

**THE SAUDI-CHINEES RELATIONS
(1980 – 2007)**

*By
Osama Dakhel Alahmadi*

*Supervisor
Dr. Omar Hadrami*

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

**Faculty of Graduate Studies
University Of Jordan**

May/2008

تفويض


أنا أسامة داخل الأحمدى أفوض الجامعة الأردنية بتزويد نسخ من رسالتي
للمكتبات والمؤسسات أو الهيئات أو الأشخاص عند طلبها.

التوقيع: 

التاريخ: 2008/5/7

The University of Jordan

I, Osama Dakhel Alahmadi, authorize the University of
Jordan to supply copies of my thesis to libraries, establishments
or individuals upon request.

Signature: 

Date: 7/5/2008



This Thesis (**The Saudi-Chinese Relations 1980-2007**) was successfully defended and approved on Wednesday 7/5/2008.

Examination Committee

Signature

Dr. Omar H. Hadrami
Assistant Prof. International Studies Dept.
University of Jordan

Dr. Faisal O. Al-Rfouh
Professor Political Sciences Dept.
University of Jordan

Dr. Hasan M. Al-Momani
Assistant Prof. International Studies Dept.
University of Jordan

Dr. Mohammad A. Al-Mogdad
Assistance Prof. Political Sciences
Al- Al Bait University

تعتمد كلية الدراسات العليا
هذه النسخة من الرسالة
التاريخ... ٢٠٠٨/٥/٧

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 Dr. Omar H. Hadrami 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 thanks to Dr.Hasan Al Momani Dr. Ibrahim AlJazy, Dr.Walid Abo Dalbouh and Dr.Maen Nsour for making this possible.

OSAMA DAKHEL ALAHMADI

Contents

<i>Subject</i>	<i>page</i>
Committee Decision	II
Dedication	III
Acknowledgement	IV
Contents	V
English Abstract	VIII
1. Introduction	1
1.2 Study's Importance	2
1.3 Study's Problem	3
1.4 Study's Methodology	3
1.5 The concept of political decision making	3
1.7 Study's Hypothesis	4
1.8 Tools of the study	5
1.9 Previous Studies	5
Chapter One	7
Foreign Policy and the International Relations	
1-A: The Foreign Policy and the International Relations in the New International Order	7
1-A-1 The Effect of Schools of Thoughts and Ideologies in Making Foreign Decisions	8
1-A-2 The Theory of Ideological Influence in International Relations	10
1-A-3 The effect of ideologies in international relations depends on several factors	13
1-A-4 The most prominent ideologies since the onset of the twentieth century are	14
1-A-5 The pitfalls and the negative influences of technology .	17
1-B: The Influencing Factors in Foreign Policy in International Relations	19
1-B-1 Nationalism and patriotism	20
1-B-2 The positives of the national factor in international life	21
1-B-3 As for the negatives which some ascribe to the national factor, these are	23
1-B-4 The second prerequisite: The economic factor in international relations	24

1-B-5 The third prerequisite: the demographic factor in international relations	27
1-B-6 First: dangers	30
1-B-7 Second Benefits	31
1-B-8 The fourth prerequisite: The geographical factor in international relations	31
1-B-9 The Fifth Prerequisite: The Military Factor in the International Relations	36
1-B-10 The sixth prerequisite: the religious factor in international relations	40
Chapter Two Saudi Foreign Policy	44
2-A Saudi Foreign Policy	44
2-A-1 The Definition of Saudi Foreign Policy	44
2-B The Factors of power in Saudi foreign policy	53
2-B-1 The Economic power of the kingdom and its importance	53
2-B-2 The Military might of the kingdom and its importance	54
2-B-3 The Political Power of the Kingdom	55
2-B-4 The Strength of the Religious factor of the kingdom	56
2-B-5 The Levels of Involvement in Saudi Foreign Policy	57
2-B-6 First: the Saudi objectives in the Gulf area before the rise of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf States	59
2-B-7 Second: The Saudi objectives in the Gulf area after the emergence of the Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981	61
2-B-8 The Arab level	63
2-B-9 Third: The Islamic level	66
2-B-10 Four: The international level	70
2-B-11 Summation	72
Chapter Three The Chinese foreign policy regarding the Arab area and the Gulf	74
3-A The Awakening of China in a Multi – Polar World	74
3-B Chinese – Arab relations	79

The Fourth Chapter	101
4-A The Saudi – Chinese Relations	101
4-A-1 The State Level	101
4-A-2 The Regional level	104
4-A-3 The economic Aspect	107
4-A-4 The international level	108
4-B Saudi – Chinese Common Interests	111
4-B-1 First: Saudi interests	112
4-B-2 The first dimension: The Saudi military setup	115
4-B-3 Some of these interests can be highlighted as follows	116
4-B-4 The Second Dimension: China Military Power	117
4-B-5 Second: Chinese Interests	119
4-B-6 The Economic Interests	120
4-D Saudi – Chinese Relations During The Rule of King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez	123
4-D-1 Conclusion	130
Conclusion (Epilogue)	133
5-1 The Results and the Recommendations of the study	136
5-2 Recommendations	138
References	140
Arabic Abstract	147

SAUDI-CHINEES RELATIONS (1980-2007)

By:

Osama Dakhel Al-Ahmadi

Supervisor by:

Dr. Omar Al-Hadrami

ABSTRACT

The study seeks to review and analyze the reality of political and economic relations between The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The People's Republic of China. This is due to the fact that the People's Republic of China is considered among the most effective powers in the international order, due to her established international relations. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia enjoys an international status due to her possession of elements of political and economic power, in addition to the religious dimension which gives her a special place among the Arab and Islamic states.

The regional and international circumstances of the new international order have pushed the Kingdom towards adopting policies that are based on mutual dependence and the exchange of interests. This is reflected through the development of the level of Saudi – Chinese relations, which passed through several stages, the best of which was after the year 1990. Like the states of the Arab Gulf, in general, Saudi foreign policy headed towards the states of the East. The key to the Chinese strategy to assure access to the oil of the Gulf, lies in the excellent relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Chinese – Saudi relations are tied, to a great extent, to the increasing need of China to the oil. Saudi Arabia possesses around 25% of the proven oil reserves in the world.

The important strategic position of Saudi Arabia regarding the world economy, in addition to the religious status ... impose on her exceptional contact with

all states of the world, and especially those states of impact on global economics. China is one of

those important states that include within her ranks a group of the Moslems of the east, who are spiritually connected to the Saudi land.

The study surveyed the actual situation of Saudi – Chinese relations; their development and their political and economic dimensions on the national, regional, and international levels.

The study reached several conclusions. The most prominent of which was the effect of international variables – in the wake of the rise of the new international order – on the nature of Saudi – Chinese relations... and that the exchange of interests between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and China has pushed in the direction of developing and entrenching these relations.

The study recommends the necessity of studying all aspects that negatively affect Saudi – Chinese relations so as to overcome the negative influences on these relations, and analyze them in such a manner that helps to establish relations that are based on mutual understanding of the interests of both sides.

1. Introduction:

The subject of Saudi – Chinese relations is gaining a special importance in international politics, because of the dimension's impact on these relations at the regional and international level, because of the political weight the two countries represent in international policy, especially in this period of time.

Diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and China refer back to 1939, and the relation continued to shrink in 1978, but the relations between the two countries witnessed a notable improvement that continued until 1990, when Saudi Arabia established full relations with China, and the economical side took on a special importance in the relations between the two countries after the year 1993, when China became a larger oil importer, which gave the economical dimension special importance in political relations between the two countries, and this gave the relations the strategic dimension within the present international conditions.

The two countries are in great need of cooperation, since China with its huge market, and its increased need for oil and fuels, is considered by Saudi Arabia as an important market that should be in it, because Saudi Arabia is considered as having the largest oil reserve in the world, which means an important resource of energy for China.

At the Saudi level, also it seems that working toward China is well studied, and in its formations many internal and external factors helped to build this direction, one of these factors is that China became a great power, and a major player in the political and economical international policy.

And this new uprising (China), has friendly relations with the Arab world by which it succeeded in cooperating on many occasions when the Saudi traditional alliances, fore most

of which is the United States, continued to take positions supporting the Israeli stance in the Arab – Israeli struggle.

The prevalence is notable so many dimensions of Saudi – Chinese relations that it needs to be studied and analyzed, to know the most important characteristics and the positive and negative sides in these relations, and to know the main problems affecting the size and the types of these relations.

So, this study seeks to analyze and study the Saudi – Chinese relations in a comprehensive form to know and describe the dimensions of these relations.

1.2 Study's Importance:

The importance of this study springs from its attempt to track and analyze the Saudi – Chinese relations during the period 1980 – 2007, and through getting acquainted with the nature of the foreign policy and its role for both countries, that helps understanding the common issues important for both countries, and also to know the aspects and the importance of diplomacy between the two countries, as well as to know the extent of the impact of those relations at the international level. This study also aimed to analysis the geopolitical and ideological factors and the decision making and the increased economical and military power in both China and Saudi Arabia, then taking the impact of many, Social, strategic, political and economical Saudi Arabia relations.

Thirdly, an attempt to explain the mutual benefits between the two countries that it is possible to contribute in developing the Saudi – Chinese relations

1.3 Study's Problem:

The study's problem concerns concerning the answers to the following questions:

1. What are the effects of the international variables within the new international order on the political and economic ties between the two states?
2. Did the existence of common interests between the two states help to cement their ties?
3. Did the international environment affect the relations between the two states?

1.4 Study's Methodology:

The methodology of the decision making process accompanying all the political systems, despite the deference's in orientations and the levels of these systems, whether new or traditional, democratic or rigid, and whatever was the ideology that lays within these systems.

1.5 The Concept of the Political decision Making:

The decisions making process was identified as a process that yields a specific decision from many alternative socially identified, in order to reach a target in the future, to a specific position as imagined by the decisions markers.

The political decision was identified as a sort of authoritarian proclamation to get of the state of tension from the ruling class.

Some professionals out standards to distinguish the political decision from other decisions, and these standards are:

- 1- The structure and the nature of the decision.

- 2- Participants in the decision.
- 3- The organization in which the decision was made.
- 4- The decision making process.
- 5- The decisions results.

Also there are some professionals who considers the decision as a political decision if those who made the decision having the political authority whatever their characteristics, traits, or their orientations were.

So, the decision cannot be named as a political decision unless it was issued by those who owns the authority to issue the decision and they use or have the right to use the legal forcible means if one party wishes not follow the obligations that the decision imposing. And the decision making containing a number of levels to be analyzed together forming a wide flexible frame helping to understand the different sides of the political phenomena.

And through all this the analyze deals with the psychological sides that may affect the decision maker's behavior, also he deals with analyzing the social, economical, institutional conditions, and also their effect on the decision maker behavior.

This method will be used to analyze and understand the decision making process in the Chinese and Saudi Arabia foreign policy.

1.6 Study's Hypothesis:

- 1.The international variables within the new international order has impacted on the Chinese _ Saudi relations .
- 2.The existence of common interests among the two states has impacted positively and greatly on the development of the relations.

3.The international environment has helped the relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China.

1.7 Tools of the study:

Books, Periodicals, Journals, Articles, Speeches, Newsletters, Summits declaration, Internet, and Newspapers will be the basic references to accomplish this study.

1.8 Previous Studies:

1- A study conducted by Dr. Ja'afar Kara in the chiness – Saudi relations.

This study aims at getting acquainted with the reality and the development of the Saudi – China relations.

In the first part of this study, summary of the Saudi – China relation since the evolving of Islam till the Chinese communists reached the authority in Bijing in October 1949.

It is an important introduction that explains the depth of on going today economical, diplomatic, cultural and trading relations between the two countries.

And in the second part of this study talking the political and cultural relations between Saudi Arabia and China since 1949 – 2002⁽¹⁾.

Because the cultural, religions dominations linked closely with the development of the political relations, it is important to deal with the cultural and political relations between the two countries, together.

First the two countries inclined to the religious element to in hance the relations, and the Chinese Moslems played a important role in this direction in order to make the

⁽¹⁾ Special Issues serial: Arab Island and Gulf Study's Center Kuwait University – established 1994. China – Saudi Relations 1949 – 2000 Dr. Ja'afar Krar Ahmad Precise Scientific Serial No12 Kuwait May 2004.

communications between the two countries possible and continuous, after this, and in a later person came the cooperation in the field the oil and petrochemicals, and this cooperation can be considered as a strategically important, turn in the nature of the relation between in the two countries later on came the difficulties and the challenges that faced the relations, also the opportunities to invest to progress and enhance these relations.

2- A study conducted by Abdulla Abd Al Mueen Al Kurdi, The relations between Saudi Arabia and China.

The international changes contributed in increasing the common platform between the two countries, specially in the increased effort of china to overweight the economical dimensions over the political dimensions as the base for the foreign relations, this came at the same time with the increased Saudi believe in the power of the internal Saudi front, and the Saudi society toward different ideologies to a degree that permit the cooperation with a country with ideologies were in complete refusal. This study will be differentiated from the above, that it will tackle with new dimensions according to the international new circumstances(2).

What distinguishing this study from other previous studies, is the fact that this study is dealing with analyzing the reality and the future of the relations between China and Saudi Arabia through studying these relations with some variables that impacted the political relations between the two countries, and the development scenarios in the shadow of the international relations.

(2) Saudi Arabia Kingdom – Ministry of foreign Affairs Institute of Diplomatic studies Diplomatic Researches No7, 1991 The relations between Saudi Arabia and China Abdulla Abd Al Mueen Al Kurdi.

Chapter One

Foreign Policy and International Relations

1-A: Foreign Policy and International Relations in the New International Order:

During the twentieth century, international relations were viewed as being governed by ideologies, which divided the world into two camps: one that is socialist and the other as being capitalist. Third world countries were divided as states into those at the stage of capitalist development or the socialist one⁽³⁾.

Ideology is defined as being a collection of ideas or a (system of ideas) that are particular and relate to a certain timely era. It expresses a historical reality.

Louis Althusser defines it as being "a matrix of conceptions (images, illusions, ideas or conceptions) whose logic and accuracy is equilibrium; and enjoys a historical existence and role in a certain society".

The ideological standard for defining international relations takes as its starting point distinguishing beliefs, images and ideas. Thus international relations are not governed by realities alone. They could be influenced by irrational events (assumptions) which play the role of occasional limitations in explaining this event or that. This has been emphasized by the sociologist. The ideological factor gives birth to a group of beliefs, illusions and images unto the decision – maker at the level of foreign policy; in such a way as to cause the ideological factor to represent a subjective view of the reality. Beliefs are isolated or transitory conceptions that relate to this or that phenomenon of appearances and beliefs, which are often

⁽³⁾ James Dortty and Robert Balistgaf, op.cit, P. 42.

static moulds or "clichés" that are formed into the public opinion or when making a decision, based on a certain situation, in general, or the media, in particular. Thus, the arms race and the development of nuclear weapons, for example, lead to the belief that a third world war will happen. The Western media has caused its public opinion to believe that Islam is synonymous with terrorism, and it is the aggressor, and not the victim⁽⁴⁾.

Illusion plays a considerable role in the ideological methodology. Illusion is a collection of belief that are founded in an event that took place in the past, so as to justify the current political action. The illusion of Arab unity, and the illusion of the third world represent two beliefs systems that are based on a glorious past, or common demands that impose themselves as important active contributors that states must take into consideration⁽⁵⁾.

Image is the determination of reality as perceived by the decision – maker, and not as it is. Thus, image is the thought of the decision - maker regarding reality. Most often, his decision is based on this image, and not on the real situation.

1-A-1 The Effect of the Schools of Thoughts and Ideologies in Making Foreign Decisions:

Holisti is of the view that ideology deeply influences foreign policy situations. He expresses this by saying⁽⁶⁾:

- 1- Ideology helps in crystallizing the intellectual or rational framework through which the policy makers view the external situation with whom they deal in the methodology of response and decision.

⁽⁴⁾ Daniel Kolar, (1980). International Relations, translated by khardr khardr, first edition, Beirut, Dar Al – Taleeah for Printing and Publishing, P. 37.

⁽⁵⁾ Cantor, Robert, (1989). The Contemporary international Policy, translated by Ahmad Dahir, the Jordanian book center, Amman, P. 55.

⁽⁶⁾ Mokallid, Ismael Sabri, (1982). The Conflicting Theories in International Relations, Cairo, Arab renaissance house, P. 55.

All the messages that emanate from the foreign environment, through the processes of contact and dialogue that take place between these and the decision makers, are interpreted and given definite meaning within the context of the particular definitions that the ideology offers, and the expectations that are used to deal with the present and the future. For example, the decision maker in a communist state may interpret an internal struggle in a state as being a class struggle. He may see a war that occurs among some capitalist states as being a struggle among the ruling capitalist classes over foreign markets. He may view the economic crises of some capitalist states as factual evidence of the correctness of the Marxist theory and the accuracy of its laws and the soundness of its provisions and conclusion, etc...

- 2- Ideology puts the maker of the foreign decision in a state of the imagination of the future. It also determines for him his far ranging goals and the means to achieve these objectives: diplomatic; propaganda; economic; military, etc...
- 3- Ideology helps to rationalize the comparison (weighing) among the various options that the circumstances of the external situation impose. It is only natural that preference be given to the available options that coincide with the content of that ideology, or its overall directions and general principles.
- 4- Ideology offers a group of ethical and moral standards against which directions and conducts are measured..... whether this relates to the self or the other.

An example can be cited in the belief of the Marxists of the soundness of the moral content of their philosophical directions; their view of the capitalist ideology as being a morally corrupt ideology and counter to the trend of history; and constitutes an impediment to general human progress. Thus any policy that is based on fighting capitalism and its

correlated imperialism becomes ethically justified, since it corresponds with the laws of historical evolution⁽⁷⁾.

1-A-2 The Theory of Ideological Influence in International Relations:

In accordance with the theory of ideological influences in creating and escalating international struggle, this theory states⁽⁸⁾:

- 1- Ideology is the perspective through which the various international powers view the international reality in all its relations and interactions, and ascribe to it a definite theme at every stage of its development.
- 2- Ideology is one of the instruments of sorting and classification on which states depend in distinguishing between their adversaries and friends, and in conducting the movement of their external policies.
- 3- Ideology has an active role in determining the intervening and final objectives that the states plan and manage their international struggles on their terms.
- 4- Ideology creates mutual political and psychological sensitivities. The effects it creates may deepen and result with time in accumulations that may prove difficult to eradicate completely. In this sense, ideological differences constitute a major impediment in the path of constructive international cooperation, with the ensuing negative complications to International peace and stability.
- 5- Ideology is a strong barrier that prevents the affirmation of the conviction of global political and moral values and their enhancement and adherence to them as standards for committed international conduct.

⁽⁷⁾ Kantor, Op. Cit, P. 58.

⁽⁸⁾ Barakat, Zinam, Others, (1987). The science of politics, Amman, Dar Al – Kermil, P. 53.

- 6- Ideology is a major weapon in the indirect aggression that seeks to destroy the conceptual beliefs of other societies, or the undermining of their traditions, or inciting the factors of the internal struggles therein, or exploit this against them in propaganda campaigns, or the incitement to overthrow their regimes, or deepen their political subordination to certain external foreign powers.
- 7- Sometimes, ideology is an instrument to bestow legitimacy on certain international conducts that contain violations of some principles and rules of international law. An example is to be found in the 1968 Brezhnev principle, which defended the legality of military intervention in the East European Marxist states and societies in the circumstance of lack of ideological discipline, according to the standards that were set by the Soviets unilaterally.

It is to be observed that the proportional division of the limits of the ideological effects in the international community, are⁽⁹⁾:

- A- Subsidiary ideologies: It is the ones that may exist within the unitary states, and to whom belongs a sector of the internal public opinion sectors.
- B- National ideological: It is the one whose effect extends to the whole states, which moves the intellectual and political atmospheres towards a certain direction.
- C- The international or supra – national ideologies (transnational): It is the ones in which more than one state joins in belonging to, or being affected by it.... Like the cases of the former Marxist ideology or the ideology of Non – Alignment.

Subsidiary ideologies are the more in numbers and variety followed by the national ideologies, and the international or trans – national ideologies. Ideologies exist often in a dual

⁽⁹⁾ Al – Jasoer, Nazim Abdul Wahid (2005). The science of politics encyclopedia, Amman, Dar Majdalaw, P.44.

(binary) form one in the face of the other (national: international, imperialism: anti colonialism struggle). Accordingly, Goneedik divides ideologies into two divisions: ideologies for peace and cordial relations; and ideologies that act in the opposite direction, through the accentuation of discrimination among the children of humanity and the justification of the use of violence. It falls within the framework of the latter the calls for the justification of colonialism, which depends on distinguishing the white European man from others.

The colonialist has a civilizing role. The contents of these ideas did not change much with the receding of direct imperialism and the evolution of the new imperialism (economy and culture). The most important of the ideologies that strive for peace is the ideology of Non – Alignment and peaceful co – existence.

Non – Alignment in international relations is a rejection of, and a rebellion against the division of the world into two feuding camps. Gradually, it took a more positive concept, through the role being played by the third world for the establishment of a new international order. As for peaceful co – existence it is, foremost, the will for cooperation among the states.

Opinions differed regarding the interpretation of peaceful co– existence. According to the states of the third world, it is the expression of the principles of the United Nations. As for the (former) socialist states, it dictates the existence of economic relations and the development of cultural relations.

1-A-3 The Effect of Ideologies in International Relations Depends on Several Factors⁽¹⁰⁾:

- A- The nature of the ideology: Whether it imposes on its followers the insistence to achieve certain objectives, irrespective of the national differences. It is no secret that, the deeper the belonging to an ideology, the more its influence on the situations and relations of the international community.
- B- The nature of the objectives which the propagators of these ideologies work for. Should these affect sharply and directly the security of the other states and their national interests, this international influence increases, in such a manner as to be completely removed or limited, compared to the objectives which are of negative nature.
- C- The number of the states that contain the followers of any trans – national ideology; the number of the followers of this ideology in each state; the importance of the positions they occupy; whether they are inside or outside the authority. The influence is also determined with the type of the states that this ideology has penetrated. Should these include major states, its influence on the international policy differs should this influence be limited within the framework of the small states alone.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Jensen, Lloyd, (1989). The Interpretation of Foreign Policy, translated by: Mufti and Saleem, Ruyadh, King Saud University, 6p.

1-A-4 The most prominent ideologies since the onset of the twentieth century are⁽¹¹⁾:

1- The comprehensive ideology:

A- Capitalism – liberalism.

B- Socialism – Communism.

2- Ideologies particular to international problems:

A- Nationalism.

B- Imperialism (military, cultural, economic).

C- Colonialism, Racism, Zionism, Islamism.

D- (Localism – Federalism).

E- Neutrality, Pacifism, Humanist Movement, End of violence, the scientific – technological Factor .

The dawn of industrial technology began almost two centuries ago, with the development of machines that are run by sources of energy; the growth of factories and the introduction of mass production on a large scale. With the advancement of the industrial technology, people's lives were affected in many ways. The invention of the motor car – for example – has influenced the way people work, where they live and the way they spend their leisure time. Radio and television changed the modes of entertainment. A person began to watch events that occur in the most remote areas of earth, directly and in the places where they occur. The telephone and the communications means allow people to talk with others

⁽¹¹⁾ Salameh, Mootaz, (2005). Political reform: American policy and Arab responses, strategic studies review, issue, No.153, P.15.

who are separated from them by thousands of kilometers, without stepping outside their homes. Today, industrial technology contributes directly to the realization of goals that were impossible a century ago. Modern technology defeats hunger; prevents and cures diseases; enables the transportation of goods and people speedily and easily to all corners of earth. In addition, it allows man to leave the earth and soar in space and walk on the moon, etc.

Since technology is a collection of techniques that are made by man and are under his control, it is truly the means that enabled humanity to achieve huge progress in all fields. Technological progress is considered among the most important and dangerous influences on the pace of life on earth. There is no aspect of living that is not influenced by technology and its continued advancement; and there is no human activity or relationships that technology does not play a dangerous role therein .

The scientific discoveries and the technological possibilities that humanity attains every few hours... are beyond imagination. During the twentieth century, and specially in its last half, humanity realized discoveries that were hundreds of times more than that which had been discovered in all the previous centuries put together.

These discoveries impact deeply on human life, and for all ages. Technology offers good benefits, through four ways⁽¹²⁾:

- 1- Increase in production: people have achieved, through technology, huge increase in the production of goods and services. For example, during the nineteenth century, the production of a single farmer in the United States was sufficient to feed four persons. Today, the production of one farmer feeds 59 persons, as a result of using

⁽¹²⁾ Saleem, Mohammad Al – Sayyid, (1998). Analysis of the foreign policy, part2, Cairo, Al – Nahadah AL – Masriyah Library, P. 60.

machinery and chemical fertilizers. The same development took place in industry and mining.

- 2- Reduction of the quantity of labour: the motor – driven machines increased production and led to the lowering of the quantity of work needed to produce the goods and services. Thus productivity increased. The increase in production allowed more room for the workers to engage in leisure time.
- 3- Work became easier: Technology allowed people to produce more goods and services with less effort. It made work simpler and safer. The best example can be found in coal mining. At the start of the twentieth century, miners used to work all day with pickaxes and shovels, in very hard working conditions. today, machinery does most of the hard work – despite danger -in better conditions, in addition to the doubling of production.
- 4- Higher living standard: This development took place as a result of the increases in the production of goods and services. Industrial states produce more goods and services, and, consequently, enjoy the highest standards of living in the world. Most people in the industrial states are better fed, clothed and housed. They enjoy an easier life, better be health and longevity more than any other people in history.

On the international relations level, the technological factor plays a prominent and very important role in the military, political and communication fields. As was the case throughout the ages, modern technology has been negatively used, as much as positively aspects.

Due to the absence of trust among them, and the keenness of each on its national security, states raced forwarded in an arms race, which necessitated the manufacturing or purchasing of more complex and effective weapons. The arms race is possible and ongoing

since nuclear technology has enabled man to manufacture weapons that are capable of destroying the world he lives in many times over. It appears that its danger outweighs all the benefits that all humanity has gained.

The mistake does not lie in nuclear technology, but with the human being who changed its use towards destructive areas. Some view this question differently. They see that the establishment of a nuclear horror balance and the strategy of deterrence has led to a new kind of peace: a nuclear peace that is anchored on unprecedented foundations. This was embodied during the Cold War between the socialist and the capitalist camps. The technological revolution has turned all the assumptions of the military strategy upside down.

The world moved towards the age of transcontinental missiles and the pilot – less spying aircrafts and the satellites that are capable of secretly photographing an object the size of a tennis ball. The theater of military operations extends to all parts of the earth, which now constitutes a unified strategic theater.

1-A-5 The pitfalls and the negative influences of technology ⁽¹³⁾:

1- The pollution of the environment:

The pollution of the environment heads the list of the harmful side influences of industrial technology. Most industrial states suffer the many – faceted aspects of pollution like the pollution of air, water, soil and noise pollution.

2- Depletion of natural resources:

The rapid technological advance threatens the reservoir of resources in nature. Power generation increases the productivity of the factories; yet it reduces, at the same time, the

⁽¹³⁾ Farajallah, Samaan Butros, (1974). "The international political relations in the twentieth century", Cairo, the Anglo – Egyptian Library, P. 46.

world's reserve of oil and other carbohydrates. The latter cannot be replaced after usage. With the increasing use of energy in various fields, the reservoir of carbohydrates in the world decreases.

3- Unemployment resulting from the development of technology:

This kind of unemployment goes most often hand – in – hand with technological advancement. The most common unemployment takes place when the machine takes over the working place. Automation, usually causes temporary unemployment, since it causes the business of the company to expand, which allows the rehabilitation of those workers and hiring them anew. But the unemployment that results from the evolution of technology remains a sword hanging over the workers in various industries.

4- The creation of jobs that are not humanely self – fulfilling:

Some jobs that are demanded by industrial technology fall short of giving the workers the sense of achieving a worthy job. Most factory workers – for example – make a small part of the full product of the factory. Thus, they lack the sense of pride that accompanies the production of the whole commodity. There are also jobs in the factory that demand great concentration in the process for fear of dangerous accidents that befall the worker or the official.

The shortcomings and benefits of technological advancement depend entirely on the way of the usage and benefit from the currently available and continually growing technological advancement. Like individuals, states that possess technology can enhance their international status in a way that serves humanity, its economy and its nearby and far surroundings; or to endorse this technology towards serving struggle; war, hegemony and dominance.

1-B: The Influencing Factors in Foreign Policy in International Relations.

The first prerequisite: The national factor in international relations:

Nationalism is usually defined as being " A group of people who live in one geographical area; and have a common language; customs; traditions and history. The Marxist definition adds to this "and they have common production instruments". Whereas the western definition adds" they belong to a common race and have common religious and cultural values". Through this cohesion, the citizens feel they belong to one nation that distinguishes it from the rest of nations.

The dynamism of nationalism emanates from the convergence of moveable factors that are directed towards the feeling of belonging unto the individual to a certain and distinguished group. This feeling of belonging may expand or narrow according to the situation of the group and the geographical and social borders of the society. The borders of the national society or nation are the internationally recognized political borders, which usually materialize as the result of the development of several geographical and human factors⁽¹⁴⁾. Despite the emergence of ideas like socialist and universal internationalism..., nationalism and national thinking remain the prevailing and desirable creed among peoples. Since the rise of the Lutheran reformation movement in the sixteenth century, national thought grew and prospered.

The French revolution in the late eighteenth century elevated nationalism to being the elite of the political philosophies. Thus nationalism exploded in the nineteenth century as a dynamic force that shook the European continent. The existing entities were re – enforced, and new entities were created. With the onset of the twentieth century, empires disintegrated

⁽¹⁴⁾ Mohammad, Ali Mohammad, (1985). Policy between theories and application, Beirut, Al – Nahdah Al – Arabiah house, P. 48.

under the weight of national political thought, and the nationalist idea spread outside the European continent to reach many static societies. With the outbreak of the two world wars, nationalist thought prevailed in the American, African and Asian societies, and its impact reached the most remote of regions. The nineties witnessed the dissolution of the Soviet empire as a result of nationalist political thought which was repressed for many decades. The defenders of the principle of nationalism depend on the right of every nation or group- whose individuals are united by a unitary national feeling – to establish a state of their own, either through liberation from a foreign hegemony; or through the right of dispersed people, who belong to one nation, to combine within the framework of a single state.

The development of national feeling differed in accordance with the varying particularities of each people in facing the foreign influences. Some are of the view that the state – nation did not arise except in parallel to the model of capitalist production. Others see the emergence of the state – nation as being connected to three simultaneous elements: the state from a legal perspective; the nation from the political – social perspective; and capital from the economic perspective.

1-B-1 Nationalism and Patriotism:

The concepts of nationalism and patriotism are often mixed, despite the huge difference between these two concepts. Patriotism means the love of country (homeland) and the feeling of an inner connection towards it; whereas nationalism means love of the nation. The country is a certain piece of land to which the individual is tied and to whom his emotions and feelings are connected; whereas the nation is a group of people who have the aforementioned national elements.

Moreover, nationalism differs from patriotism as being wider in scope and ideological nature. It is larger than patriotism since nationalism may encompass more than a country, as is the case of Arab nationalism that includes all the Arab countries. Most often, nationalism is formulated in a philosophical manner that transforms it from a simple idea to a complex creed. But the differences of definition do not mean the non – existence of conformity between the two terms in a complete manner.

As for the influence of the national factor in the foreign policies of states, Dr Ismael Sabri Mokallid is of the opinion that "nationalism provides every state with a dynamic force which makes it stress and support its existence in confronting other states. Nationalism is considered one of the most important sources of international struggle. This is due to the fact that the sensitivities that result from differences in the entities and the national interests of the states, has deepened the feeling unto every state that it is itself which is basically responsible for the defense of its entity and interests in the face of the opposite national challenges. In other words, the loyalty to nationalism has superseded the sense of the states towards their responsibilities for world peace, or the international community with which they deal. Researchers have differed in their points of view in assessing the negatives and positives of the national factor. Some see positive aspects in this factor as follows ⁽¹⁵⁾:

1-B-2 The Positives of the National Factor in International Life:

- 1- Nationalism constitutes a basic factor in deep – rooting the feeling of social solidarity. It works towards integrating the individual in the society and the affirmation of his feeling that he belongs to a certain group. This feeling casts on

⁽¹⁵⁾ Mokallid, Ismael Sabri, (1971). The international political relations: a study in the origins and theories, Kuwait, Kuwait university press, P. 44.

him a sense of security which he derives from the power of this group to which he belongs.

- 2- Nationalism is considered a basic motive for states in their endeavor to rid themselves of foreign intervention or foreign control, as well as the affirmation of its self – respect in the view of the international community.
- 3- Nationalism, as a social – political concept, plays an important role in mobilizing the energies of the society towards creating atmospheres conducive to modernization and change... thus pushing the modernization process to the forefront. Modernity- as the process of constructing new realities of life – demands cohesion in society in order to overcome the problems and difficulties of modernization and changes, without suffering jolts and convulsions. Seeking the assistance of national feeling during the launching of the transformation of society from backwardness towards modernity, contributes towards the facilitation of the transition, while keeping social cohesion at each stage.
- 4- National differences constitute an important source of cultural richness in the international community. Each nationality has its own culture. The diversification of these cultures, and their interaction with each other reflects positively on the evaluation of human civilization. This would not have been possible if one national culture had prevailed over the world.

1-B-3 As for the negatives which some ascribe to the national factor, these are⁽¹⁶⁾:

- 1- Nationalism leads to chauvinism (national fanaticism) which is an excessive national selfishness. It is the extreme form of the social cohesion that leads to the isolation of the nation from the other nations, or cause the nation to move toward the hegemony or control of its neighboring nations and peoples. The danger of fanatical nationalism in the present times becomes obvious through the complementary and the inter – connectedness among nations and peoples. The rise of a chauvinistic rule in a country that is provided with weapons of mass destruction may lead to the annihilation of humanity, in the name of racial, cultural or religious superiority.
- 2- Nationalism leads to extremism in assigning a political nature, consciously or unconsciously, on matters that may not belong to their nature in the political field. Thus nationalism increases the sensitivities that exist in the international relations, with its interpretation of every happening through the framework of the national angle alone. Illogical exaggeration in this respect works towards increasing international friction, and narrows the opportunities for cooperation among states in the fields that concern their interests.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Mohammad, Ali Mohammad, (1985). Policy between theories and application, Beirut, Al – Nahda Al – Arabiah house, P.65.

1-B-4 The second prerequisite: The economic factor in international relations:

The Marxists consider the economic factor as the main reason for the rise of the phenomenon of international struggle; and that all wars are prompted by economic reasons and motives. The theory of relative deprivation (dispossession) is of the opinion that the relative dispossession suffered by some states and peoples may be among the important factors that motivate them to rebel against the international order, in an attempt to gain a fair share of the privileges and facilities that it makes available to the others. Thus dispossession, with its accompanying feelings of frustration, is considered a main factor in causing inclination towards aggression and political violence. The pressing influences of the revolution of the increasing expectations feed, in turn, the aggressive behavior of the societies that suffer from this feeling of dispossession. Thus, states seek to cooperate among themselves in the economic fields through the processes of complementarity, like the establishment of joint regional and international markets: such as the European Common Market and the Economic Cooperation Forum for the states of south east Asia, and the Council of Cooperation for the states of the Arab Gulf, etc..., and the establishment of the economic organizations of economic and commercial nature, like the eight industrial states forum, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)⁽¹⁷⁾.

The international commercial exchange represents a part of the totality of international relations; since there is no country in the world that depends on its local production, in an absolute manner, to satisfy the needs of its population for goods and services. Many countries produce goods, or possess resources that exceed their consumption and production needs.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Mokallid, Islmael Sabri, Op. Cit, P.47.

Thus the process of the exchange of the goods among states takes place. The exports of one state are considered the imports of another state; and the imports of one state are considered the exports of another state. Accordingly, each state specializes in the production of a certain commodity, or a group of commodities, whose surplus is exported to the outside world. The basis on which a state specializes in the production and the exportation of a certain commodity is defined by the rules of economic behavior the pursuit of man to satisfy his needs within the available resources.

The economically - advanced countries use certain policies towards the developing states, through the employment of a group of economic tools⁽¹⁸⁾:

- 1- Economic boycott: economic boycott means the abstention from buying commodities that are produced by a certain country. This measure is lesser in effect than embargo.

Embargo is imposed by governments, whereas boycott is exercised by companies, establishments and ordinary individuals out of patriotic motives. The biggest living example of this is the boycott which the Arab people imposed on American goods, as a result of the position of the United States regarding the Aqsa Palestinian uprising and its support for the Israeli aggressive policies.

- 2- Commercial embargo: The embargo on commercial exchanges takes two forms: either a total comprehensive embargo, or a limited partial embargo. The embargo measures in both their total and partial forms are one of the most effective economic sanctions in international policy. Among the most prominent examples of total commercial embargo was the embargo that the United Nations imposed on Iraq, which began in 1991 and continued for several years.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Farajallah, Samman Butros, Op.Cit. 49.

The policy of embargo on the sale of certain strategic goods is considered among the policies of partial embargo. These policies are still being practiced by the Western states in their relations with the Arab and Islamic states.

- 3- Customs tariffs: It is a policy in which custom duties are imposed on the imports from the foreign states. The purpose of this differs. The goal may be to provide protection for local industry. The funds of the customs duties may be used to provide protection for the local industry. The funds of the customs duties may be used to increase the national income of the state. It may be used as an economic punitive means against some states.
- 4- Quotas: Some states use the quota system to control the import of some commodities by fixing certain quotas for the imported goods. Under such measures, the financier usually sends his goods to a country at a better price, but with limited quantity during a certain period. The American government maintains certain quotas for the import of sugar from the Philippines and the Dominican Republic, and the other producing states. Since these countries sell a large portion of sugar (the greatest part of their exports) to the United States, any change in the size of the quotas causes losses to their economies.
- 5- Economic assistance: Economic aid is considered one of the most important means of pressure that the donor countries (the Western states and Japan) use in their foreign policy towards third world countries. The main reason for providing this assistance supports the aid – granting state in the first place. By providing assistance, states impose certain policies on the aid – receiving states. During the cold war era, this method was used successfully by the eastern and western camps as a tool of political pressure. The threat of cutting or reducing the aid, was a factor of the coercive

factors to change certain political orientation and tendencies. And in other cases, this economic assistance was provided under certain conditions that served the economic interest of the granting state. For example, the loans that are extended by the American Export and Import Bank which makes it a condition that these (the loans) be used to finance purchases of the loan – receiving states from the American market alone. Thus, it is the Bank that determines the outlay of this expenditure. After the end of the Cold War, the United States and the Western countries stipulated conditions to grant assistance to the developing states. Among these, was for the latter to apply democracy, and respect human rights and adopt a free economy. Priority in granting assistance is for the governments that apply elections on the basis of political pluralism. In reality, the tying of granting these aids to the application of these political and economic values in the developing countries will have decisive consequences in the economic and social field, due to the great importance of this assistance in development and after, as a result of the pressures that the Western states exercise on these countries.

1-B-5 The third prerequisite: the demographic factor in international relations:

In the past, the demographic factor played a major role in relations among the nations and people. The power of any people was calculated by the number of men who were capable of carrying arms and proceeding to the battle field. This factor was prominent in the military and economic policies of the states. Some historians correlated the factor of numbers with the factor of influence and economic magnitude. There is no doubt that during the world wars, the countries with large populations were able to recruit huge numbers and send them to the battle fields. This applies to Germany, France and Russia in Europe.

Currently, some researchers in the field of international relations believe that a large number of populations is necessary to form an effective military force. There is no modern military power with a regional influence that is not backed by a large number of people. Despite the progress in the fields of technology, a large number of the populations fight and continue to fight in several wars. In addition, large – size modern armed forces need large numbers of men for manufacturing; supply; operations and backup systems. During a protracted war, it is necessary to have a large number of people to maintain the military operations and preserve the national economy. The large populations serve the political and military leaders who are intent on colonial expansionist tendencies. The large number of soldiers is necessary to impose control on the colonized regions⁽¹⁹⁾.

Despite the soundness of this view when applied to the struggle among third world industrially and technologically backward states with traditional capabilities; it becomes inaccurate in the case of a struggle between an industrial state with high technology and a qualified well trained army... and other states of the third world like India and Egypt...

Modern technology, which depends basically on electronics and computers, is integrated in the design of medium and long range as well as intercontinental missiles and all types of aircraft, which include those capable of carrying tons of highly – destructive explosives like the B-52.

Thus military science speaks today of a small army with electronic capabilities and experience, and a soldier with high combat efficiency capable of running a tank; battleship; submarine and military aircraft that operate on computer. The large number of soldiers does not have the same medieval meaning when the power of the states was measured by the number of their population and the soldiers they had. Thus, demographic power alone is not

⁽¹⁹⁾ Salamah, Motaar, Op.Cit, P. 20.

sufficient to be an effective factor in international policy if it is not coupled with military, technical, and economic capabilities. Even before this time, and since the Second World War, Pierre Renovan wrote : "demographic power cannot play a large role if there does not exist with it social, economic and financial conditions that are necessary for the maintenance, arming and configuration of the military forces. During the first Sino- Japanese war in 1894, Japan, whose population did not exceed one eighth of the population of China, was able to send to the fighting lines forces that were more in number and better equipped and organized.

Germany was able to overcome Tsarist Russia in the First World War, though Russia was larger in population. The German divisions repulsed the Russian armies despite the spread of the German forces on the Western front. But Germany was unable to repeat it previous victory after the second world war, despite the fact that the Nazi armies fought at the doors of Moscow and Stalingrad, where they killed and took as prisoners millions of Russian soldiers and civilians and destroyed the Russian industrial and agricultural centers.

The big difference between the years 1914 and 1942 goes back to the qualitative development or the transformation in Russian human resources which led to a quantitative change and qualitative superiority in the Russian power. Qualitatively, Germany had lesser fighters than Russia in the ages between twenty and forty five years despite the retrogradation in the birth rate as a result of the many who were killed, the German shortage became more acute annually, especially as Russia became demographically superior. This example applies to what is happening in the power relation between the states of the Arab world (whose populations near 300 million persons) and the usurper Zionist entity (whose population is estimated to be between three to four million persons). The material capabilities unto the latter are so huge as to exceed all the Arab states combined. It finds its missing strategic depth in the unlimited American and Western support. It is to be deduced from the numerous

articles, that the demographic factor has a number of benefits and a number of dangers. Among them⁽²⁰⁾:

1-B-6 First: dangers:

- 1- Without production technologies and rationalization, multitudes of peoples will suffer from hunger. Without demographic planning and control over births the inevitable destiny of the human multitudes will be impoverishment; misery and aggressive feelings or the destruction of the most nearest of people, or self- destruction.
- 2- Economic life is a two – scaled balance: production on one side and population on the other. Any planning cannot apply except to one of them only (due either to intellectual feebleness or leaning towards myths, or an authoritarian will over population swelling). This remains embarrassing by necessity, since it increases the danger of the disturbance of the equilibriums, instead of treatment, or proposing massacre in the future. Excessive demographic increase threatens peace and incites wars. Hitler claimed in 1941 : "The fact that there are children who want life; and that our people explodes within its narrow borders, justify all our intentions regarding all the areas in the East".

1-B-7 Second: The Benefits:

- 1- Some researchers believe that population constitutes an economic strength for the state. A state with a large population can accomplish the development of its economic system and strengthen it in order to influence other states. Without sufficient individuals, it becomes difficult to get the numbers of necessary and qualified human capabilities. It is extremely improbable for a small number of

⁽²⁰⁾ Sami, Khalid, Op. Cit, P.19.

people to possess the required abilities for an advanced economy. And without a strong economy, the state cannot exercise a sufficient political influence over a long period of time. Also, the large number of the population is considered a large market for the goods and services to the others.

2- On the military level, the demographic factor remains of great influence. The modern infantry that is equipped with contemporary knowledge needs a large number of men who stand behind the frontlines to maintain their equipment and supply them. The Korean war and the Indian – Chinese war has proved, without any doubt, that there is no substitute for the infantry. The colonial empires based their strength on the armies of the colonized regions in order to inflate their armies, as was the case of the French Foreign Legion.

1-B-8 The fourth prerequisite: The geographical factor in international relations:

The science of geopolitics gives the geography of the state political dimensions. This science discusses the natural geographical circumstances and their effect on the political life of the state and its external relations. Hochover says : "Political geography is the study of the connections between the land and the policy. It has to prove that policy is limited by geographical factors. Thus it means the examination of the effect of the atmosphere, the topography, the forms of plants and people and the location, on the life of the human communities"⁽²¹⁾.

Victor Kozanne assigns an important location for the political geography in defining the power and influence of the state. He says : "give me the map of a certain country; its shape;

⁽²¹⁾ Al – Ramadnai, Mazin, Op. Cit, P. 37.

atmosphere; waters; winds; and all its physical geography; its natural products and the totality of its plants and animals, etc.... and I can assure you who will be the man of this country; and the expected role of this country in history. Not just any talk, but as of necessity; and not at a certain time, but in all times".

Eve Lactose emphasizes that geography is used, in the first place to engage in war. But he also adds : "to say at the outset, that war is used, in the first place, to wage war, does not mean that it is not used except to undertake military operations. It is also used to regulate the provinces, not only in expectation of battles that may be waged against this foe or that; but also to double the control of population. Before anything else, geography is strategic knowledge that is closely connected to a group of political and military practices, which requires the coordinated gathering of very diverse information, which at first, seems inconsistent and its purpose or importance cannot be understood if we resorted to the correct divisions of science for science sake.

Ratzel, the author of the theory of vacuum (the vital domain) says : "Every state is by necessity in struggle with the outside world in the defense of the vacuum it occupies. Every well - organized state tries to increase its vacuum... whether this extension guarantees its extra safety... since the wideness of the land is a substantial factor in the perception that each people forms regarding its destiny.

Pierce Rinouan explains the theory of Pretzel by saying: "The sense of vacuum constitutes the center of the theory of Pretzel. The citizens in a state of a large area have wide aspirations because they act in different living means and greater freedom of movement. The peoples that occupy a small vacuum have intellectual preparations that are more modest.

Thus vacuum is a political force. The small state in the contemporary world cannot hope for expansion, while its – at the same time is hardly able to manage the maintenance of its full independence. Most often, the people of the large state are often thirsty for expansion. Nonetheless, Ratzel does not expect the disappearance of these small states. This theory became the driving force for the expansionist trend of Germany. The German theory for expansion depended on the literal interpretation of the sayings of Ratzel that "the state is a living being which grows", and that the small states have no future⁽²²⁾.

The study of the geographical factor requires the study of the components of this factor like the location; area; borders and natural resources.

1- geographical location:

Renovan says "states of small areas have, due to their geographical locations, left an impact in history that large – area states with more resources did not leave. What is meant by location is the situation of the state in respect of water and land.. the naval location and the land location. The geographical location of any site on earth is constant, whereas its political value changes within the relationship of the province (state) with its neighbours.

The states that has a naval front or more, can benefit from this militarily and economically. Militarily, it can build a large naval fleet and obtain easy assistance from the allies. Economically, naval states have wide commercial relationships with the outside world. The states that do not have naval front become dependent on their neighbor with a naval front. The policies of the states seeking an outlet to the sea has caused many wars. The search for an outlet to the sea has constituted an important first – degree motive in orienting the foreign policies of the states. For example, the policy of Tsarist Russia during the eighteenth century

⁽²²⁾ Mokallid, Op. Cit, P. 78.

was based on reaching the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. When this happened, Russia acquired a status at the European level that it did not have before.

The excellent strategic location can change from being a blessing into being an affliction for the weak states that do not have military capabilities to defend their security and existence. These examples can be found in Egypt; Algeria; Northern Maghreb. Palestine, etc...⁽²³⁾.

2- Natural resources:

Natural riches like oil, gas, metals, water, forests.... are one of the important factors in assessing the strength of the state, and its role in international relations. The states that have sufficient resources can build a strong economy and provide prosperity for their peoples. If such a state is managed by an experienced government, it can exercise control in world markets, and impact the policies of the other states, even if they are stronger and larger than itself.

This is what happened to the Arabs when they used the oil weapon in the 1973 war, to exercise pressure on the states in the West who are allies to Israel, foremost among which is the United States. Despite the weakness of the Arab states vis – a – vis the West, yet it studied the international situation and transformed a commercial commodity into an effective weapon, that caused the West to change, albeit a little, its policy which is completely biased on the side of the Zionist enemy.

It (the West) began to deal positively with the struggle in the Middle East, since it discovered that its true interests lie with the Arabs. If this was possibly applicable to Western Europe, it did not succeed completely with the United States. Yet the latter has discovered that its interests may be endangered once again by states that have no real military value. One

⁽²³⁾ Al – Sammak, Mohammad Zahir, (1993). Modern Political Geography, Al – mosul University, P. 37.

cannot ignore the financial power that is provided by the surplus that accrues as a result of the exportation of natural riches. The financial position which the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and the state of the United Arab Emirates enjoy is one of political and financial effect. The role of these states in international relations has increased tremendously with the latest increase in petroleum revenues.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is considered a large financial power. Its financial policy had a great impact on balancing the world monetary system.

The sparsely – populated state of the United Arab Emirates managed, through its financial policy, to play a more important role than the roles of several states that exceed it in population and area. The assistance that the Emirates state provided during the seventies and the eighties neared 10% of its national income. Financial wealth can secure better terms in obtaining advanced technology⁽²⁴⁾.

Thus the economic life of the state becomes conditioned on its possession, or non – possession, of natural resources, which has an exceptional influence in the international policy. It becomes very rare for a state to enjoy high standards of living for its people, or to have an important position in international affairs, if it suffers from destitution in natural wealth. World power seems impossible without industrialization which, in turn, depends on the availability of metals.

1-B-9 The Fifth Prerequisites: The Military Factor in International Relations:

In the not too distant past, the strength of states was calculated according to its war material. In other words, its military capability as represented by a strong army with very well

⁽²⁴⁾ Al – Sammak, Op. Cit, P. 55.

trained individuals, in addition to good armaments. Though this factor remains one of the most influential factors of the power of the state in international relations; yet, a military power without a strong economy and advanced technology in the present times becomes meaningless; since military power depends basically on economic capability. The state that seeks to build a military force and depend on it to guarantee its security, needs a solid economic base.

There is a close relationship between economic power and military power. The allocation of a high percentage of national production for military purposes affects the standard of living of the citizens, and reduces it. It turns the working force away from civil production towards war production which affects the exports negatively. It also affects the balance of payments, and creates inflationary pressures, and requires increases in taxes, and results in the deficit of the commercial balance.

The existence of military power alone is not sufficient unless it is politically supported. The political institutions play a role in supporting the military policy of the state, especially of its conviction of the feasibility of the military expenditure. The deficiency in the role of these institutions may increase the size and costs of the required military efforts, and make the maximum results of the military actions uncertain, when these are not proportional to the costs⁽²⁵⁾.

On the other side, the last decades of the past century (the twentieth) witnessed a radical change in the concepts of power. Military power alone is no longer capable of assigning to the state the feature of the great or influential state. Scientific and technological development led to a vast change in the quality of weapons. The pre – Second World War (1939-1945) and armed struggle were characterized by some features and platitudes like:

⁽²⁵⁾ Fadil, Ziki, Op. Cit, P. 56.

- 1- the ability to launch a surprise attack was limited.
- 2- The initial strikes against the enemy did not result in the immediate destruction of the enemy, or eliminate his ability to respond and resist. The armed struggle continued until its end.
- 3- The state that was exposed to an armed attack had ample opportunity to mobilize its military and political powers to confront its enemies.
- 4- The benefits resulting from the attack were viewed as being temporary, and that the defense could turn the situation around for the benefit of the state that was attacked.
- 5- There was proportional relation between the military might of the state and its sense of security.
- 6- Despite the recognition of the horrors of war, its destructive consequences did not reach the degree that make states exclude war as an instrument of the national policy instruments .
- 7- Since the destructive capability of war was confined to an acceptable framework, there was no need to develop theories or principles that limit the wars to local range... like that which occurred when the theory of limited war was advanced as a direct response to the total destruction that may be brought about by nuclear war.

After this war, and since the mid – fifties, these axiomatic platitudes changed. The differentiation between war and peace did not become clear – cut as was the state before. A new wide range of tools of international struggle came about, whose scope extends between limited traditional war and general classical war; and the nuclear was in which both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons are used; in addition to the development of some other aspects

of armed struggle, like irregular wars and the guerilla wars, and the widening of the application of indirect strategic methods.

When choosing among these tools, states do this in proportion to the size of the interests that they feel are threatened. Thus, the responses of the states to external challenges have become discriminatory, and not general or comprehensive as in the past.

As a result of this change that took place, armed struggle did not mean anymore, existence of radical contradictions in the interests of the states; and peace did not mean anymore the non – existence of such contradictions.

In addition, the traits of the armed struggle have changed excessively from before. This change appears in a number of basic aspects, the most important of which are:

- 1- The ability to make a surprise (sudden) attack became extremely important. The warning time does not exceed seconds or minutes in most cases.
- 2- The first strikes that a state directs against another state maybe fatal. This is what is called the ability to destroy with the first strike.
- 3- A state that suffers from an overwhelming attack may not find enough time to mobilize its military and political powers.
- 4- Should an armed struggle start, it may develop and end at an incredible speed.
- 5- The average development and change in weapons is very fast and radical.
- 6- It is no longer credible to claim that the increase in the military power of the state must necessarily lead to the increase in the feeling of national security, contrary to what has been before.

7- The horrible destructive capabilities of the weapons that the major powers possess renders military confrontation undesirable.

The end result of this development in the nature and instruments of the armed struggle was more rationality in the calculations and conduct of those responsible when making foreign policy decisions.

As stated before, and though the military factor is considered as one of the most decisive and influential factors in relations among states – since its role is considered the arbiter in victory or defeat- the total dependence on military power alone to secure defense, is a rare case in history. Even the most powerful of states need allies and supporting states. Thus the strength of the states is no longer calculated solely, from a military point of view, by the weapons they possess; but also the allies they have who are capable of stopping the enemy in his steps when necessary. Israel, the state, does not frighten the Arabs with its army and weapons, but with its ally, the United States and the North Atlantic Alliance which the former (the United States) governs and steers ⁽²⁶⁾.

1-B-10 The sixth prerequisite: the religious factor in international relations:

It is difficult to find an exact definition for this word. Philosophers were at a loss to find a direct concept for it. The German philosopher and religious historian Max Muller (1833-1900) defined it in his book "Towards the science of religion", as: "It is an exertion to imagine that which cannot be imagined; and stating that which cannot be expressed. It is a yearn towards the infinite". Others viewed religion as that which is difficult to fathom by the scientific mind and clear thinking. Herbert Spencer says : " Despite the differences in their declared creeds, religions tacitly agree in their belief that the existence of the universe is a

⁽²⁶⁾ Farajallah, Samaan Butros, Op. Cit, P. 50.

secret demanding explanation. "Thus, religion according to him is the belief in the super existence of a mysterious- and difficult to understand- thing".

Another trend in definition leans toward the idea of divinity. In this book, "An introduction to the history of religions", M. Rafael says : "religion is the condition of human life with the feeling of connection between the human mind and a hidden mind that controls the universe, and the feeling of ecstasy that results accordingly".

The theologian and religions scholar, its ller Macher (1768- 1834) says : "Religion is the feeling of, and testing of the infinite. What we mean by the infinite here, is the unity and completeness of the perceived world. This unity does not face the senses as a subject, but expresses itself to the inner feelings. When these feelings move to the space of contemplations, it leaves in the mind the idea of God. The individual imagination is the one that moves the idea of God, either towards parting and unification, or towards an unembodied type of divinity marked by the unity of existence"⁽²⁷⁾.

In his book, "the Golden Branch", which was issued in 1922 in its abridged edition, James Fraser (1854-1941) says that the formulation of a single definition of religion that satisfies all the conflicting opinions of religion is unrealizable. Thus all that a researcher can do is to define accurately what he means by the word "religion" and then use this word in his book with the meaning that has been defined in the beginning. Thus we understand religion to be a conciliation process, and seeking the assistance of powers higher than the human being which are believed to control nature and human life. This process involves two elements: one theoretical, and the other applied and practical. There is, first, the belief in superior powers, which is followed by attempts to appease these powers. Religion cannot be right without the availability of these two elements, since belief that is not followed by practice is merely

⁽²⁷⁾ Naseef, Hitti Yusuf, Op. Cit, P. 89.

intellectual theology. Practice that is devoid of any belief is not religion at all. The researcher believes that the phenomenon of international policy is a part of international relations. Yet, the foundation of these relations reverts to the foreign policy which is the mother of all the activities and reactions in international relations. Foreign policy creates international policy. Among the differences between international policy and foreign policy, are that the elements of the foreign policy are not the elements of the international policy. The elements of foreign policy are the individuals and the institutions and the parties; whereas the elements of international policy are the states and the international organizations and the other active groups. Thus, the element of analysis in the foreign policy differs from the element of analysis in the international policy. Each has its own area in studies.

The international political system caused all states to rush to achieve a collection of the goals that are particular to these states; despite the fact that these objectives vary and differ in time and place. Among the most prominent reasons that led to this, is the particularities of the states in their inner and external realities and the reflection of their reaction on the process of the determination of the objectives. States seek to guarantee basic objectives related to their aspirations to guarantee their security through power. There are secondary objectives which are meant to be the instruments to attain the basic goals, which are high strategic objectives, and medium strategic goals and mobilization objectives. The importance of these objectives is not the same.

Success in foreign policy demands accuracy in the formulation of the interests and the objectives and the manner of their achievement. The state is not alone in the international arena. It lives in an international community. The interests it adopts may contradict the interests of the other states. The way in which it harmonizes between the objectives and capabilities of the state, means the abilities of the state and the means of executing this policy.

Any mistake in this leads to catastrophies . Success in foreign policy demands proper understanding of the world; the international situation; the prevailing international relations; the nature of the alliances of the state with the other states and the commitment of these states to these alliances. There is no way to this, except through awareness of the state to the interests of these states.

The formulation of foreign policy and its execution on bilateral and global levels through the inter- locking relations represent the core of international relations. These relations are spread over five fields: diplomatic; economic; military; legal and international organizations. It is evident from this that foreign policy is a complicated art. Its mastering needs high skills and abilities. The conduct of the state is based on the assumptions on which it builds its understanding of the international situation and international relations. It builds on these to determine its interests; its ability to create the opportunities to achieve them and the correct pairing between its capability and the role it plays in the international arena. Through all of this, the state can determine the margin of its options and moves from one option to the other, according to new developments in an ever – changing multi – lateral world. There are no pure and constant bilateral relations. Other states influence these. This relationship is tied to the international order and its movements and variations. The decisions of a single state, touch, in one way or another, on the decisions of other states, which is reflected on its behavior. The success of the policy of a certain state lies in its power and abilities to positively influence the decisions of the other states. Policy – makers cannot achieve this unless they were able to master the struggle game, among which is the guessing game; the haggling game; the game of threatening to use force; or to use it actually in a limited war. The power of the state is the guarantee of the success of its foreign policy. Power, in its broad meaning, means the ability to influence the decision of others. The strength of the state in

international relations and on the international scene, means not being ignored by the others when deciding issues. This means the ability of the state to use its material power, if its will and wish were not taken in to consideration.

Chapter Two

2-A: Saudi Foreign Policy

Introduction:

The researcher, in this chapter, deals with Saudi foreign policy, through three discourses. The first talks about the nature of this foreign policy, focusing on its definition; the stages of its development and its interconnectedness with Saudi internal policy. He tried in this to present various directions that have dealt with the definition of this policy. All definitions were of the view that there is more mature understanding of the world in the foreign policy of the kingdom, compared to the time of its pre – establishment. We find an understanding that deals freely with the different international variables and policies relating to the kingdom. The second discourse is an approach to the factors of power in the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia, which is represented in the economic factor; the political factor and the military factor, with the differences of the analysts regarding the rankings and the priorities of these elements in the matrix of the strategic power of the kingdom.

The third spoke of the levels of dealings of the kingdom with the world in its foreign policy. It was found that these levels are divided into four which will be mentioned during this discourse.

2-A-1 Definition of the Saudi Foreign Policy:

The views and ideas that dealt with the identity and the priorities of Saudi foreign policy, were many and numerous. Despite the inherent and relative merit which this multiplicity carries among the offered options, and the overall convergence in respect of the manner of dealing with them – whether by selecting one of them, or incorporating all of them,

partially or totally, it equally points to the importance of discussing the question now, and the necessity of arriving at a clear and comprehensive vision.

We must be all preoccupied with an important question that relates to Saudi foreign policy. At the outset, emphasis must be placed on the fact which distinguishes the foreign policy of the kingdom, since its foundation in 1932, which is its dependence on a more mature understanding of the world, compared to the time that preceded its establishment. It is an understanding that deals in a serious manner, without abandoning the constants. Yet it does not cause this to impede the realization of Saudi national interests, and their support on the global level⁽²⁸⁾.

Since the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded, and the laying of the foundation of governance there by King Abdul Azeez, it has proceeded along a clear and distinguished course in its internal and external policies. And since that time, the foreign policy of the kingdom has been proceeding along the same path; defined within that framework, and committed to the same principles and foundations.

The concepts of Saudi foreign policy witnessed a clear crystallization for this framework and those foundations during the reign of King Faisal who was able with his wisdom; mental abilities and political shrewdness to keep the purity of that policy, and adapt it to be in harmony with the changes that took place in regional and international situations⁽²⁹⁾.

This continuity extended to characterize the present foreign policy that distinguishes the path of the government of King Abdullah, which is considered an extension to that approach and an affirmation of these foundations.

⁽²⁸⁾ AL – Omari, Bakr Ibn Omar, (2000). "The Saudi Foreign Policy: a Vision for the 21 century", the magazine of the National Guard, April, P. 18.

⁽²⁹⁾ Madani, Nizar obeid, (2000). The Basic Pillars of the Foreign Policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Diplomat's Magazine, P.67.

And if the modern state has the ability to control the events inside its borders, by the same token, its cannot control all the events outside its borders. Accordingly, no state can escape the foreign affairs around her, nor can it shape these according to its will. Thus it cannot but strive, in one way or another, to contribute to the correction of the course of global situations, at the same time that it tries to adapt to their reality. Within this limited circle, each state tries to adhere strongly to the values it believes in, and seeks to widen, as far as it can, the circle of those who believe in these. This all depends on what the state possesses of the components of power.

Thus each state takes into consideration many factors that almost seem not to differ. In the first place, it puts into its consideration its self – interest with all that it represents. After that, it puts into its consideration the joint, mutual or contrasting interests with the other states – sisterly; friendly or hostile. And no matter the political calculations of any state in its foreign relations, it seeks to have the end result of this as an addition to its balance, and not a reduction of it. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not an exception to this. But if this may lead sometimes to the existence of a disjoinment between its long term strategy and objectives and its short term tactical goals, the matter is different as far as the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is concerned. There is here a substantial difference since the strategy of the kingdom is governed more by the values, principles and path of Islam than its short – term tactical objectives. These can only represent stages towards goals that are governed by high ideals in the beginning and in the end. Their beginnings cannot differ from the stages that follow, or have one stage being outranked by another, in the essence of the logic and the supremacy of the principle. The goal is gradual progress in which the ability is commensurate with the capacity to move towards the noble goal.

Since its foundation, and the establishment of its rules of governance, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has followed this clear and distinct approach in its internal and external policy. In its foreign policy, it has believed in serious and moderate policy, and diplomacy that avoids uproar and empty slogans; with being keen on stating its political steps, courageously and ably, through the constants on which this policy is based. This has allowed the kingdom to achieve prominent international status which is commensurate with the credibility of its policy that emanates from the homogeneity between the strategy and the tactics.

This takes its starting point from the belief of the Kingdom in universal peace which must be based on justice and fairness, so that peace may not be a transitional stage between two wars. Accordingly, it rejects the resort to force as an instrument of the execution of policy; with its belief at the same time in the legitimate right of self – defense in order to preserve the high interests⁽³⁰⁾.

It also does not neglect the necessity of keenness to possess the ability to defend and protect the achievements of the state. Thus it becomes possible to explain its insistence in this respect. Thus it also becomes possible to explain its insistence to possess advanced weapons in order to attain the position of maintaining capabilities.

It also adopts the approach of dialogue and negotiations as a practical way to attain the objectives. It is also committed to the respect of international legitimacy in its dealings, and in its Arab and Islamic relations, with its conviction of following the position of complete opposition to the policy of military blocs and alliances. It did not establish foreign bases on its soil and did not allow others to covet the capabilities of the nation in conformity with its

⁽³⁰⁾ Al - Omari, Bakr Omar and Watted Hamzah Hashim, (1990). The Saudi Foreign Policy, Between the Theory and the Practices, first issue, Jeddah, Misbah, Library, Pp. 25-28.

conviction in non – alignment to any camp of conflicting camps that seek influence in the world.

The kingdom also followed the policy of good neighborliness and the non – interference in internal affairs. On the other side, it rejects any interference by anybody in its internal affairs. The kingdom also strongly rejects foreign intervention, in any shape, in the affairs and fates of the states⁽³¹⁾.

Saudi foreign policy – and any active foreign policy – cannot exist far from the fast – paced changes in the world environment especially, if these changes, were in the magnitude of the depth and size that has been witnessed by the international environment, in a quick and sudden manner, since the early 1990's.

These changes, which we imagine, will re – determine and emphasize several challenges that face Saudi foreign policy during the coming time periods of the coming century⁽³²⁾.

There is no doubt that the new international order aims at finding a kind of accord and international solidarity and peaceful coexistence in order to provide security, stability and spreading of the means of welfare for inhabitants of the world... away from conflicts and competition to acquire resources. Since the realization of this noble goal demands the absolute belief in the feasibility of the order itself, it was necessary to depend on some states – rather than others – to support it and make it a success. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia... by virtue of its importance in the international political; economic and geo – strategic balance imposes itself as one of the important pillars for this order, due to the assets it has, which we will briefly survey as follows:

⁽³¹⁾ Al – Shareef, Mohammad Fayez, Op.Cit, P. 7-8.

⁽³²⁾ Al – Omari, Bakr Ibn Omar, Op. Cit, P. 18.

A- The Geo – Strategic Complimentarity:

The kingdom enjoys unique geo – strategic importance due to its location in the midst of the old and new world..... as a part of the Arab Gulf Area which has been the subject of competition of major states for a long time in recent history. It is also in the centre of the Middle East in its restricted definition.

In addition, it is in the middle of the Arab and Islamic worlds, due to its demographic, cultural; political and economic weight. This is in addition to the importance of its geographical location that overlooks lands; straits and water passageways (the Red Sea; the Arab Gulf; Hormoz Strait; Bab Al – Mandab and the Gulf of Aqaba).

These were known, since ancient times and until the present, as the life pulsating artery for most of the states of the advanced world; and, at the same time, the gateway of the area towards the commercial and cultural openness.

The geographical location of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is surrounded with Arab states on all sides, which has deepened its geographical and strategic depth, since it has eight direct geographical borders with eight states.

This geographical location has imposed on the kingdom very sensitive and dangerous burdens and responsibilities, especially as these relate to it or to its international status and external relations through connecting the goals that have to be realized and the capabilities that are to be employed for this objective. Capabilities are not meant to be material only, but also political directions; flexibility and moderation in international relations, which cannot be achieved except within an international order that is characterized by cooperation; solidarity; mutual dependency and common conviction, so as to realize security, stability and global prosperity. Nothing makes this clearer than the restoration of diplomatic relations with the

Soviet Union – in its new form after the latter became an effective partner in the realization of universal security and stability⁽³³⁾.

The need of the new international order for the kingdom – from a geopolitical perspective - is mutual. Its afore – mentioned geo- strategic location in the midst of the heart of the political, economic and cultural world, avails the opportunity to the new international order to connect, coordinate, supervise and control all the geographical provinces that affect it, and are affected by it. It is near to the strategic security belt of the Soviet Union and does not lie far from the province of South and South East Asia that has huge natural and human resources⁽³⁴⁾. It is also in the centre of the Middle East region, which is a tension spot that affects all political, economic and cultural fields. A new international order that helps the kingdom in co – existing with its geo- strategic reality that imposes on it tremendous commitments and responsibilities that threaten the basics of its security stability and development as a result of the experience of the Arab – Israeli struggle and the late Gulf wars⁽³⁵⁾.

B- Economic Complimentarity:

The afore – mentioned geographical assets of the kingdom increase in importance and depth, if they are coupled with the economic resources which the new international order cannot do without. As for economic resources, the kingdom is considered among the states that possess the largest oil reserve at the world level (25% of the world reserve) and among the larger states that produce and export oil. Since oil is the vital component of life for advanced industrial states, the kingdom had to acquire a special economic and political status,

⁽³³⁾ Al – Qabbaa, Abdullah Masoud (1986). The Saudi Foreign Policy: Riyadh, Al – Farazdaq printing presses, PP. 31-32.

⁽³⁴⁾ Al – Mankoori, Hasan, Op. Cit, PP. 140-142.

⁽³⁵⁾ Ibid, P. 141.

especially when oil became one of the sources of power in international policy⁽³⁶⁾. Thus it is no wonder that the kingdom became aspired to, and international efforts were exerted to polarize it and gain its favor, which ascribed to it a distinguished international status that attracted to it attempts of encirclement and containment at the regional and international levels, so as to acquire and control this important vital resource. This was reflected in its foreign policy and international relations to the extent that protect it from dangers, and preserves the process of its development march and firmly establishes its regional and international status. Thus it becomes evident that the new international order depends on its pillars in securing this vital resource through cooperation and coordination between the kingdom and the other producing states, on one side, and the consumer states, foremost of which is the United States of America and the states of Western Europe and Japan, on the other.

The dependence of the kingdom on this important resource (70% of its gross revenues) has added additional responsibilities. These are the manner of preserving it and its revenues with a measure of constancy and continuity so as to execute its ambitious development plans that aim to achieve security, stability, welfare and the continuation of its regional and international role⁽³⁷⁾.

Despite the importance of the afore – mentioned, any decision, or external political movement that the kingdom undertakes, emanates basically from a primary fact that it is a part of the Arab and Islamic nation. The kingdom occupies an important post in the Islamic world... since Islam appeared from its land, and on whose territory exist the two Noble Sanctuaries (shrines), which dictate that the kingdom must carry the banner of the call for

⁽³⁶⁾ The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the International Atmosphere, first imprint, Ministry of Information, Information affairs, P. 117.

⁽³⁷⁾Op. Ibid Cit, P. 12.

Islamic solidarity, and tries its utmost to foster the capabilities of the Islamic Ummah (nation) in all fields.

The kingdom also occupies a distinguished position in the Arab world. Its has adopted all the Arab causes, foremost among which is the Palestinian cause, since it has never accepted any bargaining over Palestinian national Arab territories. Saudi diplomacy seeks always to mend any crack in the wall of Arab solidarity, whether in the east or the west of the Arab homeland. The totality of these responsibilities has cast huge responsibility on the kingdom, which dictated that the basic orientation of its foreign policy be towards the Islamic Arab orientation⁽³⁸⁾.

⁽³⁸⁾ Harfi, Nizar Obeid, Op. Cit, Pp. 69-70.

2-B -1 Factors of Power in Saudi Foreign Policy:

Strategic analysts offer three basic elements that must be available to any state so as to have power; status and regional, then international weight. These elements are: The economic power; the military power and the political power.

The analysts differ regarding the arrangement of these elements and their priorities in the matrix of the strategic power of the state.

Some are of the view that military power comes first in these elements, followed by economic power, and political power. Some are of the view that in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union and the dismantlement of this republic – which was one of the universal military powers – the power of the state and its status began to be measured on the basis of a new arrangement to the elements, that puts economic power in the forefront, followed by political power, and in third place, military power – which used to occupy first place⁽³⁹⁾.

The researcher may ponder – in the light of the aforementioned - which of the previous elements has the priority that has enabled the kingdom to achieve an international status and regional weight and leadership.

2-B-2 Economic Power of the Kingdom and its Importance:

Some may imagine that the kingdom has established its status and regional and international standing on the element of economic powers. This conception is supported by the fact that the kingdom is among the largest oil – exporting states in the world, and has a distinguished economic presence in the international arena, owing to its being the large importer of the western technology in the region, and that it is among the largest partnering

⁽³⁹⁾ Saad, Abdul Azeez Ilmi, (1993). The Foundations and the New Aspects of the Saudi Foreign policy, Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies, PP.45-47.

states in the global markets, banks and financial institutions, due to the re – cycling of oil revenues in these institutions and banks.

In addition, it is among the bigger states that support the international foundations that help the developing states, since it ranks second to the United States in supporting the programmes of the United Nations that are directed to the establishment of development projects in the developing states, through its contribution, in a fixed share in the World Food Programme, which amounts to 55 million dollars every two years. It also occupies sixth place in the world, regarding its quota and voting power in the International Monetary Fund⁽⁴⁰⁾.

This perception may be true if we use an evaluation gauge that measure the post – oil period and its exportation on a commercial scale, and the usage of its revenues after the end of the Second World War.

However it lacks exactitude if we use it as an evaluation measure in the pre-oil period, when the kingdom enjoyed a regional and international status that was not less than that which it used to enjoy before the discovery and the exportation of oil.

2-B-3 The Military Might of the Kingdom and its Importance:

There is nothing in the history of the kingdom that indicates that it has established its status and regional leadership on the use of its military power, or the threat of this force. Though this force has reached the degree of perfection and readiness – manpower, armaments and training – towards the end of the last decade of the past century, the strategy of the kingdom regarding the buildup, arming and use of military power limited its role to defense

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Waleed Al – Adami (1992). 'The Saudi – American Relations and the Security of the Gulf', London, Dar El – Hikmah, PP. 90-92.

which seeks to deter adversaries and protect national soil and preserve Islamic holy places and their security and contribution to the protection of Arab national security.

History bears witness that the rare and limited cases in which the kingdom was forced to use its military forces in the defense of its rights security and interests..... have been only after the kingdom had exhausted all possible peaceful means to avoid the use of force in settling its problems and crises with its adversaries.....as will be made evident later.

Despite the importance and the necessity of military power, this was not the foundation upon which the kingdom depended for in its regional and international status. And, as has been stated earlier, economic power was not the main factor in realizing regional leadership for the kingdom. So, how did the kingdom acquire its status, and what were the elements of power that assured its leadership? This is what we will answer in the following paragraph⁽⁴¹⁾.

2-B-4 The Political Power of the Kingdom:

Anyone who studies the political history of the kingdom – starting with the founding King Abdul Azeez, until King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez- will realize that the policy which they have, internally with their people, and externally with their friends and adversaries, was and still is, the main and pivotal element in realizing the international status and the ideal regional leadership that the kingdom attained. As a result of this wise policy, it was able to build a strong economy which resulted in huge revenue . It was also an important factor in of the sources of the formation of its ability in helping other states. By virtue of this policy, it has built its military power which it did not employ in artificial confrontations in search of a

⁽⁴¹⁾ Nakhle, Emile, "America and Saudi Arabia: The Economic, Political and Strategic Dimensions", Beirut, Dar El – Hikmah, PP. 27-30.

leadership. As a result of this policy, it was saved from setbacks, overcame crises...and avoided the threats that were faced by the country⁽⁴²⁾.

This policy met with clear acceptance along all the regional and international levels. It even lessened immensely the severity of the collisions and the conflicts in the region. This security and wisdom in Saudi policy is directly related to its direct dependence on the immortal Islamic approach, which King Abdul Azeez adopted as his guiding constitution, and was followed by his successors in their internal and external policy.

The strength of this policy – which has distinguished those leaders –was evident in their method of managing crises and their dealing with threats that were faced by the kingdom through approaching the crises on the basis of solving them, in addition to the removal of repercussions which may fester and encourage their renewal⁽⁴³⁾.

2-B-5 The Strength of the Religious Factor in the Kingdom:

The religious factor is considered among the factors of strength in Saudi foreign policy, since the kingdom acquires religious importance for Muslims all over the world, due to its enjoyment of a special religious status emanating from the existence of the Islamic holy places: The Noble Kaaba; the resting place of the Messenger (peace be upon him), which assigned to the kingdom its distinguished religious status in all the Islamic Ummah (nation) everywhere, and the international weight which more than one thousand million Muslims form, in favoring and crystallizing decisions that assure justice and realize balance in the world. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is considered the place to which the heart of the Muslim

⁽⁴²⁾ Safran, Nadav, (1989). Saudi Arabia: The ceaseless quest for security. Cambridge, Mass, the Harvard university Press, PP. 170 – 173.

⁽⁴³⁾ Al – Ithaimen, Abdullah, (1998), "The History of kingdom of Saudi Arabia", Riyadh (D.N.), PP. 316-318.

longs for in every place in this world. Muslims are attached to it spiritually and emotionally, which gives it the role of leadership and pioneering in the Islamic and international action.

2-B-6 The levels of involvement in Saudi foreign policy:

The foreign policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is based on geographical; historical, religious, economic, security and political principles and constants- within main frameworks, the most important of which are:

- Paying attention to good neighborliness.
- Non – interference in the internal affairs of other states.
- The enhancement of relations with the Gulf states and Arabian Peninsula.
- Fostering relations with the Arab and Islamic states in a manner that serves the common interests of these states; and in defense of their causes.
- Following a policy of non – alignment, and the establishment of cooperative relations with the friendly states.
- Playing an active role within the framework of regional and international organizations.
- The activation of this policy through a number of the Gulf, Arab, Islamic and international circles, in accordance with the following⁽⁴⁴⁾:

1- The Gulf level:

The interests of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the Arab Gulf are not spur of the moment. They extend into far – reaching historical roots. Since the beginning, King Abdul Azeez was keen on the intensification of consultation and bringing close together the various

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Publications of the Foreign Ministry of K.S.A.

views relating to the issues that concern Saudi interests with fellow GCC countries: The countries of the Arab Gulf (the states of the Cooperation Council before their independence) in his attempt to emphasize the independence of the Arab Gulf decisions, away from the interference and influence of regional and international powers⁽⁴⁵⁾.

This Saudi conception towards the Arab Gulf continued from the time of King Abdul Azeez until the reign of the Custodian of the two Holy Sanctuaries, King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez, as a strong pillar for Saudi foreign policy, in general. The starting point of the Saudi policy towards the Gulf area is that of being a policy within the framework of the Arab destiny and Islamic solidarity, in addition to the dictates of the factors of geography and history that represent common denominators between Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. As the Custodian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries says: "The Gulf is an indivisible part of the Arab nation and there was never a doubt about this. It is the most important source of the power of the Council (the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf states); and the Council will never give up in any way the sources of its power⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The aforementioned made clear that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been active in playing an effective role in the crystallization and the determination of the direction of many results of Gulf policies... through its serious handling of all the events and developments that have affected the area. This has assured the flexibility of this policy and availed to it a mechanism that allowed it to absorb all the variables in the area.

Based upon the afore – mentioned, we find it proper to survey the objectives of Saudi foreign policy in the Gulf area that have helped Saudi Arabia, in reality, to adopt an effective

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Al – Ali, Khalid Ibn Ibraheem, (1999). "The Principles and Objectives of the Saudi Foreign Policy" in the foreign policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years", Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies, P. 57.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Ibid, P. 58.

policy that has widened the circle of interaction and involvement with the Gulf family, despite regional and international competition following the British withdrawal in 1971.

The realization of the security and stability in the Gulf area, and the assurance of its safety does not serve Saudi interests only, but the whole world. Based on this truth, Saudi Arabia worked to increase cooperation among the Gulf states to realize all that serves the interest, security and prosperity of the states of region, and the bolstering of the regional security and peace, through emphasizing the following objectives:

2-B-7 First: Saudi Objectives in the Gulf Area Before the Rise of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf States:

- 1- Saudi Arabia has strongly rejected any territorial expansion at the expense of the states and countrise of the Gulf, especially by Iran and Iraq through emphasizing that the regional situation remain as it is without being undermined by these powers. It rejected the Iranian claims in Bahrain, and the Iranian occupation of the three Islands of the Emirates. It also worked to abort the attempts of the Iranian Islamic republic – following the 1979 revolution to export the revolution and undermine the status quo in the Gulf region, through its attempts to topple some Gulf regimes, and replacing them with regimes loyal to Iran. Saudi Arabia also stood before the Iraqi expansion and ambitions in the state of Kuwait since its independence in 1961⁽⁴⁷⁾.
- 2- Saudi security is directly connected with the security of the Gulf states... and any infringement of this security means a direct threat to Saudi security.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Kasim, Abdoh, Hashim, (1993). "The Saudi Role in the Arab Gulf", First imprint, Riyadh, Al – Israa for information services, P. 51.

- 3- Saudi Arabia worked strongly to contain the communist penetration in the Gulf region through confronting the attempts to propagate socialist thought, and its refusal of any military communist presence in the area.
- 4- Saudi Arabia emphasized the freedom of navigation in the Arab Gulf area, in order to guarantee the flow of oil exports of the states of the area and to protect its commercial transactions⁽⁴⁸⁾.
- 5- Saudi Arabia rejected foreign presence in the Arab Gulf region; and non – entry in alliances or political exercises under the umbrella of any foreign power. It has also rejected the principle of granting military bases to present great power in the Gulf region⁽⁴⁹⁾.
- 6- Saudi Arabia has been keen on enhancing its relations with the conservative Arab Gulf states away from any Iranian or Iraqi interventions which could spoil the Gulf cooperative alignment. This led to the rise of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf states in 1981 as a fruitful and cooperative Gulf formula⁽⁵⁰⁾.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Al- Ali, Khalid Ibn Ibraheem, Op. Cit, P. 59.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ibid, P. 60.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Saleem, Mohammad Al – Sayyid (1994). "The Saudi Vision to the Security of the Gulf", "In Abdul Moneim Al – Mashatt, the Security of the Gulf Region", Cairo, Cairo University, P P. 63-66.

2-B-8 Second: The Saudi Objectives in the Gulf Area After the Emergence of the Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981:

Since the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been working to increase and coordinate cooperation among the member states and widen the fields of cooperation that will allow the realization of the goals on which the Gulf Cooperation Council was founded. Among the most important goals are:

- 1- Saudi Arabia sought to develop its cooperation with the rest of the members of the Council and develop its relations with them in various economic, cultural, social, political, security and defense fields through the deepening of the ties and relations that bond it with these states.
- 2- Saudi Arabia has continuously stressed that the security and stability of the Gulf area is the responsibility of their peoples and states; emphasizing that the relations between Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf states are considered the national responsibility of these states only.
- 3- Saudi Arabia is of the view that the security of the Gulf depends directly on the safety of the Arab Gulf political regimes. Thus it absolutely rejects interference in its internal affairs on the same footing of the affairs of the states of the council. It stresses the combatting of all internal and external sabotage attempts in the region.
- 4- Saudi Arabia strongly supports the right of the Gulf states to defend their security and preserve their independence in ways that they see fit, and which are assured by the principles of international law... in confronting any internal or external challenges.
- 5- Saudi Arabia believes that there exists an organic connection between the security and stability of the Gulf area, and the successes that may be realized at the level of

peace in the Middle East which caused it to work, in a strong way, and at all levels, to solve the Palestinian problem a fair way on the basis of securing the just and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

- 6- Saudi Arabia believes that the common denominators between it and the states of the Cooperation Council represent a very important factor, through which a complimentary formula can be reached that can realize all the wishes and ambitions of the states of the Council, on official and popular levels.
- 7- Saudi Arabia has called for the solution of problems that may arise in the Gulf region (including the two regional powers: Iran and Iraq) by peaceful means, avoidance of violence, and the non – use of force. Accordingly, Saudi Arabia – since the outbreak of the Iraqi – Iranian war, worked to stop this war and find a diplomatic settlement for the conflict, in order to avoid it spreading to the rest of the states, and spare the area the catastrophes of this destructive war. Since the onset of the crisis, Saudi Arabia tried to prevent the outbreak of the war in order to preserve the security of the Arab Gulf region.
- 8- Saudi Arabia showed great keenness to establish strong military coordination among the states of the Council, in order to build a Gulf force of their own upon which to depend, for the realization of the security of the area and its protection, and the maintenance of its internal and external stability.
- 9- Saudi Arabia has condemned and reproved the terrorist acts that were suffered by some states of the council, and which have aimed at undermining their security and stability. Its affirmed its support and solidarity with these states, and considered

this threat as a direct threat to the security of Saudi Arabia. It considered that the security of the states of the council is an indivisible whole.

10- In its relations with the states of the Council, Saudi Arabia emphasized the principle of good neighborliness as a basis and foundation. It appealed to the rest of the Gulf and the regional states to observe this principle in their dealings with each other. This is in addition to its emphasis on the principle of mutual respect of the national sovereignty and non – interference in internal affairs.

11- Saudi Arabia called for the adoption of dialogue as the means to solve conflicts among states, in accordance with the principles of peaceful co – existence agreed by the principles of public ethics and the various international charters⁽⁵¹⁾.

2-B-9 The Arab level:

Since its foundation, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was aware of the importance of Arab joint action and the unification of the Arab banks. It sought, with the then six independent Arab states: the kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Egypt; Lebanon; Syria; Iraq; Jordan and Yemen, sought a meeting, in a true attempt to lay down a mechanism to regulate Arab relations and joint Arab action, and service of the interests and causes of these states. Thus came the League of Arab States, and the signing of its charter in March 1954⁽⁵²⁾. Saudi foreign policy, in its Arab circle, was based on constant principles and bases, some of which are⁽⁵³⁾:

- The inevitability of the inter – connectedness between Arabism and Islam. The kingdom is privileged for being the cradle of Islam and the spring of Arabism. This

⁽⁵¹⁾ Ibid, PP. 62-63.

⁽⁵²⁾ Majdoob, Mohammad, (2000). The International Arrangement, 7th Imprint, Lebanon, Al – Halabi publications, P. 254.

⁽⁵³⁾ Al – Mansoor, Mansoor, Abdullah, (1999). "The Saudi Foreign Policy Within the Arab framework: the Saudi role and the factors influencing it", in the foreign policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years: Riyadh, the institute of Diplomatic studies, P. 180.

has been a constant Saudi affirmation since the founder King Abdul Azeez and his sons after him.

- The necessity of Arab solidarity which necessitates coordination among the Arab positions, and the employment of all the capabilities and resources which the Arab states possess for serving Arab interests.
- Realism away from slogans and outbidding that harm the security of the Arab world and its stability, and the avoidance of intervention in internal affairs of the Arab states.
- Commitment to the principle of Arab brotherliness, through the provision of support in all its forms.

Owing to the status and credibility of the kingdom within its Arab surroundings, and the balance and rationality of its policy, it has played an important role as an honest and acceptable mediator in solving Arab differences (internal and regional), due to its concern for preserving Arab solidarity. And in order to realize this, it has exerted great conciliatory efforts with the aim of the removal of the internal Arab differences that weaken the unity of the Arab ranks.

Within this context, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia paid special attention to the Palestinian cause....being the primary Arab and Muslim cause, and a prominent factor in its foreign policy. This is no wonder, since the kingdom – since the time of King Abdul Azeez Al – Saud- has shouldered the defense of the Palestinian cause in all international forums,

and did not fail in its support to this cause under any pretext. It has dedicated itself to the service of this cause, in order to reach solutions or equitable settlement⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Reality bears witness to the fact that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been committed to the unitary line in its foreign policy based on the mature political awareness of the variables that prevailed in the Arab region and the entire world, during the war and after. King Abdul Azeez was fully aware of the necessities that dictate the transition of the Arab homeland to a new phase that overcomes the differences that used to afflict the Arab – Arab relations⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The commitment of the kingdom to the Arab idea, and its total partiality to the unity of ranks and goals in facing dangers was not one of being carried away by emotions or improvised stands, so as to be recorded in the annals of history. This commitment and the partiality to Arab rights is a principled policy based on the study and analysis of the realities and the understanding of the nature of events and signs of the future.

It is for this reason that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia delayed a little its signing of the Alexandria Protocol, which was signed by the heads of the Arab delegations in the preparatory committee of the Arab general conference on 7 October 1944. The Protocol that is considered the first foundation for the charter of the League of the Arab States. It took some time to think this over, so that when the commitment is made regarding this newborn joint Arab action, the commitment is total. Thereafter, the kingdom signed the charter of the League of Arab states, when it was then among the seven independent Arab States that had carried the burdens of the establishment of the League. King Abdul Azeez deputized sheikh

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Al – Zahrani, Ahmad Khodair, (1999). "The Saudi policy in the Arab circle during the period 1979 – 1990", a master degree atesis, Alexandria University, PP. 191-193.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Al – Twajri, Abdul Azeez Ibn Othman, (1999). The kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the joint Islamic action", in the conference of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years, Riyadh, PP. 20-21.

Yusuf Yaseen, the deputy foreign minister of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to sign the charter of the League of Arab States. He was accompanied by Khair Al – Zirakli, the counselor in the legation of the kingdom in Cairo⁽⁵⁶⁾.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia has worked with all capabilities and means within the framework of the Arab states to mend the rifts, unify the ranks and achieve common voice, and support the joint Arab efforts to realize progress and prosperity for the Arab nation, and support the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, and other Arab peoples that were facing occupation and colonialism during the forties and the fifties of the twentieth century.

2-B-10 Third: The Islamic level:

The Saudi strategic approach, on which all the internal and the external policies of the state revolve, has been a clear reflection of the Islamic vision of the political and diplomatic orientations....by positioning Islam as the most influential factor in determining the priorities of Saudi foreign policy. This approach has represented, in reality, a tie of close adhesion whose foundations went deep in the Saudi political experiment. And became a clear and tangible reality for the Saudi leadership in exercising its jurisdictions and international activities⁽⁵⁷⁾.

The fair observer of the principles of the Saudi foreign policy must perceive the strong and direct cooperation between the concept of Islamic solidarity and the intensive Saudi efforts in this regard.

In the totality of its objectives in its dealings with the members of the international group, Saudi Arabia has added the trait of Islamism, as a singular and distinguished objective.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Ibid, P. 22.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Al – Shareef, Mohammad Ibn Fayez, (1999). "The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the Islamic Sphere", in the conference of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years, Riyadh, PP. 29-30.

It has concentrated on Islamic solidarity in all its ethical and political dimensions since King Abdul Azeez, and until the present⁽⁵⁸⁾. This has been the common denominator between its policy and the policies of the rest of the Islamic states. King Abdul Azeez has stated frankly "that which unites us and bring us together is a small thing in itself, but a big and great one... it is the agreement around the unification word, and the work according to the command of Allah and his Messenger.

What we would love most is for Allah to unite the ranks of the Moslems to cause their hearts to be united together. Our goal, as a result of this is not to control people; but if we cannot gain beneficence from it, then we will not suffer harm from it.

The Saudi political leadership has stressed this vital criterion in its foreign policy on all national and international occasions. Nothing renders this more eloquent than the emphasis of King Fahd that "The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Arab Islamic state that is interested in the concerns of Arabs and Muslims and is keen on their solidarity and unity of ranks, and contributes its utmost to their welfare. Events and realities has proven the truthfulness of its positions and the fulfillment of its commitments towards its Arab and Islamic nation. King Fahd stressed that Saudi Arabia shall remain faithful to the principles of the Islamic Sharia in all its political orientations. It is evident that the continuous firmness of Saudi Arabia on the Islamic path is based on three truths⁽⁵⁹⁾. These are:

- 1- The foundation of the Islamic approach is constant, and is not subject to change or replacement. As Allah (be praised) has Said "verily it is Allah (God) who has sent down the dhikr (i.g. the Quran) and surely, Allah (God) will guard it".

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Zaki, Mohammad Fadil, "Illumination on the Saudi Arabia diplomacy", the constants and the new (developments), Saudi magazine, Issue2, PP. 49-50.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Haddad, Jameel Mahmoud, (1999). "The impact of religious dimension in the Saudi foreign political decision making" in the Saudi foreign policy in 100 years, Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies, PP.260-261.

- 2- The emphasis on the obligation to adhere firmly to the Islamic approach, in compliance with the command of Allah (be praised) "(then Allah God) has put you on a way of commandment. So follow you that, and follow not the desires of those who know not".
- 3- The desire of the rulers of the Saudi state to be faithful to their Islam in all circumstance⁽⁶⁰⁾.

The role of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the sphere of Islamic solidarity has been affirmed since its foundation, and it became, thanks to Allah, and to the policies of its leaderships with their deep, strategic, long term vision one of the pioneering states within the political matrix of the Islamic world. This Saudi orientation was enhanced by the discovery of oil in its territories, which added a large economic power that was soon invested in fostering the Islamic spiritual power of the strategic Saudi orientations; and augmented its leading role in its Arab, regional and Islamic surroundings, especially in building Islamic solidarity. This role was embodied in the Saudi establishment of a matrix of Islamic institutions with the aim of the practical embodiment of Islamic solidarity in the face of some secular currents (Communism, for example). Accordingly, Saudi Arabia called for the convening of the first conference in the recent history of Islam, in which the League of the Islamic World was established in 1962, followed by its evident contribution to the establishment and the sponsorship of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 1969⁽⁶¹⁾.

When the kingdom of Saudi Arabia crystallized the objectives of its foreign policy – through its long practice in international political relations – like the preservation of national security and independence, and the work towards the preservation of international security

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Al – Alami, Khalid Ibn Ibraheem, Op. Cit, P. 67.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Ibid p. 68.

and peace....it also added to these a unique and distinguished goal that was represented in its concentration on the Islamic solidarity in all its political, economic, military, strategic and cultural dimensions, to be distinguished from the rest of the states of the world.

In its relations with the Islamic world, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia bases itself on the principles that were rooted in belonging to one faith and the belief of the kingdom in the necessity to commit to the faith and defend it.

King Faisal said, "the Islamic alliance which we think of, is not a civil temporal alliance that depends on the emerging circumstance, since there exists among Muslims ties that are far stronger... I mean the permanent ideological ties that are latent in our religion. Our call for Islam is not directed against anyone; it only speaks of a larger union among Muslims to defend their Faith and their temporal interests⁽⁶²⁾.

As a result of this approach, the kingdom became the fore – front of the states that bless the initiative that seeks to gather Arab and Islamic ranks. It can be confidently said that existence of the Organization of Islamic Conference itself is tied to a large degree to its embrace by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the kingdom's constant material support that far exceeds the assigned quota of the kingdom in the budget of the Organization, and the budgets of its specialized institutions⁽⁶³⁾.

2-B-11 Four: The International level:

At the international level, the kingdom is keen on the establishment of equal relations with the major powers....with whom it has been connected in a network of interests that can be described as the results of the reflection of its growing pivotal role in the Arab and Islamic

⁽⁶²⁾ Morad, Jameel, Mohmoud, Op Cit, P. 265.

⁽⁶³⁾ Al- Sawaygh, Abdul Azeez Hasan, (1985). "Islam in the Saudi foreign policy", Riyadh, papers for publications and research, P. 72.

worlds. Which it sought through it to widen the circle of the Saudi movement on international level. Thus the kingdom seeks to interact with the centers of weight and influence in the international policy. Taking into consideration that which ensues from this policy of consequences and responsibilities⁽⁶⁴⁾.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is proud to have been one of the founding members of the United Nations Organization since world peace is an objective of its foreign policy. It continuously calls for more transparent foundations of justice in the dealings among states in the political, economic and social arenas....as being the only way for prosperity, welfare and stability in the world. Accordingly, it does not believe in the use of force as a tool for executing foreign policy; but believes, at the same time, in the legitimate right of self – defense, as a rule of international law.

Due to the belief of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the importance of the role played by the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies, and the international organizations in general, on the path of progress and prosperity of the international community in all fields – foremost among which is international security and peace, the kingdom has joined all these organizations, and was keen on supporting this international matrix in all material and moral means, and the active participation in their activities. It may be said that Saudi foreign policy in the international field is based on clearly - based and established principles, such as⁽⁶⁵⁾:

- The keenness of the kingdom to interact with the international community through its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and the international treaties and

⁽⁶⁴⁾ The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, publications of the foreign ministry of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in the website: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Al – Qabaa, Abdullah, Op. Cit, P. 306.

agreements to which it has acceded, and the rules of international law which lay down the framework of general conduct of the civilized states and communities.

- The commitment of the kingdom not to use force in international relations; and not to interfere in the internal affairs of others; and the condemnation of violence and all means that undermine international security and peace, and the emphasis on the principles of peaceful co – existence among the states of the world.
- The keenness on the stability of the world markets of oil; and the work towards developing fair international trade through the economics of the free market.
- Imbue the Saudi foreign policy with an ethical character, through the adoption of the principle of supporting the victims of natural disasters; homelessness and refugees in many parts of the world.

2-B-12 Summation:

We reach from this chapter a number of conclusions that revolved around the following:

The First Axis:

Since its foundation and the laying down of its rules of governance, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes in flexible diplomacy in its foreign policy in order to avoid clamor and sloganeering. It also believes in the legitimate right of self – defense in order to protect the higher interests, and its rejection of the resorting to force as a tool of executing foreign policy.

The kingdom has also followed the approach of commitment to the principle of legitimacy in its international dealings and relations; the policy of good neighborliness, and non – interference in the internal affairs of the other states, and refuses, in turn, the interference of any side in its internal affairs.

The Second Axis:

The economic factor is not the sole influencing factor in foreign policy of the kingdom. It is also not the one with the large relative weight among the other factors. This is because the kingdom has a regional and international status that is no less in weight than that which followed the appearance and exportation of oil. The kingdom did not base its power on the military factor only, since the resort to the military factor in foreign policy of the kingdom comes after exhausting all peaceful means.

The Third Axis:

We notice the existence of common denominators among all levels of foreign policy of the kingdom that are represented in:

- The harmony with the noble principle of the Islamic Sharia (path) being the constitution of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- Working for international peace and justice, and the rejection of the use of force and violence and any practice that threatens world peace.
- Defense of the Arab and Islamic causes in the international forums, through various political, diplomatic and economical means.
- Condemnation and rejection of terrorism in all its forms and manners, and the affirmation of the innocence of Islam of all terrorist practices.

Third Chapter

Chinese foreign policy regarding the Arab area and the Gulf

3-A : The Awakening of China in a Multi – Polar World

The international order suffers from an obvious imbalance in the relations among states. This is the result of a fault and a gap in the capabilities of power among the various sides and specifically between the United States and other countries states. Since there is an American political project for pioneering and world leadership of the international order, this was reflected in the pursuit of policies that are based on imposing sovereignty That is the exercise of definite authority and control over other states, with the accompanying efforts of the United States that seek to invest its surplus military power to achieve its political goals in global pioneering. The foundation for this lies in the idea of the establishment of the uni-polar order that depends on the principle of the existence of a serial pyramidal arrangement and authority in the international order that is concentrated in the hands of the United States. One cannot find this as much as find an increasing tendency unto this power to know the reactions of the other powers regarding its actions in the various regions and the lessening, as far as possible, of the negative (reactions) ones. This is accompanied by an increasing tendency to go out of, or respond to, the American will, as is the case of Russia and Iran. Both indicators do not negate the existence of an American influence on the current international policy and the transformation in the international order. We find this in three aspects⁽⁶⁶⁾:

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Atwan, Khadr Abbas, (2007). China and the future of the relations of the powers, the Arab future Journal, Issue 341, July, P. 48.

1- The nature of the political coalitions that the United States has formed to face the post – 11 September 2001 challenges.

2- The escalation in American military spending to record levels (232.3 Billion Dollars in 2000, to 455.3 Billion Dollars in 2004, in addition to extra appropriations that reached 346 Billion Dollars during the period 2001-2005).

3- The expansion in other fields like the occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq; the alliance of the states of central – Asia and East Europe; and the undermining of the stability of Iran, Sudan and Syria; and the imposition of the introduction of reforms on the Arab states; and the affirmation of the Alliances with Western matrix and Japan, Turkey and Israel; and the strive to decide the relations of struggle according to its perspective and values in the Arab – Israeli struggle; and the Korean crisis, and the nuclear arms race; and world trade⁽⁶⁷⁾.

This does not negate that the relations of power among the various international powers may witness a change whose locations and prominent fields will be in the continent of Asia and China in particular and will be in Europe and Russia. The latter possesses the necessary capabilities but lacks the will to carry out its political project. China has the political project, but lack the necessary capabilities to carry out this project. Both of these – the capabilities and the political project – contribute to the formation of power and powers relationships at the international order level which will contribute to some change in the rule of the international game without pushing towards a struggle with the United States or the Western matrix. This will be a foregone conclusion unless the major powers agree to, and commit to, frank foundations for political relations among them, and the fields that may cause severe crossing

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Atwan, Khadr Abbas, (2002). China between the motive to possess power and the restraint of the uni – polarism, Gulf Affaris Journal, Issue 3, July, PP. 31-32.

points and maybe a struggle and an open implementation limit the magnitude of the deterioration in these relations. Maybe the most important of these fields are:

- 1- East Asia and South East Asia, the spheres of influences for China, and central – Asia and East Europe as spheres of influence for Russia.
- 2- The sources of natural resources and their means of transportation, specifically the Arab Gulf and the Arabian Sea and the Sea of China for China.
- 3- The commercial relations and the markets and their access, the most important of which are the markets of the Arab region, Africa and Asia⁽⁶⁸⁾.

The political literatures that are concerned with Chinese affairs affirm the fact that China is in the stage of rising towards the status of a super – power, since it has all the assets that qualify it to reach this status. The differences in these literatures revolve around several matters, the most important of which is the time span that China will traverse to reach the status of a super – power. Some are of the view that it will reach this status during the first quarter of the twenty first century; while others are of the view that this time span will not exceed the first decade of the twenty first century. The Chinese themselves say that they have laid their plan to reach the status of the second super – power in the middle of the current century⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Researchers also differ regarding the consequences that will result from this, whether on the regional level or the global level; and the policies that China will follow when it reaches that position. This is in addition to the differing points of view among American political

⁽⁶⁸⁾Ibid, P. 35.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Abo Amood, Mohammad Saad, (2004). The Assets of the Chinese Rise, Gulf affairs Journal, Issue 39, P. 10.

scientists regarding the approach that the United States must follow regarding China now and in the future, since it is the one to be most affected by this rise⁽⁷⁰⁾.

Irrespective of these differences, the obvious phenomenon we are seeing within the global reactions is represented by the formation stage and the shaping of a new super – power. Needless to say that the history of international relations affirms that the appearance of a new super – power is normally accompanied by tension on the level of international relations that may escalate to the degree of military confrontation between the rising power and other powers that are in hegemony over the prevailing affairs.

This is due to the fact that the appearance of a new super – power leads to the re – shaping of the balance of power at the world level, which means harming the interests of the other existing major powers and deprives them of some of their privileges. This imposes on these powers the necessity either to resist and impede the ascendancy of this new power or to adapt to the new situation and re – shape their interests and objectives in accordance with the new situation, or attempt to force the new rising super – power to re – shape its interest and objectives in a manner that does not expose other powers to danger or, at least, establish a new balance of interests between the rising super – power and the existing powers that will achieve the highest possible interests for these parties⁽⁷¹⁾.

The greatest importance of China today depends on its accelerating economic growth and its integration in the global economy. Its military power is limited compared to its economic prowess, though that military power is growing at a faster rate than the pace of its growth in any other Asian state. To the point that it began to constitute concern for several sides, specifically the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.) and Japan and India

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Abdul Haii, Waleed, (2000). The future position of China in the international order (1978-2010), Abu Dhabi, the Emirthes center for studies and strategic research, P. 29.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Atwan, Khadr Abbas, China and the future of the relations of the powers, Ibid, PP. 65-66.

within other neighbors of China. It even began to constitute worries to the supporters and allies of these states, foremost among which is the United States.

In addition, the Chinese role and influence in Asia has achieved considerable growth during the last years as a result of a smarter Chinese ideology in dealing with the Asian province an approach that effectively uses economic and military assets, and other aspects of Chinese power in order to widen the base of Chinese influence, especially in areas where there is no active role for the United States or China or other international powers. Furthermore, the Chinese ideology and culture, and the other flexible aspects of the yellow dragon were always received with limited international measures of acceptance. Yet they, in any case, support Chinese efforts to gain the views and influence of friends in Asian areas bordering China⁽⁷²⁾.

In looking towards the future, we see that the specialists in Chinese affairs usually differ regarding the nature of the expected orientation of China. Yet there is a balanced view that represents a middle solution among the differing expectations that emanate from those specialists. It is a view that considers China to be focusing currently on the following political priorities: lessening the grip of Communist rule in China (or trying to polish its image); the striving to achieve the unity of the various Chinese lands and provinces, especially Taiwan; with the motherland; the modernization of the Chinese economy and army; and the realization of a more regional ascendancy; and, finally, the maximization of Chinese influence around the world. The Chinese leaders see that their country is currently achieving some progress

⁽⁷²⁾ Abdul Haii, Waleed, Op Cit, P. 31.

towards the realization of these goals; though it is still far from achieving them in full, especially in respect of the regional and the international objectives⁽⁷³⁾.

The Chinese leaders are of the belief that their state is unqualified at present to seriously challenge the United States in any way. Since 2001 those leaders have adopted an orientation that tilts towards cooperating with Washington and avoiding clashes with the USA. This orientation is partially based on their conviction that any confrontation with the United States – the global sole pole who was deeply provoked by the events of the eleventh of September – will not be in the interest of the priorities of Chinese policy. Furthermore, any confrontation like this may threaten to undermine the stability that is considered a very important condition for economic modernization in China and the overall Asian economies. It may also force other Asian powers to make a comparison between siding with the United States or siding with China (either this or that)⁽⁷⁴⁾.

3-B: Chinese – Arab relations

China comes at the fore front - of the great powers that have no negative residues with the Arabs. These include India, Japan and Russia. Due to the location of the Arab states as a link between the East and the West, the relations of China with the Arab countries started many centuries before Christ. The Arab culture has provided a multitude of perceptions. Chinese silk was transported to Arab countries and Greece and Rome through Persia in the fifth century B.C. .During the Hatan dynasty, delegations came to Arab Asia and the Arab states overlooking the Mediterranean carrying with them silk, pottery, tea and other Chinese

⁽⁷³⁾ Montere, Robert, (2004). Why should China be taken seriously, the global culture Journal, issue 124, May, P. 93.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ China – A super – power in world, Al – Hayat newspaper, London, 10 August, 2003, P. 15.

commodities. The Arab traders reached China carrying with them large quantities of animal and vegetarian products⁽⁷⁵⁾.

These relations were enhanced and took the form of mutual cultural exchange following the arrival of Islam to China during the Tang dynasty.

China was known to the Arabs. The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) has urged seeking knowledge even if it were in China. Islam played a very important role in linking the Arabs and the Chinese. It was like a cultural bridge that carried the creative abilities of the Arab and Chinese nations in both directions. It is difficult to find any area in contemporary China that does not contain Islamic antiquities and landmarks. Furthermore, the presence of ten Muslim national Chinese nationalities in China has maintained the historical links among the Arabs and the Chinese, and deepened the ties of kinship, cooperation and understanding⁽⁷⁶⁾. The Chinese historical books narrate specifically the cultural interaction between the Arabs and the Chinese. The Muslim Arabs have transmitted to China the sciences of astronomy and mathematics, in addition to the Arab lunar calendar which has influenced the Chinese lunar calendar that is still in operation until now. Also, the achievements of medicine and pharmacology especially synthesizing medicines from herbs. During the seventh century, China knew the way to extract and purify sugar which the Arabs transported there. The arts of architecture; drawing and music left their imprints until now in various parts of China. The Arab traders transmitted to China different musical instruments like kanoon (zither) and others. In return, traders brought to the Arab countries silk, pottery, spices,

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Al- Jundi, Jameel, (2007). The Arabs and China, Cairo, Dar Al – Jundi, P. 132.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Al-Wadi, MoHammad Khair (2005), "Spotlights on The Chinese foreign policy". Damascus, Al-Ahali, P. 99.

acupuncture, dynamite, compass and paper – making. It is narrated that Haroon Al-Rasheed established between 793-794 a paper mill in Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid state⁽⁷⁷⁾.

This brief historical survey indicates that Arab-Chinese relations did not start from scratch, but were anchored in a deep-rooted historical background, in addition to multiple and active cultural relations. Thus, and since the beginning, the view of the leadership of the People's Republic of China towards the Arabs was one of friendship and sympathy. This view was deepened as a result of the common struggle between the Arabs and the People's Republic of China against colonialism. With the start of the policy of reform, priorities of Chinese foreign policy began to change. It no longer raises high the previous anti-imperialism slogans. Ding Chao Ping proposed that the content of the present age is peace and development Not struggle and confrontation. Thus Peking began to give priority in its external relations to the advanced Western states and China is neighbors in the Asian Continent⁽⁷⁸⁾.

During the eighties of the past century, Peking amended its view regarding the events in the Arab world, affirming that its stand regarding world affairs will be decided according to the interests of the Chinese people first. It backtracked from the principle of the priority of ideology in its foreign policy and tilted, towards realism. The relations of China improved with the United States, and economic and commercial cooperation began between the two states. The relations of Peking with Moscow remain cold and continued as before to be icy⁽⁷⁹⁾. During the nineties of the past century, Arab- Chinese relations prospered, while the

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Qandeel, Hanan (2007) "china and the Arabs: the reality, problems and opportunities", Arab Affairs journal, issue 129, spring, P. 125.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Qandeel, hanan, Ibid, P. 127.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Al-Sakit, Mohammad Abdul Wahhab, (2006) "the Arab- Chinese cooperation in the twenty- first century" the Chinese awakening, Cairo university, the centre for Asian studies, P. 351.

Soviet Union collapsed. The way was open to establish diplomatic relations with more Arab states who were hesitant to recognize the People's Republic of China. Chinese economic growth played a large role in attracting Arab attention to China. It became a source for cheap commodities, and the promising technology that is offered without strings attached. At the same time, the Arab markets became wide open before the Chinese commodities and the economic interests inter-locked between the two sides. Each became aware of the importance of the other. This perception was reflected in the following steps taken by the Arab side:

First: the agreement that was concluded between the Secretariat – General of the League of the Arab States and the government of the People's Republic of China, on 24 May 1993, to establish a diplomatic mission to the League of the Arab States in Peking, with the aim of fostering cooperation and development of the ties of friendship between China and the group of the Arab States that are represented in the League. This agreement attests to the importance that China extended to the Arab states as a group...moving towards closeness, coordination and solidarity among them.

Second: on 17 September 1998, the Council of the League of the Arab States- meeting at the foreign ministerial level- decided to enhance relations with the People's Republic of China. The decision stated that in response to the Chinese orientation, (in cooperating with the Arabs) and the desire of the Council to develop Arab – Chinese relations in the twenty – first century to the highest level that serves the interest of the two sides, and based on the recommendation of the political affairs committee, and the contents of letters that were exchanged between the Secretary- General and the Chinese Foreign Minister, in which the Chinese Minister emphasized that his government regards the strengthening of its relations

with the Arab states as an important part of its foreign policy, and gives great interest to cooperation with the League⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The current realities and the awaited expectations affirm that the Arab- Chinese cooperation is open to a noticeable stage of growth and acceleration, which caused Chinese officials on several occasions to say that if the east of Asia, in which China is situated, unites with the West of Asia and north Africa, in which the Arab states are located, this will cause an impact on the march of the international realization of the multiplicity of countries. The United States is not desirous of this and has assigned a large section in the American embassy in Peking to observe the development of the cooperation between China and the Arab states⁽⁸¹⁾. Thus it can be said that the enhancement of Chinese cooperation will result in many positive aspects for both sides due to the following reasons:

- 1- The Arab world needs to establish close, growing and balanced relations with all international powers, especially China, through using various capabilities and directing their economic assets towards strengthening and developing these relations so as to benefit from them. The economic capabilities must be an important factor in gaining a prominent friend in the service of the legitimate national interest.
- 2- The two sides, the Chinese and the Arabs are still until now along the road of openness; economic liberalization and privatization, which is a dependable path to increase the mutual ties and the exchange of experiences particularly since China possesses wide experience in this vital field.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Al-Jundi; Jameel, Op Cit, P. 140

⁽⁸¹⁾ Zohair, Masoud (2006); "China; from ideological rigidity to the policy of openness and Reform" Howar al-Arab Journal, issue 16, March, P. 35.

3- China constitutes the largest world market on both the supply and demand sides. It will remain in need of importation and exportation; all opinions agree that it constitutes a major market for the importation of oil and gas, especially from the Arab area, which will remain until the middle of this century the main source for supplying the world with these two commodities.

On the other side, the Arab world has started the establishment of the greater Arab free trade zone. This represents an important motive for China to increase cooperation with the Arab world due to the size of these large markets. It is also an incentive to establish new Arab-Chinese cooperation in the field of mutual investments, especially since China depends on three pillars in conducting its policy regarding the states of the Arab region. These are basically economic, after it used to depend in the past on the political pillar. It need the oil and the gas and to sell more Chinese commodities and attract foreign investments and the maintenance of good relations with the states of the region⁽⁸²⁾.

Chinese policy grew very fast in the Middle East during the last decade. The aim was to protect the oil and gas to provide for Chinese economic growth. Thus, the Chinese government has enhanced its relations with the oil – rich Middle East, particularly Iran and Saudi Arabia. In its adamant pursuit of this goal, China was ready not only to cut contacts with the Unites States, but also to work with the governments that support the Islamic societies. Despite the difference of China with this support, yet it waged on the relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia to get profitable deals in the areas of oil and weapons. Though China- historically – has avoided confrontation with the United States, the new policy of China in the Middle East is based on a hostile basis for the objectives of the American expansion. China may commit to be against the policy of American expansion, and is ready to

⁽⁸²⁾ Ibid, P. 39.

enhance its relations with the Middle East in the aim of selling (the area) weapons and the materials used in the programmes of weapons of mass destruction. This suggests that all its promises to the United States are insincere. And in the long run, the Chinese government hopes that local prospecting of the increasing oil may bolster its production. It has also increased its investments in oil resources in central – Asia. Since the crude oil that is pumped through the pipelines that pass through Kazakhstan will be more expensive than the other alternatives, Peking believes in the importance of not trusting American protection for the oil pipelines. Although China paid 700 million dollars to the government of Kazakhstan in 2004 in return for the passage of the oil pipeline towards the north western district of China, it remains always cautious regarding any instability in central- Asia that may cause the oil pipeline to fall into the hands of terrorists.

The volume of commercial exchange between the Arab states and the People's Republic of China during 2005 (unit; one million American dollars)

Comparison percentage with the same period last year%			Imports	Export	Exports and imports	Name of the states	No
Imports	Exports	Imports and exports					
62	37	56.1	12.245.72	3.824.67	16.070.39	Saudi Arabia	1
56	27.6	32.3	2.045.61	8.730.16	10.775.77	Emirates	2
-3	72	-1.4	4.138.91	190.99	4.329.91	Oman	3

53.3	58.6	55	2.614.46	1.293.60	3.908.06	Sudan	4
82	19.5	67.8	2.667.69	547.16	3.214.85	Yemen	5
12.3	39.3	36.1	21.14	1.934.10	2.145.24	Egypt	6
40.4	47.3	42.7	363.74	1.405.25	1.768.98	Algeria	7
33	29.8	32.1	1.020.50	628.34	1.648.84	Kuwait	8
29.6	27.9	28.2	277.45	1.206.41	1.983.86	Morocco	9
126	41.4	93.9	941.72	360.50	1.302.22	Libya	10
-10	33.7	28.1	78.87	831.76	910.63	Jordan	11
-36	28.3	25.8	17.74	888.60	906.34	Syria	12
29	172.9	75.3	415.68	408.11	823.79	Iraq	13
41	96.7	54.5	472.72	203.67	676.43	Qatar	14
-56	-2.4	-3.5	4.19	472.06	476.25	Lebanon	15
29.2	20.6	21.7	44.09	295.59	339.68	Tunisia	16
-2.5	55.1	20.2	68	186.97	255.91	Bahrain	17
4.2	54.3	54	0.54	111.46	112.009	Djibouti	18
-91.9	15.5	-31.7	4.06	74.30	78.35	Mauritania	19

207	140.1	140.6	22.90	23.64	23.87	Palestine	20
60.6	74	13.3	3.07	16.57	19.64	Somalia	21
-	41	41.1	0.10	1.83	1.83	Comoros	22
45	34.1	39.7	27.659.87	35.74	1.272.84	Total	

Source: The Arab- Chinese forum May 2006.

**A list of the dates of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Arab states
and the People's Republic of China.**

Name of the state	Date
The Arab Republic of Egypt	30.5.1956
The Syrian Arab Republic	1.8.1956
The Yemeni Republic	24.9.1956
The Republic of Iraq	25.8.1958
The Kingdom of Morocco	1.11.1958
The Algerian Popular Democratic Republic	20.12.1958
The Republic of the Sudan	4.2.1959
The Somali Republic	14.12.1960
The Tunisian Republic	10.1.1964
The Islamic Mauritanian Republic	19.7.1965
The State of Palestine	1966
Djibouti Republic	8.1.1971
The State of Kuwait	22.3.1971
The Lebanese Republic	9.11.1971
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	14.4.1977
The Libyan Arab Socialist Great Jamahiriyah	9.4.1978
The Sultanate of Oman	25.5.1978
The State of the United Arab Emirates	1.11.1984
The State of Qatar	9.7.1988
The Kingdom of Bahrain	18.4.189
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	21.7.1990

Source: Jameel al-Jundi, Ibid, P. 152.

3-C: The Strategy of China Towards the Gulf Area.

There is no doubt that the Gulf area, which is part of the world we live in, is affected, and does react with a number of the international variables which have accelerated during past years, especially after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, and their repercussions on the entire world and on the region. These have caused the international policies, including Gulf diplomacy, difficult challenges. The universal war on terrorism and the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the occupation of Iraq- and the resulting tragedies and catastrophes on the peoples of the region- brought facts and created complicated circumstances, that made it incumbent on the diplomacy of the States of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf States to deal with these within the framework of a collective vision as their higher interests dictate⁽⁸³⁾.

Despite what is said regarding the existence of differences and disparities in the positions of the states of the Council in respect to some international events and variables – which some analysts attribute to the difference in political components and experiences of each state – there is an overall framework and a unified approach based on the common interest and coordination and consultation. This renders diplomacy capable of confronting many challenges, and open before it wide horizons towards several issues, since its diplomacy works to calm the situations and push matters towards stability. It is the principle that is followed by the states of the Council, collectively and individually⁽⁸⁴⁾.

As for challenges, the states of the Council –like the rest of the other states which have many challenges – through determination and perseverance and adherence to historical and

⁽⁸³⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein (2006) "Towards a Strategic Chinese – Gulf Relations", the Journal of Opinions on the Gulf, Issue 18, March, P. 10.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Al-Madani, Abdullah, (2007) "The Gulf and the policy to head east", The Gulf in the years 2006-2007", Dubai, "The Gulf Centre for Research, P. 216.

cultural constants, were able to overcome many problems and challenges that stormed the region. Among the challenges that could be touched upon briefly are those relating to the situation in Iraq; the peace process in the Middle East; the relations between the states of the Cooperation Council and Iran; fighting terrorism; in addition to security in the Gulf.

This, in addition to the external initiatives that relate to development and democracy and human rights and others which the states of the region must deal with cautiously and wisely⁽⁸⁵⁾.

The restraining factors of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China since its establishment in the last year of the decade of the forties of the last century and until today are numerous. Some of these factors are internal, like the political system and the desire to achieve high degrees of economic development. The others are external like the shape of the international order in which China exists and the sources of threat to its security and stability. These internal and external factors differ regarding the weight of each one and its impact on its foreign policy. All of these factors affect the path of Chinese foreign policy. Yet, some of them may at some stage, and as a result of some circumstances and factors, be more influential than others in the external direction of China. This makes it difficult to reach a theoretical framework on a model that explains the past; the present and the future expectation of Chinese external political conduct. This means that Chinese foreign policy is a dynamic and flexible one and not a rigid policy unsusceptible to change. There is even a large degree of continuity in it and a large degree of change also. And this the case of the foreign policies of the major states⁽⁸⁶⁾.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Ibid, P. 263 .

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Hooyoon, Mohammad (2007) "The Restraints of the Chinese Foreign Policy Towards the Arab Gulf Area", The Arab Journal For Political Sciences, issue 13, Winter, PP. 61 – 62 .

Chinese foreign policy regarding the Arab Gulf area falls within this framework. It did not spring from a vacuum, but was in response to the impacts of external factors (the restraints) and internal (restraints) factors that have greatly influenced the direction of Chinese foreign political behavior⁽⁸⁷⁾.

The foreign restraint that influences Chinese foreign policy is embodied in the setup of the international order and the sources of threat to the People's Republic of China. These two factors were greatly prominent in determining the foreign policy of China towards the world and the Arab Gulf region, especially during the rule of the Chinese President Mao Tse Tong. It is well known that the People's Republic of China was born within an international order that was immersed in the spirit of the Cold War and the competition between the United States-led Western camp and the Soviet Union-led Eastern camp. Since the attack of North Korea on South Korea in June 1950, the United States carried the banner of confrontation with the People's Republic of China and its Communist regime, through its refusal to recognize it as the official representative of China, and its insistence on recognizing the national government of Chan Kai Chik that fled to the Island of Taiwan and established the Republic of China as the official representative of the whole of China. Thus the People's Republic of China was not admitted to the United Nations Organization. The latter kept the national government in the permanent seat of China until the beginning of the seventies of the twentieth century. During this period, the United States exerted pressure on the various countries of the world so as not to recognize the Communist government in China; and committed herself to protect the national China in Taiwan against any communist Chinese military attack to annex it to the Chinese motherland. This was done through giving orders to

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Ibid, P. 65 .

the American seventh naval fleet in East Asia to defend it, and provide the Taiwanese military force with the latest weapons⁽⁸⁸⁾.

Within these atmospheres, the area of the Arab Gulf did not attract great interest by the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. This non-interest was due to the following elements:

- 1 - The Chinese view of the states of the region is that they are either subject to Western influence (due to their being under the control of Western colonialism) or that they follow the West. According to this view, the People's Republic of China saw that it would not be able to penetrate the area due to the strong Western influence therein.
- 2 - The Gulf view. The then independent Gulf states in that period did not have the motive to recognize the People's Republic of China, and establish cooperation with it due to its pursuit of a Communist approach which was undesirable by the leaderships of the Gulf states that viewed it as hostile to religion.
- 3 - The Chinese preoccupation with East Asia and the great developments therein, which kept it away from being interested in the Arab Gulf region.

Thus there was no worthwhile contact during that period between the People's Republic of China and the Gulf States.

Even the commercial exchange between 1950 and 1955 was limited to around 1.7 million American dollars. Thus the impact of the external factor – as represented by the

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Al-Zaidi, Khodair (2003) "The Arab Chinese Relations, Reality and the Horizons of the Future" in "Sami Abdullah Khasawneh (Editor) ," The Arab-Asian Relations" , Amman, The University of Jordan, P. 590.

alliance of the People's Republic of China with the Soviet Union and its hostility to the United States –distanced the People's Republic of China from the Arab Gulf Area, prior to 1955⁽⁸⁹⁾.

A new change happened to Chinese foreign policy at the beginning of the seventies of the past century. This time the cause was also external. It was the change in its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, which led it to change its policy regarding the Arab Gulf area. The Soviet Union, at this time, invaded Czechoslovakia and proclaimed the Brezhnev Principle that gives Moscow the right to intervene in any state of the states of the socialist matrix whrer Moscow views its socialist system to be in danger. This invasion and the principle of commitment caused the Chinese government to be apprehensive that it may be the next target of the Soviet Union especially that the military skirmishes on the borders between China and the Soviet Union were on the increase. China, not being a member of the United Nations and not an ally of the United States would not be a difficult target to the forces of the Soviet Union since there did not exist an international alliance to stand beside it should Moscow make any kind of movement against them⁽⁹⁰⁾. Within this framework the People's Republic of China leaned for the first time towards the United States. It took advantage of the opportunity that presented itself when Washington took the bold step of rapprochement with Peking when the American National Security adviser, Henry Kissinger, visited Peking secretly in 1971, preparing the ground for the historical visit of American President Richard Nixon to Peking in February of the following year. These two visits added a new dimension to Chinese foreign policy that resulted in the following:

- 1 - Bringing out the first American recognition of the People's Republic of China, though diplomatic relations were not established until December 1978.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Mahafzah, Ali, (2007), "The Arabs and China", Al-Dostour News Paper (Jordan), 21 October 2007, P. 19

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Al-Zaidi, Khodair, Op Cit, P. 592.

2 - Also, American recognition that the People's Republic of China, and not the Republic of China, is the official representative of China, and the rightful owner of the permanent seat in the Security Council which the Republic of China in Taiwan was occupying since October 1949⁽⁹¹⁾.

That American position was considered a new orientation in American foreign policy towards China, which Washington used to follow during the previous period of the life of the People's Republic of China, the policy of containing and confronting the Chinese Communist influence all over the world. We can state here that Chinese foreign policy regarding the Arab Gulf area was an apparent reflection of that change in Chinese foreign policy and its view and relation with both the Soviet Union and the United States. The new Chinese foreign policy was directed basically towards the achievement of the following two objectives:

- 1 - The protection of the People's Republic of China from the danger that the Soviet Union may constitute on the political system of China, and the prevention of the possibility of the repetition of the scenario that happened in Czechoslovakia, from taking place against the regime in Peking.
- 2 - Working towards preventing the penetration of the Soviet influence in the other areas of the world, especially in the areas of the third world⁽⁹²⁾.

In order to achieve these two goals, the Chinese Government sought to approach the United States. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China towards the Arab Gulf area assumed a different image from the previous one and was based on preventing the Soviet influence from penetrating the states of the Arab Gulf region due to their geo-strategic

⁽⁹¹⁾ John King Fairbank (1971), "The United States and China", American Foreign Policy, 3rd Edition, Cambridge, Ma. Harvard University Press, PP. 422 – 427.

⁽⁹²⁾ John Calabrese, (1991) "China's Changing Relations with the Middle East, London,; New York, Printer Publishers, PP. 83 – 85

importance. The Chinese were fearful of the possibility of exploitation of the Soviet Union after British withdrawal from the area at the beginning of the seventies of the past century, and the work to fill the vacuum resulting from that withdrawal; especially after the success of the Soviet Union in creating a presence and an existence for them in Iraq with the signing in Moscow of an agreement of friendship and mutual cooperation with the government of Baghdad in April 1972, which bolstered the existing Soviet influence in the Yemeni Popular and Democratic Republic in the southern part of Yemen. Thus the government of China began to follow two main policies to prevent the occurrence of Soviet penetration in the area to fill the vacuum. These were⁽⁹³⁾:

- 1 - Tilting towards accepting the American foreign policy in respect of the Arab Gulf area, that is based on preventing Soviet penetration therein;
- 2 - Working towards forging good relations with the ruling regimes in the Arab Gulf area.

These two policies were radical change in the old orientation of Chinese foreign policy towards the Areas. After Peking used to raise the banner of confronting the American military and political presence in the area, we found it at this stage supporting this presence and calling for its enhancement, and encouraging and urging the United States to take all necessary measures to confront the Soviet influence in the world in general, and in the Gulf Area in particular as stated by the documents published by Henry Kissinger himself⁽⁹⁴⁾. When we touch on internal restraint, we come face- to - face with a group of internal factors that has an influential role in Chinese foreign policy. Here are the factors of history and tradition that

⁽⁹³⁾ John Cranmer, (1973) "The Chinese View of Their Place in the World: an Historical perspective", China Quarterly, No.: 53, January –March, PP. 76-79 .

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Chieh James Hsaiung (1970) "Ideology and Practice", The Evolution of the Chinese Communism, London: Pall Mall Press, p 120.

some have found to influence the external orientation of the People's Republic of China. John Crammer-Bing found that the traditional Chinese idea that it enjoys a superiority and it is the pioneer and the "Middle Kingdom" around which others revolve, has found its application during the People's Republic of China through adopting national policies and others that are revolutionary that give the example to others that it can be a leader to the others in the world, and that the world can learn from them. There is also the factor of ideology which is considered the decisive factor in the running of the orientation of the Chinese foreign policy .

During the time of Chairman Mao TSE Tong, the overall line followed Marxism-Leninism thought and the thought of MAO TSE Tong as the guiding line of Chinese foreign policy. The holders of this orientation view the foreign policy of China – since tilting towards the Soviet Union and supporting the liberation movements around the world and then turning towards the United States- as a natural consequence to the ideological thought on which the People's Republic of China was based. Consequently, the Chinese foreign policy was the product of the ideology that was based on Marxist – Leninist thought and the thought of Mao TSE Tong⁽⁹⁵⁾.

There are also the factors of leadership and political system which some view as being active factors in determining the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. David Bagman considers that Mao TSE Tong was in control of the decision – making of foreign policy and there was no one to dispute him. Doak Barnett considered that President Ding Chao Ping himself took the final decisions in foreign policy⁽⁹⁶⁾.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ David Bachman, (1998). Structure and process in the making the Chinese foreign policy, in: Samuel S. Kim, editor, China and the world: Chinese foreign policy faces in the new millennium, fourth edition, Boulder, Colorado, West view Press, PP. 37-41.

⁽⁹⁶⁾David Bachman,, Op Cit, P. 45.

There is also the factor of economic development that the Chinese leadership adopted during the rule of President Ding Tchao Ping at the end of the seventies of the twentieth century in order to achieve economic development that realize growth for China in all fields. The policy of economic openness which China adopted since that time, and is reaping its fruits today, demanded a change in the path of Chinese foreign policy so as to be more cooperative, and less confrontational with the states of the outside world which can contribute to China reaching its goal in economic growth. Thus several revolutionary thoughts of Mao TSE Tong were replaced with other new ideas that were more pragmatic and contribute to the growth of China.

We can say that all these internal factors had a role in determining the foreign policy of China towards the Arab Gulf area in different degrees. But the most influencing internal factor was the one relating to the economic development that China adopted in the late seventies.

With the four reform programmes proposed by President Ding Chao Ping, China began to look at the Gulf area through an economic view more than a place for competition and control with other competing powers, as was the case before. The importance of the area for China was evident in two economic aspects:

- 1- A source to obtain oil.
- 2- A market for Chinese commodities⁽⁹⁷⁾.

The Chinese economy is at the centre of the interest of all world powers, including the United States of America. This is because this economy, and since the year 1978, is growing at an annual rate averaging 6-13%. This huge growth of the Chinese economy needs to

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Hoyden, Mohammad, Op Cit, P. 70.

consume large quantities of raw materials and strategic commodities to maintain its pace. In addition, China needs external markets in which to sell its products and invest its funds so as to widen its financial and economic reach; especially since it ranks second worldwide in cash reserves that total 400 Billion Dollars, following immediately behind Japan. Accordingly, the states of the Arab Gulf can provide two basic elements in the economic strategy of China: the oil and the commercial markets.

1- **Oil**: since 2003, China has been considered the second consumer of oil in the world, after the United States. During that period, China surpassed Japan and occupied its place regarding the consumption of oil, with a total daily demand of around 6.5 million barrels. The International Energy Agency expects the Chinese demand for oil to reach 14.3 million barrels a day by the year 2025, with its net imports expected to be of around 10.9 million barrels daily. With the increasing global demand for oil and the lessening or deterioration of oil production, the states of the Gulf possess, in addition to Iran and Iraq, approximately 45% of the known oil reserves since 1945, and 59% by the end of the year 2003. This is so, since they occupy the first and the fifth and the sixth places (Saudi Arabia 20%, the Emirates a little above 8%, Kuwait a little less than 8%) of the world oil reserves. Their oil fields are distinguished by the length of their median age that reaches 90.1 years, surpassing the world median age of wells that reaches 50.9 year. Thus, they can supply China with all its needs of oil supplies and for long periods or that China becomes at least the first oil client of the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council⁽⁹⁸⁾.

2- **Commercial Markets**: the states of the Arab Gulf constitute the eighth largest trade partner for China in the world, and the eight largest market in the world for Chinese

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein, Op Cit, P. 15.

products, and the ninth largest export market to China. The cooperation of the two sides in the fields of contracting, energy and investment achieved positive progress. The Gulf markets have great demand for Chinese clothes, textiles, electronics and communications equipments. The Chinese markets have great demand for oil, gas and petrochemical products.

Despite this, and in view of the economic power and the size of the external trades of the two sides, the commercial exchanges among them is considered small, even if the balance of trade between China and the Gulf states reaches 65% of the overall volume of trade between the Arab states and China at present⁽⁹⁹⁾.

Thus, what is required now is to bolster the Gulf – Chinese common market agreement for which an agreement was reached at the end of 2006, with economic projects and the opening of the Gulf markets and its economic sectors for Chinese investment, including the oil sector and the money and trade institutions and the accompaniment of the Chinese economy, whose size will reach the size of the Japanese economy by the year 2020, then exesed the size of the economy of the United States a

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Hoydin, Mohammad, Op Cit, P. 71.

few years later than that, and the absorption of an important part of its huge commercial surpluses in these years, which reached 100 Billion Dollars in the year 2005 alone⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Bakeer, Ali, Op Cit, P. 17.

The Fourth Chapter

4-A: Saudi – Chinese Relations

The impact of the variables in the development of Saudi – Chinese relations.

The researcher believes that the variables and the political and economic factors that have accumulated between the past two decades constitute the main dimensions in studying Saudi – Chinese relations. These dimensions can be approached through the following levels of analysis.

4-A-1 The State Level:

The People's Republic of China passed through several economic and political transformations that continued since 1987 and until 2006. This part of the study will attempt to monitor these transformations to ascertain its effect on the essence of the socialist system that China adopted in the year 1949 and consequently, the extent of its effect on Saudi – Chinese relations⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

After the death of Mao TSE Tong in the year 1976, the world witnessed the trial of the new leadership to four symbols of the Mao era. Regard and Esteem was restored to the forces of the rightist tendencies; foremost among them Ding Chiao Ping, who was removed from office twice due to his rightist orientations, but reassumed power in the year 1978. the post – Mao leadership began to speak about the end of the class struggle, and the realization of the socialist society in a final form. The meaning of these directives was that the Chinese leadership is not ready to allow the masses to exercise the chaos of the cultural revolution.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Al – Kurdi, Abdul Moean, (1991). The relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China, diplomatic researches Journal, Issue7, P. 40.

Following that, Ping led a wide purging campaign in the various state systems against those with Maoist orientations. The cause of economic development replaced the ideological direction as a supreme goal for the new leadership whose first concern was to move China towards a modern and developed economy by the year 2000, through the principles of the four renewals that are represented in the development of agriculture, industry, national defense and world technology⁽¹⁰²⁾.

Concerning agricultural activity, the new leadership raised the slogan of helping the rich farmers, which reports of the central committee described as being of knowledgeable and capable of applying their agricultural knowledge to increase production. It reached the point where they were described as being the private road smoothers to socialism. During the third session of the central committee in the year 1978, two documents were adopted. One of them laid down the new policy (the aim to transform the communes from collective units based on self – reliance into land divided on an individual basis). The industrial sector saw also radical transformations within the amendments of the ten – year development plan (1976-1985) which was excessively ambitious and of huge capital, which distanced it from reality, and caused the Chinese leadership to adopt the policy of amendment according to the sixth five-year plan (1981-1985) which focused on the priority of economic reform and the widening of policy of the (open door). The state itself entered into close relations with the Western world that caused it to deal with some world corporations and contracted with some of them to establish joint Chinese factories with the assistance from the International Bank and the

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Teerah, Bakr Misbah, (1988). The strategic evolution of the policy of the People's Republic of China in the Arab Gulf region, the Cooperation Journal, Issue 11, P. 32.

International Monetary Fund. The joint projects reached 891 public projects in the year 1986 and (725) joint projects during the first half of year 1987⁽¹⁰³⁾.

The factors that influenced Saudi – Chinese relations were not confined to the Chinese side only, but included the Saudi side. Saudi Arabia in the twenty- first century is not the Saudi Arabia of thirty years ago, since it has accumulated various experiences that caused it to acquire expertise against all variables. This knowledge not confined to the government only, but extended to the level of the individual who became more fortified against all the principles, ideas and ideologies prevailing in the world. By the end of the fourth five – year plan (1985-1990), Saudi projects for basic development and human resources were completed, and Saudi Arabia reached the doorstep of implementing its five – year plan (1990 – 1995) which concentrated on quality and the increase in capital investment in the modern advanced technology. The adoption by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia of the principles of free economy and mutual interdependence⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, caused Saudi Arabia to be met by a series of initiatives and active contest from others (the Chinese and Soviet attempts to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the Kingdom). The Kingdom became more aware of the outcome of its regional and international responsibilities, which impose on it the undertaking of wide positive roles that go beyond the borders of the region so as to contribute to the issues of peace, co – existence and stability in the world.

This was a reflection of Saudi policy of reaching out, which the Kingdom adopted to widen the circle of mutual inter – dependence, or at least the creation of channels to explain and coordinate economic policy and political directions. Thus the double adoption of the policy of mutual interdependence and independent and effective policies towards the

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Qandeel, Hanan, (1987). China after Mao, the Journal of International Policy, Issue89, PP. 105-107.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Lilian, Harris, (1993). China considers the Middle East, London, L.B. Terries, PP. 80-83.

environment the common denominator between the Saudi policy of openness and the policy of reaching- out⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

4-A-2 The Regional level:

According to this level, the researcher finds many political and economic developments that caused this area to be a candidate for transformation during the coming few years into one of the most sensitive areas of the world.

The political aspect: East Asia enjoys a unique strategic position due to its being an area that is in geographical and military touch with four major powers, in addition to the two super – powers. "We see that the current strategic situation in the area began to be affected by the constant and rising Japanese role it is causing an effect as a main economic force in the world, and the difficulty of excluding it from turning in the future into a similar power on the political and military levels⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. China comes as the fourth of these powers by virtue of its growing military and nuclear force. The prominence of the last two powers has imposed on the area conflicting relations whose future directions cannot be controlled, especially within the shadow of the regional disputes and the ideological differences and the historical complexities which have readied this area to be an environment for a series of contradictory alliances and collective axes that caused the Prime Minister of Thailand (Sofahan) to state : "The borders between the enemy and the friend have become unclear, and it will be difficult to commit to the present theory of enmities and friendships. Many times, the papers were mixed and that caused the re – arrangement of the priorities and the alliances and the collective axes. For example, China has fostered its relations with the west during the past two decades. The Sino – Soviet hostility, and the desire of China to look like a super – power

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Al – Kurdi, Abdullah, Op Cit, P. 45.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Jian, Lee and Lee, (2001). The relations between China and the states of the Middle East, the Journal of international policy, Issue 145, July, PP. 71-72.

during that period, caused China to enhance its relations with the West, including military cooperation and political cooperation which reached its zenith in the eighties, and China looked like being on the same path as one of the states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.). As a result of this, the American president Ronald Reagan approved an agreement of nuclear cooperation with the People's Republic of China, in continuation of the series that Dr Henry Kissinger started in the year 1972. This series of transactions has indirectly affected Saudi – Chinese relations, due to the policy of openness on the states of the world, irrespective of their social and political systems. The regional situation contributed to the appearance of strategic features that were not there in the past. Among these, for example, the fading of the star of Taiwan and its denouement as a political and strategic force in the area and the increasing movements of the large corporations in the area towards the southern coasts of China. As for the relations of Riyadh with Taipai and Tokyo, we find that the changes at this level constitute factors of attraction to the orientations of the foreign policy of the Kingdom, and make it incumbent on it to respond rapidly and deal with them in a more "pragmatic" manner, and take into consideration the rising Chinese role in the political and economic fields⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

On the other side, the regional level of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has contributed – regarding its relations with Iran – in many variables and factors that have positively impacted Saudi – Chinese relations. Towards the end of the seventies of the last century, many variables and events accumulated that caused the disequilibrium of the regional balance of the states of the region. The year 1977 witnessed the Camp David talks and a return to the policy of alliances in the region (the front of steadfastness and confrontation). The breakout of the Iranian revolution and the subsequent Iraq – Iranian war that got so intense to the point that

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Qandeel, Hanan, Op Cit. P. 130.

the probability of its spreading was more than expected has affected Saudi security strategy. All of this under the shadow of Israeli intransigence and the increase in its security – threatening practices, and the requirements of the regional balance to the Kingdom, has imposed on the Kingdom the widening of the area of its armament to include the People's Republic of China, due to the following facts:

- 1- The intergence of the West and the placement of impediments to the orders of the defense weapons that the Kingdom ordered under the pretext of Israeli security.
- 2- The desire of China to provide the Kingdom with its weapons needs to restore the regional balance to the Kingdom.
- 3- Containment of the policy of exportation of Chinese weapons that has contributed to the reactions of the Iraqi – Iranian war (silkworm Missiles) and the directing of that policy in a way that does not undermine the regional balance of the Kingdom.

In view of the intricacies of the regional level to the Kingdom, its positive effect became clear on the march of Saudi – Chinese relations in making available the motivating and maximizing regional environment for positive aspects in the formula of Saudi – Chinese relations.

4-A-3 The Economic Aspect:

Following the end of the Second World War, the Asian economy went through fast changes. Economic growth was not confined to Japan only. Most of the Asian peoples witnessed economic growth that has even surpassed Japan and the United States... like Hong Kong; Singapore; Taiwan and South Korea. Other peoples witnessed evident economic growth like Thailand, Indonesia; Malaysia and the Philippines which caused the centre of the geographical weight of international trade to move from the Atlantic region to the Pacific. The production of these states, in addition to other states of the Pacific Ocean Basin (the United States, Canada and Mexico) constitutes 60% of the gross national product of the world⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. The states of the area are going through various developments. They have developed, at a quick pace, their agricultural production and its infrastructure. They paid attention to technology through its transfer, and supported research and followed commercial development in this regard. The policy of motivating exports became an integral part of the economic growth that these states witness. This is particularly so, since most of these states have limited local markets and resources. The only exception is the People's Republic of China, that finds in its huge internal resources and market, that which mobilizes the resources. The policy of economic openness became a necessity for the current stage of the Chinese economy that aims to achieve the maximum operation and highest production of these resources. In general, we find that the qualitative leaps that the Asian continent is going through has contributed to pushing China towards economic openness which was enhanced

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein, (2006). Oil and the Future Chinese -Saudi relations, opinions around the Gulf, Journal, issue 17, February, P. 12.

by the corporations in the area that found in the cheap Chinese labour force a motive to establish more factories inside China, especially the coastal areas⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

These transformations on the Chinese level that followed the "policy of openness" were favorable to the other economic transformations in the regional aspect of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The factors that helped (OPEC) to succeed in the seventies of the twentieth century changed during the eighties. And at the time in which the demand for oil was inflexible in the seventh decade, many sources worked to lessen the basic advantage of the union of the producers as the main provider for the oil. It became necessary for Saudi Arabia to adopt oil policies that guaranteed it a fair share in the world oil market and find new export outlets for its oil and petrochemical products, especially in the shadow of the impediments that the West places before Saudi petrochemical industries⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

4-A-4 The international level:

According to this level of analysis, we find a kind of proportional relationship between the variables that have impacted Saudi – Chinese relations, on one side, and the new international phenomena and environmental changes with the approach of the twenty – first century, on the other. The era of ideological struggle that prevailed after the Second World War- and became the most influential phenomenon in international transactions- began to retreat before the following variables:

- 1- The policy of bridge- building across the ideological divide.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Ibid, P. 15.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Quick Development in Few years to the Saudi – Chinese Relations, Al – Marrifah, Journal, issue 151, 2007, P. 17.

- 2- The attempts of the Socialist experiences to follow an independent line, starting with Yugoslavia, and ending with the European communist parties, and passing through China.
- 3- The major transformations in the Soviet Union following Brezhnev, and China following Mao.
- 4- The technological revolution and the world economy crisis and the arms race to settle regional problems.
- 5- The internal economic crisis of American imperialism, and with its relations with Japan and Europe that resulted from the arms race and the Stars War⁽¹¹¹⁾.

These variables resulted in creating a wide gap between ideological developments and the requirements of international relations. This was followed in many cases by the overcoming of circumstantial improvisation and contradiction between scientific principles and imperialist practices and ethical results.

Thus the regional settlements and the concentration on the economic problems became a pillar of the pillars of bridges extending across the ideological divide. It became clear that the saying of the English poet, Kipling, (the east is east and the west is west and they will never meet) was about to be realized, and the bet of (Mao TSE Tong) that (the wind of the east will defeat the wind of the west) has been unable to reflect the complex nature of the world of today and the cultural dialogue among nations that emphasize their inter- connectedness as

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Baz, Abdul Karrem, (2001). The Saudi – Chinese relations in the economic and commercial field, the Journal of diplomacy, issue 21, P. 104.

one unit, as was described by (Gorbachev) as being (the passengers of one ship.. that is the earth, and must not be allowed to be wrecked, since there will no second crowd)⁽¹¹²⁾.

And if we take into consideration the previous three levels, it becomes certain that there are variables inside the People's Republic of China that cannot be separated from the other regional and international levels. The Chinese interest in the scientific pragmatic aspect more than the theoretical ideological side, and its adoption of some capitalist policies came as a result of the awareness of the post – Mao Chinese leadership that the world of today is characterized by mutual interdependence. This awareness came in time to coincide with the end of the first long period through which China has passed and led to a high level of the mobilization of resources and employing them in production. It is now heading towards a second period in which the central issue is the highest and most efficient productivity of these resources, not just packaging them. Its way through this will be the use of the mechanisms of the market economy, which does not mean capitalism, by necessity, to achieve its interest in acquiring technology and foreign exchange. Saudi Arabia, by virtue of the agreements concluded with the West regarding the transfer of technology and owing to its oil revenues...can answer the questions of the Chinese side regarding the question of openness why? And Who?

In surveying previous analytical levels, it becomes evident that the development of Saudi – Chinese relations came as a result of developments and transformations that took place regionally and internationally⁽¹¹³⁾. This is in addition to the factors and the variables that happened on the level of the state in the two countries. The increasing Chinese military power opened the way for China to follow an effective and independent policy that is capable of

⁽¹¹²⁾ Ahamd, Jaafar, (2004). The Chinese – Saudi relations (1949-2000), The University of Kuwait, PP. 63-68.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Ibid, P. 69.

influencing certain sensitive areas that the local sides want to keep the East – West struggle away from, like the Middle East, for example. China began to favour the national interest of China through the policy of openness that the Chinese leadership began to follow since the second half of the seventies in order to move the Chinese economy from the stage of mobilization of the resources towards the ideal employment of the resources. This is especially so, since the economic variables in the international setup imposes on those who want to develop their national economics to attain progress in the world economy. Within this perspective, the completion of the building of the foundations of the Saudi economy, and the accompanying deepening of national loyalty, has imposed on Saudi Arabia the necessity of openness on the world market...East and West. This world market has been transformed, as a result of the ideological retreat before the economic factor- from the so called (international environment) with all its ideological, strategic and economic dimensions, into a new international environment in which the economic justification plays the larger role allowing the Saudi outreach policy to reach Peking without a noticeable ideological cost⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

4-B: Saudi – Chinese Common Interests .

National interest is the ultimate goal of the foreign policy of any state. In the international order, the state seeks always to attain its interests independently from the other states. Yet, many times a state cannot attain its own interests without cooperating with states that it shares with them many interests these common interests push the states to cooperation. The researcher will try in the following to identify the nature of the common interests on which Saudi-Chinese relations are based⁽¹¹⁵⁾.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Jain, Lee and Lee, (2000). The oil of the Middle East and the security of the Chinese energy, Bait Al – Arab Journal, issue 35, December, P. 42.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein, (2006). The oil strategies of China, Al – ASR Journal, 31May, P. 5.

4-B-1 First: Saudi interests:

Saudi Arabia has several interests in China. These interests can be divided into two basic groups: economic interests and political– military interests.

4.1.1- Economic Interests:

The economic factor plays a basic role in crystallizing the foreign policy of many states. In view of the great transformation in the economic policy of China, and its adoption of the policy of the open door, there exists a great opportunity for Saudi exports that is reflected by the size of the Chinese market itself.

This is especially so, since China is considered among the largest importers of the Petro-Chemicals and fertilizers in world markets. Its imports of these were around 13 Billion Dollars⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Chinese imports from the Kingdom are not confined to petrochemicals (Whose latest order towards the end of the year 1988 was 65 Million Dollars), but went beyond that to foodstuffs, including wheat, which some estimated at around 300,000 Tons of Saudi wheat; in addition to other Saudi products like air –conditioning equipment, since China is building industrial complexes to produce petrochemicals, economic studies put China within the world of oil importers in the near future, due to changes in the index of Chinese consumption of oil that are resulting in social and cultural changes that are accompanying the policy of the open door. This is so, since the predictions are not optimistic regarding the Chinese oil reserve. Upon the acquisition of the aspects of the commercial and banking cooperation, their positive sides, there is a great opportunity in front of the Saudi investor for investments and the joint projects inside and outside; and to benefit from the good reputation of Chinese companies and constructions and their precision and low costs. This is so since China has decisively applied

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Baz, Abdul Kareem, Op Cit, P. 105.

the principle of (adherence to the contracts and guarantee of quality) and prefer small profits so as to support friendship, which enables the Saudi contractor to increase his competitive advantage in front of Korean and Asian companies. Since the technology and the equipment that China offers is more suitable to the Arab countries, the cooperation between the two sides is proceeding very well in the field of contracting; as for replacing imports in the local market through manufacturing, China shows its interest in providing assistance in this respect. In the China-the Arabs forum, that was held on, Mr: Tchen Tchou Noon said: (The current structure of Chinese exports will not have a great future in the Arab world. So, it is interested in helping the developing states in general, and the Arab states in particular, to do away with many heavy imports in the area of the real industries. Mr Tchou Noon advised on focusing on agriculture and the agricultural industries as an important area for the joint projects between China and the Arabs).

This means that China prefers the industrial presence and ties inside the Arab states, since they provide an atmosphere of high-cost continuity to get rid of the imports that can be substituted by several sources⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

Through these two perspectives (the policy of motivating exports and the policy of imports replacement) the development of Saudi-Chinese relations supports the strategy of industrialization that the Kingdom follows, and which is based on mixing the policy of motivating exports and the policy of imports replacement⁽¹¹⁸⁾.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Lillian, Harris, Op. Cit, P. 89.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Harsh, (2006). Saudi Arabia woos China and India, Middle East Quarterly, Fall, P. 16.

4.1.2- Saudi Political and Military Interests:

The interests of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with the People's Republic of China are not confined to the commercial aspect only, but go beyond that to many political and strategic fields. These interests are summarized in obtaining the advanced weaponry and the necessary technical experience to guarantee the success of the lines of diversification of the source weapons. Saudi Arabia did not feel the need for these interests at the start of the steps of its armament when it focused on projects of military infrastructure. It used then to depend on American and Western sources. But with the advancement of the steps of its armaments, the submission of the American administration to the demands of the Zionist lobby to abstain from concluding deals of certain types of weapons that the Kingdom has asked for which led to the disequilibrium of the regional balance in the area. This was particularly so during the challenges that the Kingdom faced in the eighties of the past century as represented by the Iranian revolution and the threat of exporting the revolution, and the increasing danger of the Iraqi – Iranian war, the growing Israeli role that threatens the security of the area, and the introduction of strategic weapons (surface-to-surface missiles) in the armament programmes of the states of the area.

In order to fathom the Saudi political and military interests with the People's Republic of China, the researcher will handle it from two aspects: the first is related to the Saudi military setup, and the second will focus on the role of the Chinese military capability⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Blumenthal, Dan, (2005). Providing Arms: China and the Middle East, Middle East Quarterly, Spring, P.20.

4-B-2 The first dimension: The Saudi military Setup:

The requirements of national security and the demands of the regional military balance have made it necessary for the Kingdom to build a military capability that enables it to defend its interests. Thus Saudi armament efforts covered various military aspects. During the period 1962-1985 Saudi military spending increased 29 fold and achieved record regional and international averages. It reached in 1985 double the Iraqi defense spending and four times the Israeli defense spending. In 1980, Saudi Arabia ranked seven (after the six major states) in the field of military spending (the former Soviet Union the United States of America-Britain-France-Germany-China) ⁽¹²⁰⁾. The Kingdom adopted the planning method in the field of its military buildup and the implementation of its armament policy, whose foundations appear in the following:

First: Seeking to acquire the most modern weapons and advanced equipment in order to realize national security and accommodate the requirements of the regional balance to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Second: Diversification of the sources of weapons and military equipment.

Third: The building of military infrastructure and human resources and their development.

Fourth: Non-starting of any programme except after the completion of its requirements from the other programmes.

⁽¹²⁰⁾Harsh, V. Pant, Op. Cit, P. 17.

Fifth: Overcoming the problem of the increasing acceleration of the developments in the area of military technology over the average Saudi absorption of these developments through the projects of joint manufacturing and the projects of the transfer of technology⁽¹²¹⁾.

Due to these foundations within the shadow of the challenges of the eighties of the twentieth century that the Kingdom faced, the impact became clear of the Saudi political and military interests in its growing relations with China.

4-B-3 Some of these interests can be highlighted as follows:

- (1) Securing the needs of the Kingdom of the strategic weapons that meet the requirements of national security and regional balance, without political conditions.
- (2) Securing a substitute mechanism of balance, should the West in the future refuse to sell Saudi Arabia some quality weapons that it needs.
- (3) Support the pro-Saudi armament wing inside the Western regimes – the American Administration, for example – in pointing out the possibility of the Kingdom obtaining its orders from alternative sources and camps⁽¹²²⁾.
- (4) Selling Saudi Arabia strategic weapons (CSS20 missiles) proves the high degree of political stability of the Kingdom which caused China to agree to sell this strategic weapon to the Saudi army.
- (5) The possibility of benefiting from the technological feedback of programmes of economic balance and using it to raise the level and capability of the Chinese

⁽¹²¹⁾ Jian, Lef Wee, "The Relations Between China and the States of the Middle East", Op. Cit, P. 70.

⁽¹²²⁾ The Chinese – Saudi Relations are witnessing quick development...the following internet site: [www. Aljazira. net](http://www.Aljazira.net)

strategic weapons so that these weapons become parallel in quality to Western weapons and in a manner to achieve the following;

- A - The realization of a high rate of absorption compared to the direct importation of technology. It is well known that armies that import high-technology weapons need a long time so that their members can pass training sessions on these weapons.
 - B - The conversion of Eastern weapons from being labor – intensive weapons leads to a great increase in the added value. The use in the Kingdom of the cheaply – priced Eastern weapons as an introduction or intermediate commodities and saturate them with the technology that was available to the Kingdom through the decades of technology transfer with the West enables the Kingdom to develop some strategic weapons overcoming the embargo that is imposed usually on this type of weapon, and save, at the same time, a large part of the invoice of the military purchases.
- (7) The purchase of the Kingdom of weapons from outside the Western camp reflects the fact that its is not behlaen to that camp.
- (8)The acquisition the Kingdom of the East Wind missiles enables the Kingdom to keep up with armies of the region in possessing surface – to – surface missiles, and assure its of being ahead within the states of (the missile scare belt)⁽¹²³⁾.

4-B-4 The Second Dimension: China Military Power:

The development of Saudi – Chinese armament relations cannot be attributed only to the mutual desire of the two countries but also to the military power of China and its possession of several strategic weapons that China began to develop since the seventies of the past

⁽¹²³⁾ Ahmad, Jafaar, Op. Cit., P. 80 .

century⁽¹²⁴⁾. After its detonation of the first atomic bomb in 1964, China concentrated on producing more models of strategic ballistic missiles, when it focused on the (C.S.S.1) missile since 1969, whose maximum range was 1750 kilometers.

It was followed in the year 1970, by a longer-range missile (3000-3500) kilometers, called the trans-continental S.C.C.3. It was the only missile of its kind that was commissioned in the service in the seventies of the twentieth century. The C.S.S.4 remains the Chinese longest range transcontinental missile with super capabilities.

This is in addition to the continuation of China developing several other strategic weapons like nuclear missiles carrying submarines and the production of more jet aircrafts and ammunitions which is supposed to receive sufficient satisfaction of the technical return of the Chinese policy of opening to the West⁽¹²⁵⁾. The researcher expects that the more the opportunity for technical saturation for Chinese military hardware, the more opportunity of it getting a larger share in the Saudi market of weapons that demand quality standards. During the last years, there was a constant Saudi-Chinese dialogue before and after the East Wind missiles that culminated in the signing by Prince Bandar Ibn Sultan, the former ambassador of the Kingdom in Washington, of a memorandum of understanding between the two countries that stipulated the establishment of offices of representation. And on 29 Zul-Hijjah 1410 (Hijriah), (21 July 1990) an announcement was made regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level⁽¹²⁶⁾.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ Hoydin, Mohammad, Op. Cit., P. 79 .

⁽¹²⁵⁾ Blumenthal, Dan, Op. Cit, P. 22 .

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Harsh, V. Pant, Op. Cit, P. 20 .

4-B-5 Second: The Chinese Interests:

It is possible to divide the interests of the People's Republic of China in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia into two main divisions: The political and the strategic interests; and the economic interests.

A - Political and Strategic Interests of China:

Chinese strategic interests that are connected to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are not separable from the interests of China in the Arab region. The strategic position of the Arab region among the three continents increased the value in the belief of the Chinese policy makers that the outcome of the confrontation between the two super-powers would be decided through the one who would control the Middle East. In the Chinese perspective, the importance of the Arab area is basic, and its international policy reflects on the interests of the People's Republic of China. The strategic location of the area that is fertile with social agitations, caused China to seek the acceptance of one of the Arab parties (revolutionary movements–states). The revolutionary movements of closed orientations were more tempting to China during the period 1956 – 1972, until these movements demonstrated their failure to put China on the political map of the area. With the increasing tendency of the Chinese leadership towards the realistic view of the international relations, China began to change its strategy towards the states of the area, and discarded the revolutionary concepts, and headed towards building its influence in the developing world through supporting the ideological orientations of these states. China began to search for an Arab party that would guarantee its the greatest extent of movement. But this movement was to be proportional to several factors like the position of the friendly state (is it in the heart of the Arab system or on its margin) and its capabilities (is it a regional power on an ordinary state) and the manner of dealings with them.

Based upon this, it was natural for Saudi Arabia to be the most important Arab party that may tempt the Chinese leadership to do business with⁽¹²⁷⁾. This was due to the possession by Saudi Arabia of important elements of attraction that bolster its position in the area. It is the Arab protector of the holy lands and has an unequaled status in the Islamic world; in addition to its vast expanse and control in the Gulf and the Red Sea. Thus it was natural to make Saudi the important state that is more liable to answer Chinese demands in putting China on the Arab political and economic map especially under the previously mentioned policy of inducement that constitutes the axis of the Chinese strategy in the area. In addition to the lifting of the restraints against the Moslem minority, China (around 50 million people), and its distinguished relations with Pakistan, Peking will find in its positions towards the Palestinian question – which is in harmony with the Arab aspirations – an entry point that is acceptable to the Saudi leadership, which has been concerned with this cause since the time of King Abdul Azeez. Thus we see that Peking shows its interest in exercising a more effective role in the events of the Middle East. Its opinion towards the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict is that Israel must withdraw from all the occupied territories, and that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and that they should have their own state, and that the way to settle conflict in the Middle East is through convening an international conference⁽¹²⁸⁾.

4-B-6 Economic Interests:

A well-known economic fact is the difficulty of a state to be completely self sufficient for a long period of time. This is because the application of such policy requires the state to produce its needs of commodities and services at a high cost. This is in addition to the fact

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein, "The Oil Strategies of China", Op. Cit., P. 17.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Hendsen, Simon (2006), "Chinese – Saudi cooperation: Oil but also Missiles". Policy Watch, 21, April, P. 8.

that a state is unable to sustain self-sufficiency especially after the living matters of peoples become complex. Despite this, the People's Republic of China had tried, until few years ago, to depend on the policy of self-sufficiency, but failed in doing so. With the adoption of the policy of economic openness with the states of the outside world, and its application of this policy and tying its economy and internal construction with the economies of the other states, its established commercial relations with most of the states of the world, and the trade of China with the producing states increased tremendously. It did not concentrate on consumer goods only, but also to labor services and construction engineering, especially during the period 1976 – 1984, when China got involved in advanced types of contracting projects and labor services with the Gulf states and other Arab states. During the last years of the end of the past century and the beginning of the present century, the total amount of Chinese contracting projects and labour services reached (2050) million dollars that represented 51.87% of the total amount of Chinese external contracting projects and labour services. And, with the opening by China of its doors to the outside world, its exports to the Kingdom went from 2 million dollars in the year 1973 to 68 million dollars in 1979 and reached 4.5 billion dollars towards the end of the year 2006⁽¹²⁹⁾.

Despite this large figure, compared to the figures of the beginning of the seventies of the last century, the trade between Saudi Arabia and China remains low due to the lowering of the accounting estimation like Hong Kong and Singapore. Due to the positive aspects of the political relations, the possibility of substituting this trade through intermediaries with direct trading remains large, especially that the economic and cultural changes that China is adopting now will have positive impacts on the development of the inter – trade between the two countries through the constant and direct contract via the-offices of the diplomatic and

⁽¹²⁹⁾ "The Chinese – Saudi Relations Are Witnessing Quick Development", Op. Cit.

consular representation exchange. The practical experience proved its success, especially since international trade is not limited anymore to visible trade, but includes the exchange of the various services like the services of transport; insurance; tourism; investment; labour; and capital flow. The latter is considered one of the problems of the economic growth in China. Since 1979, China began to resort to foreign funds as a way for the growth of the needs of development, which opens a new field for cooperation between China and Saudi Arabia that can vitally push the caravan of the relations between both countries⁽¹³⁰⁾.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Henderson, Simon, Op. Cit., P.10 .

4-D: Saudi – Chinese Relations During the Rule of King Abdullah Ibn

Abdul Azeez.

Since King Abdul Azeez Ibn Saud assumed power, and his successive sons who assumed the rule of the Kingdom, the policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia adopted disciplined openness to the outside world, and the gaining of worldly friendships that go with its policy that emanates from the true religion; and what the world is currently witnessing of the huge developments and the existence of change in the strategy of Western policy towards Saudi diplomacy, in strengthening its relations with the states of the Far East, and the diplomatic movement in all directions, and the concentration on the area of technical development the most important of which is China which is considered today as the largest in this field⁽¹³¹⁾.

China is considered one of the most growing states in the world. It gives the priority of achieving a growth rate that is estimated to be 10.8% annually. It is sufficient to cast one look on the rate of exports to see that China has become one of the most important economic players in the international area.

The doors of Chinese investment were opened to Saudi businessmen, and Saudi Arabia reciprocated this gesture. This cooperation has climaxed with the visit of King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez to the People's Republic of China, within the framework of strengthening the relations of cooperation and friendship. Among its objectives was the discussion of a number of issues, foremost among them commercial issues⁽¹³²⁾.

The visit of King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez acquired evident importance. He is considered the first Saudi King to visit China, especially since the Kingdom is considered the

⁽¹³¹⁾ Rapid Development in Few Years For The Saudi-Chinese Relations, Op. Cit., P. 20

⁽¹³²⁾ "The Oil Strategies of China", By Ali Hasan Bakeer, Op. Cit., P. 22.

largest trading partner for China in the Middle East. King Abdullah has demonstrated a far-sighted political wisdom since assuming power. He was the one who saw that the strengthening of relations with a great power would enhance the Saudi role internationally and regionally. Former Chinese President, Jiang Zimen, said during the visit (we seek strategic partnership with Saudi Arabia). The Vice-President of the People's Republic of China, Wang Key Jian, said: "Since the year 1990, diplomacy between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and China has seen rapid progress In which cooperation increased and was enhanced in the sectors of economy, commerce, energy, and athletic health.

This visit has enhanced greatly the mutual Saudi- Chinese relations, that began to develop since the visit in 1998 that King Abdullah undertook to China, when he was the Crown Prince and the visit of the Chinese President to the Kingdom in 1999, in addition to the successful visit to China in 2000 of Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Azeez, the Crown Prince; Deputy Prime Minister; the Minister of Defense and Aviation and the Inspector – General⁽¹³³⁾.

During the rule of King Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez, Saudi – Chinese relations witnessed rapid development in the political, economic, cultural, educational and health fields. The invigoration of these relations was evident in the exchange of visits between the Saudi Monarch Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez and the Chinese President, Ho Jin Tao, in the first half of the year 2006, which gave a strong impetus to the bilateral ties between the two countries.

The visit of the Chinese President, Ho Jin Tao, to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia came three months after the visit of the Saudi Monarch to China, upon the invitation of King Abdullah. This exchange of visits is the first of its kind at the level of international relations between the two countries. During the meeting of "Ho Jin Tao" with King Abdullah, Ho

⁽¹³³⁾ Bakeer, Ali Hussein, (2006), "Oil And The Future Chinese – Saudi Relations", From the Internet site [http: Gulf in the media, com](http://Gulf.in.th/media.com), on 25 June 2006.

affirmed the non-existence of disputes in the political field between his country and the Kingdom.

He also affirmed the conformity or the close positions of China and Saudi Arabia regarding international and regional issues of mutual interest; and that the two sides maintain coordination and intensive consultation regarding these issues⁽¹³⁴⁾.

Ho pointed out that both sides exchange the understanding and support in matters relating to interests of great importance. During this visit, Ho delivered a speech under the heading "supporting peace in the Middle East and the establishment of a harmonious world", in front of the Saudi Shura (Consultation) Council⁽¹³⁵⁾.

During his meeting with King Abdullah, "Ho" attributed the sound development of bilateral relations between the two countries to the principle of the exchange of benefit and parity and scientific cooperation, defining the five main fields of cooperation at the current stage, that are represented in widening the investments and cooperation among companies in the two countries; the deepening of cooperation in the energy field; the widening of the bilateral trade among the two countries and the enhancement of the cultural and educational exchange among both countries to the point of reaching the degree of perfection in the mechanisms of bilateral relations.

The mutual visits of the two leaders resulted in the intensification of the governmental and popular exchanges between both countries, especially in the field of trade, where the entry visas issued by the Chinese companies to Saudi Arabia quadrupled during this year; in addition to the organization of two exhibitions for Chinese products in Riyadh and Jeddah with the participation of hundreds of the Chinese companies.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ Hendsen, Simon, Op. Cit., P. 24.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Baker, Ali Hussein, "The Oil Strategies of China", Op. Cit., P.23.

At the same level, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is considered the largest trading partner for China in the area of West Asia and North Africa. It is expected that the commercial exchange between the two countries will reach this year the sum of 20 billion American dollars⁽¹³⁶⁾.

The latest statistics that were released by the Chinese Ministry of Trade indicated that the volume of Chinese – Saudi trade in the first two months of 2006 had reached 7.2 billion dollars with a 43% increase compared to the same period last year. The volume of Chinese exports to Saudi Arabia reached 480 million dollars, over the same period, reflecting a 21% increase. Also Saudi exports to china reached 2.21 billion dollars, over the same period, showing a 49% increase. Within the same context, the Saudi oil trade with China maintained a good mode of cooperation, when China imported 22.18 million tons from Saudi Arabia in the year 2005, which made Saudi Arabia the biggest provider of oil to China. The Saudi non-oil exports to China registered steady increased between 2002 and 2006, when the volume of commercial exchange between Saudi Arabia and China registered 50 billion Riyal (13.3 billion dollars approximately) in the year 2005.

There are industrial and non-industrial joint investment projects, whose total investments are 1799 million riyals (around 479.8 million American dollars). 7 projects are industrial and 29 are non-industrial⁽¹³⁷⁾.

Regarding cooperation in the field of investments, joint investments and cooperation in the field of contracting between the Chinese and Saudi companies is expanding. The oil refinery project that was established in the Chinese province of Fo Jian has begun the stage of

⁽¹³⁶⁾ Al-Hayat Newspaper (London), 18 January 2006, P. 2.

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Al-Hayat News Paper (London), 18 January 2006, P. 2.

production. Chinese companies are carrying out projects of cement, communications and infrastructure that are at the tens of billion of American dollars.

In surveying this cooperation, it can be said that there exists a large possibility for economic exchange between both countries, and there are wide horizons for cooperation in various fields, among which is trade, energy, contracting and mutual investment. Under the care and the interest of the leaders of both countries, and in the shadow of the joint efforts of the two sides - government and people – there is no doubt that Saudi – Chinese relations – that are distinguished by mutual confidence on the political level and the possibility of complimentarity and mutual benefit on the economic level – will face a bright future in the coming years⁽¹³⁸⁾.

On 22 April 2005, and after two days of a futile meeting in Washington between President Bush and the Chinese President "Jin Tao", came the visit of the Chinese President to Saudi Arabia where he discussed with the Saudi responsible the development of relations between the two countries that began to witness a state of noticeable improvement. China is the largest importer of Saudi oil, and Saudi Arabia imports missiles from China, and it has Chinese missiles which it imported in the eighties of the last century and would like to update them.

His visit was important and came after King Abdullah visited China as his first visit outside the Middle East region since assuming power. It was the first visit by a Saudi King to China since the start of relations in 1990. Its importance emanates from the signing of five agreements relating to trade, double taxation, energy and the latter was considered central to the discussions.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ "The Chinese – Saudi Relations Are Witnessing Rapid Development", Al-Hayat News paper (London), 15 January 2007, P. 5.

The demand of China for oil has intensified, and its average has increased tremendously to be more than one million barrels daily which constitutes 40% of the increase in demand for oil in the world, which affected the world price of oil. In the year 2004, China became the second consumer of oil in the world after the United States. Saudi Arabia wanted to embrace China since the Asian markets are nearer to the Gulf. Saudi Arabia exports now to China 450,000 barrels daily. The United States has watched the increasing demand by China for oil. In addition to the strong contact with Saudi Arabia, China obtained oil concessions from Canada, Venezuela, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Sudan, Indonesia, Iraq and Iran. China has tried to purchase an oil company in Sudan and Iran, but the deal fell through due to the sanctions imposed on both states by the Security Council because of Darfur and the nuclear programmes respectively. America may be pleased if Saudi – Chinese relations worsened (or did not improve). During the visit of the king to China no oil deals were signed. Analysts find that the difficulty of establishing joint projects is due to the differences of shouldering the financial risks, since China regulates the prices of oil by the government and does not want to involve Saudi Arabia in this. In Addition, Saudi Arabia was upset because when the king arrived to China he was received by the Foreign Minister and not the president; while, on the contrary, the King received the Chinese President when he arrived to Saudi Arabia.

What worries Washington is the thinking of Riyadh in creating a deterrent for Iran, by asking Pakistan for Chinese – made missiles with nuclear warheads in these systems in which Pakistan keeps the key that controls the nuclear head, and leaves the key that control the missile in Saudi Arabia. This was used between America and Germany during the Cold War. This is not considered a violation of the nuclear weapons embargo. This may detes China from the commitment not to sell the ballistic missiles, but weakens the efforts of the Untied States to stop Iran from its nuclear programme. There exists now in Saudi Arabia a warehouse

of the CSS-2 missiles that are (designed) for carrying nuclear heads, but Riyadh do not use them. Their heads are highly explosive (not nuclear). After this visit to China, the king visited Pakistan, which was also visited by Prince Sultan, The Saudi Defense Minister, who visited the missiles production centre and the uranium – rich "Kahoota" province. This visit caused diplomatic protest by the United States. According to reports coming from the meeting of the American and Chinese Presidents, China is interested in its relations with America, yet it has a solid view regarding its interest. Peking is ready to make a compromise, even if this increased its problems with America. Since 2001, Saudi Arabia stated that it wants its national security to be independent with America. For many months, Riyadh has been indicating its non-agreement of the American policy in Iraq, Iran and the Palestinian authority.

It judges as being bearable the American anger resulting from the purchase of missiles from China.

4-D-2 Conclusions

The Following Conclusions:

1 - During past years, China has witnessed noticeable development in the elements of its power at all levels. It has achieved economic level growth rates averaging 8%-14%, and the annual growth rate stabilized at 10% during the first years of the twenty first century. It is the highest growth rate among the major powers in the world. Its population has approached the 1300 million mark which makes its an important market on the world level that cannot be ignored especially with the formation of a middle class numbering around 400 million persons.

Several studies point to the relative improvement in the living conditions of the people as related to the relative rise in the individual income median, compared to previous years, though it is still low since it reached in 2006 the sum of 1000 dollars.

Militarily, the Chinese military capabilities have been affected during the last decade to a large extent by the strategic orientation and technological science and power; the financial allocations; the regional and global environment of security; the administrative establishment of the armed forces; and the acquisition of the equipment models and training programme.

2 - One can say that the view of China towards war has been determined since the victory of the communist revolution therein in 1949. This was according to two main factors. The first factor is the one that can be called the Chinese perception of the nature of global situations surrounding China at a certain stage. In reality, and since 1949 and until now, the Chinese leaderships presented different developments to the international environment.

Each perception stated the best way to deal with the requirements of that environment. The second factor lies in the prevailing situations in the Arab world itself. When Chinese interests in the Arab world were met by acceptance and welcome by his states, it formed a basis for understanding and cooperation between the two sides. But, many times the contradiction between Chinese objectives and Arab interests led to the slackness of the relations and the deepening of the gap between the Chinese and the Arab sides in addition, the disarray of the situations in the Arab world was enough cause for the Chinese, on many occasions to distance themselves from there and limit them dealing with their states.

The Results of this chapter are:

- 1 - Despite the fact that China did not have in modern history permanent strategic relations with the Middle East region, its relations with the area from which it imports most of its oil needs has become more important and is on the rise.
- 2 - Since Saudi Arabia is the biggest exporter of oil to China (17% of the Chinese oil imports from the outside), the latter had to be interested in strengthening cooperation with the Kingdom especially since China is aware that it cannot avoid its growing dependence on the future supplies of Saudi oil. Thus China seeks to foster its relations with Saudi Arabia, which will lead to increasing political, economic and even military ties between the two countries.
- 3 - The visit of the Saudi Monarch, Abdullah Ibn Abdul Azeez, to China in January 2006, was a strategic change in the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia. It was an important event to the Kingdom, since it was the first visit of King Abdullah outside the Middle East

since he assumed power. His reception was a Chinese recognition of the Saudi role in the economy of the two states and the influence in the Arab economy.

- 4 - The relationship between Riyadh and Peking was not related to oil only, but one of political dimension also. The Saudi Royal Family worked toward a relationship that guaranteed the existence of another alternative to its relationship with the United States of America...which renders it less susceptible to Western pressures in the so-called transformation for democracy and financing terrorism. In its relations with China, Saudi Arabia sought curing solutions to some of its problems, and that which relieves its foreign policy of some choices that it wants to avoid.
- 5 - Saudi Arabia was annoyed by the American demands to stop financing Islamic groups. Riyadh has agreed on benefiting from the economic liberalization internationally without endangering the political situation.

Conclusion (Epilogue)

China currently imports 17% of its oil imports from Saudi Arabia, and this is a candidate for large increases in the coming years. Through an oil connection, the Saudi Aramco company entered into partnership with Exxonmobil and Sinobik companies to establish an oil refining company and the production of petrochemicals. It is a strategic partnership that depends on Saudi oil, and takes the Chinese market as a base for marketing its oil and petrochemical products.

The visit of the Chinese President to Saudi Arabia helped in strengthening the economic ties and the clarification of the agreement between the Saudi SABIC company and the Chinese its SHEEDA group to establish the Jareer petrochemicals project that specializes in the production of the Nafta product. The capital of the project was determined at 5 billion dollars. This project is considered an important project for SABIC for its geographical spread and the exercise of its productive activities in the eastern states that represent a selling market to the petrochemical products of SABIC.

These huge projects contribute to the strong partnership that began to determine the features of the Saudi-Chinese relations and deepen them. Saudi-Chinese partnership is based on the principle of mutual interest, and nothing else. China needs to secure its imports of Saudi oil and open new markets; and Saudi Arabia needs the support of China in the industrial, health, military and trade fields in addition to the transfer of technology, and training the Saudis in this respect.

These common interests govern the partnership between the two states. Saudi Arabia has suffered from the partnership in the West, regarding the transfer of technology and the providing of military systems. I do not believe that this suffering will be repeated with the

Chinese partner who establishes his foreign relations on the basis of mutual commercial interests which means China will not need special approvals to supply the military equipments and the advanced technical systems to Saudi Arabia. It will have a motive to do so in order to increase the volume of its exports to Saudi Arabia on a purely commercial basis.

The partnership with China will be less costly from a political point of view. China has an important influence, but an influence that stops at the edge of protecting its private interests. It is very far from expansionist ambitions, especially in the Arab Area, which makes dealing with it on this basis easier than dealing with the West. Nonetheless, we have to admit that this partnership is but a part of other Saudi partnerships that constitute collectively a complimentary matrix for common international relations. It is in the interest of Saudi Arabia to open channels of communication with the east in order to achieve the required strategic balance in all fields. The states that aspire to progress cannot stop at a certain limit in their relations with the states of the world especially since international relations have become subject to change according to the interests and the orientations, which has been demonstrated during the past five years. The opening of the channels of communication with the states of the world cannot be directed against a particular state or a conceding of the reservoir of distinguished international relations that Saudi Arabia enjoys with its partners in the West. It is a form of the determined communication that supports the plans of complementarity in international relations and interests in order to realize current and future results that reflect positively on all sides. Strategic partnership with China opens new horizons of fruitful cooperation between both states on the basis of common interests and mutual concerns. China is still registering high growth rates compared to other industrial states, which means similar growth in its oil imports, which makes it more keener to secure its oil imports on long-range

strategic basis. This justifies the entry of China into joint oil projects with Saudi Arabia and its partnership in oil prospecting in the area of Rabi El-Khali (the Empty Quarter).

5-1 Results and Recommendations of the study

This study arrives at a group of results that can be summarized as follows:

First:

The term (heading east) appeared with the accelerating global changes at the beginnings of the nineties of the past century. The end of the Cold War; and the dismantlement of the Soviet Union; the collapse of the Eastern Camp and the subsequent rise of the unipolar community and the new world order under the leadership of the United States; and the rise of the phenomenon of globalization and its pressing repercussions were all developments of deep impact regarding the external orientations and strategies for many states especially those that used to feed on the struggle between the two poles through strategic alliance with either one of them.

Second:

After the end of the Cold War, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia resorted to the wide and methodological openness of China, and strive to connect with it through long-term strategic partnerships, especially after China demonstrated its success in a rapid way, and its resulting and growing impact and influence on the world scene.

Third:

The Kingdom seeks to benefit from the openness in a wider way towards Asia, in general, and China, in particular to gain maximum benefit from the promising opportunities and possibilities of the area. This is in addition to getting closer to the lessons of the Asian experiment and investing these in the required development and rise in the Kingdom.

Fourth:

In order to gain from the process of openness to China and produce positive return, the Kingdom must not look at its partnership with China as a substitute for the cooperation with other blocs, or as a means of pressure on the West, for example, or as a kind of alliance that is directed against a third party, or as a necessity to face things such as "the Western Alliance" or "imperialism" as is stated in the literature of the ideologists in the Western world. In short, the Saudi side which seeks to activate the idea of improving relations with China – must go outside the walls of the area of Cold War concepts and terminology. They must absorb the fact that all the rising Asian powers are not interested in building their relations with others on the basis of impediments and ideologies but on the basis of interest. Accordingly, they are not prepared to sacrifice their divergent interests with the West or the others for the sake of the others.

Fifth:

In order for any strategic partnership between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and China to succeed, it has to be taken, temporarily at least, from under the comprehensive Arab-Asian umbrella of cooperation. Previous experiences have indicated that the chances of success of this kind of cooperation is small due to the impossibility of arriving at a unified collective Arab position, and the differences of goals and orientations among the Arab states... not to mention the divergence of the historical roots of the ties and the relations with China between one Arab country and the other... and the resulting difference of the existing quality and extent of interests.

5-2 Recommendations

- 1 - At the Gulf level. China, being a permanent member of the Security Council, can provide unlimited political and international support to the Gulf states and the Arab states in international forums. What distinguishes Chinese policy is its non-interference in the internal affairs of the states, and its respect of the particularisms which they enjoy. The states of the Arab Gulf can depend on Chinese weapons, especially in the sensitive matters and the nuclear technology especially since China provides these privileges without too many conditions or restraints, which is contrary to what the United States of America does to these states. China can also realize a balance in the Arab - Israeli conflict, after the unlimited American – European support to Israel. Among the positive aspects of a Gulf alliance with China, is that China has large and good relations with many other Arab states like Sudan, Syria, Egypt, and Algeria. Thus, this kind of alliance does not clash with the different policies of the Arab states.

It is the opposite of what was happening during the Cold War when the Arab States were divided between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

- 2 - The key of the Chinese strategy to guarantee access to the oil of the Gulf is the distinguished relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia...since Chinese– Saudi relations are connected to a great extent to the growing need of China for the oil. Saudi Arabia possesses nearly 25% of the proven oil reserves in the world, and is considered the first produce and exporter of oil in the world. It produces between 10.5 – 11 million barrels daily. According to the American Energy Administration, China ranks sixth in the list of states to which Saudi Arabia exports oil. This was between 200,000-300,000 barrels of oil daily in the year 2004.

- 3 - The important strategic position of Saudi Arabia in the global economy, in addition to its religious status, impose upon it exceptional communication with all the states of the world, especially those of influence in world economies. China is one of these influential states that comprise among its citizens a category of the Muslims of the east who are spiritually connected to the Saudi lands.

References:

Books:

Daniel Kolar (1980), **International Relations, Translated by Khardr**, first edition, Beirut, Dar Al – Taleeah for Printing and Publishing.

Cantor, Robert (1989), **The Contemporary International Policy, Translated by Ahmad Dahir**, the Jordanian book center, Amman.

Mokallid, Ismael Sabri (1982), **The Conflicting Theories in International Relations**, Cairo, Arab renaissance house.

Barakat, Zinam, Others (1987), **The Science of Politics**, Amman, Dar Al – Kermil.

Al – Jasoor, Nazim Abdul Wahid (2005), **The Science of Politics Encyclopedia**, Amman, Dar Majdalaw,i.

Jensen, Lloyd (1989), **The Interpretation of Foreign Policy**, translated by: Mufti and Saleem, Ruyadh, King Saud University.

Salameh, Mootaz (2005), **Political Reform: American Policy and Arab Responses, Strategic Studies Review**, issue, No.153.

Saleem, Mohammad Al – Sayyid (1998), **Analysis of The Foreign Policy**, part2, Cairo, Al – Nahadah AL – Masriyiah Library.

Farajallah, Samaan Butros (1974), **"The International Political Relations in The Twentieth Century"**, Cairo, the Anglo – Egyptian Library.

Mohammad, Ali Mohammad (1985), **Policy Between Theories and Application**, Beirut, Al – Nahdah Al – Arabiah house.

Mokalid, Ismael Sabri (1971), **The International Political Relations: a Study in The Origins and Theories**, Kuwait, Kuwait university press.

Mohammad, Ali Mohammad (1985), **Policy Between Theories and Application**, Beirut, Al – Nahda Al – Arabiah house..

Al – Sammak, Mohammad Zahir (1993), **Modern Political Geography**, Al – mosul University.

AL – Omari, Bakr Ibn Omar (2000), "**The Saudi Foreign Policy: a Vision for The 21 Century**", the magazine of the National Guard, April.

Madani, Nizar obeid (2000), **The Basic Pillars of The Foreign Policy of The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**, the diplomat's magazine.

Al - Omari, Bakr Omar and Watted Hamzah Hashim (1990), **The Saudi Foreign Policy, Between The Theory and The Practices**, first issue, Jeddah, Misbah, Library.

Al – Qabbaa, Abdullah Masoud (1986), **The Saudi Foreign Policy**: Riyadh, Al – Farazdaq printing presses.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the international atmospre, first imprint, Ministry of Information, Information affairs.

Saad, Abdul Azeez Ilmi (1993), **The Foundations and The New Aspects of The Saudi Foreign Policy**, Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies.

Waleed Al – Adami (1992), "**The Saudi – American Relations and The Security of The Gulf**", London, Dar El – Hikmah.

Nakhle, Emile, "**America and Saudi Arabia: The Economic, Political and Strategic Dimensions**", Beirut, Dar El – Hikmah.

Safran, Nadav (1989), **Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security**. Cambridge, Mass, the Harvard university Press.

Al – Ithaimen, Abdullah (1998), "**The History of kingdom of Saudi Arabia**", Riyadh (D.N.).

Al – Ali, Khalid Ibn Ibraheem (1999), "**The Principles and Objectives of The Saudi Foreign Policy**" in the foreign policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years", Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies.

Kasim, Abdoh, Hashim (1993), "**The Saudi Role in The Arab Gulf**", First imprint, Riyadh, Al – Israa for information services.

Saleem, Mohammad Al – Sayyid (1994), "**The Saudi Vision to The Security of The Gulf**", "In Abdul Moneim Al – Mashatt, the security of the Gulf region", Cairo, Cairo University.

Al – Zahrani, Ahmad Khodair (1999), "**The Saudi Policy in The Arab Circle During The Period 1979 – 1990**", a master degree atesis, Alexandria University.

Al – Twajjri, Adbul Azeez Ibn Othman (1999), "**The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The Joint Islamic Action**", in the conference of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years, Riyadh.

Zaki, Mohammad Fadil, "**Illumination on The Saudi Arabia Diplomacy**", the constants and the new (developments), Saudi magazine, Issue2.

Haddad, Jameel Mahmoud (1999), "**The impact of Religious Dimension in The Saudi Foreign Political Decision Making**" in **The Saudi Foreign Policy in 100 years**, Riyadh, the institute of diplomatic studies.

Al- Sawaygh, Abdul Azeez Hasan (1985), "**Islam in The Saudi Foreign Policy**", Riyadh, papers for publications and research.

Abo Amood, Mohammad Saad (2004), "**The Assets of the Chinese rise**", **Gulf Affairs Journal**, Issue 39.

Abdul Haii, Waleed (2000), "**The Future Position of China in The International Order (1978-2010)**", Abu Dhabi, the Emirthes center for studies and strategic research.

Atwan, Khadr Abbas, "**China and The Future of The relations of The Powers**", Ibid.

Montere, Robert (2004), **Why Should China Be Taken Seriously**, the global culture Journal, issue 124, May.

Al – Hayat newspaper ,**China – A super – Power in World**, London, 10 August, 2003.

Al- Jundi, Jameel (2007), **The Arabs and China**, Cairo, Dar Al – Jundi.

Al-Wadi, MoHammad Khair (2005), "**Spotlights on The Chinese Foreign Policy**". Damascus, Al-Ahali.

Qandeel, Hanan (2007), "**China and The Arabs: the Reality, Problems and Opportunities**", Arab Affairs journal, issue 129, spring.

Zohair, Masoud (2006), "**China; From Ideological Rigidity to The Policy of Openness and Reform**" Howar al-Arab Journal, issue 16, March.

Bakeer, Ali Hussein (2006), "**Towards a Strategic Chinese – Gulf Relations**", the Journal of Opinions on the Gulf, Issue 18, March.

Al-Madani, Abdullah (2007), "**The Gulf and The Policy to Head East**", **The Gulf in The Years 2006-2007**", Dubai, "The Gulf Centre for Research.

Hooyoon, Mohammad (2007), "**The Restraints of The Chinese Foreign Policy Towards The Arab Gulf Area**", The Arab Journal For Political Sciences, issue 13, Winter .

Al-Zaidi, Khodair (2003), "**The Arab Chinese Relations, Reality and The Horizons of The Future**" in "Sami Abdullah Khasawneh (Editor) ," The Arab-Asian Relations" , Amman, The University of Jordan.

Mahafzah, Ali (2007), "**The Arabs and China**", Al-Dostour News Paper (Jordan), 21 October 2007.

John King Fairbank (1971), "**The United States and China**", American Foreign Policy, 3rd Edition, Cambridge, Ma. Harvard University Press.

John Calabrese (1991), **"China's Changing Relations with The Middle East**, London,; New York, Printer Publishers.

John Cranmer (1973), **"The Chinese View of Their Place in The World: an Historical Perspective"**, China Quarterly, No.: 53, January –March .

Chieh James Hsaiung (1970), **"Ideology and Practice", The Evolution of The Chinese Communism**, London: Pall Mall Press

Al – Kurdi, Abdul Moean (1991), **The Relations Between The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The People's Republic of China**, diplomatic researches Journal, Issue7.

Qandeel, Hanan (1987), **China After Mao, The Journal of International Policy**, Issue89.

Lilian, Harris (1993), **China Considers The Middle East**, London, L.B. Terries.

Bakeer, Ali Hussein (2006), **Oil and the Future Chinese -Saudi Relations**, opinions around the Gulf, Journal, issue 17, February.

Quick development in few years to the Saudi – Chinese relations, Al – Marrifah, Journal, issue 151, 2007.

Baz, Abdul Karrem (2001), **The Saudi – Chinese Relations in The Economic and Commercial Field**, the Journal of diplomacy, issue 21.

Ahamd, Jaafar (2004), **The Chinese – Saudi Relations (1949-2000)**, The University of Kuwait.

Bakeer, Ali Hussein (2006), **The Oil Strategies of China**, Al – ASR

Harsh, (2006). **Saudi Arabia Woos China and India, Middle East Quarterly**, Fall.

Blumenthal, Dan (2005), **Providing Arms: China and The Middle East**, Middle East Quarterly, Spring.

Henderson, Simon (2006), **"Chinese – Saudi Cooperation: Oil But Also Missiles"**. Policy Watch, 21, April.

Bakeer, Ali Hussein (2006), **"Oil And The Future Chinese – Saudi Relations"**, From the Internet site [http: Gulf in the media, com](http://Gulf in the media, com), on 25 June 2006.

Article:

"**The Chinese – Saudi Relations Are Witnessing Rapid Development**", Al-Hayat News paper (London), 15 January 2007.

Special issues serial: Arab Island and Gulf study's center Kuwait University – established 1994. **China – Saudi Relations 1949 – 2000** Dr. Ja'afar Krar Ahmad Precise Scientific Serial No12 Kuwait May 2004.

Saudi Arabia Kingdom – Ministry of foreign Affairs Institute of Diplomatic studies Diplomatic Researches No7, 1991 **The Relations Between Saudi Arabia and China** Abdulla Abd Al Mueen Al Kurdi.

Majdoob, Mohammad (2000), **The International Arrangement, 7th Imprint**, Lebanon, Al – Halabi publications, P. 254.

Al – Mansoor, Mansoor, Abdullah (1999), "**The Saudi Foreign Policy Within The Arab framework: The Saudi Role and The Factors Influencing it**", in the foreign policy of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years: Riyadh, the institute of Diplomatic studies.

Al – Shareef, Mohammad Ibn Fayez (1999), "**The Foreign Policy of The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in The Islamic Sphere**", in the conference of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 100 years, Riyadh.

Atwan, Khadr Abbas (2007), **China and The Future of The Relations of The Powers**, the Arab future Journal, Issue 341, July.

Atwan, Khadr Abbas (2002), **China Between The Motive to Possess Power and The Restraint of The Uni – Polarism**, Gulf affaris Journal, Issue 3, July.

Al-Sakit, Mohammad Abdul Wahhab (2006), "**The Arab- Chinese Cooperation in The Twenty- First Century**" the Chinese awakening, Cairo university, the centre for Asian studies.

David Bachman (1998), **Structure and Process in The Making The Chinese Foreign Policy, in: Samuel S. Kim, Editor, China and The World: Chinese foreign policy faces in the new millennium**, fourth edition, Boulder, Colorado, West view Press.

Teerah, Bakr Misbah (1988), **The Strategic Evolution of The Policy of The People's Republic of China in The Arab Gulf Region**, the Cooperation Journal, Issue11.

Jian, Lee and Lee (2001), **The Relations Between China and The States of The Middle East**, the Journal of international policy, Issue 145, July.

Jain, Lee and Lee (2000), **The Oil of The Middle East and The Security of The Chinese Energy**, Bait Al – Arab Journal, issue 35, December.

Al-Hayat Newspaper (London), 18 January 2006.

Al-Hayat News Paper (London), 18 January 2006.

The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, publications of the foreign ministry of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in the website: <http://www.mofa.gov.sa>.

The Chinese – Saudi Relations are witnessing quick development...the following internet site: [http:// www. Aljazira. Net](http://www.Aljazira.Net)

العلاقات السعودية الصينية 2007-1980

أعداد
أسامة دخيل الأحمدى

المشرف
الدكتور عمر الحضرمي

الملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة وتحليل واقع ومستقبل العلاقات السياسية والاقتصادية بين المملكة العربية السعودية وجمهورية الصين حيث أن جمهورية الصين تعد من قوى الدولية المؤثرة في النظام الدولي لما تتميز بهي من علاقات دولية راسخة. إن المملكة العربية السعودية تتمتع بمكانه دولية لما تمتلكه من عناصر قوى سياسية واقتصادية بالإضافة إلى البعد الديني الذي يعطيها مكانه خاصة بين الدول العربية والإسلامية .

لقد دفعت الظروف الإقليمية والدولية في ظل النظام العالمي الجديد المملكة نحو تبني سياسات تقوم على الاعتماد المتبادل وتبادل المصالح، وينعكس ذلك من خلال تطور مستوى العلاقات السعودية الصينية، والتي مرت بعده مراحل كان من خبرتها بعد عام 1990م .

فقد توجهت السياسة الخارجية السعودية نحو دول الشرق شأنها شأن دول الخليج العربي عامة، وعرضت الدراسة بواقع العلاقات السعودية الصينية وتطورها وأبعادها السياسية والاقتصادية على مستوى الوطني والإقليمي والدولي إن مفتاح الاستراتيجية الصينية لضمان الوصول إلى نفط الخليج هو العلاقات المميزة مع المملكة العربية السعودية. إذ ترتبط العلاقات الصينية السعودية بشكل كبير

بحاجة الصين المتزايدة للنفط. فالسعودية تمتلك ما يقارب 25% من الاحتياطي النفطي المؤكد في العالم.

الوضع الاستراتيجي المهم للسعودية بالنسبة إلى الاقتصاد العالمي إضافة إلى الوضع الديني، يفرضان عليها توأماً استثنائياً مع جميع دول العالم وخصوصاً الدول المؤثرة في الاقتصاديات العالمية، والصين إحدى هذه الدول المؤثرة التي تضم بين مواطنيها شريحة من مسلمي الشرق الذين يرتبطون روحانياً بالأراضي السعودية.

وقد خرجت الدراسة بعدة نتائج كان من أبرزها تأثير المتغيرات الدولية بعد ظهور النظام الدولي الجديد على طبيعة العلاقات السعودية الصينية، وإن تبادل المصالح بين المملكة والصين قد دفع باتجاه تطوير وترسيخ هذه العلاقات.

وتوصي الدراسة بضرورة العمل على دراسة كافة الجوانب التي تؤثر بشكل سلبي على العلاقات السعودية الصينية والعمل على تجاوز إدراك المؤثرات السلبية على هذه العلاقات والعمل على تحليلها بما يساعد على بناء علاقات تقوم على فهم متبادل لمصالح كلا الطرفين.