



## Saudi Arabia

### Change, Continuity, and Controversy

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia, ruled by the Al Saud family since its founding in 1932, wields significant global influence through its administration of the birthplace of the Islamic faith and by virtue of its large oil reserves. Saudi leaders' domestic and foreign policy decisions are fueling calls from some U.S. leaders for a reassessment of long-standing bilateral ties. The Al Saud have sought protection, advice, technology, and armaments from the United States, along with support in developing their country's natural and human resources and in facing national security threats. U.S. leaders have valued Saudi cooperation in security and counterterrorism matters and have sought to preserve the secure, apolitical flow of the kingdom's energy resources and capital to global markets. The Trump Administration seeks to strengthen U.S.-Saudi ties as the kingdom implements new domestic and foreign policy initiatives, while some in Congress call for change.

### Leadership and Public Confidence

King Salman bin Abd al Aziz Al Saud (age 83) assumed the throne in 2015 after the death of his half-brother, the late King Abdullah bin Abd al Aziz. King Salman since has altered the responsibilities and relative power of leading members of the next generation of the Al Saud family, the grandsons of the kingdom's founder. King Salman's son, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (age 33), is now the central figure in Saudi policymaking, having asserted control over key national security forces, sidelined potential rivals, and begun implementing ambitious policy changes.

In parallel, channels for expressing dissent within the kingdom appear to have narrowed considerably. Since 2017, security forces have detained dozens of activists, Islamist figures, and journalists. Prosecutors have detained and/or pursued various charges against some well-known figures, including prominent clerics, human rights advocates, and women's rights campaigners. In late 2017, authorities also imprisoned dozens of wealthy individuals (and potential family rivals of the crown prince) for months in the Ritz Carlton hotel in Riyadh as part of a nominal anticorruption campaign. Most of this latter group of detainees were released after reaching undisclosed financial settlement arrangements, amid accounts of abuse.

Many Saudis and outside observers have expressed surprise about the scope and rapidity of post-2015 developments and continue to speculate about their potential implications. Saudi decision-making had long appeared to be relatively risk-averse and rooted in rulers' concerns for maintaining consensus among different constituencies, including factions of the royal family, business elites, and conservative religious figures. Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's bolder and more centralized leadership has challenged each of these interest groups, and is leading Saudis and outsiders alike to reexamine their assumptions.

Figure 1. Saudi Arabia



Source: CRS, using ESRI, and U.S. State Department data.

### Vision 2030 and Social Change

The centerpiece of Saudi leaders' domestic agenda is the Vision 2030 initiative, which seeks to transform the kingdom's economy by diversifying the government's sources of revenue and reducing long-standing oil export dependence by promoting investment and private sector growth. Plans for an initial public offering of shares in state oil company Saudi Aramco have been delayed to 2021. Authorities have reduced some consumer and industrial subsidies and introduced a value-added tax. Amid some domestic criticism, authorities also have offered citizens relief payments, salary increases, and tax exemptions.

Economic transformation has driven social change in the kingdom since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the Vision 2030 initiative is being accompanied by significant changes in the state's approach to some sensitive social matters. Authorities reversed the kingdom's long-standing ban on women driving in June 2018, in part to expand women's participation in the workforce. Parallel changes have created more public space for women in some social and cultural events, but most male guardianship rules restricting women's activities remain in place. Some Saudis welcome changes made to date and call for more, while others express opposition or concern about the changes' potential effects on religious and social values.

### Human Rights

The October 2018 killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi by Saudi government officials in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, Turkey has led to increased congressional scrutiny of the kingdom's human rights practices. The Trump Administration has described the killing as a "horrific act," stated its intent to pursue accountability for those responsible, and imposed travel and financial sanctions on some Saudi officials suspected of

involvement. The kingdom is prosecuting some officials on charges of involvement. Other suspects, such as Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's former adviser Saud al Qahtani, reportedly have not been charged. Some in Congress continue to advocate for a more forceful U.S. response to the Khashoggi killing and speak on behalf of Saudi human rights activists detained and on trial.

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“We want to make sure that everyone understands that the United States doesn’t believe that the killing of Jamal Khashoggi was anything other than a horrific act. And we hope that we can work together, both with Congress and our allies, to hold those responsible accountable.”

Secretary of State Michael Pompeo, October 2018

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### Saudi Nuclear Plans

Saudi leaders seek to recast the role of energy resources in the kingdom's economy and plan to develop domestic civilian nuclear power infrastructure. They have solicited bids for the construction of two nuclear power reactors. The Trump Administration expedited consideration of required regulatory approvals for U.S. firms to provide marketing information to Saudi officials, and may propose a bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement to the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress. Saudi officials have not forsworn uranium enrichment and have stated their intent to use and develop domestic capabilities. Saudi nuclear facilities are subject to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. The IAEA has reviewed Saudi nuclear infrastructure and recommends adoption and implementation of an additional protocol.

### Combatting Terrorism and Extremism

The U.S. government describes U.S.-Saudi cooperation on counterterrorism as robust and credits Saudi officials with reducing the financing of terrorism by Saudi nationals and with contributing to global efforts to undermine terrorist propaganda. The Islamic State group has been highly critical of Saudi authorities and religious officials, and U.S. threat assessments judge that the Islamic State and Al Qaeda pose continuing risks to the kingdom's security. The Saudi government's relationship with conservative religious figures is evolving, with the state promoting potentially controversial social policy changes while enlisting religious leaders to counteract extremist messages. In December 2017, King Salman said “there is no place among us for an extremist who sees moderation as degeneration.”

### Saudi Foreign Policy

The King and Crown Prince have actively pursued several initiatives across the Middle East since 2015, challenging Iran, reopening dialogue with Iraq, seeking to isolate Qatar, and fighting an ongoing war in Yemen. New Saudi activism in regional affairs has created new questions for Congress to consider, including with regard to defense cooperation.

### Iran, Iraq, and the Levant

Saudi policies toward Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon continue to reflect the kingdom's overarching concerns about Iran and the Iranian government's ties to state and nonstate actors in these countries. Saudi authorities back the U.N. Security Council's call for a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Syria and seek more progress in settlement talks before reengagement with the Iran-aligned Syrian government of Bashar al Assad. U.S. officials have praised Saudi efforts to

strengthen ties with Iraq's government, including the reopening of border crossings between the two countries.

### Conflict in Yemen

Saudi Arabia has led a military coalition of mostly Arab states since March 2015 in efforts to reinstate the government of Yemeni President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who was ousted in a 2014-2015 offensive by the Zaydi Shia Houthi movement of northern Yemen. Iranian material and advisory support to the Houthi war effort—including the provision of ballistic missiles and drones used to attack Saudi Arabia—has amplified Saudi leaders' anxieties and concerns. The Trump Administration lifted some limits on U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia that the Obama Administration had imposed to protest airstrikes that resulted in civilian casualties, but announced plans to end U.S. refueling of Saudi coalition aircraft in November 2018. The United Nations considers Yemen to be the world's worst humanitarian crisis and cites Houthi malfeasance and Saudi coalition-enforced limits on air and sea access as contributing to shortages of food and goods. President Trump vetoed S.J.Res. 7, which would have directed him to end some U.S. military involvement in Yemen, and has approved a series of emergency arms sales to the kingdom, citing threats from Iran.

### Intra-Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Tensions

Saudi Arabia has led an effort to isolate the government of Qatar internationally since mid-2017, citing concerns about reported Qatari support for terrorism and aspects of Qatar's independent foreign policy approach. Various GCC-based figures describe close Qatari ties with regional Islamist actors, including the Muslim Brotherhood, as problematic. The Trump Administration favors negotiation and compromise by parties to the ongoing intra-GCC dispute.

### Israeli-Palestinian Affairs

Saudi Arabia is a leader among Arab states in supporting key Palestinian demands, but Saudi leaders also have engaged quietly with Israel in light of the two countries' shared interest in countering Iran. In January 2018, King Salman reiterated the kingdom's “firm position on the Palestinian cause and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to establish their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital and on continuing efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian cause in accordance with relevant international resolutions.”

### Relations with China and Russia

Greater Saudi energy exports to China have underwritten new Sino-Saudi economic and diplomatic ties, and bilateral meetings of senior officials are often followed by announcements of new cooperation initiatives. Saudi leaders also have opened substantive dialogue and cooperation with Russia, encompassing coordination on oil production decisions to bolster global oil prices, discussion of arms sales, and talks on Syria and other regional issues.

For more information, see CRS Report RL33533, *Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations*.

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