

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL  
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
FALL TERM 2007 – Second Session**

**Saudi Arabia: Security, Energy, and US policy:  
DRAFT Syllabus**

Public Affairs WWS594s (half-term course)  
Tuesday, 7-10 pm

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*Reading Note:* Please come to the first session prepared to discuss the readings listed under Week 1.

***Course Description***

This seminar will focus on issues related to the security and stability of Saudi Arabia, and the policy relationship with the United States. Domestic and regional security threats will be examined, as will the evolution and future of the US-Saudi partnership. Throughout the course, special attention focus will be devoted to looking at the impact on US policy toward the country. A number of topics will be covered including terrorism, political violence, and jihadism; counter-terrorism strategies; terrorist financing; border security; reeducation, rehabilitation, and reintegration programs; the Iraq war and its effects on Saudi security; regional security concerns post-Saddam; energy, hydrocarbon facility security, and kingdom's role in the global energy system.

The course will culminate in a planned study visit to the kingdom, which will include meetings with a cross section of individuals including senior Saudi officials, western diplomats, expatriate businesspeople, and representatives from the media, academia, and the world of finance. Please note that participation in the planned study visit is contingent upon the successful issuance of valid visa by Saudi authorities.

The purpose of this course is to introduce seminar participants to the issues related to contemporary Saudi Arabia and the US-Saudi relationship, and to prepare students for the planned visit scheduled in January 2008.

***Course Requirements***

All seminar members will be expected to participate in weekly discussions. If you will be unable to attend a session for any reason, please contact me ahead of time. The readings include both required reading and recommended reading for those planning to

do more in-depth research. I'll also provide more details on further recommended readings as the course progresses.

Performance will be evaluated on the basis of class participation and three short reading responses, an in-class presentation, and a policy paper due the end of the seminar. Paper topics are open (please discuss with me first) and should not exceed 20 pages. Participation will count for 25%; your presentations will count for 25%; and a policy paper will count for 50% of the grade. More information about the policy paper assignment will be provided at the first session.

Presentations will be focused on the topic of that day's class or a related issue; we'll also discuss these at the first session. Students will be expected to design their own presentation topics within the general theme of that week's theme, and to produce one page (double sided okay handout, referenced where needed. Presentations will last for no more than 15 minutes.

### ***Course Materials***

I intend to have all the readings for the course either on reserve or available electronically. In a few cases readings will only be available in hard copy, which I'll provide as the course progresses. I'll also give you a list of some other sources which I'd recommend you consult during the course once class begins. Recent additions to syllabus are listed in **bold** print.

#### ***News and developments***

All students will also be **required to keep up with the local news**. This will not only bring you up to speed on what's going on in the kingdom, but it will also prepare you for our arrival in January.

Some English language Saudi (and Gulf) sources:

[www.arabnews.com](http://www.arabnews.com)

<http://www.asharqalawsat.com/english/>

[www.saudigazette.com.sa](http://www.saudigazette.com.sa)

For English translations of the Arabic Saudi media, go to

[http://wnc.dialog.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=wnc.advanced\\_search](http://wnc.dialog.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=wnc.advanced_search)

(enter "Saudi" in \*Search Entire Article\* field)

<http://xrdarabia.org/> This is another good source. The author is a former FSO who was posted in the kingdom twice and he does a very good job of following the news and other developments related to Saudi Arabia. This is a good source for you to check in with when checking the news.

### *Course Outline*

#### **WEEK 1: THE SAUDI STATE**

Introduction to the course.

Overview of Saudi history up to the present, creation of the current Saudi state.

***Required readings:***

- Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, legitimacy and survival* (2006), pp. 1-46
- Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*
- Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power* (1982), Chap 6: “Saudi Arabia—the Koran as Constitution,” pp. 159-185
- Abdulaziz H. Al-Fahad, “The ‘*Imama* vs. the ‘*Iqal*: *Hadari*-Bedouin Conflict and the Formation of the Saudi State,” in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, eds Madawi al-Rashid and Robert Vitalis (Palgrave, 2004), Chap 2, pp. 35-75
- Guido Steinberg, “The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State: 1745 to the Present,” in *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*, eds Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman (2005) pp. 11-34

***Recommended Additional Readings:***

- John S. Habib, *Ibn Sa’ud’s Warriors of Islam: The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of the Saudi Kingdom, 1910-1930*, (Brill, 1978): ***skim*** over Chaps 3 “Origins of a Movement,” pp 14-24; ***skim*** over Chap 4 “The Ikhwan: Myth and Realty” pp 25-46; read Chap 12 “Epilogue” pp 156-161

#### **WEEK 2: ISLAM**

Introduction to Wahhabism, Saudi notions of Islam, and the central role of Islam in understanding contemporary Saudi Arabia. Discussion of the Shi’a community in the kingdom.

**Planned guest speaker:** Dr Jarret Brachman, Director of Research at the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, author of *Stealing al-Qa’ida’s Playbook*.

***Required Readings:***

- David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*

- Abdulaziz H. Al-Fahad, "From Exclusivism to Accommodation: Doctrinal and Legal Evolution of Wahhabism," *NYU Law Review* (2004)
- Stéphane Lacroix, "Islam-Liberal Politics in Saudi Arabia," in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 35-56
- Fouad Ibrahim, *The Shi'is of Saudi Arabia* (2006)
- Toby Craig Jones, "Rebellion on the Saudi Periphery: Modernity, Marginalization and the Shi'a Uprising of 1979," *IJMES* 38 (2006), pp. 213-233
- International Crisis Group, "The Shiite Question in Saudi Arabia," Middle East Report No. 45, 19 September 2005
- **Skim:** Graham E Fuller and Rend Rahim Francke, *The Arab Shi'a* (St Martin's Press, 1999), Chap 8: "The Shi'a of Saudi Arabia," pp. 179-202

***Recommended Additional Readings:***

- Ende, "The Nakhawila, Shiite Community in Medina: Past and Present," *Die Welt des Islam* 37 (1997), pp. 263-337
- Sedgwick, "Saudi Sufis: Compromise in the Hijaz," *Die Welt des Islam* 37 (1997) pp. 349-368

### **WEEK 3: SOCIETY**

Introduction to some of the main currents in contemporary Saudi society, including education, the women, issues of reform, etc. How is Saudi society changing? What issues is Saudi society trying to grapple with? How has the kingdom dealt with the challenges of balancing tradition and modernity? What impact have these issues had on policy?

***Required Reading***

- Michaela Prokop, "The War of Ideas: Education in Saudi Arabia," in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 57-84
- Mai Yamani, *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia* (2000)
- Pascal Ménoret, *The Saudi Enigma* (2005), pp. 153-207
- Mark A. Caudill, *Twilight in the Kingdom: Understanding the Saudis* (2006), pp 1-16 and 73-128

- International Crisis Group, *Can Saudi Arabia Reform Itself?* Middle East Report No. 28, July 2004 [available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2864&l=1>]
- Mona Al-Munajjed, *Women in Saudi Arabia Today* (1997), Chaps on segregation, the veil, and education, pp 33-80
- Nadya Labi, “Kingdom in the Closet,” *The Atlantic* (May 2007)

#### WEEK 4: ENERGY AND ECONOMY

Saudi Arabia’s role in the global energy system, energy security, and physical infrastructure security. Overview of the economy, the petroleum industry in kingdom, and its impact on Saudi Arabia. Discussion of Riyadh’s plans for the future development, and introduction to some of the issues it will have to address in the future.

##### **Required Reading**

- From *Part II: Political Economy* in Aarts & Nonneman
  - Hertog, “Segmented Clientelism: The Political Economy of Saudi Economic Reform Efforts”
  - Luciani, “From Private Sector to National Bourgeoisie: Saudi Arabian Business”
- Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, legitimacy and survival* (2006) pp. 114-142
- Paul Aarts, Events versus Trends: The Role of Energy and Security in Sustaining the US-Saudi Partnership, in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 399-433
- Anthony Cordesman and Khalid Al-Rodhan, *The Changing Dynamics of Energy in the Middle East* (2006), discussion of Saudi energy developments, pp 186-220
- Hertog *IJMES* article, forthcoming
- Robert Vitalis, *America’s Kingdom* (2006)—selected parts

##### **Security issues**

- Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, *National Security in Saudi Arabia*, chap 7, “Saudi Energy Security,” pp 305-324. Very similar to above piece, just skim. [UA853.S33 C664 2005]
- Stephen Ulph, “Saudi Arabia’s Islamist Insurgency,” *Saudi Arabian Oil Facilities: The Achilles Heel of the Western Economy*, pp 13-24. [Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-SaudiOil.pdf>]
- John Daly, “Saudi ‘Black Gold’: Will terrorism deny the West its fix?” *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 1, Issue 7 (4 December 2003). [Available at

[http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_details.php?volume\\_id=391&issue\\_id=2880&article\\_id=23425](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=391&issue_id=2880&article_id=23425)]

- John Daly, “Saudi Oil Facilities: al-Qaeda’s Next Target?” *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 4, Issue 4 (23 February 2006). [Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369910>]

### ***Recommended Reading***

- Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*
- EIA Saudi Arabia country analysis brief, available at [http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Saudi\\_Arabia/Background.html](http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Saudi_Arabia/Background.html)

## **WEEK 5: FOREIGN POLICY**

Discussion of the Iraq war and its effects on Saudi security; regional security concerns post-Saddam. Overview of Riyadh’s role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Saudi peace plans of 1981 and 2002. Implications of Saudi Arabia’s resurgent foreign policy and relations with Iran.

### ***Required Reading***

- Gerd Nonneman, “Determinants and Patterns of Saudi Foreign Policy: ‘Omnibalancing’ and ‘Relative Autonomy’ in Multiple Environments,” in Aarts and Nonneman, pp 315-351
- Joseph Kostiner, “Coping with regional Challenges: A Case Study of Crown Prince Abdullah’s Peace Initiative,” in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 352-371
- Gawdat Bahgat, *Israel and Persian Gulf* (2006), Chapter on “Israel and Gulf Monarchies”

### ***Recommended Additional Reading***

- David E Long, *The United States and Saudi Arabia: Ambivalent Allies* (1985)
- John P. Miglietta, *American Alliance Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1992*, Chaps 6 & 7, pp. 195-292
- Thomas Lippman, *Inside the Mirage*
- Rachel Bronson, *Thicker than Oil: America’s Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*

## **WEEK 6: DOMESTIC SECURITY**

Discussion of the al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (QAP) campaign, its historical roots and the kingdom’s counter-terrorism strategies, including reeducation, rehabilitation, and reintegration programs. Overview of terrorist financing issues and border security.

**Required Reading**

- International Crisis Group, *Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who Are the Islamists?* (Brussels, 2004) [available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3021&l=1>]
- Thomas Hegghammer, "Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalization in Saudi Arabia" *Middle East Policy* 13
- Joshua Teitelbaum, *Holier than Thou: Saudi Arabia's Islamic Opposition*
- Mamoun Fandy, *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent*
- Thomas Hegghammer, "Saudis in Iraq: Patterns of Radicalization and Recruitment," *Cultures et Conflits* 64 (2006)
- Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, "Saudi Internal Security: A Risk Assessment," CSIS (2004) [www.csis.org]
- Abdulaziz Sager, "Political Opposition in Saudi Arabia," in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 234-259
- Roel Meijer, 'The Cycle of Contention' and the Limits of Terrorism in Saudi Arabia, in Aarts and Nonneman, pp. 271-300

**Recommended Reading**

- Thomas Hegghammer and Stéphane Lacroix, "Rejectionist Islamism in Saudi Arabia: The Story of Juhayman al-Utaybi Revisited," *IJMES* (2007)
- Joshua Teitelbaum, "Terrorist Challenges to Saudi Arabian Internal Security," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 9 (3) September 2005
- Kechichian, "Trends in Saudi National Security," *Middle East Journal* 53 (2), spring 1999
- Josh Pollack, "Anti-Americanism in Contemporary Saudi Arabia," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 7 (4), December 2003
- J.E. Peterson, *Security and Political Challenges in Saudi Arabia*, 12 December 2004 [Available at <http://www.jepeterson.net/comment.html>]
- Nicole Stracke, "Counter Terrorism and Weapons Smuggling: Success and Failure of Yemeni-Saudi Collaboration," *Security & Terrorism Research Bulletin* 4 (Gulf Research Center), November 2006, pp 8-14, [www.grc.ae]
- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*