

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

THE RULE OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

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by

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TO
ABDULLAH,
DAVID,
ELIZABETH,
AND MONA

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Nearly four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula, extending from the Red Sea in the West to the Persian Gulf in the East and from Yemen in the South to the Gulf of Aqaba in the North, amounting to a total area of about 365,000 square miles,¹ constitutes the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Until very recently, this country was living in an entirely traditional isolation.

Unlike almost all the Arab countries, where the Western influence has been so profound that no facet of life today can be considered apart from it, Saudi Arabia remained for a long time outside the periphery of Western overseas interests.² When the other Arab countries were detached from Turkish rule by the Western Allies and placed under French and British direction, Saudi Arabia lived in isolation and preserved its own traditional distinctive features. It did not suffer from the yoke of European colonialism for various reasons, primarily the prevailing stagnation of its economy on the one hand, and less tangible religious reasons on the other were the predominant causes.

The heavy task of nation building and the conver-

sion of many dispersed Sheikdoms into a unified state, were undertaken by the late King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud. The task that started in 1902 was accomplished in 1926. In this year, the Saudi Bureaucracy was established in response to necessity and need. The tribal and traditional institutions appeared inefficient and inadequate to cope with the necessities of preserving the unity of the country, and carrying on the continuous task of development and nation-building.

Though the Saudi bureaucracy is still in its infancy, the role it has played thus far in the developmental process of the Kingdom has been of considerable significance, especially after it successfully crossed the threshold of survival through the sudden discovery of oil in the 1930's.

Statement of the Problem

This paper aims at presenting the following:

1. The main features of the Saudi bureaucracy, the structure within which it operates, and its standing in the power structure of the policy at large.
2. The impact of modern technology on the Saudi administration.
3. The administrative reform and reorganization

constantly undertaken to meet the increasing requirements of modernization.

4. The role played by the Saudi bureaucracy in the developmental process of the country.

Likewise, this thesis is intended to identify the place of the Saudi bureaucracy in the lengthy and controversial classifications of bureaucracies developed by students of public administration. Though this writer wishes to consider his paper as an outline for a more comprehensive study that might perchance fit into the accumulated literature of comparative public administration, his far reaching hope is to cast a supplementary light on the politics of modernization and administrative implications of bureaucratic growth and proliferation in Saudi Arabia.

The Importance of the Study

Bureaucracies, as epitomes of rationality, and of efficient implementation of goals and provision of services, represent the functional transformation of governments to service-oriented organizations deeply involved in the societal development of their respective countries. This view is strikingly true in relation to the developing countries.

The modernization of the bureaucratic polity in

Saudi Arabia was a sequel to such a functional transformation. At the beginning, the various dispersed tribal entities were transformed into one political entity whose main function was to shoulder the traditional responsibilities of keeping law and order within, and defending it from dangers threatening from without. The second phase was the transformation of the political entity into an "institution of services." However, the long strides made by the Saudi bureaucracy have been hampered by various tangible and intangible obstacles and problems:

1. First and foremost is the disturbingly high degree of dependence upon oil production and export. The Kingdom derives almost 85 per cent of the government revenues from this single commodity.³ The oil industry provides approximately 90 per cent of the country's foreign exchange. It is considered the major impetus to commercial and other industrial activities.

2. There is the dysfunctional amalgam of rivalry and conflict between the charismatic leadership of the monarch, and the administrative expertise of the bureaucracy. This is a significant phenomenon that warrants more detailed discussion in the following chapters.

3. The social ramifications of the existing regime are embodied in the lack of consensus and participation. This defect is, however, being counteracted by the

quick and positive response of the country to the impact of modern technology.

4. The absence of the conventional Western institution of constitutional government which attends the other crucial problems of rule-making, rule implementation and rule adjudication has serious implications.

The description of the major events that marked the transformation of the traditional Peninsula into the contemporary developing Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is deemed to help us develop a theory that might identify the causal interrelationships and interdependencies of the variables in the regime. However, this necessitates the description of the main socioeconomic and political features of the Kingdom.

The foregoing problems characterize the Saudi bureaucracy in a way that makes it different in many respects from most other bureaucracies. The inevitable conflict between the deeply rooted traditional ethos, and the new generations' quick and positive responsiveness to the newly implemented modern technology, creates a series of constraints within which the Saudi bureaucracy is expected to operate.

Survey of Literature

One of the main sources of frustration for a re-

searcher is the scarcity of organized data relative to the theme of his research. Unfortunately, only a very few references on Saudi Arabia have been published. Not a single one of these publications dealt with the Saudi bureaucracy as such. There are, however, two small books written in Arabic and published by the Institute of Public Administration in Riyadh that discussed some aspects related to the administration of Saudi Arabia. The first book, written by Dr. Khalil El-Ghelayeen, entitled Civil Service in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, simply reviews the Civil Service Regulations without any significant comments or interpretations. The second book, written by Mr. Mohamed T. Sadik, The Evolution of Government and Administration in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is, in fact, the first of its kind dealing with the administration in Saudi Arabia. Though informative, the latter was descriptive but lacked the desirable analytical perspective.

George Lipsky's Saudi Arabia provides a highly informative study of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as a whole. The social ramifications of the oil industry and the role of the government are aptly, but briefly, reviewed here. K. S. Twitchell's Saudi Arabia expounds more particularly on certain features of the developmental process of the Kingdom, especially in relation to the ever proliferating efforts made in the sphere of

agriculture. Grant C. Butler's King and Camels focuses on developmental projects initiated by ARAMCO and does not refer directly or indirectly to the role of the government. Philby and another handful of writers deal strictly with the historical events and the geographical features of the Peninsula. This writer could only partially use some of these books when dealing with the history of the Kingdom reviewed in chapter two.

Two recent books, one of which is entitled The Great Challenge by Nihad El-Ghadiri (Beirut, 1966) and the second, in English, entitled Faisal: King of Saudi Arabia by Gerald DeGaury (London, 1966), were significantly useful in preparing this paper. Though both are politically oriented, the former aims at introducing a certain political philosophy, not only legitimizing the existing regime, but also justifying the actions taken by the government toward establishing what he calls "The Challenge State." DeGaury's biography of the King of Saudi Arabia reviews the achievements thus far attained.

Plan of Study

It is evident that from an ecological perspective, no meaningful study of administration can be successfully conducted apart from the political and socio-economic structure of the community. Adhering to such

a perspective, my aim is to cover, after this introductory chapter, the social, political and economic backgrounds of the Kingdom in the second chapter. Chapter III is intended to deal with the birth and life of the Saudi bureaucracy. Chapter IV is to be concerned with the role of the Saudi bureaucracy in the developmental process. Chapter V will discuss the Civil Service Regulations of 1958. Chapter VI will contain the summary and the conclusions of this study.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Roy Lebkicher, George Rentz and Max Steinke, The Arabia of Ibn Saud, New York: N. Russell F. Moore, Co., 1952, p. 75.
- 2 Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964, p. 4.
- 3 George A. Lipsky, Saudi Arabia, New Haven: Hraf Press, 1959, p. 149.

CHAPTER II
THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF
BUREAUCRACY IN SAUDI ARABIA

In a society like Saudi Arabia, the conventional time dimensions of past and present could hardly be used in their ordinary sense to describe the development that took place within the past few decades. Unlike many other countries, Saudi Arabia's past, which represents its traditional tribal order, is many hundreds of years old. The sudden awareness of the Saudis that they are far back from the rest of the human caravan made their need for development so pressing that they determined to achieve, in a span of a decade, what was achieved by other societies in a century. The sequel to this rush was an overlap of the traditional and the modern, and the existence of a confusing dualism.

If we trace the history of what today is called "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", with the aim of identifying its historical and geographical settings, we find that the mere attempt of undertaking the cumbersome task of nation-building in this particular area was but a daring challenge to all criteria of nation-building. However, before we elaborate upon such a concept, it seems advisable to review the geography, the history,

and the socio-political ramifications of this area.

The Geography of Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia comprises the bulk of the Arabian Peninsula. It is composed today of four provinces, each of which could be considered a distinct geographical unit. They are: A. Hijaz: this consists primarily of a 700 mile long coastal plain on the Red Sea reaching the Gulf of Aqaba. The Plain varies in width from 10 to 40 miles, extending to a massive mountain wall that rises to an altitude of more than 8,000 feet.¹ B. Aseer: this area lies to the south of Hijaz extending to the approaches of Yemen, covering a plain 200 miles long and 40 miles wide along the Red Sea. To the east of the plain are extremely rugged mountains, rising to an elevation of over 9,000 feet.² C. Najd: this is a highland and largely a sedimentary plateau. It is bounded at the north by Iraq and Jordan. The plateau slopes eastward to El-Hasa, and descends to an average elevation of about 2,000 feet; southward Najd emerges into the Empty Quarter. D. El-Hasa: it stretches along the border line of Najd to the Persian Gulf, bordering Kuwait and the Neutral Zone in the north, and the Empty Quarter in the south.³

If we exclude the land of Aseer, of which the landscape is akin to certain parts of Yemen in the south, the rest of this vast area could be depicted as small

green islands scattered over a colorful, but lifeless and challenging sea of sands. This is a strange physical setting that constitutes much in determining the human geography of each "island", thus presenting another inextricable obstacle in the way of identifying certain common features of the people of Saudi Arabia.

Pastoral and Agricultural Wealth

The major agricultural product of the country is the date. It is grown in almost every part of the four provinces. The next product is the sorghum of which five different varieties, three white and two brown, rank with the date crop in importance.⁴ Wheat, which was formerly the staple article of diet after dates, is produced at Al-Kharj, in Najd, although the largest amounts are grown on the terraced mountain slopes of Aseer.

Though not economically as important as dates, rice is grown in Al-Hasa in quite sizeable amounts.⁵

Other crops of importance are barley, oats, sesame, and a variety of fruits and vegetables.

Livestock

A source of wealth, surpassing even dates in value is livestock. In order of their usefulness, they are camels, sheep, goats, cows, donkeys, poultry, and horses. However, the change of diet from date and wheat

to rice and meat almost all over Saudi Arabia made the propensity to consume meat so high that

"The country does not produce enough livestock products to meet domestic demands. Livestock production is quite low, principally because heavy and prolonged grazing prevents the full development of grass and edible plants on the range and because of the hazards of climate and disease. The farmers engaged in settled agriculture produce little fodder and other crops that could supplement the feed of livestock on the range because there is insufficient economic incentive...⁶

Some other minor economic resources are fishing, pearling, weaving, and boat building, for which Jidda and Jizan in the Western Province are famous. The main problem that faces Saudi Arabia is, however, the problem of water resources. Experts maintain that most agricultural areas of the country, with the exception of the rain-fed province of Aseer, are slowly drying out.⁷ In Al-Hasa for example:

"The deterioration of the garden area has been due not only to the lowering of the artesian water table, but has also been helped along by agricultural malpractices that produced a rise of the ground water table..."⁸

With the exception of the Aseer mountains, where the rainfall has been estimated at 10 to 12 inches largely on the basis of vegetation, the rainfall fluctuates in the rest of the country between 3 and 5 inches.⁹

A Brief Historical Account

The aforementioned areas of diverse culture, separated by wide expanses of desert, had not been united under a single administration for many centuries.¹⁰ Each distinct province had its own micro-historic events which hardly could be traced without exhausting far more voluminous literature than the nature of this study justifies; only in the recent historical events were there movements which led to the unification of the various provinces.

If the contemporary developing country of Saudi Arabia is said to be, rather justifiably, the making of a strong man called Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, plus a valuable product euphemistically called "The Black Gold", a metaphor used to describe oil, the story in effect goes back two centuries.

Excluding the Ottoman Empire, which was named after Uthman, the Turkish conqueror, and refuting the legendary myth prevailing in Ethiopia which combines Biblical and Hellenistic lore stating that Cush, the son of Ham and founder of Axm, named his son Ethiops, and the surrounding country Aethiopia,¹¹ Saudi Arabia is the only country named after a clan or a family. The significance of the name is, however, revealed by the history of the Saud clan. This clan's story is said to have started,

according to the Arab historian ibn Bishr, by the advent of an ordinary citizen from Al-Kateef in the Eastern Province of the village of Manfuha, presently one of the suburbs of Riyadh, who visited his cousin, the Chief of Daroue. This chief is said to have given the cousin a piece of land in the upper part of the valley wherein the family of Saud settled; later it played a crucial role in shaping the history of the Arabian Peninsula.

This eponymous ancestor was Saud ibn Mohammed ibn Maqrin ibn Markhan who became the ruler of Dariya in 1720.¹² We have noted in this connection several differences among different writers and historians in relation to the exact date of his death.

Mohammed ibn Saud

The first stage of the history of Al-Saud is considered to have begun with Mohammed ibn Saud. He is the founder of the Saud Royal Family. It should be noted before we go any further that the historical events preceding his rule in Dariya cannot be usefully elaborated because in their complexity, diversity, and overlapping they reflect (in their totality) stories or histories of individual and tribal struggles. In effect, the whole history of the Arabian Peninsula was

but an aggregate of hundreds and hundreds of separate individual events, each of which was a continuous struggle for power related to the ownership of grazing land and water springs; a logical sequel emanating from the scantiness of nature that makes constant struggle so closely related to life itself. The history of the Arabian Peninsula is, therefore, an accumulation of tribal stories, not just the story of one society forming a certain unified political entity. It is worthwhile to note in this connection that Lipsky and other authors contend that during a brief period in the tenth century, when the Carmathian sect controlled Arabia under the leadership of Abu Tahir, political unity was known to the Peninsula.¹³ Such an historical account is an absolute distortion. The Carmathians have never at any time had any control over the Peninsula as a whole. They controlled the province of Al-Hasa and the Island of Al-Bahrein; they also had a certain control over some of the tribes residing in the northeastern part of Arabia. If we exclude the period of Mohammed the Prophet, who appeared in Mecca as a messenger in 610 A.D., and his two successors, Abu-Bakr and Omer,¹⁴ the Peninsula has never known any political unity. If we take the province of Najd as an example, we find it a land distributed among many tribal Sheikdoms, each of which had its sovereignty over that piece of land and was

ever ready to defend it against any attack.

During the reign of Mohammed ibn Saud in Dariya, an event that changed the face of history in the Arabian Peninsula took place. It was the appearance of a religious reformer who initiated a puritanical movement in Najd. He was Shaikh Mohammed ibn Abdulwahab.

Mohammed ibn Abdulwahab

This reformer was born in the small town of Uyeynah in 1703; his grandfather was a religious leader, and his father the judge of Uyeynah. Taking after his family and its traditions, he indulged himself in religious studies; by his tenth year he had memorized the Koran¹⁵ (the holy book of Islam). At twelve, he was able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, observing on this pilgrimage what he considered to be shocking deviation from strict Moslem teaching and practice. Pursuing his religious studies, he travelled to Basra, Damascus, and Baghdad. It was at Basra that he started preaching against certain malpractices of Islam and against the belief in saints as mediators between an individual and his creator. The people of Basra are said to have accused him of being a religious extremist, and forced him to leave their city. In 1740, he proclaimed his puritanical Islamic doctrine, and called for the return

to the true and pure religious teachings as construed and practiced by the pioneers of Islam. Like many reformers, he encountered many difficulties wherever he went. He was denied his right to attack the status quo and the established traditions, but finally, he found refuge with Mohammed ibn Saud, then ruler of Dariya.¹⁶

We have purposely included in this study the previous brief accounts of the two Mohammeds. The strange teaming of the secular ambition of ibn Saud and the puritanical religious ideals of ibn Abdulwahab, brought forth a tremendous power, the sound of which was heard in Iraq and Syria, and its echo rang throughout the Moslem World.

The first stage of the Wahabi movement was characterized by a continuous bloody struggle between Dariya and its rivals Al-Hasa, Uyeynah, and Riyadh. The struggle went on from 1747 to 1773.¹⁷

A very significant phenomenon, that has had far reaching socio-political ramifications, appeared in this stage of the Saudi history. The prolonged struggle was due not to the ferocity, audacity, nor obstinacy of the conflicting parties, but rather to a certain psychological proclivity of the tribes to antagonize every form of organized law and order. To illustrate such a psychological state, we can trace the Wahabi movement in its first phase. Tribes converted into Wahabism

were, after a very short time, found to have reverted to their traditional beliefs. They were then reconverted to Wahabism, thus showing a deplorable ideological instability.

In effect, the Wahabi movement was not only an attempt to impose upon people certain dogmatic and scholastic theology, but also an attempt to impose some kind of law and order. Three reasons, at least, make it different from all religious movements in general, and the Lutheran Protestant Reformation Movement in particular:

1. a. The distinct characteristics of the tribal community with which it dealt, some of which could be unique examples for social anthropologists to build meaningful theories and models upon. For example, the tribal fanaticism that dominates every phase of life and which surpasses a cultural or religious tie.
- b. The religious and ideological instability, particularly among the Bedouins, who constitute the greater majority of the inhabitants of the Peninsula.
- c. The tight shell of extreme individualism which has most likely emanated from the scanty economic condition of the desert.

2. The distinct characteristics of Islam, in which the system of administering the affairs of a society is said to be inherent; i.e., Islam is not only a collection of ethical teachings, but it is also believed to be a constitution and code of rules which govern every aspect of social life in a polity.
3. The alliance between the two Mohammeds which we have previously designated as a strange teaming of the secular ambition of ibn Saud, and the puritanical ideals of ibn Abdalwahab. The amalgam of the idea and the ideal aimed at the establishment of one authority and coercing the individual to conformity with the principles of the call, thus acquiring through his conformity some sort of the old Islamic collective spirit.

Mohammed ibn Saud passed away in 1765.¹⁸ His son, Abdul Aziz, took over continuing the conquest of the Peninsula and retaining Mohammed ibn Abdulwahab as his religious advisor.¹⁹ By 1776, regions of Sudeer and Washm joined the Wahabis and reinforced the movement. Abdul Aziz took steps to make the succession regular. He had Mohammed ibn Abdulwahab call upon the leaders of all the Saudi -- controlled districts to acknowledge his son Saud as their future spiritual leader, as well as

their future temporal ruler.²⁰ The capture of Mecca in this era drove the Wahabis all the way to the coasts of the Red Sea in Hijaz, thus putting an end (though temporarily) to the long, bloody struggle. The reformer Shaikh Mohammed ibn Abdulwahab did not live to see his ideas prevailing over all the Arabian Peninsula and their echo ringing throughout the Moslem World. He died in 1791.

The Egyptian Military Campaigns

The Caliph in Turkey viewed with alarm the growing influence of Wahabism which was simultaneously attracting the attention of the Moslems all over the World and increasing the power of the Sauds. In 1811, the Turks planned to liberate Hijaz from the Wahabis. Mohammed Ali Pasha, then Viceroy of Egypt, was instructed to undertake the mission. In this regard, the famous historian al-Djeberti²¹ says that pilgrimage, from Egypt and Syria to Mecca, was suspended in 1808 and the reasons given were that the Wahabis prevented people from performing their pilgrimage rituals.

Mohammed Ali sent his first military campaign under the leadership of his son Touson.²² Though Saud was victorious over the army of Mohammed Ali at the beginning, the wind seemed to blow against him in the later

battles. Mohammed Ali himself visited Mecca in 1813. In this same year Saud died and was succeeded by his son, Abdullah. The war went on between the Wahabis and the Egyptian army for two years. In 1815, negotiations were made with the result that both parties agreed upon the following:

- a. To end the antagonistic, aggressive actions of both parties.
- b. To put an end to the Turkish intervention in the affairs of Najd.
- c. To provide the freedom of trade between the Arabian Peninsula and its neighbors and to secure the right of pilgrimage to all parties concerned.²³

However, Mohammed Ali Pasha sent another military campaign under the leadership of his other son, Ibrahim Pasha. The Egyptian artillery shifted the balance of power against the Sauds. The destruction of Dariya in 1818 by the Egyptian artillery stands in history as a signpost for the termination of the first phase of the Saud history.²⁴ Abdullah was captured and taken to Constantinople where he was beheaded. Some members of the Saud family regained their rule for short, separate periods. However, after the death of Abdullah, the history is characterized as witnessing the most complicated intrigues, assassinations and personal rivalries.

Abdul Aziz ibn Saud

Abdul Aziz is undoubtedly the founder of the contemporary Saudi Arabian State. On January 15, 1902, Abdul Aziz, the son of Abdurrahman, who had taken refuge with his father in Kuwait for ten years, returned to Najd, and with a handful of men took over Riyadh. In line with most historians, we shall refer to him henceforth as "ibn Saud". Soon after he captured Riyadh, his father proclaimed him governor of Najd and leader of the Wahabis. By 1906, he was the master of Najd, and by the outbreak of World War I, he had even taken Al-Hasa region from the Turks.²⁵ Like his predecessors, ibn Saud became aware that any attempt to establish a stable, large scale political organization in the conquered territories, ran afoul of the established pattern of loyalties which was restricted by custom to the tribes and the towns. Like them, he sought a remedy in Islam. He encouraged the formation and growth of what have come to be known as Ikhwan (brethern) communities. His aim was to create a reliable supporting force of the bedouins. According to the historian, Amin Raihani, there were 72 settlements with a total population of approximately 750,000; 76,000 of them religious warriors.²⁶ In 1916, ibn Saud issued an order that all bedouin tribes must join in the Ikhwan movement; every effort was made to direct their loyalty

toward him, this by virtue of his being the spiritual and temporal leader. Ibn Saud thus created a powerful force to enforce his rule, and this played a major role in enabling him to conquer Hijaz. But Hijaz, as has been previously mentioned, had an established organization and access to the rest of the world through the Moslems who pay annual visits to the "Holy Places" in Mecca and Medina.

After the outbreak of World War I, the British established contact with Sherif Hussein of Mecca. Influenced by the Arab Bureau which was set up in Cairo under control of the British Foreign Office, Hussein proclaimed the independence of Arabia in July 1916. In October, he proclaimed himself King of the Arab countries, but the British recognized him only as King of Hijaz.²⁷ However, the British government also sent some representatives to establish contact with ibn Saud. Among the representatives was Philby who expressed repeatedly how much he was impressed with the progress achieved by ibn Saud in establishing control over the bedouins. In one of his numerous books on Saudi Arabia, he quoted comments of Colonel T.E. Lawrence, then the representative of the Arab Bureau which indicated the British estimate of ibn Saud:

"All you say, Philby, about ibn Saud may be perfectly correct. He may well be the big man you represent him to be; and he certainly

has achieved quite astonishing results in pacifying and organizing the warring tribes of Arabia. But after all what is he? A great Badwin chief of outstanding ability like the old Mohamed ibn Rashid²⁹ and others who passed across the Arabian stage, leaving their mark on history certainly, but nothing like a permanent organization. We know what has invariably happened on their deaths -- a wild reversion to the natural chaos and anarchy of Arabia. Now ibn Saud is human after all; and what will happen when he too dies? The same old anarchy again. Whereas, if and when the Turks go, as they surely will, the Sharifian family alone has the religious and political prestige needed for the regeneration of the Arabs, for building something permanent in Arabia to fit the country into the picture of the modern world. Anyway, we are committed to the Sharifian cause and we can't afford to upset things by encouraging ibn Saud's pretensions." ²⁸

The British continued to favor Hussein, following the advice of Colonel Lawrence, although they sent Sir Percy Cox to confer with ibn Saud in 1920.²⁹ The utter confusion that happened among the followers of the Rashids after the assassination of their ruler and the death of Sultan Salim in 1921, removed another barrier to the growing aspiration of the Saudi House. Ibn Saud captured Hail, the capital of the Rashids, and was acclaimed upon his return to the capital, Riyadh, as "Sultan of Najd and its Dependencies".

Philby was, however, the only Englishman whose perceptive analyses of the situation brought him close to being designated as clairvoyant. Refuting the above cited argument of Lawrence, he asserted that ibn Saud would never accept the suzerainty of Hussein:

"Ibn Saud is only 37, and we may reasonably expect him to live another twenty years. If he does the Arabia he leaves behind will be so different from the country we now know that his successor, who cannot possibly be of the same calibre as this extraordinary man, will have no serious difficulty in taking it on as a running show. With Ikhwan cantonments, which he is busy creating everywhere for the settlement of landless Badwins in large or small mixed groups on a semi-agricultural, semi-military, wholly religious basis, he is building up a powerful territorial army ready for instant action and breaking down the tribal jealousies which led to Badwin raiding and inter-tribal wars." 30

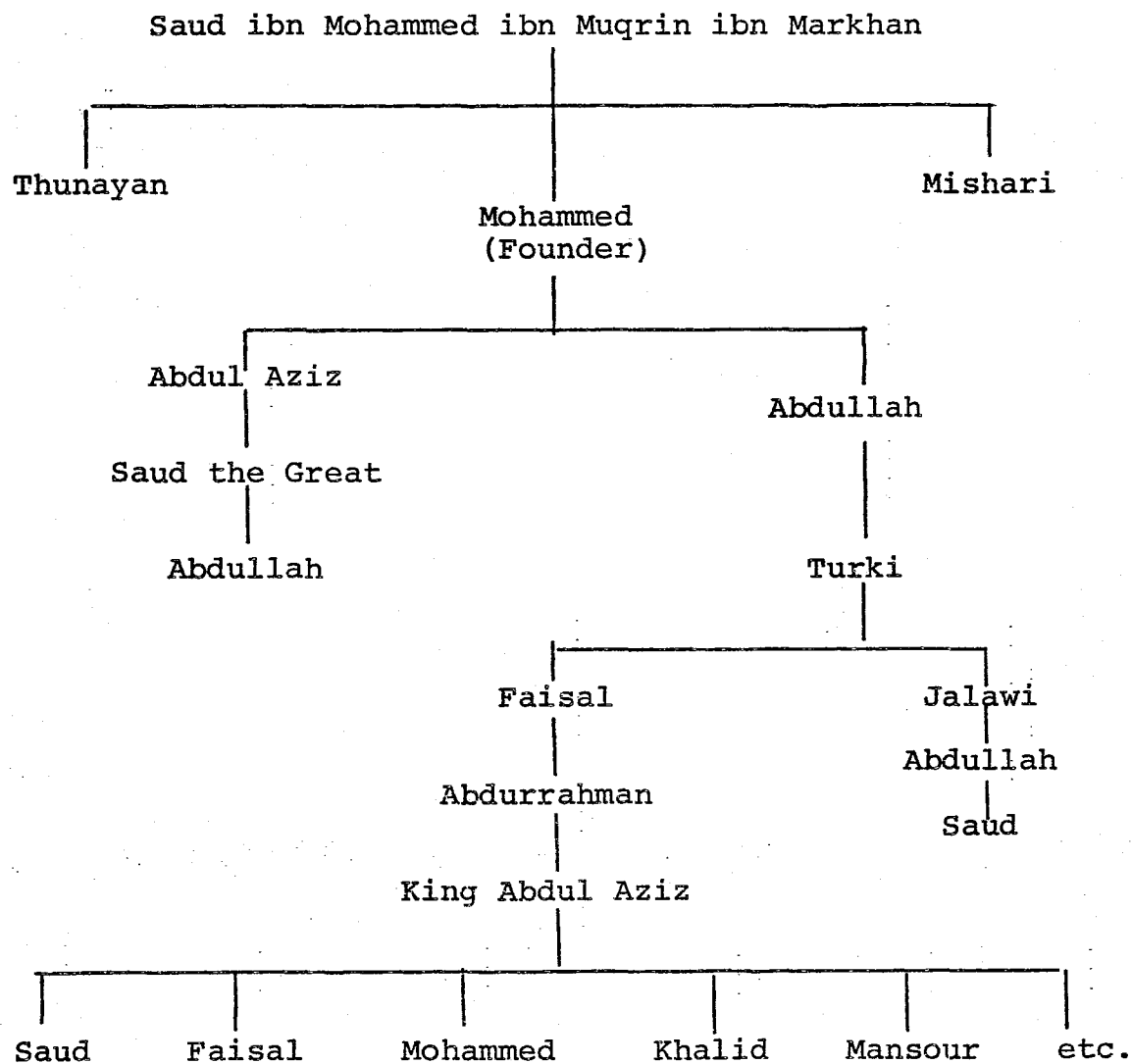
In effect, while ibn Saud was consolidating his power and strengthening his position, Hussein was steadily weakening his own.³¹ He became increasingly penurious, bombastic, and egotistical.³² He antagonized his allies, the British, and lost the respect of almost all Moslems when he proclaimed himself the Caliph of Islam on March 6, 1924, only three days after the Turks had abolished the Ottoman Caliphate. In this same year, the Ikhwan headed toward Hijaz, occupied Taif, and shortly after, captured Mecca. Ibn Saud entered Mecca, not as a conqueror but as pious visitor to the "Holy Places." The very first statement he made revealed not only his ambition, but also his far reaching political manoeuvres. Declaring that his aims were to rescue the "Holy Places" from the hands of the enemies and to reestablish the Islamic system of plebiscite, he called for an Islamic conference to be held to determine the form of govern-

ment deemed adequate by the Moslem World for the "Land of the Message."

By 1925, ibn Saud was proclaimed "King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and its Dependencies." Thus the foundation was laid for the rising Saudi State, a new structure in the society of nations forged on the anvil of adversity and inner conflict. But plainly discernible were the cementing zeal of the Wahabis, the strong character of ibn Saud, and the more meaningful readiness of the people of the Peninsula for a new order.

Ibn Saud died in 1953, leaving to his successors -- as Philby predicted -- a state extending from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf. The vastness of the state was, however, the main indicator for the complexity and the inextricability of the problems encountered by his successors, problems that necessitated the creation of a new machinery -- a machinery that begot the Saudi Bureaucracy.

CHART 1
THE SAUD CLAN



FOOTNOTES

- 1 Daniel Bergmark, Economic Geography of Asia, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1935, p. 116.
- 2 K.S. Twitchell, Saudi Arabia, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947, p. 4.
- 3 F.S. Vidal, The Oasis of Al-Hasa, Arabian American Oil Company, 1955, p. 16.
- 4 Twitchell, op. cit., p. 19.
- 5 Vidal, op. cit., p. 149.
- 6 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Approach to the Economic Development of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh: Saudi Arabia Supreme Planning Board, 1960, p. 48.
- 7 Vidal, op. cit., p. 186.
- 8 Ibid., p. 187.
- 9 Twitchell, op. cit., p. 33.
- 10 George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962, p. 571.
- 11 Gerald DeGaury, Faisal: King of Saudi Arabia, London: Arthur Barker, Lt., 1966, p. 50.
- 12 George A. Lipsky, Ethiopia: Its Society, Its Culture, New Haven: Hraf Press, 1962, p. 7.
- 13 George A. Lipsky, Saudi Arabia, New Haven: Hraf Press, 1969, p. 8.
- 14 Ibid., p. 9.
- 15 Ibid., p. 10.
- 16 Twitchell, op. cit., p. 90.
- 17 Nihad El-Ghadiri, The Great Challenge, Beirut: 1966, p. 32.

¹⁸Twitchell contends (p. 89) that he died in 1766. The difference is due, in my view, to the difficulty of identifying accurately the exact date corresponding to dates determined according to the lunar system thus far adopted in Saudi Arabia.

¹⁹Lipsky, op. cit., p. 10.

²⁰Ibid., p. 11.

²¹El Ghariri, op. cit., pp. 34,35.

²²Ibid., p. 36.

²³Ibid., p. 38.

²⁴Lipsky, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁵Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶El Ghadiri, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁷Lipsky, op. cit., p. 13.

²⁸Sir John Philby, Arabian Days, London: Robert Hall, 1948, pp. 158-159.

²⁹Twitchell, op. cit., p. 98.

³⁰Philby, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

³¹Lipsky, op. cit., p. 15.

³²Twitchell, op. cit., p. 98.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE SAUDI BUREAUCRACY IN THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS

We have briefly pointed out that prior to the establishment of the Saudi State, this was a land of dissension, division, struggle, and constant chaos. The newly established nation did not find at its disposal any colonial administrative heritage as did other Arab countries which had been occupied by either France or Britain, excluding Yemen. We have, likewise, referred to the Peninsula as composed of at least four distinct provinces. A brief account of the administrative systems as they then existed in each of the four provinces is bound to show us that the new kingdom has, indeed, almost started from scratch.

Najd

The province of Najd, until recently, was the only one that did not undergo any external, foreign influence. Neither was it open to the effects of foreign ideas. Prince Saud governed the province and was directly responsible to the King, as were the governors of the other three provinces.¹ From his headquarters in Riyadh, he administered the affairs of the province through

"mayors" of towns and chiefs of tribes. Each "mayor," assisted by a judge and a finance officer, was considered the administrative officer of the town and had the responsibility for all internal affairs. In cities and towns other than the capital, the "mayor" had a small "Deewan" bureau where all transactions and documents were processed and either submitted to the "mayor" or sent to the circles concerned. Every "mayor" submitted to the governor of the province periodic reports explaining the conditions of the town or village, and recommended the steps he deemed necessary for their improvement. In effect, the administration in Najd was characterized by what can be called "personal administration". Nothing in the available official documents indicates the existence of functionally specialized departments in this province. The personal system was compatible with the prevailing tribal system of society.

Al-Hasa

Although this province was under Turkish control for about forty years, the community preserved its tribal traditions and customs;² and its tribal system remained as an effective factor in determining the form of administration as it had done in Najd. Prior to the discovery of oil, the situation in this province was similar to that of Najd. After 1933, specialized departments began

to appear gradually. Prince Bin Jalawi, the governor of the province, performed his governorship from his capital, "Hafouf." In his capital, there were three central departments whose jurisdictions covered the whole province.

These were:

1. The Department of Police;
2. The Department of Finance;
3. The Department of Customs and Coastal Guard.

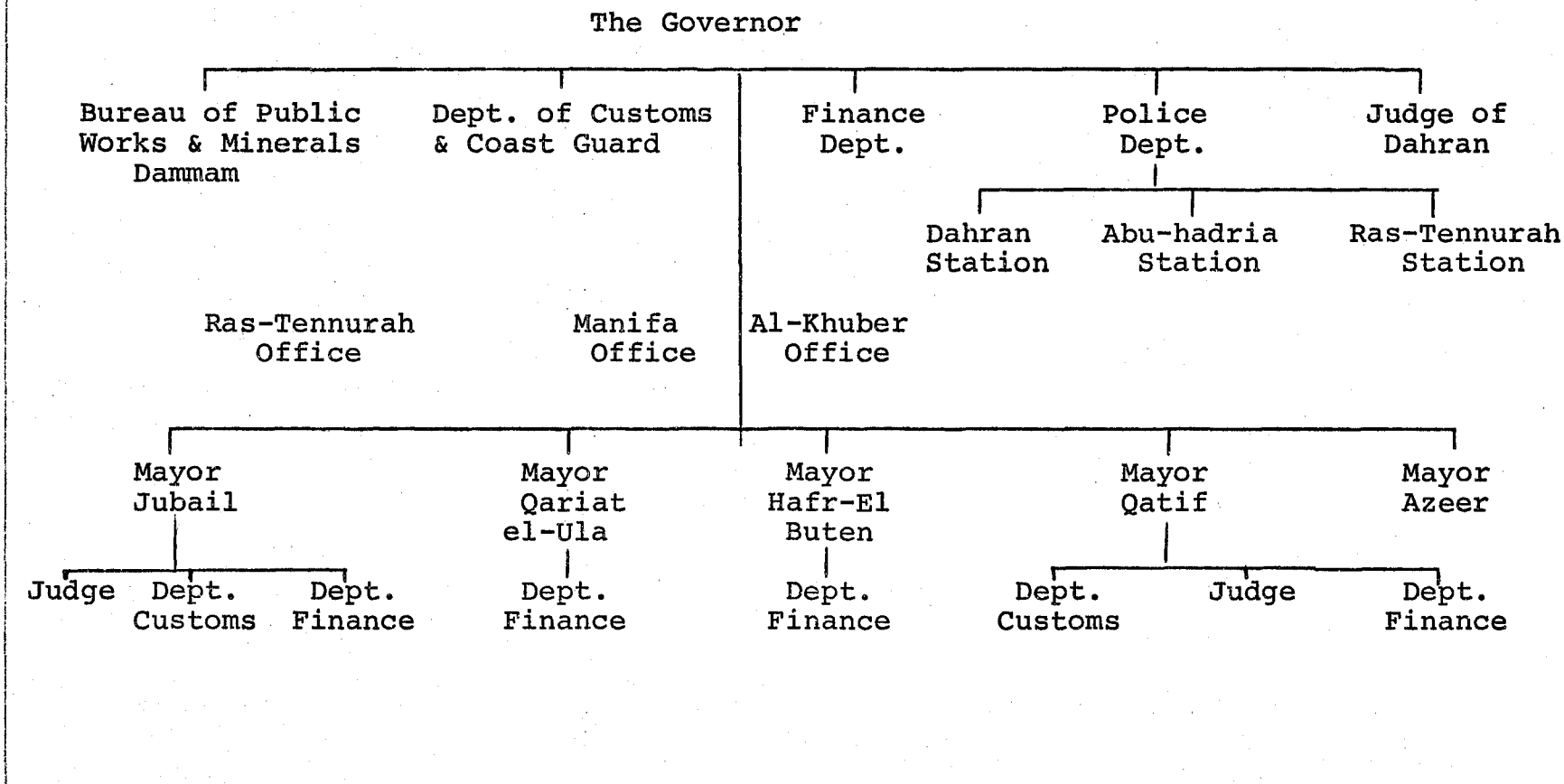
The directors of these departments were responsible to the governor of the province. Each of these departments had three branches. For example, the Department of Police had three stations in (a) Dahran, (b) Abu Hadira, (c) Ras Tennurah. The Department of Customs and Coastal Guard had three field offices in (a) Al-Khuber, (b) Manifa, (c) Ras Tennurah. Mayors of towns and villages were directly accountable to the governor. After the establishment of the Public Works and Minerals Bureau in Jeddah, around 1935, a branch of this bureau was established in the city of Dammam. In the beginning, this office was composed of (a) a bureau representative, (b) an assistant representative, (c) a deputy assistant, and (d) an accountant. (See Chart Number 2.)

Aseer

Although Turkish influence infiltrated into Aseer, such influence had little or no impact on the administra-

CHART 2

ADMINISTRATION IN AL-HASA IN 1939



tion of this province. The Idrisi clan that once ruled a great part of this province suffered greatly from the conflict of powers: the British and the Turks on one hand, Yemen and the other provinces of Saudi Arabia on the other. Administration was, however, based on traditional tribal system that depended almost entirely on the personal influence of the ruler.

Hijaz

This province was, from the beginning, different from all the other parts of Arabia. During the period of the first four Caliphs of Islam, who resided at Medina, the government of Hijaz was directly vested in the defender of the faithful. Later, under the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, this sacred province maintained a close connection with the central authority and so remained until 1037 A.D.³ Moreover, Hijaz was, since ancient times, open to all ideological currents and ideas prevailing in the rest of the world.

Before the unification of the country, the Sharifians were not only the rulers of Hijaz, but it was also believed that they had some sort of nominal authority over the other parts of the Peninsula. Hussein, the last of the Sharifians in Hijaz, had, according to some historians, a gentle wit and a mild method of reform.⁴ He had gone so far as to establish hospitals and to

combat disease in a scientific manner. He sent to Syria for specialists in mining, agriculture, chemistry and medicine who would discover and make available to him the wealth of Hijaz.⁵ However, when ibn Saud captured Hijaz in 1924, the existing departments of government were (a) Department of Health, (b) Department of Waqf,⁶ (c) Municipality Department and (d) Judiciary Department. Upon the capture of Hijaz, ibn Saud assured the people that he would rule the country in accordance with Sharia, the Moslem law. The legislative sources were to be the Holy Koran, the Sunnah (the teachings of the Prophet), and the resolution of the Moslem scholars. In compliance with his declaration, he asked the population of Mecca to form their own national assembly, to look after the affairs of the city through periodic meetings, and report directly to the King.⁷ The National Assembly was formed, and then reformed after six months. This was done to make it more representative of the population. It consisted of two members representing Moslem scholars, one member representing business interests, and twelve representing the different quarters of Mecca. In addition to the fifteen elected members, three of the notables were appointed by ibn Saud.⁸ With the exception of military and foreign affairs, the assembly was to deal with the following activities:⁹

1. Organization of the municipal affairs.
Here were to be the necessary regulations, the review of the expenditures and revenues of the municipalities, and the regulations concerning the standards of hygiene, and also the means required for carrying out these activities.
2. Review and organization of the judiciary system in a way that ensured justice and guaranteed the application of the Moslem Law without any discrimination.
3. Audit, control, and review the Waqf affairs.
4. The provision for internal public security and the organization of the police force required thereby.
5. To make general the religious education of the "sacred city."
6. To recommend whatever was deemed necessary for the enhancement of trade and commerce, and for the improvement of the telecommunication system.
7. To constitute a permanent committee to deal with the internal problems in accordance with traditions and customs, provided that Islamic teachings and laws were taken into consideration.

In Jeddah, likewise, ibn Saud appointed a committee of fourteen citizens to look after the internal problems of the city.¹⁰

In 1926, ibn Saud notified the diplomatic envoys posted in Jeddah that the war in Hijaz was over.¹¹ The people of Hijaz gave this ruler due homage in the Islamic tradition. Prince Faisal¹² then shouldered his responsibilities as the Viceroy of Hijaz and was assisted by a three-member advisory committee appointed by the King.

The Basic (Organic) Instructions of 1926.

Upon the wish of ibn Saud, a general assembly for setting up a semiconstitutional law, then termed the Basic Instructions, was formed of eight elected members representing the cities of Hijaz, and five members appointed by the King. This assembly was to create the organizational framework of the government. It set up, within seven months, the Organic Instruction for the government and the administration of Hijaz which was ratified by the King on August 30, 1926.¹³ These instructions were designed to reflect the relatively more advanced political organization of the province, as well as the Saudi evaluations of Western expectations concerning the new government.

"They are still in force, but have been modified from time to time by order of the King, in some instances, in ways that suggest

that they are meant to apply in part to the whole Kingdom."¹⁴

The said organic instructions set forth provisions in nine parts: Part One provided that the Kingdom consist of Hijaz as set off by its known boundaries; that it would be an independent, monarchical, constitutional and Moselm state; that its capital is Mecca; and that Arabic is the official language. Part Two provided for those responsible for the administration of the Kingdom, and the legal standards and sources that were to prevail. Part Three dealt with the categories into which the affairs of the government were to be divided and assigned certain responsibilities for their handling. Part Four provided for the establishment of several councils, such as advisory councils for each of Mecca, Jeddah and Medina. Part Five provided for the establishment of a Court of Account in the capital to be composed of three qualified persons in accounting and financial matters, and appointed by the King.¹⁵ Part Six provided for the establishment of a General Inspectorate attached directly to the King.¹⁶ Part Seven dealt with the rules that apply in the selection and promotion of government employees and for the protection of their right of tenure. Part Eight described the functions and operations of the municipal councils established in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah. Part Nine provided for the establishment of municipal admin-

istration committees and specified their duties as concerned with the implementation of decisions made by the heads of municipalities.

In a very short time, some of the above mentioned provisions were found to be inoperative. The issuance and enactment of the instructions created an inconvenient situation relative to the identification of relationships between Hijaz and Najd. In fact, the overall picture depicted by the instructions was misleading and scarcely revealed the truth of the matter. This lack of a definite identification of relationships between Hijaz and Najd was conspicuously revealed in the issuance of a royal decree dated July 13, 1928,¹⁷ modifying the provision of article 28 of Part Four of the instructions which provided for the establishment of a legislative assembly. This had been made up of the Agent General (Viceroy), his advisors and six notables. The modification set forth by the aforementioned royal decree¹⁸ provided the following:

1. The council which was previously determined was now to be composed of eight councilmen under the chairmanship of the Viceroy. Its composition was to be in accordance with the new royal decree of any number deemed necessary by the King.¹⁹

2. A permanent vice chairman for the council was to be appointed by the King. Also an assistant was to be elected by the council.
3. The council was to meet daily instead of twice a week as had been determined by the old system...etc.

However, the first point could be construed as a new device for appointing new members to the council, regardless of their province, as had been deemed necessary by the King.

It is worthwhile to note here that the King had, in 1927, selected seven persons and a secretary to form a committee which came to be known as the "Committee of Inspection and Reform." The committee was assigned to conduct a survey of the administrative machinery, identify its defects, and submit its proposals and recommendations to the King. The recommendations made by the committee which were approved by the King²⁰ caused minor alterations in the aforementioned functions of the government. However, the most significant contribution of these recommendations was relative to the establishment of an executive council wherein all heads of departments would be members to assist the Viceroy. Accordingly, the Council of Deputies was formed which consisted of: (1) a Deputy for Foreign Affairs; (2) a Deputy for Finance; (3) a Deputy from the Consultative

Council under the chairmanship of the Viceroy. The chairman of the council was empowered to:

1. Act on behalf of the King during the latter's absence.
2. Preside over the meetings of the Council of Deputies.
3. Act as a minister of interior affairs.
4. Act as a minister of foreign affairs.
5. Shoulder the responsibilities of chairman for the consultative council.

As for the powers of the Council of Deputies, it was stated that His Majesty the King is the sole source of all power and authority, and he delegates the power and authority to the Council of Deputies, whose members shall be responsible for the public policy of the state to the King. Moreover, each member of the council shall be responsible for his actions to the chairman of the council.²¹

Some Issues and Dilemmas

The description set forth in the preceding paragraphs can hardly give a real picture of the concrete situation in Saudi Arabia. It was perhaps unfortunate for ibn Saud that the completion of the somewhat makeshift foundations of his new regime should have coincided with the beginning of a period of lean years, specific-

CHART 3
 GOVERNMENT MACHINERY ACCORDING
 TO THE ORGANIC INSTRUCTIONS OF 30/8/1925

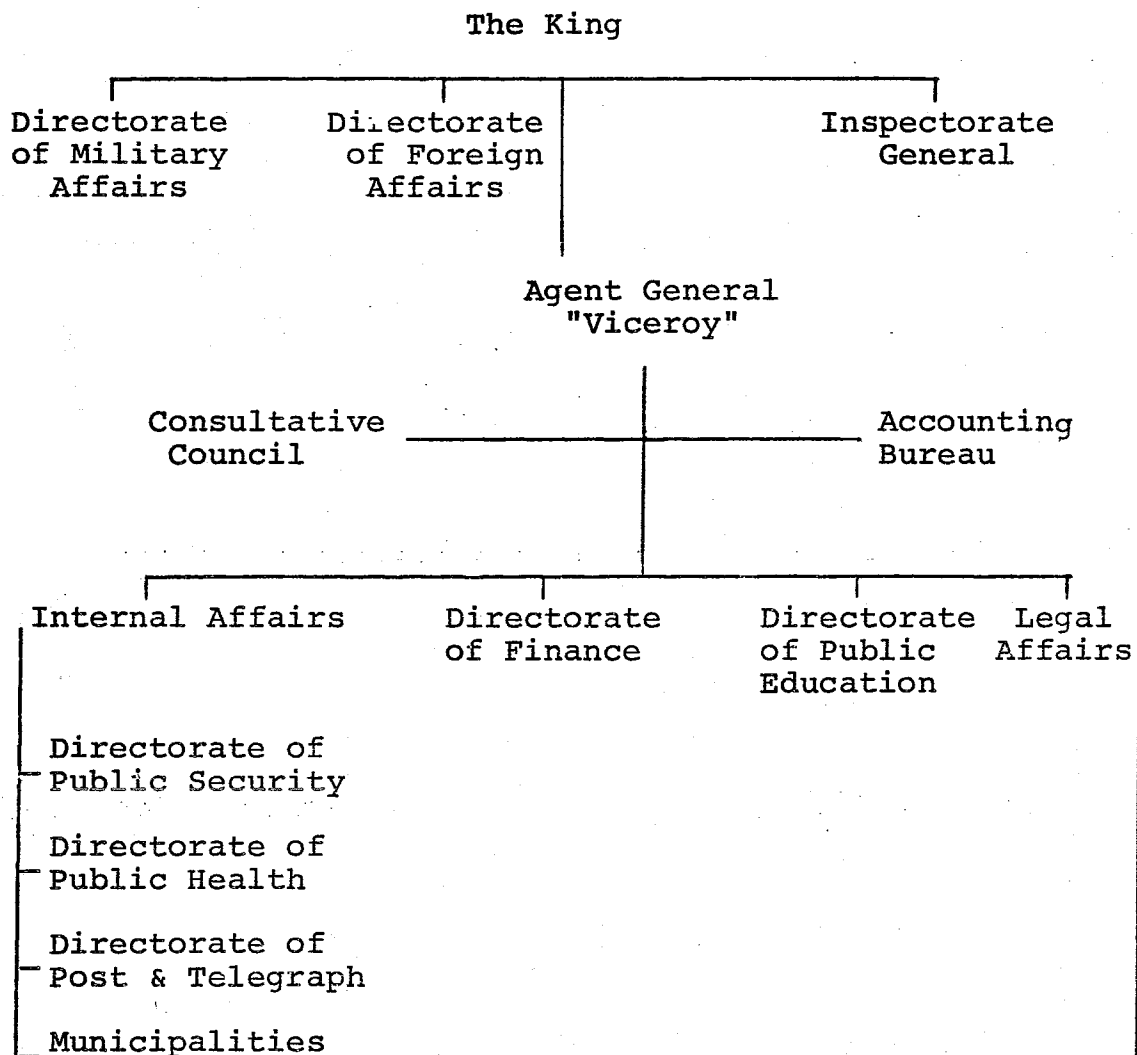
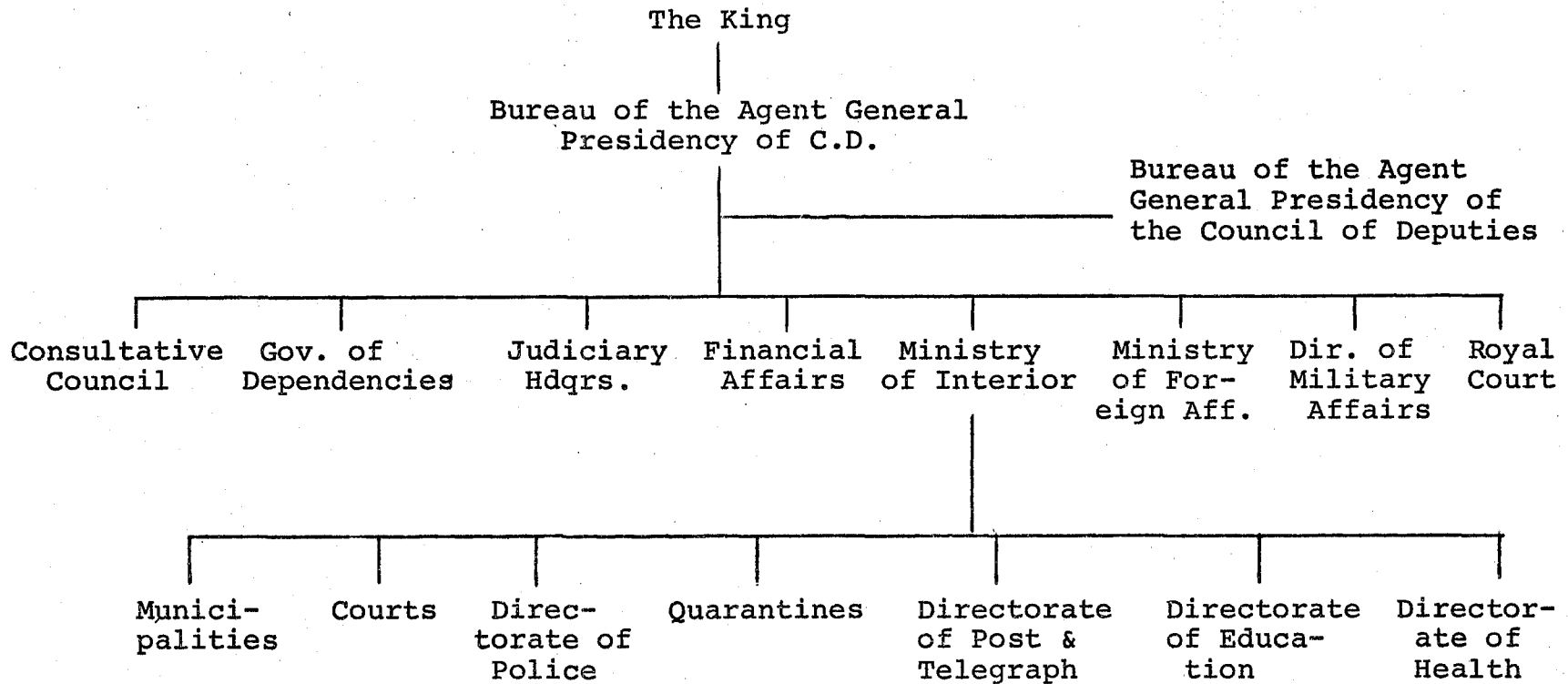


CHART 4

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF THE COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES

ISSUED ON 30/12/1931



ally 1932, resulting from a world wide economic recession whose effects were felt in Arabia in the shape of a drastic and disastrous decrease in the numbers of overseas pilgrims visiting Mecca.²² The lack of reserve from the years of relative plenty to support the current scale of expenditures resulted in an unbearable burden which inevitably fell on government employees on the lowest rungs. The after effect of this situation shall be quite clearly described later when we discuss some of the early dysfunctional aspects of the bureaucracy; also the analysis of the attitude of government employees, particularly those in the lower rungs of the administration. During this period of scantiness, there were times when the salaries of this category of employees were as much as six or eight months in arrears of payment. Thus the ripple of economic distress spread in widening circles through the whole country and the pressure on the poor certainly was not the most attractive feature of the financial administration at this period.²³ At the time, there seemed to be no other alternative to the proclamation of a moratorium on the payment of all existing obligations. The moratorium arrangements, envisaging the liquidation of all existing debts with interest at five per cent over a period of years were, on the whole, honored punctually.²⁴

The declining government revenues were aggravated by the enormous increase of urban population, which not only agglomerated the need of the populace for more government services, but also depended on income derived directly or indirectly from the government payroll. This matter, in its turn, resulted in a serious problem of water supply that formed a triad of inextricable problems with those of communication and medical amenities. If we add this to the discontent that burst into rebellion in 1929, the revolt of the tribes connected with the Ikhwan²⁵ movement which constituted the most serious threat to the permanence of ibn Saud, the Yemeni issue, and last but not least the parochial and provincial ambitions that might have been overtly shown after the death of ibn Saud. We can understand ibn Saud's action in 1933 when he appointed his son, Saud, as the heir to the throne. The son then received due homage as crown prince of the people and as their future King.²⁶ Thus all speculation about the succession was finally set at rest. The King, by decree,²⁷ changed the style and title of his realm, which was to be known henceforth as "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia". However, this development was not merely nominal. It reflected as well the resolution of ibn Saud to bring all his territories under a homogeneous administrative system, especially in the field of financial and revenue control which had hitherto been somewhat hap-

hazard and at the mercy of provincial governors.

Prospects of Wealth

As a means of solving many of the above mentioned problems, ibn Saud never gave up hope of tackling the knotty problem of finance. In 1933, the Standard Oil Company of California (SOCAL) signed a sixty-one year concession agreement with ibn Saud.²⁸ The agreement covered some 318,000 square miles of concession area and 177,000 square miles of preferential area, which the company could obtain by matching the offer of any other group. Ibn Saud's urgent need for funds to cover the ever increasing expenditures of the state was reflected in the prime condition posed by the government in connection with the oil negotiations, providing that the successful competitor should make a down payment of 100,000 sterling pounds in gold on signature of an agreement.²⁹ Production began in 1938 and by the following year had reached a volume of about a million tons per annum, which meant an annual royalty revenue of 200,000 sterling pounds in gold (one million sterling pounds), but the fortune was too good to last. The outbreak of World War II and the allies' policy that necessitated the freezing of production at the level already reached injured very seriously the interests of Saudi Arabia.³⁰ During the war years, the government encountered many

difficulties in preserving its expenditures at the pre-war rate, but it did succeed in holding government expenditures at a minimal level. After the war, the annual production of crude oil rose from 65.6 thousand tons in 1938 to 47.6 million tons in 1956.³¹ Such a huge increase in the oil production had a drastic impact, not only on the financial situation of the country, but also on the transformation of the social life in the area.³²

In the administrative field, government services had increased to the extent revealing the inadequacy of the existing administrative machinery. Similar activities were compiled in departments and homogeneous departments gathered in ministries. Prior to 1950, there were only three ministries, namely, (1) the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2) the Ministry of Finance, and (3) the Ministry of Defense. Between 1950 and 1953, five more ministries were established. They are: Interior, Communication, Health, Education and Agriculture. In addition to these ministries, a number of new departments were established, such as the Directorate of Petroleum and Minerals and the Directorate of Labor and Laborers. In a short while, this palpable proliferation of government agencies and departments necessitated the establishment of a coordinating body.

The Decree of 1953: The Birth Certificate for
the Council of Ministers

On October 9, 1953, King Abdul-Aziz ratified the royal decree, No. 5/19/1/4288, which provided for the setting up of the Council of Ministers.³³ The decree, in effect, provided for the replacement of the old institution of state. It set forth the composition and the functions of the most important organ of state below the King,³⁴ though not precisely in the desirable manner. However, subsequent decrees and regulations were issued to remedy the said defects. This document could be considered as a genuine initial effort made to institutionalize the royal prerogatives and to separate the exercise of authority from the arbitrary decision making procedure that previously existed around the King and his immediate entourage.³⁵ Article One of the decree provided that the council shall be composed of ministers appointed by the King under the chairmanship of the Crown Prince and Commander in Chief of Armed Forces, Prince Saud ibn Abdul-Aziz. The council was to meet once a month, or more than that, upon the call of the head of the council of ministers to discuss all domestic and foreign affairs of the state, to take a resolution therefore and thereby to submit these resolutions to the King.

The Council of Ministers did not meet until March, 1954. Only one month after the issuance of the decree,

namely on November 9, 1953, King ibn Saud passed away. Saud proclaimed himself King and his brother, Faisal, the present ruler, was selected as the Crown Prince.³⁶ The selection of the crown prince is traditionally made by the Saud family with the consent of the religious leaders. On March 7, 1954, King Saud opened the first session of the council. The opening address which was read on behalf of the King by the minister without portfolio, Sheikh Yousef Yassin, set up the broad lines of the government policy relative to both domestic and foreign spheres.³⁷ Saud's action in this period was vividly depicted by Philby:

"...it is of augury that the King has taken one decision which will at least lighten the heavy burden of his Crown. He has divested himself of sole responsibility for the conduct of the administration by the relinquishing of the presidency of the council of ministers in favor of his brother, the Crown Prince, the Amir Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud. No better choice could have been made; and Saudi Arabia can now, at long last, claim to have a responsible government."³⁸

However, Philby could see no real reason why Saud divested himself of sole responsibility for the conduct of the administration. The end result of Saud's action was undoubtedly desirable and work distribution was practical. A responsible cabinet apart from the monarch was rational, not only for the benefit of the subjects, but also for the monarchical institution which was something new to the Arabs, not according to tradition. Yet

the royal decree of May 12, 1958 which redefined the structure and functions³⁹ of the Council of Ministers, and provided that the council be composed of a Prime Minister appointed by the King and ministers similarly named on the Prime Minister's nomination was, according to the Western conventional principles, the right trend toward the establishment of a strong, responsible, executive branch of government. However, further amendments made in the statutory rules governing the Council of Ministers will show rather conspicuously what Philby failed to see, the lack of charisma in the ex-King Saud, and its presence in the present one. Articles seven and eight of the said statutory rules were amended when Faisal was proclaimed King. Article seven read before amendment:

"The Council of Ministers is a regulatory body that holds its meetings under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister or his deputy, and assumes its activities and jurisdictions in accordance with these regulations, and its internal laws."

The article read after amendment:

"The Council of Ministers is a regulatory body presided by His Majesty the King, and holds its meetings under the chairmanship of His Majesty or the Deputy Prime Minister. Its resolutions are final with the ratification of His Majesty the King."

As for article eight, that read before amendment:

"Every minister is responsible for his ministry to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister is responsible for his acts and the acts of the council to His Majesty the King. The Prime

Minister shall have the right to request His Majesty the King for the relief of any member of the council of ministers of his office; and the resignation of all members of the council."

After amendment, the article read thus:

"The appointment of the members of the council, their relief of their offices, and the acceptance of their resignations shall be made by a royal order, and all members of council shall be responsible for their actions to His Majesty the King."

These amendments indicate that though the Kingdom is very slowly and gradually transforming itself from a sacred into a secular, politically oriented institution, the existing belief in the charismatic leader, and the actual limitations of such a leader are hampering the modernization process, thus tying the administrative machinery to the old traditional practices.

The Council of Ministers is responsible for the budget and is considered the supreme authority under the King in financial matters. It has been given wide authority over the supervision of regional and local governments.⁴⁰ International agreements must be approved by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the King. A closer look at the rest of the council's jurisdictions indicates that it is a unique institution having characteristics normally identified with civil service commissions, administrative courts, and legislative bodies. Among these jurisdictions are: the council's right to approve the establishment of private corporations, to

act as a reconciliatory body in cases where the administration is a party in a conflict, to appoint or discharge department directors and all employee incumbents of positions over Grade-5, to create new positions and grades, and, last but not least, to supervise all contracts relative to the employment of foreigners in the Kingdom.

In order for the council to carry such diversified and wide range responsibilities, provisions were made for three subcommittees to stem from the council and undertake the functions that are different in scope and nature. Each subcommittee is assigned to study specific subjects for which resolutions are to be made by the council.

These committees are:

1. The Finance Committee;
2. The Legislative Committee;
3. The Administrative Committee.

To perform the ever expanding responsibilities, the council is equipped with a Secretariat General, headed by a secretary general attached to the Prime Minister, and aided by an assistant secretary with supervision over the eight divisions: the Advisors' Office, the Library, the Administration, Financial Administration, Secretariat of the Legislative Committee, Secretariat of the Financial Committee, Secretariat of the Administrative Committee, and the Office of the Council proceedings. (See Chart 5)

CHART 5

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE SECRETARIAT
GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

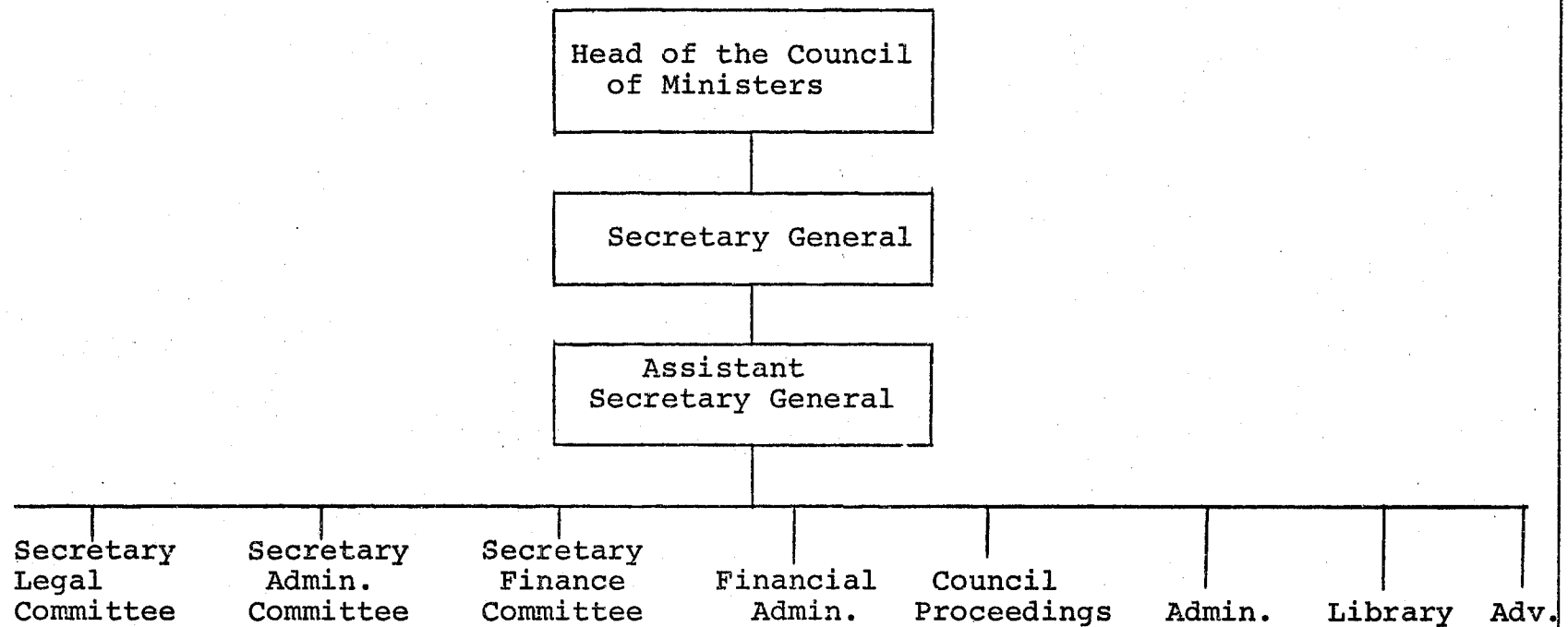
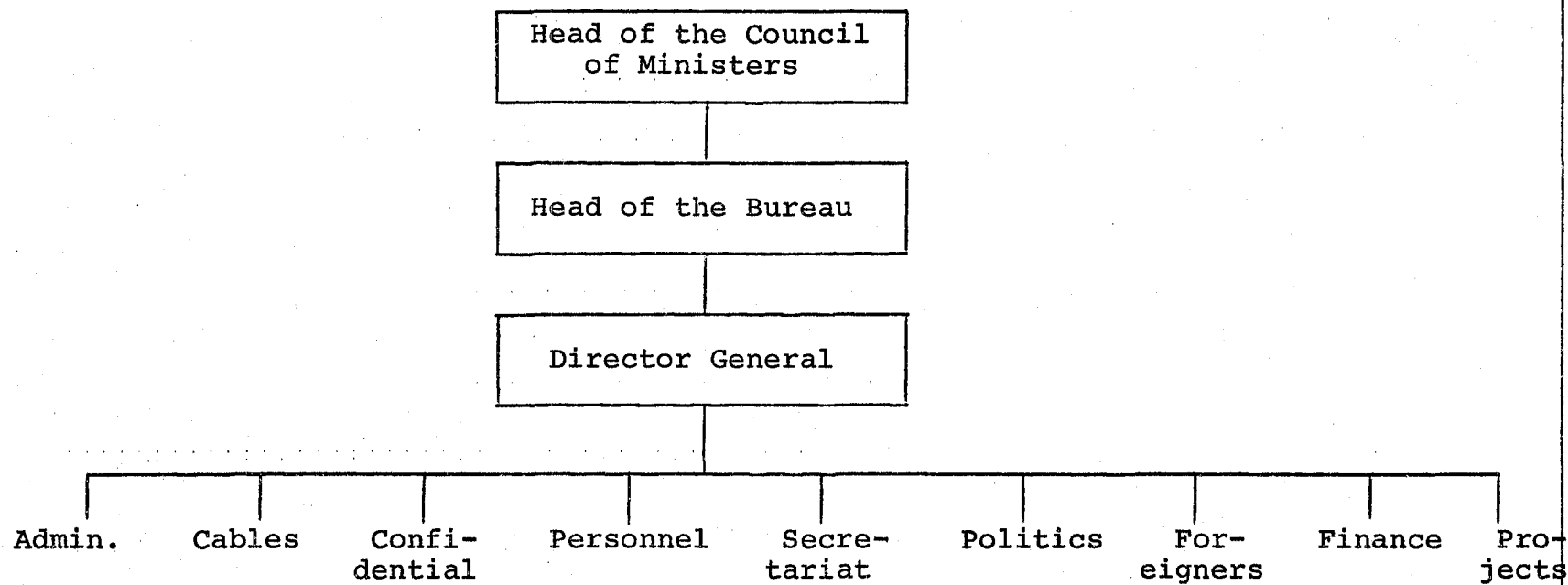


CHART 6

THE PRESIDENCY BUREAU



The Presidency Bureau

The office of the Agent General, previously mentioned, was turned into a bureau of the presidency upon the issuance of the statutory rules of the Council of Ministers. This bureau's chief is attached, in turn, to the head of the Council of Ministers and assisted by a director general who supervises nine specialized divisions: Projects, Finance, Foreigners, Politics, Secretariat, Personnel, Confidential, Cables, and Administration. (See Chart 6.)

The Ministries

Ministries in Saudi Arabia are a recent innovation.⁴¹ We have previously mentioned that after the capture of Hijaz, a Council of Deputies was set up under the chairmanship of the viceroy, and each deputy was in charge of a specific department or agency. However, as the functions of the central government expanded, it was found necessary to establish ministries wherein functional departmentalization could be carried out safely, and the dysfunctional fragmentation would be avoided. Although the personality element of the minister and his deputy played a major role in the functioning of the earlier ministries and other big departments, the complexity and the diversity of the activities carried out by all

ministries, shifted the decision making process to the bureaucrats.

Each ministry is officially headed by a Minister appointed by the King and considered a political appointee. In practice, the Permanent Deputy Minister and the Director General of the ministry are those who enjoy practically all the authority and run the affairs of their ministry as they deem adequate. However, these two civil servants having, in effect, an authority of such magnitude, very seldom act according to their whims. An informal body comprising all heads of directorates and departments influences their decision making roles.

A Director of an Agency, or a directorate, is given the authority to appoint employees in positions between G-6 and G-9. He is, likewise, authorized to have the final say in financial matters, provided the value does not exceed an amount thought compatible with the rank of the director concerned.

However, more important, in this writer's view, is the actual decision making process that takes place within the realm of the civil service, even if these decisions are sealed and stamped in the Council of Ministers. A review of all decisions passed thus far, by the Council of Ministers, shows quite conspicuously that the resolutions were actually formulated by civil servants in their respective Ministries and Agencies.

The bureaucratic role here involves a technique that can be designated as "administration politics." This is adeptly practiced by Deputy Ministers and top level government officials. According to this technique, things are manipulated to win at least one of the Ministers to be the defender of the desired decision if, and when, an argument arises in the Council. Even Royal Decrees and Royal Orders are not actually initiated by the Monarch or his Cabinet. A blockade created by Ministers as individuals, or as a group, could easily be overcome. Public officials, like all other citizens, always have easy access to the Monarch who accepts any sort of complaint, and take a step therefore. However, this last channel is very cautiously and very rarely used by civil servants.

A. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The first of the ministries to exist was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1926 it was the Directorate of Foreign Affairs,⁴² reorganized after the issuance of the organic instructions of Hijaz to consist of four divisions:

1. The Political Division;
2. The Administrative Division;
3. The Legal Division;
4. The Consular Division.

Though the directorate was straightly attached to the King, the Office of the Agent General was authorized to address its instructions to the directorate in matters related to administrative and consular affairs.⁴³ In 1930, a royal order was issued promoting the Office into a full-fledged ministry and Prince Faisal, the Viceroy of Hijaz (now the King), was appointed minister of foreign affairs. Until World War II, very few diplomats were posted in the Arab countries. As matters stand today, the Saudi diplomats, consuls, and ambassadors are almost everywhere with the exception of the communist countries. Further reorganization in 1955 resulted in the issuance of new statutory rules for the ministry and the royal decree, No. 0/4/2/424, dated 1955, was thus ratified. In accordance with these rules, the ministry was formed to comprise the following:

1. The General Bureau;
2. The Diplomatic and Consular Missions.⁴⁴

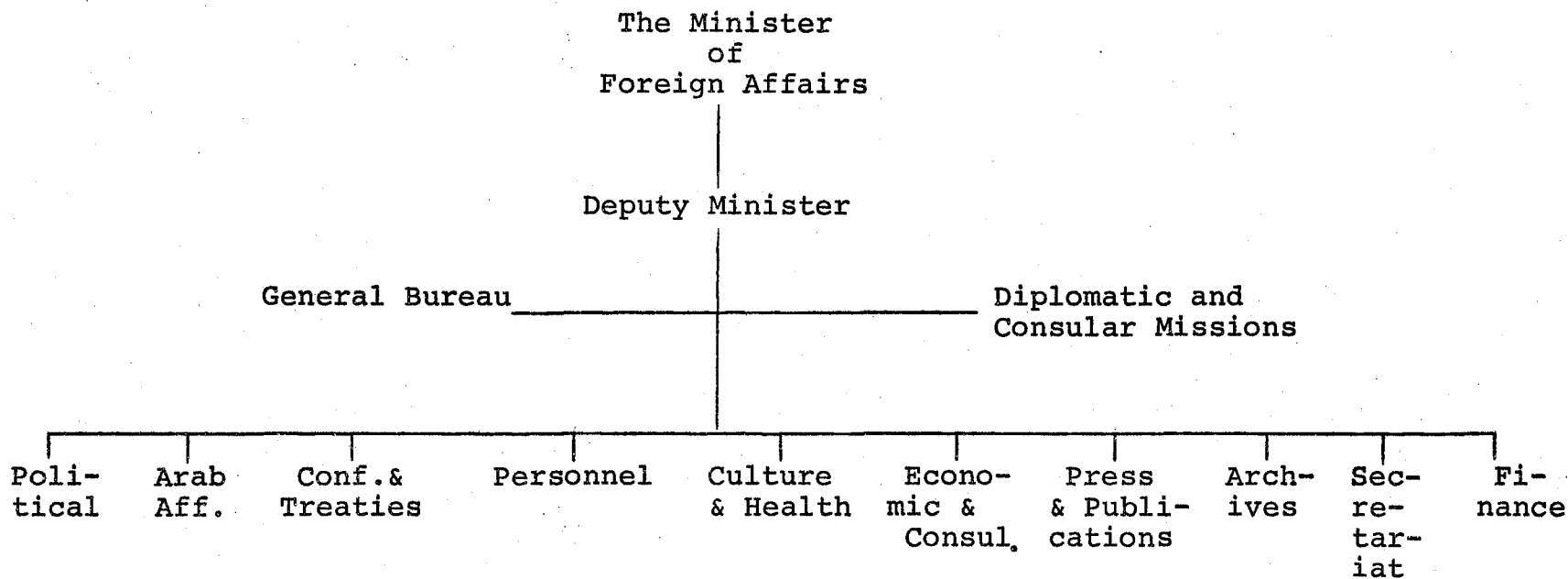
The following ten departments were set up in the General Bureau: Political, Arab Affairs, Conferences and Treaties, Economic and Consular, Press and Publication; Archives, Personnel and Financial Affairs, Culture and Health Affairs. (See Chart 7.)

B. The Ministry of Finance and National Economy

In 1932, this Ministry was the second to exist.⁴⁵

CHART 7

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY



The Department of Public Finance had its beginnings in 1926. Upon the issuance of the organic instructions, it was called the Directorate of Finance and was attached to the viceroy. A year later it was made a "deputation" headed by a deputy for public finance. In 1932, shortly after the world-wide economic crisis, a Dutch expert was brought to study the financial situation of the government and, in the same year, statutory rules were issued promoting the "deputation" to the level of ministry, which was composed of four divisions: Administration, Public Accounts, Finance Inspectorate and Public Fund. In addition to its thirteen branches, the Bureau of Minerals and Public Works was supervised and controlled by it. It established, likewise, departments dealing with companies and construction projects, monetary affairs, zakat⁴⁶, income tax, and customs.

The literal translation of the word "zakat" is "alms." Originally, every Moslem was supposed to pay to the Beit-El-Mal "treasury," one-fortieth of his property, annual income, and profits combined. With the development of income tax, sales tax, property tax and the like, most Moslem countries adhered to the above mentioned literal meaning of the word and considered it a moral obligation on the Moslem to give a portion of what he owns to those who have less abundance. During the month of Ramadan (the sacred ninth month of the Arabic

calendar), well-to-do Moslems distribute whatever they deem adequate (money or other commodities) among the needy and the poor.

In Saudi Arabia, where Islam is said to be literally applied, zakat is considered a tax. It is imposed upon Saudi firms and companies, as well as individual employees at the rate of 2.5 per cent of the capital and the annual profits combined. This relates to firms and companies and to the annual income as respecting individual employees.

It should be noted here that the Ministry of Finance and National Economy was, until recently, carrying the responsibilities of varied activities which could hardly be considered as functionally related. These were agriculture, communications, and public works; there the departments and directorates were attached to the Ministry of Finance which was designated, until very recently, as the mother of all ministries. The notion, at the beginning, was that the Minister of Finance and his top officials considered themselves as the guardians of public funds. Any new department that would be spending some of the public funds was put under the direct supervision and control of this Ministry. Even now, after the establishment of several controlling agencies, such as the Central Planning Agency and the Comptroller General's Bureau, the Ministry has a significant influence

over the other ministries. (See Chart 8.)

C. Ministry of Defense and Aviation

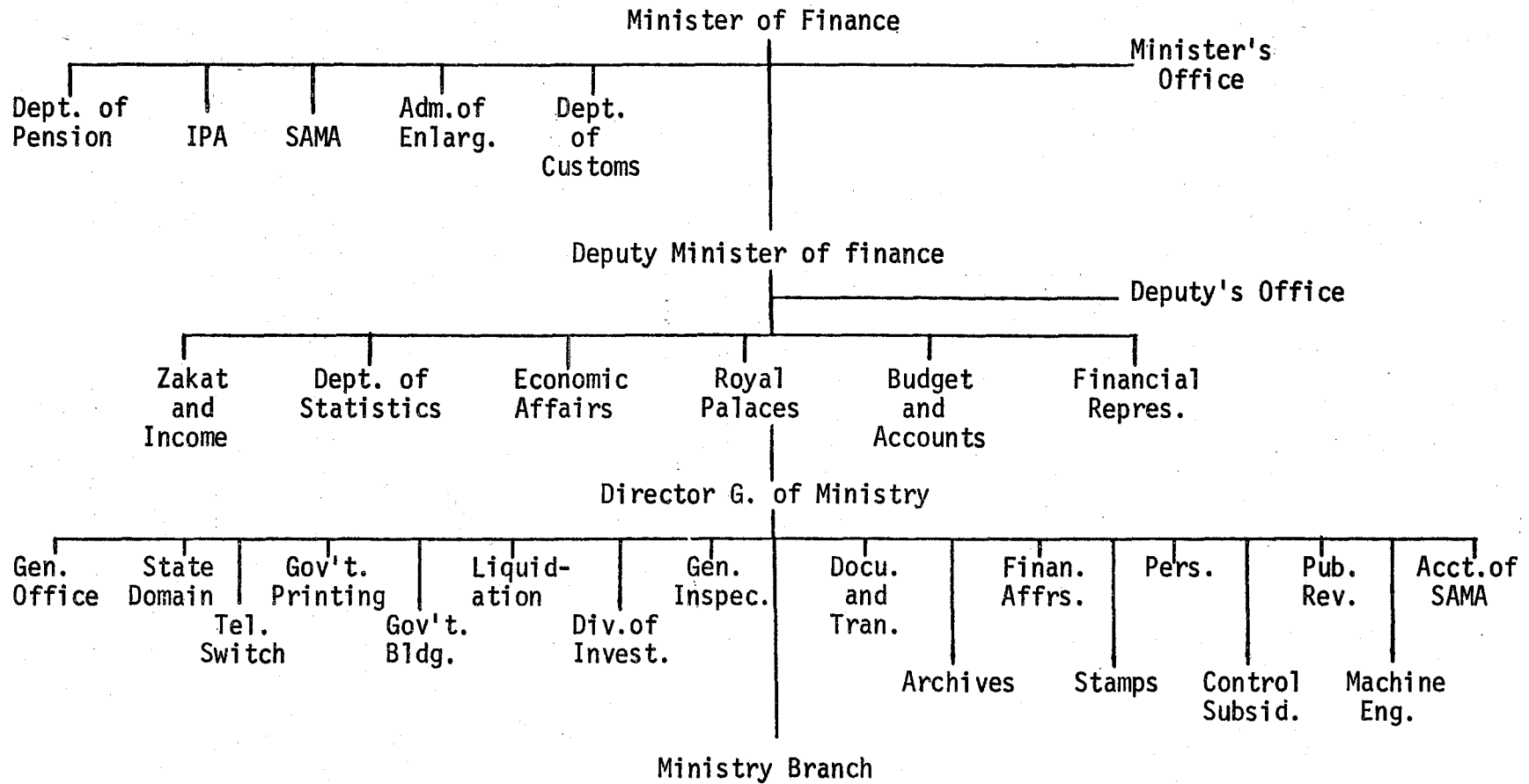
This ministry was established in 1946. Previously, the King almost entirely relied on the militia and the religious warriors. In 1930, a Department for Military Affairs was established and became the nucleus of the regular army. In 1936, when the number of enlisted soldiers had considerably increased, a "deputation" for defense and a Directorate of Military Affairs were established. In 1941, the Directorate of Military Affairs was dissolved and a headquarters of the military staff was established instead. The Ministry of Defense arose in 1944 out of the aforementioned predecessor defense agencies.⁴⁷ In 1955, the royal decree, No. 2216-8106, dated 3/4/1955, was issued providing for the establishment of a military college in Riyadh. Shortly after that, several military schools were opened in different provinces of the Kingdom.

D. The Ministry of Interior

This ministry was established in 1932. Prior to this date, it was a part of the Office of the Agent General. Like the Ministry of Finance, its activities encompassed some remotely related areas such as public security, post and telegraph, public health, etc.

CHART 8

MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND NATIONAL ECONOMY UNTIL 1965



In 1951, the ministry was reorganized⁴⁸ to encompass anything relative to public security, coast guard, fire departments, passport and immigration, municipalities, etc. All mayors and governors in the provinces report to the Minister of Interior.

E. The Ministry of Public Health

This ministry was, until 1951, the Directorate of Public Health. It expanded thereafter and established six health zones throughout the Kingdom. Twice it was organized and reorganized to cope with the ever increasing needs for medical services. The royal decree,⁴⁹ No. 0/11/4/8697, dated 1/6/1951, raised it to the level of a ministry.

F. The Ministry of Communication

This ministry was established in 1953 and, since 1932, has been a small directorate. During the period between 1953 and 1957, the ministry's expanding services and activities resulted in the construction of approximately 3500 miles of paved roads and highways.⁵⁰ Presently, all activities relative to telegraph, post, telephone, highways, bridges, railways, and harbors are undertaken by this ministry through its ever proliferating departments.

G. The Ministry of Education

In 1926, a Directorate of Education was formed. When the organic instructions were issued, the Directorate was attached to the Office of the Agent General. In 1938, statutory rules were passed authorizing the directorate to supervise all such affairs in the Kingdom, military training and education excepted. In 1953, the directorate was made a full fledged ministry. It supervises, in addition to the ever increasing elementary and secondary schools, the industrial, commercial, vocational, and university education throughout the country.

H. The Ministry of Agriculture

In 1948, the Directorate of Agriculture was attached to the Ministry of Finance. In 1953, royal order No. 5/21/1/4951, dated 23/12/1953, raised it to the level of ministry. Its two major sections, each of which is headed by a deputy minister, are those of water and agricultural affairs. The latter section supervises many departments such as the Department of Agricultural Guidance, Agricultural Product, Agricultural Statistics and Economy, Department of Plant Protection, etc. For the working of the agricultural administration, the Kingdom is divided into several agricultural centers and units.

I. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry

This ministry came into being in 1954, in accordance with the royal decree No. 5702, dated 16/3/1954.⁵¹ A year later, statutory rules were passed defining its jurisdictions, thus stating that the Minister of Commerce shall be responsible for the policy of the country relative to this field. It is composed of eight departments of which branches are dispersed throughout the country.

J. The Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources

In 1925, the Bureau of Public Works and Minerals was established in Jeddah. It became General Directorate of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs in 1952. In 1960, it was raised to the level of a ministry in accordance with the royal decree No. 37, dated 25/11/1960.⁵² It now supervises all petroleum and mineral affairs throughout the Kingdom, and acts as a liaison between the government and the oil companies, whether they operate in the country or elsewhere. Its two main branches are located in the Western province (Hijaz). Here it deals with mineral affairs. In the Eastern province (Al-Hasa), oil and petroleum affairs are handled.

K. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

Prior to 1948, there was no government agency dealing with labor affairs. In 1948, the labor and laborers law was passed.⁵³ The Ministry of Finance was

made responsible for labor problems, as well as the implementation of the law. In 1954, the main office of labor was established in Dammam (the Eastern province), and was attached to the head of the Council of Ministers. In 1961, the office was raised to a departmental level and thereby designated as the Department of Labor and Laborers. It was attached to the State Minister of the Presidency Affairs.⁵⁴ In the same year, the royal order No. 122, dated 8/6/1961, raised the department to the level of a ministry.⁵⁵ Presently, it supervises the activities of several vocational training centers and various social development centers established in the major cities of the country.

I. The Ministry of Haj (pilgrimage) and Waqfs

In 1926, the Committee of Haj Administration was brought into being. It became the Directorate of the General Affairs of Haj in 1948 and was attached to the Ministry of Finance. In 1961, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution approving the proposal made by the Minister of Finance to attach the Directorate of Haj to the Ministry of Interior. However, the royal decree No. 43, dated 15/3/1962, made the directorate an independent ministry.⁵⁶

M. The Ministry of Information

In 1949, this was a directorate of the Saudi Broadcasting Service. It was attached, in 1952, to the Department of Haj and Waqfs. In 1955, the royal decree No. 7/3/16/1007 of 1955 made the Saudi Broadcasting Service an independent body, given the nomenclature of the "Directorate General of Broadcasting." It was attached to the head of the Council of Ministers. Its director held the rank of a deputy minister and the assistant director ranked as a ministry director general. Shortly thereafter, another directorate general for press and publication was established. Royal decree No. 43, dated 15/3/1962,⁵⁷ raised the amalgam of these two directorates to the level of a ministry designated as the Ministry of Information.

In addition to the aforementioned ministries, there are other specialized agencies. The establishment of the Department of Public Works is particularly noteworthy for the circumstances that created the notion of its establishment.

Public Works Department

During the fiscal year 1963-1964, the Supreme Planning Board (presently called the Central Planning Agency) approved the allocation of 244 million Saudi Riyals (54 million dollars) for government projects. Upon the

discussion of the ministerial projects, it was found that 93 per cent of the funds allocated for the new projects was not spent simply because the technical offices of the different ministries were not efficient enough to prepare the studies required for their projects.⁵⁸ Subsequently, the planning board submitted a memorandum to the Council of Ministers proposing a remedy of the situation by any of the three following devices:

1. Enhance the efficiency of the technical divisions;
2. Seek advice from consultant firms;
3. Establish a public works department.

The Council of Ministers studied this memo and its resolution No. 128, dated 1963, was passed approving, in principle, the establishment of a public works department. The resolution provided for the formation of a technical committee representing all ministries.⁵⁹ The committee was formed and shortly thereafter decree No. 52, dated 15/3/1964 was issued appointing the head of the department. Through the Ford Foundation, an expert in public works was brought in by the government.

The Controlling Agencies

Several controlling agencies were recently established, that represent an additional power to the Saudi Bureaucracy, and through their different controlling

devices, enhance the efficiency of the bureaucracy.

Among these agencies is the Personnel Bureau. Its functions were very hazy until 1942 when a ministerial decision was issued providing that the Bureau shall prepare a list of all civil servants.⁶⁰ The Bureau was reorganized to keep up with the development of all other aspects of administration. A very recent reorganization survey, and preliminary recommendation made, therefore, indicate that this Bureau is expected to play a major role in bringing about the efficiency of government employees through the implementation of sound selection policies based on the merit system principles. Though the new civil service law has not yet been promulgated, the draft provisions centralize the selection process of government employees, and make it one of the main functions of the Personnel Bureau.

Bureau of the Comptroller General

According to the Council of Ministers' statutory rules, issued 17/3/1954, the council had a cabinet composed of four divisions; among these divisions, one was the office of the Comptroller General for state accounts. The Comptroller General is appointed by a royal decree. The functions of this bureau, as specified by Article Six of the Council of Ministers' statutory rules, are to audit all government accounts and to verify the authen-

ticity of the entries of all ministries, departments, and directorates relative to their revenues and expenditures.

Grievance Board

Among the divisions of the cabinet mentioned above is the Grievance Board. It deals with all complaints made by the citizens against any administrative action, investigates the evidence of each complaint, prepares a report thereof, proposes the necessary steps to be taken, and submits the report to the King.⁶¹

The Saudi bureaucracy, the soul of the skeleton which we have thus far received, played a crucial role in the development of the Kingdom. Certain features of such a role are the topic of the fourth chapter in this study.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 M. Tawfik Sadik, The Evolution of Government and Administration in Saudi Arabia, Riyadh: IPA, 1965, p.24.
- 2 Ameen Rihani, Around the Coast of Arabia, London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1930, p. 129.
- 3 George Stitt, A Prince of Arabia, London: George Allen and Urwin Ltd., 1948, p. 15.
- 4 Rihani, op. cit., p. 74.
- 5 Ibid., p. 85.
- 6 Waqf is a land permanently endowed for religious or charitable use.
- 7 Umm-El-Qura: the official gazette of Saudi Arabia, No. 3, dated 12/12/1924.
- 8 The Official Gazette, No. 32, dated 8/8/1925.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., No. 52, dated 27/12/1925.
- 11 Ibid., No. 53, dated 1/1/1926.
- 12 Presently the King.
- 13 Sadik, op. cit., p. 31.
- 14 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 113.
- 15 Articles 43 and 45 of the Organic Instructions.
- 16 Parts four, five and six are no longer effective.
- 17 The Official Gazette, No. 186, dated 12/7/1928.
- 18 Lipsky and his co-authors contend that the said royal decree established a legislative assembly that represented Hijaz and Najd jointly. The provisions of the royal decree do not support what has been maintained by Lipsky.
- 19 Sadik, op. cit., p. 37.

- 20 The Official Gazette, No. 139, dated 12/8/1927.
- 21 Article 5 of the Regulations of the Council of Deputies.
- 22 Philby, op. cit., p. 314.
- 23 Ibid., p. 315.
- 24 Although interest is forbidden in Islam, there is a rule in the Moslem law that under the constraints of need and necessity, a Moslem is allowed to disregard the law that forbids certain action. Literally, the rule reads: "Necessities make the forbidden lawful."
- 25 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 95.
- 26 Philby, op. cit., p. 325.
- 27 Royal Decree No. 2716, dated 18/9/1932 issued in the Official Gazette, No. 406, dated 23/9/1932.
- 28 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 225.
- 29 Philby, op. cit., p. 331.
- 30 Ibid., p. 332.
- 31 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 227.
- 32 Sadik, op. cit., p. 52.
- 33 The Official Gazette, No. 1485, dated 16/10/1953.
- 34 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 115.
- 35 Ibid., p. 116.
- 36 A statement made by the Royal Court under No. 2 issued in the Official Gazette, No. 1489, dated 13/11/1953.
- 37 The Official Gazette, No. 1506, dated 12/3/1954.
- 38 Philby, op. cit., p. xviii of the Foreword.
- 39 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 117.
- 40 Ibid., p. 117.
- 41 Ibid., p. 118.

- 42 Faud Shakir, Directory of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, 1948, p. 67.
- 43 Articles 17-19 of the Organic Instructions of Hijaz.
- 44 Article One of the Statutory Rules of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 45 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 118.
- 46 A sort of tax religiously imposed upon Moslems.
- 47 The Official Gazzette, No. 1555, dated 3/4/1955.
- 48 Royal Decree No. 5/11/8697, dated 11/6/1951.
- 49 The Official Gazzette, No. 1366, dated 8/6/1951.
- 50 Sadik, op. cit., p. 85.
- 51 The Official Gazzette, No. 1507, dated 19/3/1954.
- 52 The Official Gazzette, No. 1850, dated 23/12/1960.
- 53 The Official Gazzette, No. 1212, dated 28/5/1948.
- 54 The Official Gazzette, No. 1866, dated 21/4/1961.
- 55 The Official Gazzette, No. 1872, dated 9/6/1961.
- 56 The Official Gazzette, No. 1912, dated 23/3/1962.
- 57 The Official Gazzette, No. 1912, dated 23/3/1962.
- 58 Sadik, op. cit., p. 121.
- 59 A circular from the Presidency Bureau issued under No. 3599.
- 60 Khalil Ghelayini, Civil Service in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh: IPA, 1962, p. 24.
- 61 Article Three of the Statutory Rules of the Council of Ministers.

CHAPTER IV
THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA

To describe bureaucracy's contribution to the development of Saudi Arabia, we shall have to specify first what we mean by development, and second to state how close now it is to the achievement of development. It is evident that we have not adhered to the concept of administrative development as considered the focal theme of this paper, although we dealt with it in the preceding chapter as a significantly effective element of development administration.

The Concept of Bureaucracy Within the Context of This Paper

Although we look upon development administration as "designating those changes in an administrative system that are necessary for the modernization of a backward country,"¹ this writer is of the opinion that development in its broadest sense should encompass all aspects of social life embracing what has come to be known by sociologists as "community development," what educators call "development education," what political scientists call "development politics," and last, but

not least, the all encompassing concept of economic development. We are doing this since governments, of what have come to be known as developing countries, are evaluated in accordance with the role they play in economic development, and their bureaucracies engage significantly in the activities of the economic sphere.²

Development in Saudi Arabia

The story of development in Saudi Arabia is no more nor less than a replica of the story of the government of Saudi Arabia and of its growing bureaucracy. The Saudi bureaucracy can, nonetheless, hardly be credited for whatever was achieved in the process of development apart from the monarch whose word has still its significant weight in the polity. The plan of the study at this stage is to deal with the aspects of development in Saudi Arabia and the role of the monarch as an integral and inseparable part of the role of the bureaucracy. An introductory section dealing with the social organization will, however, give us a clear idea about the background of the Saudi bureaucrats and the social stratification that influence the behavior of these public servants.

Social Organization in Arabia

Although Saudi Arabia has entered a period of transition and the urban populace as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter brought forth new problems, two basic ecological divisions continue to hold their importance, namely, the nomadic desert camp and the village, even though the proportion of these two divisions to the urban populace is undergoing a rapid change. The kinship principle which is apparent among the nomads is not confined to where the nomads move about in their semi-autonomous bands of kinsmen,³ but it extends to embrace the most sophisticated governmental organizations in the capital of the state or those of the provinces. Within the sphere of villages, the prevailing pattern of occupation determines different social ramifications. A tribal village is inhabited by either sedentary cultivators, or those who combine pastoralism with cultivation. The kinship principle that is inherent in such a tribal community extends, likewise, to encompass the nontribal village where families and groups of families order the life of the individual very much as they do in the tribe.

The social stratification is, however, most marked in the towns where there usually exists a small elite of Sheikhly families, wealthy merchants, important re-

ligious scholars, and low grade government employees.⁴ But, despite the Wahabi teachings that contributed to the intolerance and isolationism and reinforced resistance to social change, and despite many other obstacles and inhibitions, Western secular influence, and the sudden wealth created by oil, resulted in significant and fundamental changes in the social order. The few industries that have been thus far established have given birth to an increasingly self-conscious group of industrial workers on the one hand, and on the other hand, middle class citizens whose economic potentialities are significantly increasing. The existence of these two groups, who were the legitimate offspring of industrialization, played a crucial role in accelerating progress by their demanding or advocating modern welfare programs to be initiated by the government. The unfavorable attitudes of these groups toward the Saudi bureaucrats and the critical situation of uncertainty on the part of the latter, insulated them from the masses and created a wide gap between the bureaucrats and ordinary citizens of the polity. Fortunately, the gap is presently being bridged by the new blood of bureaucrats for reasons inherent in the whole Saudi regime. Although we are to discuss this point in subsequent sections of this chapter, it is worthwhile to note at this point, on the one hand,

the Saudi bureaucracy is striving for power and, on the other, the Saudi monarch is putting himself into his mettle to legitimize and institutionalize the monarchy from two incompatible elements whose inevitable conflict has not yet been overt. Although the bureaucracy is gradually winning ground and the consecutive administrative reorganizations are fortifying the prerogatives thus far attained by the Saudi bureaucrats, a certain dysfunctional and pathological phenomenon of parochialism and regionalism is tending to be, though not as chaotic as the old tribalism, weakening and fatal to the bureaucracy in this critical period of covert struggle for power. Almost all Western authors who dealt with this aspect relative to the ruling class of Saudi Arabia use the word "elite," a term likely to be misleading if a micro-analysis of the governmental structure is not explicitly displayed. Lipsky, for instance, discusses the impact of oil on the social structure and says:

"The acquisition of huge revenues from oil and the closer contact with Western industrialism have had a profound effect upon heretofore rather static society. Despite the puritanical influences of Wahabism, all classes of Saudi society have been subjected in varying degrees of intensity to the new social and economic forces. The ruling elite were the first to acquire changed values and a taste for new commodities..."⁵

In this case, the nature, size, and real power enjoyed by the Royal family in general, and the monarch in particular, are so unique that differentiation between the Saudi bureaucracy and the Royal family seems advisable as the former was until recently deprived of any significant power; presently it has acquired some. For convenience and to avoid ambiguity, we are hereafter calling each by its real name or will use the term "government" for the amalgam of bureaucracy and monarchy. We shall avoid the term "elite," except when quoting other authors.

The Monarch and the Bureaucracy

The absolute monarch existed during the reign of ibn Saud. After his death and during the reign of his son, Saud, it was displaced by office-holding notables who at the beginning constituted the core of the Saudi bureaucracy. However, they, in their turn, were gradually displaced by Saudi intellectuals who had gone abroad for their education. Hence, the present monarch, more like his father (and so unlike his brother the ex-King Saud) continues to play an important role, not only in legitimizing the monarchical system, but also in stabilizing the ever proliferating power of bureaucracy.

Strange as it might seem, the whole administrative structure which by virtue of its complexity and expan-

sion was being relatively refracted during the reign of the ex-King Saud, is now almost totally gravitated around the monarch. This, moreover, to an extent that it would be entirely irrelevant and illogical to detach the bureaucracy from the crown. There is, however, some difference between the absolute monarchy of ibn Saud (the father) and the absolute monarchy of Faisal (the son) which is mostly due to the new technology of administrative organization borrowed rather selectively by intellectuals from the West.

A defect, common to almost all developing countries, is the lack of consensus and participation on the part of the populace. The absence of a guiding force outside the government, such as political parties, unions, organized interest groups, or even a free communication media whereby individuals could play such a role created in Saudi Arabia a unique situation. Goals are set up by government officials. The followup of their implementation is undertaken by the same government officials, while the public groan and grin, and act as if they were disinterested spectators.

Oil as a Tool of Development

It might seem strikingly paradoxical to say that oil for Saudi Arabia was simultaneously a blessing and a curse. Each of them had its own characteristics that

go along with the other. Yet, at times, they overlap and intermingle becoming almost unidentifiable, thus resulting in certain behavioral phenomena which could hardly be understood without a thorough and conscious analysis of the sociopolitical entity of the populace at large, the bureaucracy in part, and the Royal family in particular. The following descriptive review of oil in Saudi Arabia, as a tool of development, will hopefully be supplemented by a more profound analysis of events.

In effect, the huge oil revenues which have poured into the pockets of the ruling class have had a profound impact on the Saudi society. At the beginning, the lower social strata of city society and the impoverished bedouins and villagers hardly questioned the propriety of identifying oil revenues with the monarch's private income. The tragedy was aggravated at that early stage when the ruling family believed likewise that the oil royalties were their own private income.⁶ The aftermath was naturally the squandering of huge sums on palaces and luxuries.

"Perhaps half of the annual revenue, presently about \$400 million dollars, goes to the Royal family and relatively little finds its way down to the community level. Large sums have also gone to wealthy merchants and to the numerous government officials and advisers involved in the administration of the state."⁷

It was, however, a characteristic of ibn Saud that, as years brought him increase of wealth and progeny, he always warned his audiences, and by implication himself, and his huge family, that in the words of the Book (Koran): "Verily your possessions and your children are your enemies." The temptation to spoil both is a danger ever to be guarded against. It is often enough irresistible.⁸ Nevertheless, the blame does fall on the ruling class alone as the Arab experts and specialists who were brought by ibn Saud to help him administer the country proved to be intriguers and self-seekers. They played their role in pilfering, thus becoming a constant source of weakness both administratively and financially.⁹ As has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, ibn Saud tried to reorganize his finance department. At his request, the Dutch Bank had found an expert who was asked to present a scheme for a thorough reorganization. This man was given full powers of investigation and thereby started to draw up a budget for the state. Van Der Meulen says in this connection:

"Those were dark days for the Saudi officers of finance. When the expert started to explain to His Majesty that the basis of all sound national finance was the rigid separation of income of the royal family from the income of the state, the whole scheme was abandoned. The King would not submit himself to any control, no one should know what he was doing

with his money. So after half a year of hard work a sadly disillusioned financial expert took his leave."¹⁰

Through his control of the purse strings from 1928 to 1953, the Minister of Finance Sheikh Abdulla Suleiman became one of the most powerful men in Saudi Arabia. Largely because of two handicaps he had various ups and downs in power; these were his close association with some of the largest merchants of the country, who were growing rich too rapidly, and the compounding difficulties inherent in running a country with an income of over \$190,000,000 a year -- this by means of an antiquated financial structure almost unchanged since the country was little more than a collection of tribes.¹¹

Steps Toward Development

It is the contention of this writer that the process of development involves in all its phases and aspects a certain positive relationship between two variables of phenomena, namely, between man and nature and between his powers and nature's potentialities. Thus the story of development in Saudi Arabia was and still is the constant interaction of the social organization with the geographical environment of the country. In other words, developmental process in Saudi Arabia is almost entirely reflected in the decision-making role

of the Saudi bureaucracy. Its aim is to tackle problems such as those of the desert, the communication system, water supply, oil, bedouins, education, lack of expertise, the remainders of pilgrimages, and last but not least, the problem of administration and organization.

In April, 1947, a Ministry of State for Developmental Projects was created. It had a director general for developmental projects and divisions for petroleum and minerals, foreign companies, legal affairs, and land, sea, and air communications. This ministry was dependent on the Finance Ministry for funds.¹² However, it did not live long enough to undertake any developmental projects.

When ARAMCO commenced operations, it was necessary to employ almost exclusively skilled technicians brought from foreign countries. Meanwhile, an extensive program was initiated for the training of skilled and semi-skilled Saudi workers. The Arab Industrial Development Department (AIDD) was established and financed by ARAMCO to train national personnel to serve as contractors and businessmen in the rapidly expanding oil industry.¹³ Such unique developmental efforts initiated in the private sector by ARAMCO encountered many obstacles, the main of which was the mentality and the attitude of town dwellers and bedouins who were very disdainful of all those who worked with their hands.

The Saudi Bureaucracy

It has been mentioned in Chapter III how Saudi Arabia witnessed a proliferation of public administrative officers. A characteristic of these officers abound in particular. As a result, in supervisory positions, there are a bewildering number of individuals who must be dealt with by the subordinates, whose approval is necessitated before action can be taken. Below the top levels there is a large organization of officials who, if they occasionally show disposition to stress the leisure time their working hours afford them and to engage in a kind of running feud with the public, also frequently are hardworking, long-suffering, and devoted to their duties, despite openly oppressive superiors.¹⁴ Although until recently these subordinate officials did not represent an effective political force, they presently do share such a characteristic with the chief administrators. It is noteworthy that achievement of positions in the higher hierarchies is governed by an amalgam of a traditional and modern concept, i.e., prior political influence, including that of aspirants' families, if and when supplemented by some sort of minimum competence. The bureaucrats gain more political weight and are in a position to obstruct or implement govern-

ment policy through their administrative positions.

The Advocate Bureaucrats Versus the Statesmen Bureaucrats

This writer has taken the liberty to borrow these terms from Anthony Downs¹⁵ to differentiate between two categories of Saudi bureaucrats: (1) The Statesman bureaucrat represents a portion of the older conservative generation and managed to manipulate rather reluctantly and hesitantly, if not fearfully, the forces of transformation influencing the bureaucracy. This type of bureaucrat has his own unique psychological ethos. He joined the service two or three decades ago when government service required very humble and minimum qualifications. He ascended the ladder of the administrative hierarchy through promotions based on length of service rather than achievement or efficiency of performance. At the highest rungs of the hierarchy he sits, void of anything but his old ideas, and his fears of the new ones. He witnesses a new blood running in the veins of bureaucracy. He looks around him to find that huge numbers of new members in the realm of bureaucracy are rapidly and increasingly becoming his peers and few of them go further up in the hierarchy. He participates with them in committees, yet rarely follows the chain of their thoughts and hardly copes with the inbuilt depth of their new ideas. Many of this bureaucratic type

have had their names entered in the long list of retired civil servants. Very few of them manage to find their way through the complex realm of bureaucracy. Somehow it seems hard for them to get along with the new generation of bureaucrats. (2) The second type of bureaucrats designated as "advocates," represent an intermediate generation that lies somewhere between the old and the new (in the case of Saudi Arabia), and comprises nearly all those who filled administrative positions during the last half of the fifties. A bureaucrat of this second category has been exposed to new ideas and new techniques. He has had a better opportunity for education and more than one reason to aim at self-actualizing, playing a major role in the process of nation building and development. He is sometimes confused and bewildered, wondering whether to go all the way and implement whatever he believes in, or compromise with interest groups inside and outside the government; thus have some implemented and others left for the future. The fragmentation of whatever he believes in is always affected and influenced by a third group, which this writer would venture to call "the zealot bureaucrats." The latter are presently filling almost every gap in the middle management level. A few have already moved upward, but then were forced to slow down in practice and become like the

advocates. Generally speaking, the advocates identify themselves with the third category of zealot bureaucrats. However, if the Saudi bureaucracy is to be credited for the developmental projects adopted or implemented thus far, it is the advocate bureaucrats that have played the major role and who deserve to be credited therefore.

Time and the awakening of the populace had so much to do with the change in the belief of the monarchy and the bureaucracy, as well in the necessity of calling for development; thus, some developmental projects were implemented. A swift look at the address made by King Saud when he proclaimed himself King of Saudi Arabia would show us the palpable change in the attitude as well as in the tone of the ruling class. In part, he said:

"In the administration of the country and its affairs, I shall follow the rules of the religion in seeking the powerful help of God. I pledge to adhere to God's generous Book and the laws of his prophet, for which I shall struggle with my sword and tongue, doing my utmost to make my dear people happy and prosperous. I shall work for the country's political, economic and social progress. I shall watch over the interest of the country and insure the rights of its people, overcoming every obstacle in the way of these interests and striking at every corrupt and shameful manifestation. We shall devote particular attention to our military and national forces. I shall also continue to tighten the Islamic and the Arab fraternal bonds with the Islamic and Arab states, and I shall maintain the friendship of the foreign countries, which have enjoyed the kind of attention of our departed monarch. I shall

make our dear country occupy its proper place in insuring world peace."¹⁶

This was a drastic change in the mentality and the policy of the monarchy. Although a great many promises made by the monarch did not see the light, thus remaining but sheer promises. At the present time, the change is more apparent. Uncharacteristic of the traditional tone of the monarchy, the present monarch addresses the people and mentions repeatedly that he and the royal family are but the servants of the people. In other words, the image of the people and the masses is gradually taking shape to be the main, if not the determining, factor of the country's destiny.

For convenience, we shall discuss the bureaucratic role in the developmental process of Saudi Arabia in two sections, each of which will deal with a certain periodic phase, namely, development in the 1950's and the development of the 1960's.

Development in the Fifties

Government disbursements that were supposed to be directed creating self-sustaining methods of raising the standard of living of the whole population during the fifties represented drastic leaks in the state treasury.¹⁷ Until the end of the fifties, the government had actually sponsored no productive investment

under any long range development plan.¹⁸ Oil revenues had largely been spent on consumption of foreign goods rather than on productive domestic investment. The very few and insignificant investments and governmental plans were made in a random fashion. The whole economic sphere was almost entirely void of any study bearing even a small degree of objectivity and profundity. Experts were brought by the government and consultants were employed to conduct studies relative to water and agriculture. But the findings of those experts and consultants with their reports and their recommendations went only to the shelves of ministries and the library. This has been called "The Supreme Planning Board."

In 1958, the head of the Council of Ministers issued an order pertaining to the formation of a committee assigned to conduct studies relative to the economic development of the Kingdom.¹⁹ The head of the Council of Ministers issued furthermore, a circular to all ministries stating the importance of building the national economy on sound foundations. To insure the interest of the country and the welfare of its people, this necessitated setting up a long range economic development program. The circular instructed all ministries to submit to the committee, within the period of 15 days, all memoranda, studies and reports prepared by the various experts and international

organizations dealing with the natural resources of the country and the possibility of their productive investment. At the same time, the Council of Ministers approved a proposal made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs relative to the formation of another committee, designated as "The Committee of Technical Assistance." This committee was composed of the high officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and officials of the recipient ministries of technical assistance.²⁰ In 1959, the chairman of the first committee extended an invitation to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). He then requested the bank to send a group of experts to study the country and prepare recommendations deemed necessary for the economic development of the Kingdom. The IBRD sent a mission of experts specializing in transportation, roads, bridges, water, agriculture, and economics. Six months later, the IBRD mission prepared a comprehensive report and submitted their recommendations as to the means and methods they considered adequate for the Kingdom's economic development.²¹

Among the recommendations included in the report was one which dealt with the establishment of a central agency in the office of the head of the Council of Ministers. This was to be concerned with study, plan coordination and the follow up of the implementation

of all development projects undertaken by ministries and government departments.²² The IBRD report emphasized the importance of water for economic development and recommended the establishment of a ministry for water resources. As further review of this agency and its achievements covers the period of the sixties, we shall concern ourselves in this section with the developmental aspect of the fifties.

A. Communications

1. The railroad project, covering about 357 miles, launched in 1946, came into completion in 1951, thus connecting Riyadh of the Central Province with Dammam of the Eastern Province.
2. By 1958, the postal services amounted to about 120 centers spread throughout the country.
3. Almost all cities and towns in the Kingdom were connected through a telephone and telegraph network.
4. By 1957, the Department of Roads of the Ministry of Communications completed the construction of about 3500 miles of paved roads.²³

B. Education

1. Prior to 1951, there were only 43 element-

ary schools, four secondary schools, a religious institute and one intermediate school.²⁴

2. In 1951, there were 196 elementary schools, 943 elementary teachers and 23,835 elementary students.
3. By the end of the decade, the numbers had increased geometrically to 600 elementary schools, 4,075 teachers and 95,960 students.
4. Although there was only one industrial school which accommodated only 30 students before 1949, the number of these schools increased to accommodate 2,000 students.
5. In 1959, four commercial schools were opened to accommodate approximately 1,800 students.
6. By 1960, there were five intermediate agricultural schools comprising 620 students.
7. By 1960, 36 night schools were established aiming at obliterating illiteracy, and 9,291 students were accommodated.²⁵
8. The most significant step in the educational development of Saudi Arabia took place in 1957 when the University of King Saud (presently Riyadh University) was

established. It consisted of four faculties: literature, commerce, physics and pharmacy. An engineering college was also established separately in Riyadh as a joint project of the Kingdom and UNESCO.²⁶

9. By 1960, a faculty for Moslem Law (Sharia) and the Islamic University of Medina were established, outside the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, and controlled by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia.
10. Although there were some private schools for girls, it was not until 1959 that the government acknowledged their right for equal opportunity in education. This was a step of far reaching significance, as we shall see later.
11. The following tables show the above mentioned facts in figures:

TABLE 1.

THE BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS FOR
EDUCATION UNTIL 1958

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR²⁷</u>
1955	45,671,592
1958	87,000,000

TABLE 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
1957	21	100	4007
1958	20	102	3789
1959	20	173	3912
1960	24	230	4466

Note: This table shows a decline of intermediate schools during 1958-1959. This was due mostly to a combination of reasons. Some of them are: (1) a re-organization of the educational system; (2) the attachment of some intermediate schools to secondary schools to meet extra needs of buildings and teachers.

TABLE 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION 28

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
1951	196	943	23,835
1952	210	1061	28,317
1953	306	1471	38,920
1954	326	1652	43,734
1955	446	1998	49,740
1956	505	2236	58,841
1957	518	3485	79,274
1958	547	3520	91,787
1959	582	3712	93,725
1960	600	4075	95,960

C. Agriculture

1. 358,146 square miles of Saudi Arabia's total land area are pasture lands, while only 800 square miles are arable and approximately 1550 square miles are woodlands.²⁹
2. Agriculture assumed more importance in the Saudi economy as a result of the government's program of settling as many of the nomads as possible. New land was brought into production and experimentation was made with new agricultural techniques.
3. The Model Farms of Al-Kharj in the Central Province initiated by the government and, funded at first by the United States government and subsequently financed after World War II by the government of Saudi Arabia, have expanded to about 3000 acres. It was estimated that up to 10,000 additional acres eventually could be brought into cultivation.³⁰
4. By 1953, the birth date of the Ministry of Agriculture, six agricultural units were established and the number reached 20 by 1958. Each of these units is pro-

vided with agricultural experts whose main responsibility is to give advice and guidance to farmers. Each unit is, likewise, equipped with a laboratory and a model farm where agricultural experiments and studies are conducted.³¹

5. A number of studies and projects to explore water resources were undertaken by the government. A dam and irrigation section has been established to investigate and utilize both under ground and surface water potentials. Surveys have been completed aiming at increasing the storage capacity of the existing dams and for the construction of new ones such as that of Akremah Dam at Al-Taif.³²
6. It was early in the century that the government inaugurated a land settlement policy dictated largely by political considerations. The policy of settling as many of the nomads as possible was also aimed at increasing agricultural production. By 1927, about 100 of these colonies were scattered throughout Saudi Arabia.³³
The farmers of these settlements were pro-

vided with land, seed and money. At the same time, old wells and irrigation systems were repaired and new irrigation projects were constructed. In 1949, the government declared that it would make a grant of state land to any citizen who would cultivate it. In addition, it made an offer to distribute seed and palm shoots and to make loans to prospective homesteaders. After a lapse of ten years, the settler was expected to pay the government one-fourth of his annual production. Locust invasions once devastated the agricultural and grazing lands. For some time, the only locust control was provided by a mobile British unit which ranged over the whole Peninsula. In the fifties, locust control became one of the main responsibilities of the Ministry of Agriculture. Teams of this section operate jointly with technicians from the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

7. In 1953, the government established two modern date processing plants, one in Hafouf (the Eastern province) and another in Medina (the Western province).

TABLE 4

THE BUDGET OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR</u>
1955	15,930,795
1958	21,000,000
1960	21,348,000

D. Industry

1. Thus far, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is almost the only government agency which has not as yet been able to handle the developmental process undertaken by the government. The shortage of water supply and the lack of technically qualified manpower undoubtedly have much to do with the negligible effort made by this ministry.
2. The traditional handicraft industries which included weaving, dyeing and embroidery of cloth; mat and basket weaving; pottery making and ship building, have disintegrated and steadily lost ground with the expansion of the oil industry.³⁴

3. New industries came into being to meet the new needs and demands created by the economic change, such as brick making, cement, soap and leather products. These light industries owe their existence to varying measures of government intervention in their favor.
4. In the late fifties, several cement factories were developed in the Eastern and Western provinces to meet ever increasing construction activity.
5. Though the government had, until very recently, no comprehensive plan for the development of all sectors of the economy, mainly because Saudi Arabia had been adhering to liberal economic structure, the government interfered in free competition only to a very limited extent.³⁵ Yet it came to plan recently to establish a number of new industries. These plans call for a petrochemical industry and enterprises for the production of fertilizer from natural gas, the finishing of imported semimanufactured goods and the processing of imported materials.³⁶

6. In relation to the oil industry, ARAMCO, as it has been repeatedly mentioned, was the first holder of the original concession in Saudi Arabia. It is a corporate subsidiary owned by Standard Oil of California, the Texas Oil Company, Standard Oil of New Jersey -- with 30 per cent each -- and Socony Mobil Oil Company with 10 per cent.

In 1949, Getty Oil Company acquired a concession to the Saudi half rights in the Neutral Zone shared with Kuwait. The company struck oil in 1953 at Wafrah where reserves are estimated at some 500 million barrels.

In 1957, the Japanese Export Petroleum Company obtained a concession from Saudi Arabia for its share of the area offshore from the Neutral Zone. In 1956, the government formed a state owned company, then known by the name of "National Company" to exploit areas not under concession to foreign companies. No significant activity has yet been made by this company.

E. Labor and Social Affairs

The Kingdom's major problem from the start was

the absence of skilled laborers and the lack of manpower potentials. The problem of the bedouins' disdain for manual work and the tribal features characterized as lacking social consciousness, necessitated the creation of a government agency at the ministerial level to undertake the crucial work of community development, and to create an adequate environment where skilled labor and potential manpower could bloom and flourish.

At the beginning, government action in the field of labor was mostly characterized as ad hoc and designed to meet only particular problems. But the Saudi oil workers, whose numbers exceeded any other groups of laborers brought the government to an increasing concern with labor relations.³⁷ Although several regulations had been introduced by the government and agencies were established to resolve labor problems, the laborers are still at the present, denied their right to act collectively for economic ends. As the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs was established in 1961, its activities are to be dealt with in the second section.

F. Public Health

As it has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, public health service in Saudi Arabia,

like most other governmental services, is of recent origin. The Ministry of Public Health was established in 1951, reorganized in 1955 to consist mainly of a technical advisory staff concerned with prospects and planning, and an administrative staff. Supplementing the work of these staffs are three sections headed by an Inspector General, a Director of Pharmaceutical Division and a Director of Warehouses.

The activities of the Ministry are undertaken through six health zones: (1) the Zone of Mecca and Pilgrimage Affairs with headquarters in Mecca; (2) the Western Coastal Zone; (3) the Medina Zone with headquarters in Medina; (4) the Eastern Province Zone with headquarters in Dammam; (5) the Riyadh Zone with headquarters in Riyadh; and (6) the Aseer Zone with headquarters in Abha.³⁸

Until 1946, all hospitals in the Kingdom could accommodate only some 300 patients; by 1950, hospitals and clinics spread throughout the country meeting the growing need for medical care. By the early sixties, newly built and modernly equipped hospitals had 5000 beds.

TABLE 5

PUBLIC HEALTH BUDGET UNTIL 1960

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR</u>
1955	39,549,458
1958	44,700,000
1960	58,372,500

Development in the 1960'sThe Central Planning Agency

In the preceding section, it was mentioned that the IBRD mission recommended the establishment of a planning agency in the office of the head of the Council of Ministers. The proposed agency was to be administered by a board composed of Ministers of Finance and National Economy, Water, Agriculture, Communications and the Governor of the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA) under the chairmanship of the head of the Council of Ministers. The mission recommended invitations be presented to the Ministers of Commerce, Education and Public Health to attend the meetings of the board whenever affairs relating to their respective ministries were scheduled for the board's discussion. Further recommendation made by the IBRD mission dealt with the establishment of an Advisory Body composed of ten members representing all interest groups such as bedouins,

farmers, businessmen, bankers, industrialists and contractors. This body was to perform a staff function relative to board policies set up for economic development.³⁹

Two months after the report was submitted to the government, a royal decree No. 50, dated 4/1/1961, was issued which established the Supreme Planning Board,⁴⁰ and provided for its composition of Ministers of Finance and National Economy, Communications, Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Commerce and Agriculture. This was to be under the chairmanship of the head of the Council of Ministers or one of the delegates from the members of the board. The function of the board was to set up and plan the policy of economic development to be undertaken by the various ministries and government departments. Also to supervise the projects and follow up their implementation. However, there was no provision to endow upon the board the power of decision making relative to the policy of development. The decisions of the board were conventionally considered as recommendations and proposals liable to be accepted or rejected by the Council of Ministers; the only authority after the monarch that passes resolutions as it deems necessary.

It is noteworthy at this stage to point out that the IBRD recommendation, relative to the Advisory Body

which was meant to represent the private sector, was not carried out. It seems that the government failed to see the objectives behind the creation of such an advisory body. It is the idea of this writer that the IBRD mission meant to create two fundamental characteristics which most developing countries lack. They are the aforementioned characteristics of consensus and participation. Those in the private sector are always waiting for the government to do something and hardly take the initiative. The feeling of belonging is weak, principally because of the gap existing between the autocrat rulers and the arrogant bureaucrats who never come down from their ivory towers.

Within the first six months, the board studied and approved several projects submitted by various ministries such as digging three deep wells in Riyadh, the project of water distribution from Qatif, and the project of Abha Dam. Funds were allocated in this period for providing drinking water in Taif, Al-Hasa, Mecca and Medina. A permanent Department of Water, provided with modern technical equipment, was established in the Ministry of Agriculture. A Deputy Minister for Water Supply headed this office. Appropriations were made for the Ministry of Communications to undertake several construction projects comprising roads, railways, the harbor of

Yanbu-a, and the automatic telephone network in Jeddah.⁴¹ Nonetheless, such a successful and effective beginning launched by the board was followed by years of relative stagnation. In effect, several reasons could be offered as having causal relationship with this state of stagnation:

1. The lack of statistics and accurate data, without which any economic planning would be a futile effort.
2. The low degree of administrative and technical efficiency and the low productivity of the governmental machinery.
3. The absence of elaborate geological surveys and scientific researches which aim at exploring water and mineral resources.
4. The insufficiency of paved roads that could connect the vast areas of the Kingdom.
5. The great number of bedouins who constitute an idle population in terms of productivity.⁴²

Very recently, the agency was reorganized and given a new title: "The Central Planning Agency". A competent young man was appointed Head of the Agency in accordance with the royal order No. A/63 of February, 1968.⁴³

However, the above enumerated defects and obstacles are presently being overcome. The Department of Statistics created in the Ministry of Finance and National

Economy has been staffed with specialized Saudi officials assisted by few foreign experts and equipped with the most sophisticated IBM machines. The department has been continuously conducting preliminary studies relative to market, national income and some social statistical researches.

The inefficiency of government employees was tackled by the creation of the Institute of Public Administration in 1962. The institute offers training to different categories of government employees and employs a staff of experts whose advisory functions are put at the disposal of all ministries and government agencies. The Petroleum and Minerals College was established in Dahrán (the Eastern Province) to provide not only the Kingdom with highly specialized personnel in petroleum affairs, but also to attempt to provide the whole area of the Middle East with this urgently needed category of personnel. These high level educational and training institutions were supplemented by a number of industrial and vocational schools, and an institute of hygienic studies. Despite all these efforts, the Kingdom still suffers from the shortage of skilled laborers and specialized personnel.

In relation to communications (the second in the hierarchy of problems after water), the government has

come to identify it as a triad of necessities: (1) a political necessity to insure public security for the protection of the central government's authority and to safeguard the unity of the country which has not yet safely crossed the bridge of tribalism; (2) an economic necessity to have access to all areas of production and to facilitate transportation to commerce and decrease costs therefore to a minimum; (3) a social necessity to create a homogeneous society by enabling people from different provinces and tribes to move, interact and integrate. In other words, a trinity of necessities indispensable for the survival of any organized, modern society. Such an awareness from the part of the government resulted in several projects. Italian, French and Syrian companies are presently working jointly with Saudi companies and contractors connecting not only every part of the Kingdom with the other but also connecting the Kingdom with neighboring countries. By the end of 1966, the highway connecting the Western province with the Central province was completed and the highway between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait was simultaneously finished. Thus was created a direct connection between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf as well as with the Indian Ocean. The International Highway, connecting the Kingdom with Jordan and Syria, was completed in 1969. Funds allocated for this huge project

amounted to about 808,000,000 SR.⁴⁴ Presently, projects are being executed for the construction of 3,500 miles of roads in the rural areas.

The two main harbors of Dammam, in the Eastern province and Jeddah in the Western province, are relieved of some of their burden by the construction of two new ports in Yanbu-a and Gizan along the coast of the Red Sea. The significance of communication projects can easily be identified by reviewing the budget of the Ministry of Communications which jumped from SR 109,600,000 in 1957 to SR 473,212,912 in 1966.⁴⁵

Relative to education in the 1960's, Saudi Arabia witnessed a revolutionary trend in tackling this vital problem. Elementary schools which were only 600 in 1960 amounted to 1024 in 1964 and 1114 in 1966. A total number of 193,140 students were thus accommodated. The intermediate and secondary schools jumped from 28 in 1960 to 114 in 1966. The National University of Jeddah was established through the initiative of the people and it was later subsidized by the government. A glance at the following table shows the tremendous increase in the educational budget:

TABLE 6

THE EDUCATIONAL BUDGET UP TO 1966

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR</u>
1961	137,000,000
1962	162,000,000
1963	209,000,000
1964	243,000,000
1965	305,000,000
1966	539,000,000

The lack of sufficient teachers which is apparent up to the present, was partially solved through the seven Teachers' Training Colleges established during 1965-66.⁴⁶ To solve the ever persisting need for agricultural technicians, the previously mentioned industrial and vocational schools were supplemented by numerous agricultural schools. In effect, the government is implementing a six-year plan aiming at developing industrial education. In addition to the operating institutes, the largest institute in the whole Middle East is the Royal Institute for Vocational Training. It was completed in 1970, costing the public treasury SR 12,000,000 for construction and SR 10,500,000 for the equipment thus far imported. The institute is composed of two divisions: (1) the vocational division dealing with 30 different vocations; and (2) the technical division covering four departments for mechanics, electricity,

industrial chemistry and architecture.⁴⁷ The chronic problem of providing sufficient and efficient teachers in general, and industrial trainers and instructors in particular, has temporarily been remedied by granting Saudi students scholarships for training and education abroad. It has been estimated that by the end of 1973, the need for Saudi industrial instructors and trainers will be adequately and sufficiently met.

Relative to the industrial and vocational schools, it was observed that most Saudi students tend to prefer obtaining general education and have a preference for the regular elementary and secondary schools. A motivational factor was thought to be -- rather successfully -- giving monthly allowances to those who enroll in the industrial schools. Accordingly, students of industrial schools are given a monthly allowance that amounts to SR 250.

The most significant development in the sphere of agricultural and commercial schools is related to quality rather than quantity. While admission to both categories of schools was limited to those passing an elementary completion certificate, it was raised to an intermediate completion certificate. Thus, commercial and industrial schools were raised to the level of secondary schools. Another significant development,

taking place in the educational sphere, is reflected in the constant and unwavering effort made by the government to obliterate and fight illiteracy. In the period between 1965 and 1966, there were 397 schools established for this particular purpose, accommodating around 33,374 students.

The brightest features of the Saudi development in the educational field is the education of girls. Although the old religious teachings urged and encouraged the education of girls "because they are to be mothers, and mothers are the first and most effective school for children," yet girls in the Arabian Peninsula were, until recently, denied of their simplest rights in education. It is really a painful fact that half of the society was not only deprived but also kept totally paralyzed. Only in 1960 did the government of Saudi Arabia realize the seriousness of such a negligence and became aware of the importance of educating girls and preparing them to play their role in society. At the beginning (1960), a sum of SR 2,000,000 was allocated for the education of girls. However, in a span of six years, the sum jumped to SR 56,587,906. During the said six years, the number of girls on the elementary level reached 50,870 students, 8,100 on the secondary level, and 1161 in Teachers' Training College.

In regard to agriculture, the United Nations and the government of Saudi Arabia have made a joint effort in the construction of Gizan Dam which aims to irrigate some 20,000 acres. Another project in the valley of Sahba proposes to encourage bedouins to settle and cultivate the valley. The project is expected to reform 12,000 acres and to establish commercial and agricultural centers which will encumber the public treasury a sum of SR 66,000,000. Other short range projects include the Dams of Ananiyah, Abha, Uyeynah, Bethanah and Majmaa.

In addition to the 60 deep wells dug by a German company prior to 1963, another 100 wells were dug in 1965 and 400 wells were dug by the end of 1972.⁴⁸ A recent study made by an American firm, relative to water resources, revealed that Saudi Arabia is like a ship floating over an ocean that extends from the Sheikhdum of Qatar to the borders of Jordan. The preliminary studies indicate that extraction of water will be economically feasible.

The Ministry of Agriculture set up a long range program relative to hydrological studies. This involved the establishment of numerous weather forecasting stations in the different parts of the Kingdom. In addition, another significant effort is being made by the Ministry of Agriculture to implement a project set up to remove

sands from arable lands in the Eastern province. The first and second phases of this project have already been completed, encumbering the treasury around SR 10,000,000. The project of growing forests in the Province of Aseer; the establishment of an experimental center in Qatif; the improvement of pastures in the northern district and the valley of Sarhan; the irrigation of Hafouf and Qatif districts; the establishment of agricultural units throughout the country; the establishment of departments for agricultural statistics, etc., are some of the projects being carried out by the government. The following table shows rather conspicuously the significance of the developmental facet in the sphere of agriculture:

TABLE 7

THE BUDGET OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE UP TO 1966

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR</u>
1960/61	21,348,600
1961/62	33,840,000
1962/63	57,687,000
1964/65	67,410,000 ⁴⁹
1965/66	244,281,214 ⁵⁰

In relation to industrial development, the Kingdom faces numerous handicaps and uncertainties. The industry -- though in its infancy -- is operating in an environment characterized by extreme market imperfections.

This defect, supplemented by ignorance of market conditions and lack of specialization, represents impediments that prevent the achievement of an optimum allocation of resources. There is not, however, much to expect from the industrial sector until the countless projects relative to transportation, communications, power facilities, water supplies and conservation works are adequately carried out to bring forth the desired returns.

The General Petroleum and Mineral Organization (PETROMIN) is a corporation that emerged from the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and operates independently as a separate service. It is free from governmental routine and bureaucratic red tape and has thus conducted several studies, the results of which indicate the existence of iron deposits in Idsas in the Central province as well as in Wadi Fatma and Wadi Al-Sawawin in the Western province. Other minerals reported are chromite, flourite and magnesium which are deposited in the different parts of the country.⁵¹ Veins of gold, silver, copper, zinc and lead are also reported.⁵²

The manpower problem is being tackled through the aforementioned extensive efforts made by the government in the field of training and education. However, there is another far reaching problem hampering the industrial development of the Kingdom. It is related to the accumulation of capital and its allocation among various

factors -- a serious problem of economic growth and development. Unfortunately, the monetary policy of the Kingdom has, until quite recently, been very hesitant and timid in its approach to the problems of development. Erwin S. Penn⁵³ describes the phenomena of outflow of funds, the fabulous spending of the rich, the universal hoarding, misguided investment and unproductive real estate speculations. He says:

"If capital is the only strategic factor to spur development, this Kingdom would have long emerged from an underdeveloped stage. Inadequate financial institutions and the absence of a sound credit policy contribute partly to the result of the misdirected treatment and disposal of capital funds."

Some regulatory measures were taken during the 1960's by the government to encourage capital investment and protect the growing Saudi industry.⁵⁴ The statutory rules regulating bids and tenders, ratified by the royal decree No. 6 of 1966, the Regulations of Foreign Capital Investment issued by royal decree No. 35 of 1963 and the regulations of protecting and encouraging local industries issued in accordance with royal decree No. 50 of 1961, aimed at facilitating the process of economic development to provide for the preference of local products, hence exempting foreign capital investment in industrial projects from income and corporate taxes for a specified period.

In the field of social welfare, the government established several community development centers, the principal one being the Center of Community Development established in Dariya in 1960. The Social Security Department was also established in 1962 to perform the following five functions:

1. Disburse annual salaries to certain categories of the population:
 - a. Disabled because of old age or any other reason.
 - b. Orphans or those whose fathers' whereabouts are unknown.
 - c. Females who have no supporters such as widows and divorced women.

The number of those who benefited from this reached 147,693 persons and in the first three years, the department disbursed a sum of SR 63,000,000.

2. Grant financial subsidies on a temporary basis to other categories:
 - a. Partially disabled.
 - b. Youngsters less than 18 years old who do not stay with their mothers or the whereabouts of whose mothers is unknown.
 - c. Females temporarily deserted.

- d. Those who suffered from fire, flood or the like.
3. Introduce vocational training to the disadvantaged.
 4. Provide social services to institutions attached to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.
 5. Offer training and employment to other categories.⁵⁵

Public health problems were tackled more effectively in the 1960's by increasing funds allocated for medical care. This was at the rate of 350 per cent. While the budget of the Ministry of Health was SR 44,000,000 in 1958, it had reached SR 156,000,000 in 1966:

TABLE 8

BUDGET OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget in SR</u>
1961	69,000,000
1962	88,000,000
1963	103,000,000
1964	117,000,000
1965/66	156,000,000

The unique situation of the Kingdom which leaves it open to Moslem pilgrims around six months a year, created an inextricable dilemma to sustain adequate health and hygienic standards, a problem that was of

great concern to World Health Organization. The government established the Health Quarantine in Jeddah. The Quarantine is composed of 150 buildings equipped with modern instruments, bacteriology laboratory, medical equipment, a general hospital, an X-ray division and a pharmacy. The cost of such a huge project amounted to SR 115,000,000.

The overall plan of development in the sphere of public health involves expansion in the establishment of hospitals, clinics and medical mobile units all over the country; this is done on the basis of decentralization. In the meantime, the plan aims to provide the country with national specialists and to offer free treatment to the people.

These are some of the features of development in Saudi Arabia, initiated, processed and administered almost entirely by the Saudi bureaucracy. Excluding ARAMCO, which carried out several developmental projects, the private sector has played, thus far, no significant role in the developmental process. The prevailing security, peace and stability are jointly creating the environment suitable for the private sector to assume more significant roles in the heavy task of development.

As the preceding third chapter dealt with the organizational structure of the administrative machinery

of the government of Saudi Arabia and the physical setting of the Saudi bureaucracy, the present chapter was but an attempt to review the role of the Saudi bureaucracy in the developmental process. The last chapter will hopefully identify the incumbents of the Saudi bureaucracy.

A general review of the civil service regulations will show us the legal framework through which the Saudi bureaucracy operates. The review of the regulations is -- in the contention of this writer -- an effective way which enables us to understand who the Saudi Civil Servants are, their rights and duties, and the manner in which they are recruited and separated.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Edward W. Weidner, Development Administration: Quoted in Papers in Comparative Public Administration, edited by Ferrel Heady and Sybil Stokes, IPA, Ann Arbor: 1962.
- 2 S. N. Einstadt, "Problems of Emerging Bureaucracies in Developing Areas and New States." Published in Readings in Comparative Public Administration, edited by Nimrod Raphaeli, Allen and Bacon, Boston: 1967, p. 220.
- 3 Lipsky, op. cit., p. 61.
- 4 Ibid., p. 63.
- 5 Ibid., p. 88.
- 6 Ibid., p. 89.
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- 8 Sir John H. Philby, Saudi Arabia, Frederick A. Praeger, New York: 1955, p. 297.
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CHAPTER V

THE SAUDI CIVIL SERVICE REGULATIONS

The Dilemma of Rule Making

Although the conditions of service of public officials employed by the state in most countries are regulated by public law, the legal status of civil servants differs from place to place. Some have their rights and duties regulated by constitutional laws, other by legislative enactments and a third group by executive ordinances.¹ The Saudi civil servants have their rights and duties regulated in accordance with regulations which can hardly fit in any of the aforementioned categories. After all, Saudi Arabia as a Kingdom acquired its existence at the hands of the puritanical movement of the fanatic Wahabis who called for literal adherence to the teachings of Islam. According to the predominant view in Islam, "Figh" or "jurisprudence" is defined as follows:

"...knowledge of the rules of God which concern the actions of persons who are bound to obey the laws, respect what is required, forbidden, recommended, disapproved, or merely permitted. Such a knowledge is acquired from the Book (Koran), the Sunnah, and such arguments as the legists may adduce for the necessary comprehension of the laws contained in them."²

Though it is true that the Koran included many rules governing different aspects of life, yet the provisions included therein are made in general sweeping terms. The Sunnah (the actions and sayings of the prophet) and the interpretations made by legists, therefore, have never been able to keep up with the complexity of modern life and the increasing needs for more functionally specified codifications.

Saudi Arabia still adheres to the Koran as its one and only constitution and it was the only Arab country that encountered the dilemma of dealing with new types of transactions, new kinds of conflicts and very complicated norms of behavior which are not contemplated in its Koran-derived legal codes. Although the Kingdom has found no other alternative but to go along with the rest of the world and regulate things through royal decrees, royal orders, or resolutions of the Council of Ministers promulgating, ratifying, or issuing, what have come to be known as "Regulations," "Ordinances," "Statutory Rules," or even just "Instructions;" yet the shadow of the traditional adherence to the Book is always present and can easily be identified in the introductory statements or the explanatory provisions of the regulations, ordinances or statutory rules. In each there is a stipulation that reads "...provided provisions included

shall not contradict the 'Sharia' by forbidding that which the Book permitted, or permitting what the Book forbade..." Sharia within the context of such an orthodox stipulation means the path or the road of the theocracy of Islam of which Allah is the head and inspiration, hence "the law of Islam."³

If, in such a traditional society, it is virtually impossible to detach administration as a system from other aspects of the society,⁴ then an objective analytical study of its rule making process or the purposeful review of its civil service law or laws could hardly be valid and meaningful if an overall perspective which encompasses all other aspects of life in such a society is not adopted. This writer hopes that the preceding chapters have displayed some of the features of the Saudi society clearly enough to enable the reader to follow this review of the Saudi civil service regulations.

It is, however, advisable to be aware that the Wahabi oriented monarchy and the tribally based social order that provided the warp and woof of the traditional society were drastically undermined by the impact of the West, though the monarchy manipulates events to try to show the people sometimes that the religious group is still as vigorous as it once was. Many a time, political considerations from the part of the ruling class dictates such a manipulation. This attitude, as a

whole, has quite a considerable impact on the rule making process in Saudi Arabia. The most sophisticated and intelligently phrased ordinances or regulations do always carry with them the shadow of an uncertainty as they can be refused, refuted or amended so as to lose all meaning without such a result causing any overt or conspicuous negative feedback.

The Regulations of the Government Employees which we are about to discuss will soon be replaced by another set, that could be described as up-to-date and more progressive regulations. This writer has had the opportunity to read the draft of the regulations about to be promulgated. It could be said that the new regulations are up-to-date because they are based on the principles of the merit system. The new regulations are also more progressive because the sophisticated classification system upon which the regulations have their foundation aims at putting an end to the pathological trend of favoritism and nepotism. One of the main differences between the two is the new grade scale which is more like the American system rather than the French which was introduced in Saudi Arabia by Egyptian legal advisors. Pay scale is also higher in the new regulations than in the existing one.

Before we review the Government Employees Regulations, it seems most essential to point out that the

functional distinction between executives and administrators in terms of policy making and policy enforcement has never been clearly defined. Even the vague ordinances passed to differentiate the members of the Council of Ministers from high officials of the government can be entirely misleading. The present King Faisal dealt with this point in his ten point program issued on the sixth day of November, 1962, after he formed a new government on October 31 of the same year. His fourth point reads:

"Inasmuch as the texts of the Koran and Traditions are fixed and limited, while modern times and the experience of the people in worldly affairs are constantly changing rather than being limited, and in view of the fact that our youthful state is ruled according to the letter and spirit of the Koran and Traditions, it has become imperative for us to give greater attention to jurisprudence and for our jurists and Ulema to play a positive and effective part in the discussion of important matters of state in order to arrive at solutions derived from Sharia and in keeping with the interests of Moslems. His Majesty's Government has, therefore, resolved to create a judicial Council consisting of 20 members chosen from among the outstanding jurists and Ulema to look into the matters referred to it by the state and to consider all the questions and requests for advice directed to it by individual Moslems. It shall also serve as a potent instrument for the enlightenment of all for the purpose of overcoming the obstacles standing in the way of sound progress."⁵

The said council has not been created yet, but a very significant development took place relative to this particular point. A High Institute of Judicial Studies

was established in Riyadh admitting all those who had studied law on the undergraduate level. Students of the highly specialized institute are generously paid monthly salaries equal to the salary paid for a Grade 4 government employee. The Diploma attained at the completion of the two year course is made equivalent to a Master's Degree.

The 1958 Government Employees Regulations

The 1958 Regulations were passed in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 146, dated June 11, 1958. According to these Regulations, government employees are divided into two categories:

1. Employees within the organizational framework;
2. Employees outside the organizational framework.

Because of lack of uniformity in nomenclature, a defect that will be avoided in the new regulations through the implementation of the classification system, civil servants are categorized in some official documents as classified and unclassified, and some other times as cadre and non-cadre employees.

Grade Scale and Appointments

Chapter one of the Regulations deals with the first category, namely, employees within the organizational

framework, in eleven sections and over 100 articles.

Naturally, the promulgation of a new law, or the enactment of new regulations results in the creation of a new status or modifies the status quo, thus affecting the persons governed by the new law. After the second article stated this, article three provided for the restrictive measures adopted to lessen the effects of the new regulation upon the status quo and specified the scope of such restrictive measures. It reads as follows:

"The present employees who receive salaries in excess of those specified for their grades in the new Grade Scale shall have their present salaries frozen until this excess disappears through promotions. Exception will be made in the case of Grade Three employees from whose salaries ten per cent of the excess shall be deducted annually, beginning in the year 1387* until the excess has been eliminated."

Like most civil service laws, the nationality clause is explicitly stated covering, as usual, the age limit, medical fitness, qualifications and the common stereotype of desirable human characteristics such as good conduct, honesty, etc. Article four elaborates all required conditions in eight paragraphs and provides in the last one:

"He must have passed the competitive examination stipulated hereinafter and have met its requirements. Exemption from one or more of these conditions may be granted by decision: royal decree, royal order, or decision of the Council of Ministers."

* This date refers to the Arabic lunar calendar.

Typical of rule making processes in developing countries is the conspicuous overlap of subjective value judgments with objective policy requirements. The incumbents of the higher rungs of the Saudi administrative hierarchy and the nature of their status, reveal the paradox of a typical prismatic society and show the personal authority that is still persistent, but are moving reluctantly half way toward modernization. Though Saudi top officials are considered as classified civil servants, the method of their entry to service is far from being in harmony with the simplest principles of personnel administration. Article five deals with this point and reads:

"Employees of Grades 'Special' and 'Deputy Ministers' shall be appointed by royal decree on the basis of a decision made by the Council of Ministers. Employees of Grades 1, 2 and 3 shall be appointed by decision of the Council of Ministers on the basis of proposals made by the minister concerned. Employees of the remaining grades shall be appointed by decision of the Head of the Council of Ministers if they are attached to the Administrative Staff of the Council of Ministers, or to the Secretariat General of the Council, and by decision made by the concerned minister in other cases. An exception shall be made in the case of the Royal Cabinet who shall be appointed by royal order."

This writer finds it essential to note that in quoting he relied upon the provisions of the Regulation, an English version prepared by the Institute of Public Administration during the early days of its establish-

ment. Although no alteration is to be made in the said provisions, we aim here to explain and interpret some of the provisions which seem hazy in their meaning and also where the translation creates some sort of incompatibility between the original version and this translated version.

The above quoted article four specifies the authority to appoint in four categories: (1) royal decrees appoint special grades and Deputy Ministers; (2) resolutions of the Council of Ministers appoint employees of Grades 1, 2 and 3; (3) Ministerial decisions appoint all other employees; and (4) decisions of the Council of Ministers appoint any category of employees joining the administrative staff or the Secretariat General of the Council of Ministers.

This article includes employees of the Royal Cabinet and provides for their appointment by royal order. This could be considered as a defect in the construction of the article. Employees of the Royal Cabinet are, by virtue of the system, outside the scope and the range of the civil service regulations.

If we take into consideration the historical background of the country, the newness of the whole administrative system and the inherent xenophobia in such a society, particularly in relation to non-Moslem foreigners, because of certain religious convictions, it

could be irrefutably stated that the Kingdom made considerable steps toward regulating the lower and middle ranks, particularly in the civil service. The principle of equal opportunity and fair chance for the citizens seems to have found good ground and a solid base.

Articles 7 and 8 read as follows:

"Open positions to be filled shall be made public by a decision of the authority concerned, giving the qualifications and conditions required of applicants, as the date and requirements of the competitive examination whether written or oral, in accordance with the agreement between the Personnel Bureau and the authority concerned. No one shall be appointed in Grade 9 or above unless he has at least an elementary school certificate or its equivalent."

The original version of the regulation, which is clearer than the translation provides, simply states that positions should be filled by open competitive examinations and made public by advertisement in a way agreed upon by both the concerned agency and the General Personnel Bureau.

"The names of those who passed the competitive examination shall be published and they shall be appointed in accordance with their standing in the examination provided their minimum mark was 50 per cent."

According to the provisions of this Regulation, competitive examinations are to be conducted by concerned ministers or by the officials they authorize therefore (Article 10); but a Regulatory Resolution

passed by the Council of Ministers made it a must that the General Personnel Bureau play the major role in conducting competitive examinations. According to the new Regulations about to be promulgated, the General Personnel Bureau will be the sole authority responsible for conducting competitive examinations. The Bureau was attached, since its establishment, first to the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, and later to the Council of Ministers. Studies of recommendations made by personnel administration experts relative to the development of the Bureau, as to meeting the needs of development in the Kingdom, resulted in the issuance of a Resolution from the Council of Ministers⁶ raising the rank of the Director of the Bureau to the level of a minister responsible to the head of the Council of Ministers. The Resolution specified the function of the Bureau as encompassing all activities related to determination of required qualifications, their advertisement, conducting the examinations and nomination to vacant civilian positions in all ministries and governmental departments. The said Resolution provided, furthermore, for the Bureau to prepare all draft regulations concerning personnel affairs, to set up the by-laws and procedures required for the implementation of the regulations, and to review grievances made by employees against the administration in its actions in the

sphere of personnel affairs.

As has been indicated in the previous pages, the administrative system can never be understood apart from the other aspects of life. In 1958, when this Regulation was passed, the government was morally, socially and politically bound to recruit Saudi citizens, and to require qualifications compatible with the level of education prevailing in the country. Like all developing countries, Saudi Arabia faced this problem and made significant efforts to solve it. The inevitable expansion of the administrative activities necessitated the employment of foreigners on contractual bases. In the field of education,⁷ the efforts dedicated to establish new schools in all levels coupled with the policy adopted to avail the greatest opportunity with minimum qualification brought forth significant results.

Article 11 provided:

"Holders of higher or intermediate certificates are exempted from taking the competitive examination if their number is less than that of the open positions."

The situation has naturally changed as the country started to harvest the fruit of the continuous and unwavering efforts made in the field of education. The increasing number of university graduates and the proliferation of Saudi intellectuals who pursued their graduate studies abroad, necessitated the enactment of

new regulations based on a merit system with an up-to-date classification plan. Thus was the standard of required minimum qualifications raised. Those who were attracted by generous salaries and excellent conditions of work and could not pursue their education, were enabled to avail themselves of the excellent opportunities furnished to them by the government through the Institute of Public Administration.⁸ Upon termination of training at the Institute, the Diploma they acquire is taken into consideration for promotional purposes.

However, every new employee is considered a full fledged civil servant only when a year of probationary period has passed. He is thereafter either posted as a permanent civil servant or discharged if he failed to prove his competence during the designated period.

Article 14 states:

"The appointed employee shall be considered under probation for a period of one year. If he does not prove his competence during that period, he shall be discharged by decision of the authority which made the appointment and he shall not have any of the rights enjoyed by employees. The provisions of this article shall not apply to those appointed by royal decree, royal order, or decision of the Council of Ministers."

In accordance with Article 14, probationary period is restricted as being applicable in relation to employees of rank G-4 and lower, whose appointment is made by the minister or the head of the department.

Rights and Duties of Employees

Government employees are prohibited from becoming involved in commercial affairs, whether directly or indirectly (Article 17). But some exceptions are reasonably made for professionals who can combine their work for the public sector with their activities in the private sector, for instance, medical doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects. The reason behind this policy is said to be the constant need of the community for their services. Some stipulations are made for such exemptions: the professional employee should be highly qualified in his profession; he should practice his profession outside government's working hours; and he should request a special permit from the agency concerned. The agency shall not issue a permit unless it is in the public interest. The professional's work in the private sector should not in any way be incompatible with his official work (Article 17, paragraphs a, b, c, d and e).

Articles 18 through 21 provided for all the duties of government employees and stated that officials should not use the authority of their official positions or influence for their own personal ends. They are prohibited from accepting either personally or through intermediaries any gift or largesse, or divulgence of

the secrets concerning their positions, even after they leave the service except under circumstances where the law so permits. Article 22 provided for one of the most significant safeguards:

"No employee may be transferred to a position of a lower grade than his original position unless he agrees to it, or a disciplinary measure so requires."

An arbitrary discharge rarely takes place. However, in these rare occasions where an employee finds himself discharged in such a manner by a minister or a head of a department, he can officially resort to the Grievance Board or the Personnel Bureau, but the procedures take a considerable length of time. Another unique and unofficial channel which is more effective and which virtually takes no time, is to resort to the monarch whose residence (though not his office) is always open at dinner time to the public. Unless the employee was discharged because of the will or the whim of the monarch, his case would immediately create an administrative crisis. What usually happens is that the unwanted employee is asked either directly and bluntly, or through an indirect insinuation, to apply for transfer to some other ministry or agency.

The Regulations covered in their provisions, the rights of employees suffering any material loss because of positions, or in the course of the performance of

their duties. A compensation equivalent is given to them according to the actual loss, provided that the compensation does not exceed three months' salary (Article 24).

Salaries: Policy and Procedures

Section Three of the Personnel Regulations deals with "salaries and salary actions" in six articles. It states the right of employees to remuneration for work they performed and the responsibilities shouldered. The general rule is that an employee deserves his salary during the time he is posted in a given position. Nevertheless, there are numerous cases where the salary is stopped: if an employee, for instance, fails to comply with a transfer order; if a decision is made to discharge an employee because of absence for more than 15 days; or if he failed to return to his assigned work after the end of his vacation without a legitimate excuse (Article 26, paragraphs a, b and c). However, if an employee is missing for reasons unknown, his salary is paid to his family for one complete year after which he is discharged in accordance with Pensions Regulations.

Promotions and Increments

Promotion under these regulations is based on

seniority and competence. Employees of the lower grades, namely from Grade 4 to Grade 9, could be promoted after spending a specified period in their positions. In the meantime, their ability should be taken into consideration. Promotional time limits for Grade 9 and Grade 8 were five years and for Grade 7 through Grade 5 were four years.

According to the new Regulations, such a strict adherence to seniority and time limit will be obsolete with the application of the merit system whereby an employee, even in Grade 9, would have the right to sit for the competitive examination held for any grade. There is, however, a periodical salary raise provided for in the Regulations, specifically for employees of the middle and the lower classes. Article 34 deals with this and reads:

"Increases for permanent employees within the organizational framework shall be made in accordance with the rules stipulated in their Grade Scale appended hereto. The first increase under these Regulations shall be due after two years have elapsed from the date of the last increase given to an employee under the previous Regulations, unless more than two years have already elapsed for the last increase at the time the present Regulations are published, in which case the increase shall be due as from the date of publication."

Allowances

Section Five of the Regulations comprised articles providing for the allowances given to employees when they are transferred or assigned to do an official work in a place that requires travel.

Article 35 is known by almost every employee because it provides for the daily cash allowance disbursed for each night spent by the employee outside the location of his work, provided that his assignment required his absence from his residence one night or more. The allowances given to employees in this case were, and still are according to the new regulations, very generous. This provision resulted in the candid abuse of such a right and encumbered from the public treasure tremendous amounts of money. Unfortunately, the rates are not minimized in the new regulations though some restrictive measures are provided to avoid the said abuse.

Employees assigned to perform an official duty outside the Kingdom are entitled to cash allowance in addition to their salaries, i.e., equivalent to 30 per cent of their salaries if in the U.S.A. and Canada, 50 per cent in Europe, and 30 per cent in all other countries (Article 37). This allowance was fixed randomly to match the living standards of different countries. The arbitrariness of such a fixed allowance was

seen evidently when employees were sent to Japan, they suffered from lack of income, while those sent to Spain had much more than the living standard in Spain requires. The new Regulations will rely on concrete and specific data relative to the living standard of each country and city.

For employees posted in positions outside their home towns, but within the boundaries of the Kingdom, transportation is provided for them and their dependents. When employees are posted in remote areas, accommodations are provided and even meals are served.

Overtime hours are allowed and a bonus is granted if the head of the agency desires, and if he decides that overtime work is not due to the employee's failure to do his job within the official office hours. However, employees of Grade 4 and above are not to be entitled to such a bonus.

Vacations

Four types of vacations are provided for in the Regulations. They are: (1) Ordinary; (2) Extraordinary; (3) Emergency leave; and (4) Sick leave. The ordinary is a one month annual leave to which all employees are entitled. According to the new Regulations, the vacation is made 45 days a year. Article 50 of the current Regulations defines the nature of this vacation thus:

"Ordinary vacations are considered a right of the employee unless the work requires otherwise. An employee may also be recalled from vacation, in which case he shall have the right if he has spent two-thirds of his vacation to be paid the expenses of his return and that of his family if they have accompanied him, or has sent them away from his place of work to enjoy his vacation. In the first case he shall have the right to take his whole vacation, and in the latter to take the remainder of his vacation whenever the opportunity presents itself."

The extraordinary vacation is granted by the minister concerned for a period of six months without pay, liable to be extended for a further six months without pay. In either case, the decision should be made for reasonable cause.

The emergency leave is defined by Article 52 as follows:

"The employee may be absent with full pay for emergency reasons, for a maximum period of three consecutive days, provided the total of such leaves does not exceed ten days in one year. The right to such shall expire at the end of the year."

Every employee is entitled to sick leave. During a three year span, it is:

"Three months with full pay.
Three months with half pay.
Three months with quarter pay.
Six months without pay."

Such a decision is made in accordance with a medical certificate issued by the Medical Board of the Ministry of Public Health. Article 54 deals with the sick leave granted to an employee whose illness was due

to the performance of his official duty. It reads:

"An employee suffering from an injury or an illness which temporarily prevents him from performing his duties, provided such injury or illness arises of his duty (and without any fault on the part of the employee) shall be granted a sick leave for a period of twelve months with full pay, and six months with half pay during a three year span. If it is proven that the injury or illness prevents him permanently from performing his duties, the provisions of the Pensions Regulations shall be applied.

If the Medical Board decided that treatment outside the Kingdom is required for an employee suffering from (an injury or illness) arising out of the performance of his duties, the ministry for which the employee works shall bear the expenses of his treatment for the period stipulated in the preceding article."

When an employee is discharged for reasons other than disciplinary measures or his retirement is due, he is granted the vacation to which he was entitled with full pay disbursed to him in advance.

Several other provisions deal with termination, suspension, punishments, disciplinary boards and procedures. Generally, these provisions are but a replica of the Western countries' ordinances and laws.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Brian Chapman, The Profession of Government, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1959, p. 133.
- 2 Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955, p. 150.
- 3 Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of the Prismatic Society, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964, p. 14.
- 4 Levy, op. cit., p. 150.
- 5 De Gaury, op. cit., p. 149.
- 6 Resolution No. 792, dated 1963.
- 7 See Chapter Four, sections on educations in the 1950's and 1960's.
- 8 The faculty of IPA is mostly Syrians and Egyptians.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

Saudi Arabia, as a unified political entity, came into being in the late twenties of this century. The late King Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud followed the steps of his eponymous ancestor, Saud, and used the Wahabis to put an end to the prolonged dissension. He passed away in 1953, leaving to his sons a vast Kingdom. This was the first attempt of unification since the reign of Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam, and was a melting pot of tribes into nationhood in the Arabian Peninsula. However, the experiment was, and still is, in many respects, in its primary phase. As a reputed Arabic phrase indicates, "as hard as it is to build, easy it is to destroy."

The charisma of ibn Saud, coupled with his mastery in dealing with chiefs of tribes and all bedouins at large, supplemented later by the sudden wealth acquired from the oil industry, preserved the unity which he had achieved. During his life, he made use of the then existing institutions to run the affairs of the country. However, he did discover in his late days that the task of nation building of over half a century which he set for himself was too complicated to be preserved by him as

monarch or by his court and the few advisors he had. Likewise, he became aware that the task was too complex for the prevailing traditional tribal institutions to carry out. He accepted the Organic Instructions of Hijaz as the only available remedy for the dilemma which he faced. He approved the establishment of a Council of Ministers though he did not live long enough to witness its establishment.

The problems he left to his successor, Saud, were too hopelessly involved for the latter to handle, especially since Saud lacked the charisma and the strong characteristics of his father. Although Ministries, Controlling Agencies and the Council of Ministers were established during his reign, the sum of the oil revenue spent for education, health and the like was not wisely or properly handled. Considerable amounts of these revenues were spent lavishly on unproductive areas. The paradox was biting when the unbridled generosity and the personal extravagance of the Monarch, his Court and his Finance Ministers resulted in expenditures exceeding the revenues, thus creating substantial deficits which lasted from 1956 to 1958. As the ancient Arabs wisely said, "When the patriarch makes himself a drummer, the followers have no other alternative but to dance." Corruption spread like a cancer over all the administrative body. The exquisite modern buildings of

ministries and other government departments, and the sophisticated ordinances and regulations promulgated were but a disguise hiding the hideous features of what Riggs called "formalism." The number of sinecurists increased substantially, drastically raising the treasury debt.

In 1958, the Crown Prince, Faisal ibn Abdul-Aziz, became the Prime Minister and the country witnessed for the first time a chief executive other than the King himself. A responsible executive cabinet came into being. As the most sensitive and most effective post in the government, the Minister of Finance represented the main defect from whence revenues were leaked and wasted. It was persistently abused by consecutive ministers who were denounced after they left their offices for their flagrant and abrupt wealth. The new government handed the Ministry of Finance over to a wise and strong uncle of the King and the Prime Minister, Prince Musaed ibn Abdul-Rahman. This, in itself, was an effective measure toward putting an end to the higher level ministerial pilfering. Luxuries and other unproductive commodities imported from the rest of the world were restricted with the aim of reviving the dwindling government reserves of foreign currency. The after effect of such a restrictive policy was, at the beginning, a covert power struggle among the Saud family,

instigated sometimes by various interest groups and ended at last by the abdication of King Saud and the proclamation of Faisal King of Saudi Arabia.

The discovery of oil and the sudden wealth its industry brought forth had a tremendous and far reaching impact on all aspects of life in this country which was still living, until the late forties, on a subsistence economy. But could the wealth be an everlasting one? What will happen if the wells run dry or if the peaceful use of atomic energy makes oil economically obsolete? These and the like are the frightening questions that ring and echo in the ears of the people at large and the ruling class in particular. These queries were the stimuli for serious thinking of what will become of the country in the years to come.

In 1958, the Prime Minister issued an order pertaining to the formation of a committee assigned to conduct studies relative to the economic development of the Kingdom. The necessity of setting up a long range program for economic development was clearly stated in a circular issued by the Prime Minister to all ministries and government departments.

In 1959, recommendations relative to the introduction of systematized principles for the state budget were approved and implemented. At the same time, an

invitation was extended to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to help the Kingdom conduct an objective study on the prospects of the economic development in Saudi Arabia. These studies resulted in the establishment of a central planning agency deemed to carry on all responsibilities for economic development.

But development in Saudi Arabia meant tackling problems that affect and influence almost all aspects of life:

1. The high degree of dependence of the Saudi economy on oil production and export.
2. The settlement of wandering bedouins who constitute the majority of the population.
3. The preparation of the people socially, politically and economically to face the complex problems of a modern state.
4. Overcoming the challenge of the desert and satisfying the constant thirst of the people and the land for water.
5. The conversion of tribal and regional heterogeneity into a homogeneous Saudi society.
6. The search for all natural resources and the creation of industries that will free the country from the disturbing near-total dependencies on the oil industry.

On October 31, 1962, the Crown Prince formed a new government. He released, on the sixth day of November, a Ten Point Program stating that, inasmuch as the system of government in any state should be a true reflection of the development achieved by the community, the government had been anxious to develop the Saudi community educationally, culturally and socially so that it might reach the level that would truly be representative in the form of a unified system of government.

On the first point, it was made clear that the time had come for the promulgation of a Basic Law for the government, drawn from the Koran and the tradition of its prophet and upon the acts of the orthodox Caliphs. This Basic Law was to set forth explicitly the fundamental principles of government and the relationship of the governor and the governed; organize the various powers of the state and the relationships among these powers; provide for the basic rights of the citizen, including the right to freely express his opinion within the limits of Islamic belief and public policy. Although the Consultative Council was developed to play its part as a regulatory authority for the country, nothing palpable has yet been done in this sphere.

Point Nine of the Ten Point Program dealt with the overall policy of the new government in relation to development. It reads as follows:

"Financial revival and economic development are the government's prime concern and, aside from maintaining the strong financial position enjoyed by the Kingdom in comparison with the various countries of the world, His Majesty's Government has adopted and will continue to adopt strong and important measures to lay down substantial programs for reform that will continuously spur economic activity so that all individuals in this Kingdom will enjoy a higher standard of living. One of the most important things to be brought into being shortly, God willing, will be an extensive road program to link all parts and cities of the Kingdom. Tens of millions of Rials will be spent on the study of water resources and on making water available for agricultural and drinking purposes and the government will construct the dams necessary for the preservation of rain waters and the creation of pasture land. Heavy and light industries will be given effective help that will protect them and attract capital. With the help of God, Saudi Arabia will soon become an industrial country, agriculturally self-sufficient and, with various sorts of sources of revenue, thus being able to perform its duties towards its people. Aside from the amounts allocated in the State Budget for the implementation of projects, His Majesty's government has resolved to allocate all the additional amounts it will receive from ARAMCO in satisfaction of the rights it claims from the company for previous years to a special production budget whereby all such amounts shall be spent on development projects such as roads, dams, public utilities, etc. This will greatly help the Kingdom's economy and will hasten the completion of many development projects. The study of the creation of an Industrial Bank and Agricultural Bank is now in its final stages and the General Petroleum and Mineral Agency will soon come into being. These three agencies together with other government and private agencies will take part in the development of the country's resources and the exploration for mineral and other wealth."

In effect, funds allocated for roads, health, education and agriculture have substantially increased in the past few years so as to represent a significant proportion of the government revenues from the oil industry.

Conclusion

This study was an attempt to present an interpretation, as well as a description, of the crucial role played by the government of Saudi Arabia in the developmental process of the country. It was based on the premise that developing countries, characterized by their pre-industrial societies, vary greatly in their structure and developmental level. Such variance is likely due to the societal attitude toward industrialization.

"Industrialization appeals to a few traditional pre-industrial societies as a desirable programme. To 'national' pre-industrial societies it may be a structural necessity and in emergent nations industrialization is always a national programme, even where its impacts on local units is greatest."¹

In Saudi Arabia, industrialization is an indispensable necessity for survival. Previous chapters of this study depicted, in general sweeping terms, some features of the developmental process in Saudi Arabia and the role played by the Saudi bureaucracy thereafter.

If the role of the Saudi bureaucracy and the developmental level achieved thus far by the Kingdom

are examined in the light of the general framework of administrative literature in general and "development administration" in particular, the following two possibilities or trends adhered to by students of public administration should be taken into consideration:

1. Development, in general, is almost impossible without political development. Even the greatest amount of administrative improvement will not effect genuine and permanent development unless political development goes hand in hand with administrative development.
2. Administrative development can contribute very effectively to general development even if political development does not take place.

If political development means the democratization of institutions, the representation of the people in the legislative bodies of the polity and the right of citizens to form political parties or politically oriented unions, then the situation in Saudi Arabia fits nowhere in the various classifications made thus far for developing countries. Neither does the Saudi development go along with the above mentioned two trends or possibilities.

The Saudi bureaucracy has been operating in an atmosphere that is not only different from others but

also unique in its nature. The conventional legislative, executive and judicial powers of modern polities has not yet been witnessed by Saudi Arabia. The unification of the country in the hands of the Sauds with the material and moral support of organized religious groups created instead three other powers; namely, (1) the monarch and the extraordinarily large royal family, (2) the organized and blindly fanatic religious groups, and (3) the Saudi bureaucrats as the spearhead of the whole Saudi civil service.

Until recently, the religious groups which formed the traditional allies of the monarch viewed modernization and industrialization as a threat to their existence and to the established values which they stood for. However, because of the awareness of the monarchs to these needs and the alliance which bound together the two forces, plus the revolutionary tide which swept almost all surrounding countries, Saudi Arabia showed its willingness to adopt some developmental policies. Thus came the weakening link.

The Saudi bureaucrats who view the implementation of every developmental project as an additional nail in the coffin of the untamed religious groups manage to maintain good relations with the monarch, his court and his ministers.

Apart from the desired Basic Law which was meant to be some kind of constitutional law for the country, the rest of the policy statements made by the government, relative to development, were relatively implemented. Industrialization has not been, however, as successful as road and water projects. The new political climate in the Middle East, in general, and in the Arabian peninsula in particular, relative to the Yemeni War, has created an additional drainage to the Saudi oil revenues. Funds allocated for armanent and political propaganda are considerably minimizing the developmental potentials of the Kingdom.

Though the Saudi bureaucracy played a very minor and negligible developmental role prior to 1962, the bulk of the developmental projects and programs adopted and implemented thereafter were initiated and formulated by the sole effort of the bureaucracy. Saudi bureaucrats have consequently become deeply involved in what this writer ventures to call "administration politics." Through their unique manipulative techniques, they have managed to have most of their decisions implemented with an extraordinary proclivity to anonymity.

However, it is important to note the attitude of the Saudi monarch, whose powers are -- in the absence of a constituional law -- almost absolute. Willingness

and acceptance of reform is undoubtedly credited to the present monarch. But no matter how strong the Saudi bureaucracy has become, a vast amount of power is still belonging to the monarch. The monarchy is still preserving its traditional alliance with the religious groups and every now and then allowing them to demonstrate their power and to show that they are still as vigorous as they once were. The aim of this is to stabilize the inevitable impact of modernization on the social order as well as the religious order of the Saudi society. As this policy is wearing out, the bureaucratic manipulations are gradually outwitting the monarchical strength.

It seems that the Saudi bureaucracy will successfully continue to play its crucial role in the development of the country as long as the following conditions prevail. That there will be:

1. A reform minded monarch able to deal with the acute problems of parochialism and provincialism.
2. The continuation of political stability in the country.

It is also my contention that, even though political development in its Western sense might be theoretically desirable to accelerate the developmental process

in Saudi Arabia, political stability is the only practical condition for dealing with the countless problems of nation building and development.

The absence of political groups or parties and the inexistence of labor or trade unions make the Saudi civil servants the only group that has every opportunity to act collectively as an organized group and thus play a major role in the development of the country under the leadership of the ever growing Saudi bureaucracy.

I further maintain that the awareness of the Saudis of the fact that oil cannot be an inexhaustible source of wealth and that the vast areas of the desert cannot be cultivated willy nilly, will create an energizing power for the industrialization of the Arabian Peninsula. This will happen, most likely, within the bureaucracy.

The very last point which I should like to make in my conclusion is this: a political stability, coupled with administrative development, could and should be considerably effective in the development of a country like Saudi Arabia.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 Neil Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (ed.), Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966, p. 141.

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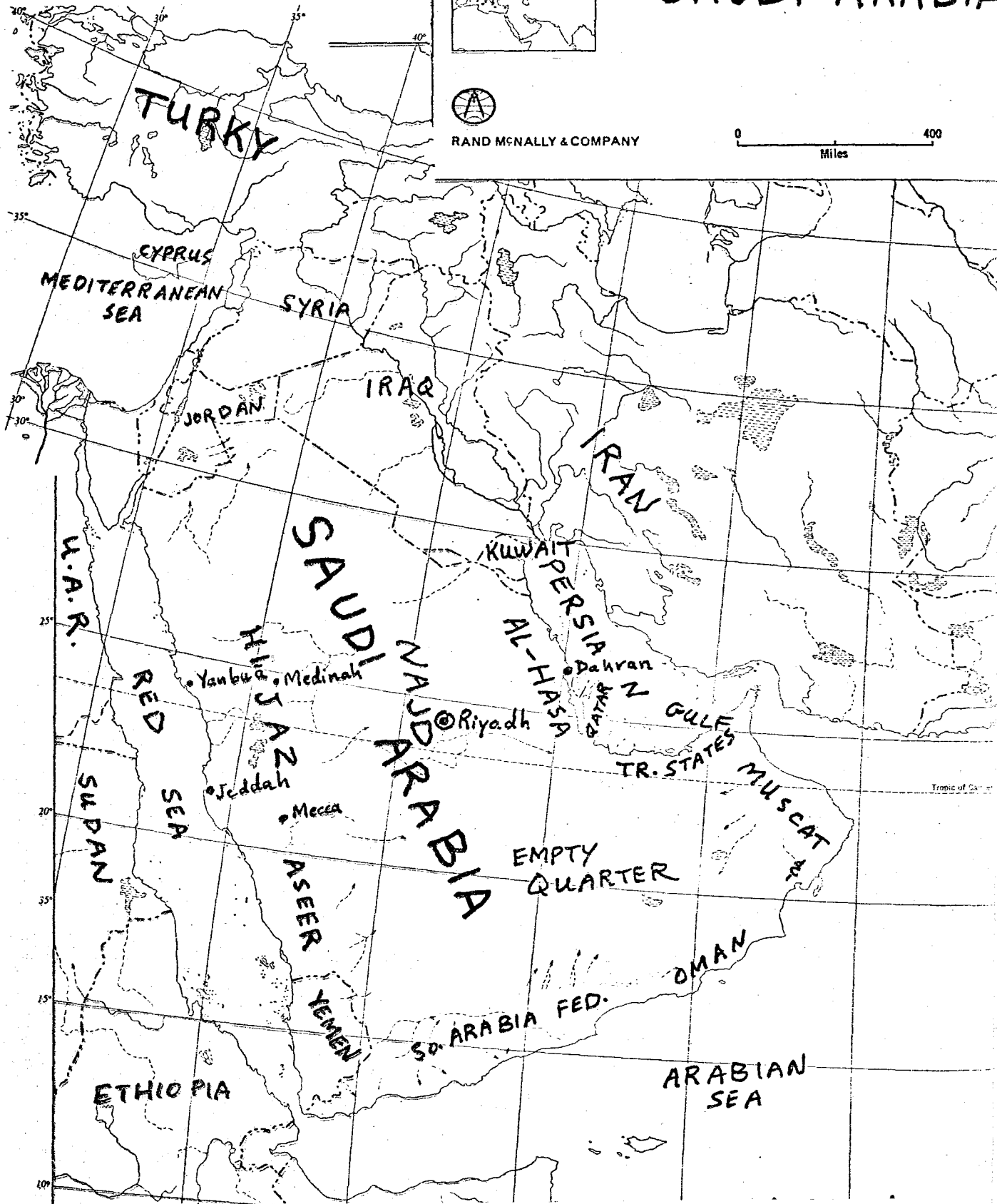
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APPENDIX

SAUDI ARABIA



RAND McNALLY & COMPANY



TURKEY

CYPRUS

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SYRIA

IRAQ

JORDAN

IRAN

KUWAIT

PERSIA

AL-HASA

GULF TR. STATES

U.A.R.

RED SEA

SUDAN

HILJAZ

• Yanbu • Medinah

• Jeddah

• Mecca

ASER

SAUDI ARABIA

EMPTY QUARTER

MUSCAT

YEMEN

OMAN

SO. ARABIA FED.

ETHIOPIA

ARABIAN SEA

Tropic of Capricorn