arabia at the forefront in using its influence on the political events in many countries, either by direct economic dealing or through economic aid that adopted by the Saudi government as

⁽¹⁾ Annan, Muhammad, p. 216

political tools. Saudi Arabia has realized the importance of this tool since the mid-sixties, so the reliance on it was clear at the Khartoum Summit (August 1967) whereas showed the Arab version aid collectively, as appeared in the war in October 1973, and later the Saudi Arabia comes after the United States and the Soviet Union in the volume of foreign aid, compared with national product.

The researcher concludes that Saudi Arabia play a major role between the parties to the crisis that devastated Lebanon. This role has continued since before the recent Israeli war on Lebanon. It was believed that the first Saudi position of the war would lead to the introduction of the Saudi to alliances arena within Lebanon and, therefore, forced it to be with some of the parties against other parties. It will find itself with the forces of March 14, and the trend of the future in particular, in the face of the forces of March 8, specifically the "Hezbollah". This belief Strengthen with the tension that has afflicted Saudi-Syrian relations during and after the war, especially in the wake of the Syrian president's speech, which came after the war, which he talked about what he called "half-positions and half-men". This is a hidden and obscene reference to the Saudi and Egyptian positions on the war. The foreign policy of some Arab republics have been subject for more than thirty years to a political speech is often used to express itself in moments of crisis and differences and adopt the courage style to overcome the requirements of diplomacy and professionalism, as well as the requirements of inter-Arab relations, as the best tool of political pressure in the region for concessions or gains from the other Arab party. In other words, the method is based on the idea of blackmail. The important that the Saudis have shown large and clear keen in order to avoid engaging in a game of Lineups and alliances inside Lebanon and maintained open

channels with the "Amal" and "Hezbollah", and trying with General Michel Aoun, as one of the parties to the opposition.

Saudi efforts are concentrated mainly on achieving a minimum level of consensus between the parties of the Lebanese crisis, which could reach the desired solution. In other words, Saudi Arabia is seeking to find some balance between the interests of the parties to impose on each of them to make some concessions as a way to achieve convergence on the minimum required. Question here is: Is there anything left of the balance, and I mean that the balance of interest, in the Lebanese arena can count on it?. The course of events since Hariri's assassination last year, and particularly since the end of the recent Israeli war, refers in an escalated way to the intersection of the political interests of the Lebanese parties is declining rapidly, and the balance of interest among them is constantly being eroded. What is happening in Lebanon is the result of local and regional significant changes that become well-known to each observer. And the assassination of Hariri was the starting point is the.

By combined various factors on Saudi, regional and international levels, it became possible to express more about the Saudi role, which means Riyadh progress to took the leadership in the Arab system, which exceeds the sub-address files - but not forgotten it - to the collective level to address the issues, which make the issue of the Arab peace initiative that adopted by the Beirut summit years ago, the key element at a summit in Riyadh, but with a high-level focus on the promotion and strengthening of Arabic relations, in a clear message to the Iranian policy in its Arabic dimension without any clash with it or with the policy of the Turkish neighbor. Because the new Saudi role appeared to be governed by the aspirations and capabilities of Saudi Arabia and the

suitable conditions regionally and internationally, there are some fears and obstacles surrounding this role, based on the fear of having political, economic and security tumbles to hit the region as a result of wills and positions struggling between regional and local forces with the U.S. policy, which the formulate greatest challenge to the role of Riyadh in the next phase.

Conclusion:

Foreign policy in Saudi Arabia plays a major role in the expression of political trends of the Kingdom and in the defending of its interests in various regional and international forums. The organs the Saudi diplomatic institutions participates with the rest of the kingdom institutions to the protection of those interests, whether at the political level, economic, strategic or other levels, and although the national interests control the internal and external policies, its considered a complex matter and very difficult, because such a dealing with this area requires not only wisdom and patience, but it requires strenuous efforts to persuade other nations, including looking forward to it, or claimed by the State concerned.

Saudi Arabia undertakes - and still - a leading and pioneering role in the Arab region and this shown through its diplomatic efforts in many important issues on the Arab arena. Yet those who follow the behavior of its foreign policy in the Arabic circle find that the nature of the role and extent of the Kingdom in this region may differ by a number of factors (internal / external) and from historical period to another. It is noticeable, for example, that in the last three decades, Saudi Arabia diplomacy has witnessed a clear change, as there was a gradual growth of the Saudi role in Arab political system

The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia relies on geographical, economic, national and security elements, and relies on key principles and the most important of : good neighborliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and the strengthening of relations with the countries of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, and the strengthening of relations with Arab and Muslim countries to serve the common interests of these countries and issues, and follow the policy non-

Aligned, and the establishment of cooperative relations with friendly countries and played an active role in the framework of regional and international organizations.

Through the study, it is clear that the important strategic role of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stems from the historical facts, which represents from being the heart of the Arab and Islamic worlds as the Holy God's honor the kingdom of the presence of the Two Holy Mosques at its territories, making clear impact of religion in guiding the decision-maker of Saudi foreign policy. In addition to contain the largest oil reserves in the world, making it the main source of energy in which the international community can not dispense or to live without, let alone, the realistic and balanced foreign policy in dealing with the developments and the international changes, which gained the Kingdom the status of an important influence in Arab and international relations and supporting the Arabs in their issues.

The Saudi Arabia diplomatic and political efforts succeeded to lead the Lebanese leadership in reaching and to a put the foundations of a realistic and integrated which formulates a practical framework to resolve the crisis in Lebanon under the preserve of Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and unity, which translated through the National Reconciliation, which stressed the Arab identity of Lebanon. In addition, the efforts have focused on restore security and stability to Lebanon and the continued emphasis on the unity of Lebanon and the Constitutionality.

The National Reconciliation (Taif Agreement) became a document to not only stop fighting, or end the war, but a genuine national reconciliation and the rebuilding of Lebanon at the political, economic, social, dogmatic, and military and security level. Taif Agreement tore down the barriers left by the war in Lebanon and, which divided the Lebanese society into rival groups and communities, and the tragic situation that they experienced, the fear of its complications and its impact on Lebanese unity.

Lebanon has made important achievements in the past years, represented by the call of the return of the constitutional institutions to the life and work, disband of armed militias in conjunction with rebuilding the Lebanese army, and the establishment of civil peace after long years of destructive internal war. Moreover, it was possible to achieve more comprehensive, positive and deeper results if the Lebanese with all their categories took the opportunities for peace and building and moved and moved from the concept of sectarian balances to the concept of citizenship and human rights, however, such a transformation needs Arabic support, and a regional and international conditions to support the deal. Lebanon has achieved the victory in this regard when the Lebanese resistance forced Israeli occupation forces to withdrawal in the twenty-fifth of May 2000, in the middle of a national unity and with the Lebanese army and the Lebanese people, and this day become a national holiday, which could have been invested in order to strengthen the internal unity and completing the potential of state-building.

At the economic level, the distinct role of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia represent in providing employment opportunities for the Lebanese human resources in addition to opening their markets to goods of Lebanon, as well as the provision of aid grants and soft loans, especially after the Taif agreement conference, and approval of the National reconciliation, which has contributed to the creation of suitable conditions for starting the course of civil peace-building and starting with building the state institutions and proceed with the launching of the wheel of development and reconstruction, which included the rehabilitation of various sectors and the implementation of several projects for the economic advancement made by the government starting from 1990.

And the good initiatives to come successively; from the good offices to the good political mediation, to the fraternal patronage of the national reconciliation conference in Taif, up to contribution in kind and financial aids, and reflects on the whole the active pursued which carried out by Saudi Arabia and as a king and its people to assist Lebanon to exceeds its ordeal and the state recovery restoration, stressing in all of that on the close ties and friendly relations between the two countries.

In the political field, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stand with Lebanon during the years of ordeal, and at all political levels experienced by Lebanon, starting from the summit in Tunis, Casablanca, Riyadh, and passing through active participation in the ministerial committees that have emerged from the conference of Arab and Islamic countries, and ended up of being the sponsored and hosted country and accompanied the Taif conference which ended the civil war in Lebanon. On the humanitarian level, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia provide assistance in kind for the Lebanese people in more than one occasion, and in more than period of time, and then open its doors to the Lebanese, who narrowed their livelihoods and working conditions, so it hosts them during the years of crisis, and the Lebanese found a safe open generosity and the source of livelihood for themselves and their families.

Therefore, the importance of the Taif Agreement is highlighted in stopping the war and bringing peace and the removal of barriers between armed combatants. That is a priority to the Lebanese as a whole which often shown clearly during the days of fighting and indiscriminate shelling. and the Conference of the Lebanese Parliamentarians which took place in the city of Taif in Saudi Arabia, was not able to reached to the establishment of the Lebanese national reconciliation document, dated in October 22,1989 without the preparations and the local Arab and international initiatives that spread over the decade of the eighties of the twentieth century, to yield

the content of the Taif agreement. Moreover, it can be said that the Taif conference was not able to take place if it was not under the patronage of King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz, as Saudi Arabia has played a pivotal role in the contract and gathering the Lebanese parliamentarians, and to extract common points of national reconciliation through the work of the Tripartite Arab Committee, composed of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Algeria, and this Tripartite Committee considered as a result of the culmination of successive Arab efforts since Riyadh conference in 1976, which paved the way for the entry of the Arab deterrent forces to Lebanon in order to restore civil peace.

Kingdom's position toward Lebanon comes from as an extension of their positions with the confrontation with Israel, such as Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia played a major role in stopping the threat of civil war that lasted for many years, and it was able due its know and accepted diplomacy to invitation to all parties in the civil war in Lebanon to Saudi Arabia, and to culminated all these efforts in the Taif Agreement, which was the practical and real base of the birth of the new Lebanon.

Since the outbreak of the war, Saudi Arabia was a moving tirelessly to extinguish the fire of strife and healing the break, and was biased to the united Lebanon, the Lebanon of peace and stability, and turned the Lebanese ordeal to be a Saudi concerns in the first degree. The observers are unanimous that the leadership of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz -may God have mercy on him- and then in the reign of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz has played the largest roles in the success of the Taif reconciliation, and devoted to the political reality, and in restoring stability and security to Lebanon and in all its wars and issues, and all what achieves the supreme national interest of Lebanon. The visit of Prince Abdullah to Lebanon, as a top Saudi official to

visit Lebanon since the visit of King Faisal - may Allah have mercy on him - in September of the year 1971, came to reflect the Government of Saudi Arabia interest in Lebanon and the return of security and stability, and strengthen the peace process in the atmosphere, and the consolidation of national unity and liberation from Israeli occupation.

The King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz considered Lebanon as a messenger of peace to Lebanon, and represents the King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz - may God have mercy on him- throughout the years of crisis in successive visits to Lebanon and Syria, and stresses the support of Lebanon in their legitimate rights to liberate their land. In June 25, 1997, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz conduct an official visit to Lebanon and point that the kingdom stands by Lebanon in their ordeal.

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz emphasis that the Kingdom stands by Lebanon and its territorial integrity, and does not tolerate threats to its sovereignty, and helping it in the construction and reconstruction to achieve greater stability. In his visit to Lebanon in the 25/11/1420 a.h., which came in the wake of the Israeli aggression on Lebanon, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Lebanese Council of Development and Reconstruction and the Saudi Development Bank

to provide economic support for the financing of large projects for roads, water and education in Lebanon, and after the signing, the Minister of Finance and National Economy, Ibrahim al-Assaf said that King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz - Crown Prince at that time- instruct to provide additional support of 30 million dollar for Lebanon to assist Lebanon in the construction of various vital projects, including the electricity sector, which target Israeli aggression.

The kingdom tried since the beginning of the crisis to reach to a compromise resolve that preserves the interests of all, and was aware from the beginning to maintain

the same distance from all Lebanese parties and urged them to pursue dialogue and compromise and put the national interest on top of the narrow factional interests.

The kingdom tried since the beginning of the crisis to reach to a compromise resolve that preserves the interests of all, and invested its impact on the Lebanese arena due to its membership in the tripartite committee formed by the Arab summit to stop the Lebanese civil war, and the Kingdom patronage of the Taif Agreement and the continued economic support for Lebanon and its reconstruction, as well as emerged from the national duty towards a sister of the Arab country without the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to have any undeclared goals or ambitions or plans, however, only concerned about Lebanon to over come its ordeal, and to achieve its security, stability and prosperity, and this is what realized by all the Lebanese.

Recommendations

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to continue to provide full support for the legitimate Government of Lebanon to extend its full authority and its influence on all the national territory to maintain its independence from any pressure or threats, and calls upon the brothers in Lebanon to unite their word and their positions in order for Lebanon to enjoy security and prosperity.

Work on the commitment of all parties to Security Council resolution No. 1702, and the call for a rapid Israeli withdrawal from the Shebaa Farms. In addition, the Kingdom's imperative commitment to support the reconstruction efforts in Lebanon, which is reflected in its vital and active contribution at the Paris- three conference, and call the international community holds Israel the responsible for fair compensation for the destruction of Lebanon and losses as a result of this aggression.

Saudi Arabia continued to make sustained efforts to bridge the gap in views between the various Lebanese parties to overcome their differences and the political disagreement among them, and to agree on what serves the interests of Lebanon and to avoid further crises and external interference, and allowing them to devote themselves to the cause of development and reconstruction, which's the Lebanese people looked forward for years to reap its fruit, from the reality of improved services and provide employment opportunities and thus increase the standard of living.

The emphasize on the need for Israel to comply with international resolutions and the complete withdrawal from all Lebanese territory without exception so that the forces of the United Nations peace-keeping operations will be able to carry out its functions so as to provide the necessary climate to enable Lebanon to be reunited with the national unity and directed towards the reconstruct what was destroyed by Israeli war and the restoration of healthy united political unity and integrity.

References

**Books:*

- Abu Taleb, Hassan (1992). **Saudi Arabia and the shadow of Jerusalem**, cultural Library, Beirut, and the Sina publication, Cairo, Cairo, 1992.
- Al Zarkali, Kheireddine, (1985), **Arabian Peninsula in the rule of King Abdul Aziz**, (3rd ed.),Part 1, Beirut, Dar Al elem to al malaeen (the house of science for millions).
- Abul-Fadl, Waheeb (2004). **Lebanon in the stages of brief history**, (1st ed.), the library of Antoine, Beirut.
- Al – Jasoor, Nazim Abdul Wahid (2005). **The science of politics encyclopedia**, Amman, Dar Majdalaw.
- Al- Kayyal Malek, (1998), **The external Media: its role in achieving the foreign policy, implementing studies on kingdom of Saudi Arabia**, Diplomatic research, Al- Riyadh, issue 8.
- Al Omari, Baker and Hashim, Waheed (1990), **The Saudi Foreign Policy : between the theory and application, Riyadh**, al Sabbah library.
- Abdul Samad, Habib (2006). **The role of Saudi Arabia at the Arab summit**, non published thesis, University of Jordan.
- Al Rassi, Shafiq (1987). **The challenge of Lebanon**, Beirut: Dar al-Maseerah for printing and publishing.
- Alkabbaa, Abdullah, (1986), **Saudi foreign policy**, al Riyadh, Alffersdq trade Press.
- Al-Thahabi, Amal Muhammad Ali (2006). **Solidere and the "reconstruction of Beirut's commercial center" an analytical study**, a Postgraduate Diploma in Sociology, non published thesis Lebanese University, Beirut.
- Annan, Muhammad (2005). **Saudi Arabia and the anxieties of the Arabs during the half century 1923-1978**, Beirut: World Print Publications for Publishing.
- Badran and DoDa, (1982), **Foreign policy planning: theoretical -analytical studies**, international politics, issue (1969).
- Barqee, Nasser Ali Mohamed Ahmed (2008). **future problems and the teaching of history**, the Egyptian Anglo Library, Cairo.
- Baqradawani, Karim (1990). **The curse of the homeland: from the war of Lebanon to the Gulf War**, (1st ed.), Beirut: The Middle of the publication.
- Barakat, Zinam, Others, (1987). **The science of politics**, Amman, Dar Al – Kermil.

- Boutros, Boutros and Khairy, Mahmoud, (1984), **Introductory to Political science** ,(7th ed.) , Cairo: Egyptian Anglo Library.
- Cantor, Robert, (1989). **The Contemporary international Policy**, translated by Ahmad Dahir, the Jordanian book center, Amman.
- Dais Ismail, (1410) **A.H., Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, International Institute of Diplomatic Studies, lectures in international economic relations, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- Daniel Kolar, (1980). **International Relations**, translated by khardr khardr, first edition, Beirut, Dar Al – Taleeah for Printing and Publishing. (1)
- Edgar Furniss and R. Snyder, (1955), **An Introduction to American Foreign Policy**, New York: Rinehart.
- Hadrami, Omar (2002). **The economic dimension of Saudi Arabia foreign policy**, Jordan: Dar al-Fatah for publication and distribution.
- Madani, Mohammad, (1997). **The Diplomatic relation of Kingdome of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs** - International Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- Madani, Nizzar, (1410) **A.H, The fundamental basic of Kingdome of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs** - International Institute of Diplomatic Studies, issue No. 1.
- Morgan ,Patrick, (1975), **Theories and Approaches to International Politics**, Ficklin, Palo Alto, Calif.
- Mustafa, Amin (2003). **The resistance in Lebanon: 1948-2000**, (1st ed.),, Dar Al-Hadi, Beirut.
- Pear Novan, translated by Jalal Yahia (1980), **The History of International Relation**, 19th century, Cairo, Dar Al- Ma'rif.
- Rabiee, Hamed,(no date), **The foreign Policy theory**, Cairo, new Cairo library, D.T.
- Salameh, Ghassan, (1980). **Saudi foreign policy since 1945**, Beirut: Institute for Arab development.
- Sammak, Mohammed (1984), **the Arab decision in the Lebanese crisis**, the book House of Lebanon, Beirut.
- Sayegh, Daoud (2006). **Lebanon and the world between the role and necessity**, Dar al-Nahar for publish, Beirut, p..
- Shafiq Al-Rais (1978). **Lebanese challenge**, (1st ed.), Beirut: Dar al-Massera.
- Vasiliev (1986), **the history of Saudi Arabia**, translated by Kairi A- Damen and Jalal Al Mashta, Progress House, Moscow.

- Zrcelli, Kheireddine (1984), **The brief biography of King Abdul-Aziz**, Beirut, Dar Al elem to al malaeen (the house of science for millions).

Magazine & News Letters:

- A.H, (1410) , Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **International Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, issue No. 1.
- Abdul Ashal, (1978). Book review (The USA and Saudi Arabia) Authored by Ameen Naklah, **Journal of the Gulf and the island's Studies**, No. 13, University of Kuwait.
- Abu Taleb, Hassan (2007). Saudi role: the limits of engagement with complex issues, **Journal of International Politics**, No. (170).
- Al-Sheikh, Mohammed (2005). How to make a political decision in Saudi Arabia, **Asharq Al Awsat**, issue No. 9638, April 18.
- Al Omari, Baker, (2000), the Foreign Policy, **the national guard journal**, issue 214.
- **Al- Rai newspaper**- Jordan, number 13325 on Tuesday 26 March 2007, the final details of the project for the Arab summit.
- Arab, Ibrahim (2007). European - American and Arabic conflict on the crisis of the presidency of Lebanon, **International Journal of truth**, Beirut, the number (11), volume (6).
- Fahd bin Abd al-Rahman, Al Malaki: the analysis of the contents of the royal speech, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, at a summit in Riyadh (19) **Al-Jazirah newspaper**, the number of (12607) 5/ 4 / 2007.
- Fayyad, Ali, (2008), Hezbollah and the Lebanese state, **the harmonization of national strategy and the role regional**.
- Ghali, Ibrahim (2006). Lebanon Internal situation after the war, emulation between the state and community, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, October.
- Ghali, Ibrahim (2006). Lebanon Internal situation after the war, emulation between the state and community, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, October.
- Ghali, Ibrahim (2006). Lebanon Internal situation after the war, emulation between the state and community, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 166, October.
- Ghali, Ibrahim, (2007). Lebanese crisis.. Temporary consonance or approve a constitutional vacuum?, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 169, July.
- Ghali, Ibrahim, (2007). Lebanese crisis.. Temporary consonance or approve a constitutional vacuum?, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 169, July.

- Hamad, Magdy (2006). Sectarian and Al-Taif, **Al-Hilal magazine**, Cairo, Arab Organization of modern printing and publishing and distribution, number (115), September.
- Hamadi, Abdul Rahman (2008), attempts will not succeed in disarming the Lebanese resistance, armed with ... Nasrallah: Lebanese resistance is led away to guarantee non-sectarian war of Lebanon. **Journal of International Politics**.
- Helmi, Nabil Ahmed, (1981). The legal status of the border and the Strait of Hormuz, **the journal of international politics**, No. 63 January.
- Khalil, Hassan Ahmed Al-Mahmoud (1986). The foundations of international political relations of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Saudi studies, , a set of specialized research, **the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, Part I, Riyadh.
- King Fahd from the Iran-Iraq war to the Taif agreement,, **Asharq Al Awsat newspaper**, number 9744.
- Maatuq, Maha (1983). Events of the Israeli – Palestinian war in Lebanon, (1st ed.), Beirut: **The Institute for Maatuq Press**.
- Mohammad, Fadel Zaki, (1987), lights the diplomacy of Saudi Arabia: constants and development, Kingdom of Saudi, **Arabia Saudi Studies Journal**.
- Mansour bin Abdullah (2001). Saudi role in the settlement of the Arab conflict: the case of Lebanon, working paper submitted to the symposium of foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the era of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz, held in Riyadh, 21-22 Sha'baan, .Riyadh: **Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, Dabas Press.
- Marcel, Merle (no date), Foreign Policy, translated by Dr. Khader Khader and Geris Press , **international Series**, Bruit.
- Mekdad, Ali Suleiman (1999), Lebanon from sectarian to Taif, (1st ed.), **the Arab Center for Research and Documentation**, Beirut.
- **Middle East Journal**, Thursday, No. 9522, December 23, 2004,
- Mohammad, Husni (2008), Lebanese presidency, a new crisis in an extended conflict, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 171, January.
- Nofal, Sayed (1978). The Arab States League and the Lebanese crisis, (1st ed.), Cairo :Arab Organization for Cultural Education.
- Rashid, Hassan Yousef (1992). The role of Saudi Arabia in the case of Lebanon, Diplomatic Research, No. 8, Riyadh: Institute of Diplomatic Studies.

- Rashid, Sameh (2006). Iran, Syria and the alliance on Lebanon, **Journal of International Politics**.
- Rashid, Hassan Yousef (1992). The role of Saudi Arabia in the case of Lebanon, Riyadh: **Institute of Diplomatic Studies**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Reus-Smit, Christian (2005). "Constructivism." Theories of International Relations, ed. Scott Burchill ... [et al], **Journal of International Politics**, 216. Palgrave.
- Sabra, Naila, (1980), Financial assistance to the States of the African Red Sea, **Journal of International Politics**, No. 59.
- Salame, Ghassan (1980). Saudi foreign policy since 1945: a study in international relations, (1st ed.), Beirut: **Arab Development Institute**.
- Stephen White (2008). "foreign policy", **University of Glasgow**, UK. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd New York, NY 10.
- Swedee, Jamal Hassan, (1996), Iran and the Gulf, **Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research**, UAE.
- Younis, Emad (1985). A series of basic documents of the Lebanese crisis, **Journal of International Politics** 1973 Part 5, Beirut.

*** Internet Site:**

- Atwan, Abdel Bari (2008), it is not a sectarian war, the number (2784) eighth year <http://www.syriahr.com/13-5-2008-syrian%20observatory3.htm>
- Abdel-Hamid, Ashraf (2005). Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, statesmanship, : www.islamonline.net
- Al – Jazeera, issue 12599, 28 March 2007.
- Al Jazeera Talk Forums, the Saudi provides billion-dollar aid to Lebanon, citing the electronic link <http://www.aljazeeraatalk.net>
- <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/foreign+policy>
- Islam Online www.islamonline.net/arabic/news/2006-12/05/05.shtml
- Okaz newspaper on the web, on June 9, 2007, No. 2579. www.okaz.com
- Shirbil, Nassar, a victory over the division, and the division against the backdrop of a victory, (current issues), The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. www.ecssr.ac.a
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – kingdom of Saudi Arabia: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>

2008-1975