A HISTORY OF SAUDI ARABIA

At the beginning of the twenty-first century Saudi Arabia is a wealthy and powerful country which wields influence in the West and across the Islamic world. Yet it remains a closed and enigmatic society. Its history in the twentieth century is dominated by the story of state formation and nation building. After the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, ^cAbd al-^cAziz al-Sa^cud, known as Ibn Sa^cud, fought a long and arduous campaign to bring together a disparate, tribal people from four corners of the Arabian peninsula. In 1932 the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was born. Drawing on historical and anthropological skills, Madawi Al-Rasheed traces its extraordinary history from the age of emirates in the nineteenth century, to the Gulf War of the 1990s and, recently, to the celebrations of 100 years of unity. She fuses chronology with analysis, personal experience with oral histories, and draws on a plethora of local and foreign documents to enhance the narrative and to shed light on the social and cultural life of the Sa^cudis. This is a rich and rewarding book which will be invaluable to students, journalists, policymakers, and to all those trying to understand the enigma of Saudi Arabia.

MADAWI AL-RASHEED is Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at King's College, University of London. Her publications include *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* (1991) and *Iraqi Assyrian Christians in London* (1998).

A HISTORY OF SAUDI ARABIA

MADAWI AL-RASHEED

University of London



Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

> > Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521643351

© Cambridge University Press 2002

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

> First published 2002 Reprinted 2002, 2003, 2005

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. A history of Saudi Arabia / Madawi Al-Rasheed. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0-521-64335-X – ISBN 0-521-64412-7 (pbk.) 1. Saudi Arabia – History – 20th century. I. Title. DS244.52 .A43 2002 953.805′-dc21 2001043609

> ISBN-13 978-0-521-64335-1 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-64335-X hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-64412-9 paperback ISBN-10 0-521-64412-7 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2005

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

> In memory of 'Abța and her daughters Juwahir and Wațfa

Contents

List of illustrations	<i>page</i> ix
List of tables	X
Chronology	xi
Glossary	xiv
Map I Saudi Arabia, main regions and cities	xvi
Map 2 Saudi Arabia, main tribes	xvii
Introduction	I
I Society and politics, 1744–1818 and 1824–1891	14
The origins of Al Sa ^c ud (1744–1818)	15
A fragile Sa ^c udi revival (1824–1891)	23
The Rashidi emirate in Ha'il (1836–1921)	26
The Sharifian emirate in Hijaz	30
Hasa in the nineteenth century	34
Emirate formation in Arabia	37
2 The emerging state, 1902–1932	39
The capture of Riyadh (1902)	39
The First World War and Ibn Sa ^c ud (1914–1918)	4I
The capture of Ha'il (1921)	43
The capture of Hijaz (1925)	44
The <i>mutawwa^ca</i> of Najd	49
The <i>ikhwan</i>	59
An alliance not so holy: Ibn $Sa^{c}ud$, the <i>mutawwa^ca</i> and the <i>ikhwan</i>	62
The collapse of the <i>ikhwan</i> rebellion	69
3 Control and loyalty, 1932–1953	72
Marginalising Sa ^c udi collateral branches	7^{2}
Consolidating Ibn Sa ^c ud's line of descent	75
Power and pomp in the pre-oil era: the <i>majlis</i>	80
State affairs	86
The oil concession (1933)	91

vii	i Contents	
	Oil in commercial quantities Oil and society in the 1940s and 1950s Saudi Arabia and Britain The end of an era	93 95 100 105
4	The politics of dissent, 1953–1973 The reign of King Sa ^c ud (1953–1964) Saudi Arabia and the Arab world in the 1950s Saudi Arabia and the United States in the 1950s and early 1960s The reign of King Faysal (1964–1975) Faysal and the Arab world	106 106 114 117 120 128
5	From affluence to austerity, 1973–1990 Affluence: the oil embargo (1973) Vulnerabilities: Sa ^c udi–American relations in the 1970s The reign of King Khalid (1975–1982) Austerity: the reign of King Fahd (1982–) Saudi Arabia and the Gulf context in the 1980s Sa ^c udi–American relations in the 1980s	135 136 140 143 149 155 160
6	The Gulf War and its aftermath, 1990–2000 Sa ^c udi responses to the Gulf War State responses: the reforms of March 1992 The Islamist opposition Succession	163 168 172 176 186
7	Narratives of the state, narratives of the people Official historiography Political speech The historical narrative challenged The centennial celebrations: the capture of Riyadh revisited The centennial celebration challenged	188 189 196 199 204 215
	Conclusion	218
Ap Ap No	bliography	224 225 226 227 235 247
=.00		- 1/

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

Illustrations

I	Street scene, Riyadh, circa 1940. © Popperfoto	<i>page</i> 102
2	King Faysal in the Regents Park mosque, 1967. © Popperfoto	129
3	The Ka ^c ba, Mecca. © Popperfoto	145
4	US army tanks deployed in the Gulf War, 1990.	
	© AFP/Popperfoto	165
5	Women shopping in downtown Jeddah. © AFP/Popperfoto	167
6	Invitation to the centennial celebrations, 1999	204
7	Advertising Ibn Sa ^c ud's biography on CD-ROM	207
8	Publicity literature from the centennial celebrations, 1999	210

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

Tables

I	Government revenues 1946–1952	page 94
2	Volume of petroleum export and GDP 1965–1975	120
3	Volume of petroleum export and GDP in billion SA rivals	
	1982–1997	149

Chronology

1517	Ottoman	authority	established	in	Hijaz
------	---------	-----------	-------------	----	-------

- 1550 Ottoman authority established in Hasa
- 1670 Banu Khalid rebel against the Ottomans in Hasa
- 1744 Muhammad ibn ^cAbd al-Wahhab arrives in Dir^ciyyah
- 1780 The Sa^cudi–Wahhabi emirate expands in Qasim
- 1792 The Sa^cudi–Wahhabi emirate expands in southern Najd
- 1797 Qatar and Bahrain acknowledge Sa^cudi authority
- 1801 Sa^cudi–Wahhabi forces raid Karbala' in Iraq
- 1802 Sa^cudi–Wahhabi emirate expands in Hijaz
- 1804 Madina acknowledges Sa^cudi authority
- 1811 Egyptian troops land in Yanbu^c
- 1818 Egyptian troops sack Dir^ciyyah
- 1824 Turki ibn ^cAbdullah re-establishes Sa^cudi authority in Riyadh
- 1830 Sa^cudi rule expands into Hasa
- 1834 Turki ibn ^cAbdullah assassinated by his cousin, Mishari Turki's son Faysal becomes amir in Riyadh
- 1836 The Rashidis establish their rule in Ha'il
- 1837 Sa^cudi ruler Faysal captured by Egyptian troops and sent to Cairo
- 1843 Faysal returns to Riyadh
- 1865 Faysal dies
 - Faysal's son ^cAbdullah rules in Riyadh
- 1871 The Ottomans occupy Hasa The Ottomans occupy ^cAsir
- 1891 Sa^cudi rule in Riyadh terminated by the Rashidis
- 1893 The Sa^cudis take refuge in Kuwait
- 1902 Ibn Sa^cud captures Riyadh
- Riyadh ^culama swear allegiance to Ibn Sa^cud
- 1903 Ibn Sa^cud adopts the title 'Sultan of Najd'

xii	Chronology
1904	Abha in ^c Asir falls under Ibn Sa ^c ud's authority
1906	Ibn Sa ^c ud conquers Qasim
1908	Ibn Sa ^c ud challenged by his cousins, the ^c Ara'if
0	The Ottomans appoint Husayn ibn ^c Ali Sharif of Mecca
1912	Ibn Sa ^c ud establishes the first <i>ikhwan</i> settlement,
	^c Artawiyyah, for the Mutayr tribe
1913	Ibn Sa ^c ud establishes the <i>ikhwan</i> settlement al-Ghatghat
	for the ^c Utayba tribe
	Ibn Sa ^c ud conquers Hasa
1915	Britain acknowledges Ibn Sa ^c ud as ruler of Najd and Hasa
1916	Sharif Husayn declares himself King of the Arabs
1924	Ta'if in Hijaz falls under Ibn Sa ^c ud's authority
	Sharif ^c Ali replaces his father, Sharif Husayn, in Hijaz
1925	Jeddah surrenders to Ibn Sa ^c ud
1926	Ibn Sa ^c ud declares himself 'King of Hijaz and
	Sultan of Najd'
1927	The <i>ikhwan</i> rebel against Ibn Sa ^c ud
1928	Ibn Sa ^c ud meets the Riyadh ^c ulama to solve the <i>ikhwan</i> crisis
*0.00	
1930	Ibn Sa ^c ud defeats the <i>ikhwan</i> rebels
1932	Ibn Sa ^c ud declares his realm the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ibn Sa ^c ud signs the oil concession
1933	The first oil tanker with Sa ^c udi oil leaves Ra's Tannura
1939 1045	Ibn Sa ^c ud meets American president Franklin D. Roosevelt
1945	Ibn Sa ^c ud meets British prime minister Winston Churchill
1946	Ibn Sa ^c ud visits Cairo
1953	The Council of Ministers established
555	Ibn Sa ^c ud dies; his son Sa ^c ud becomes king
	Sa ^c udi ARAMCO workers organise the first demonstration
1955	A plot for a coup by Sa ^c udi army officers discovered
1956	Sa ^c udi ARAMCO workers riot in the eastern province
1961	The movement of the Free Princes established by Prince
	Țalal ibn ^c Abd al- ^c Aziz
1964	King Sa ^c ud abdicates
	Faysal becomes king
1969	Sa ^c ud dies in Greece
1973	As a result of the oil embargo, oil prices increase
1975	King Faysal assassinated by his nephew, Prince
	Faysal ibn Musa ^c id
	Khalid becomes king

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

Chronology

xiii

1979	The siege of Mecca mosque
1980	The Shi ^c a riot in the eastern province
1981	The Gulf Co-operation Council established
1982	King Khalid dies; Fahd becomes king
1986	Oil prices decrease to their lowest level since the 1970s
5	King Fahd adopts the title 'Custodian of the Two
	Holy Mosques'
1990	Saddam Husayn invades Kuwait
	Sa ^c udi women defy the ban on women driving in Riyadh
1991	The Gulf War starts
	The liberal petition sent to King Fahd
	The Islamist petition sent to King Fahd
1992	A sixty-member Consultative Council established
	Sa ^c udi Islamists publish the Memorandum of Advice
	King Fahd announces a series of reforms
1993	The Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights in
	Saudi Arabia (CDLR) established in Riyadh
1996	Terrorist explosions at Khobar Towers
	Terrorist explosions at al- ^c Ulaiyya American military
	mission, Riyadh
	The number of members appointed to the Consultative
	Council increased to ninety
1999	Saudi Arabia starts the centennial celebrations
2000	Oil prices rise above \$30 per barrel
	Two Sa ^c udis hijack Saudi Arabian Airline flight from
	Jeddah to London; they surrender in Baghdad

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

Glossary

°almaniyyun	secularists
amir	ruler, prince
^c amm	public
al- ^c ammiyya	vernacular Arabic
° arḍa	sword dance
°aşabiyya madhhabiyya	sectarian solidarity
°asabiyya najdiyya	Najdi solidarity
°aşabiyya qabaliyya	tribal solidarity
° ashura	anniversary of al-Husayn's death
badu	bedouins
baghi	usurper
bay ^c a	oath of allegiance
$bid^{c}a$	innovation, heresy
$da^{c}wa$	religious call, mission
dira	tribal territory
fatwa (pl. fatawa)	religious opinion issued by <i>shari^ea</i> experts
fiqh	Islamic jurisprudence
fitna	strife, dissent
ghulat	religious extremists
ḥaḍar	sedentary population
<u>ḥajj</u>	pilgrimage to Mecca
ḥizb siyasi	political party
hujjar	village settlements
ḥuquq	rights
°ibada	Islamic rituals
^c id al-aḍḥa	festival marking the pilgrimage season
^c id al-fițr	festival marking the end of Ramadan
iḥtilal	occupation
ikhwan (sing. khawi)	Muslim brothers/companions, tribal force
° ilm	knowledge

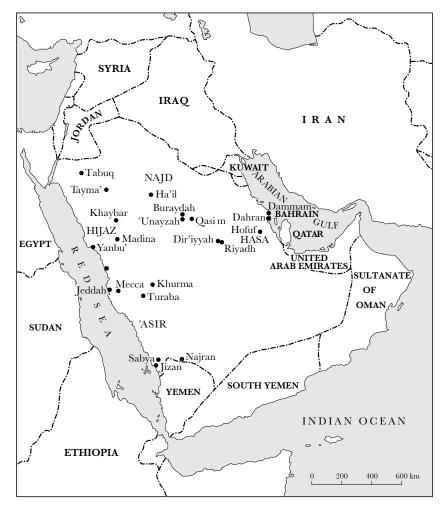
xiv

Cambridge University Press 052164335X - A History of Saudi Arabia Madawi al-Rasheed Frontmatter More information

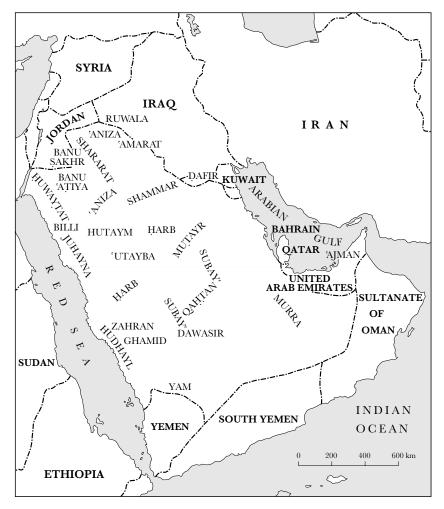
	5
imam	prayer leader/leader of Muslim
	community
imara	emirate
işlah	reform
al-jahiliyya	the age of ignorance
al-jazira al-ʿarabiyya	the Arabian Peninsula
jihad	holy war
khadiri	non-tribal people
al-khuluq	morality
khuwwa	tribute
kufr	unbelief
mahdi	one who guides
<i>majlis</i> (pl. <i>majalis</i>)	council
majlis ^c amm	public council
majlis al-dars	study session
$mutawwa^{c}a$ (sing. $mutawwa^{c}$)	Nadji religious specialist/volunteer
nahḍa	renaissance, awakening
al-naksa	the June 1967 humiliation
nașiḥa	advice
ni ^c ma	divine abundance
qaḍi	judge
ramaḍan	Ramadan, the fasting month
shari ^c a	Islamic legal code and rules
shaykh	tribal leader/religious scholar
shura	consultation
sura	Qur'anic verse
al-shu ^c ba al-siyasiyya	political committee
ta ^c aşub	fanaticism
taghrib	Westernisation
tawḥid	doctrine of the oneness of God/
	unification
^c ulama (sing. ^c alim)	religious scholars
umma	Muslim community
wali	Ottoman governor
waqf(pl. awqaf)	religious endowment
watan	country, fatherland
zakat	Islamic tax

Glossary

XV



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



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