

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Efforts of Establishing the League of Arab States

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Abstract

The study aimed to spotlight on establishing and building League of Arab States. In the beginning, it clarified the most prominent attempts for reaching a banded Arab unit, and that was before thinking of uniting Arabs under one organization entity which is the League of Arab States. Therefore, the study indicated the great efforts that king Abdulaziz made at that time under the united Arab umbrella. So as the great efforts king Abdulaziz has made of enhancing the idea of establishing the League of Arab States, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was keen to encourage any idea calls for Arab Unity and saving their Islamic and Arab identities. The study also indicated that kingdom of Saudi Arabia has striven for the Arab fold unity, and played an important role in supporting the League of Arab States politically and financially since its establishment. The researcher followed the descriptive historical research method, and the most important results are that: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia had the most prominent role of supporting Arab Unity from the beginning, and so as king Abdulaziz was who started the initiative of uniting Arabs. The researcher reached other results, and offered some recommendations.

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First: The most prominent attempts of Arab unity appeared before establishing League of Arab States:

Arab World occupies a significant geographical location; it is connecting link between Asia, Africa, Europe and the world other regions. Therefore, it can link between the West which is represented by European World, and the East which is represented by Asian World. In addition, the most ancient civilization and best revealed religions were emerged in it. Arab World occupies the largest part of the region that is currently known as Middle East. Although Arab Region was full of what pushes its peoples for unity and grouping, it lived centuries suffering from tearing and separation that was forced by foreign and colonial forces⁽¹⁾. Islamic religion was and still the symbol of uniting Arab peoples, in language, customs, traditions, history, sort, and

⁽¹⁾ Mufid Shehab: League of Arab States, its charter and achievements - Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization - Institute of Research and Arab Studies - League of Arab States, Cairo, 1978, P.2.

environment, regularly in Islamic religion time since prophet Muhammad, may Allah bless and grant him peace, started his mission for this true religion⁽¹⁾.

In a quick view for the Arab Nation, we notice that it lived its most aesthetic ages when it was united, strong holding a human message to all human societies. Then, the retreat started after the division started to spread through it, and enemies who forced it to divide into countries that suffer from all types of tardiness and ignorance till now started to collude against it⁽²⁾.

The most prominent Arab Unity attempts:

Arab Unity was and still represent a hope that continually came to a lot of Arab homeland sons. Whenever the ways come close to achieving this hope, the conditions unite to break it up. Here is always the hard problem that the world most resemblance regions in religion, language, culture, civilizational heritage and geographical extension are the most tripped in finding a way to pull itself together and increase its unity and association⁽³⁾.

The dream of Arab unity started to grow by Arab awareness growing, therefore, all the Arab countries have sought to it in a way that does not contrary to its interests. Establishing Arab central government leads to uniting their efforts in facing colonial cupidities.

By the first half of the nineteenth calendar century, many attempts of Arab unity arose, the most important of them was this that Mohammed Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt, did to Ottoman Empire since the beginning of his rule in Egypt in 1805; after he succeeded in establishing a new country at Egypt, this attracted him to establish an Arab Empire that combines the entire Arab countries under his leadership. Mohammed Ali succeeded in holding sway over the Arabian Peninsula and Sudan in 1821, and over the Levant in 1832, but he faced many obstacles during achieving this unity that led to failure. This is the first attempt in Ottoman times to combine and unite Arab.⁽⁴⁾ Britain and other colonial forces dealt with this attempt in London conference that was held in 1840, and ended by the existing of Mohammed Ali from the Levant and staying in Egypt and Sudan⁽⁵⁾.

But the real beginning of the Arab unity was when king Abdulaziz started to seek to the first steps on the way that leads to establishing Arab unity among Arabs, when he sent three of his men with the book, holding to Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali, King of Hijaz in 1914, to Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah in Kuwait, to Bin Al-Rashid in Ha'il, and to Imam Yahya in Yemen, requesting from and encouraging them to gather and confer in this crucial time, in order to unite their word and ranks; but all of them ignored this idea and did not respond to king Abdulaziz's

⁽¹⁾ Abdullah Al-Misned: International and Regional organizations and its effect on Islamic world, ed.2, Dar Al-Manar, Cairo, 1992, P.44.

⁽²⁾ Hassan Tawalbeh: League of Arab States in the era of regional blocs, a group of researchers, ed.1, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, 2002, P.65

⁽³⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: Introductions and developments of establishing League of Arab States, vol.3, Egyptian Book Authority, Cairo, 2006, P.6.

⁽⁴⁾ Abdul Rahim Abdul Rahman: Modern and contemporary history Ed 2, Arab University Book House, Cairo, 2002, p. 229-234.

⁽⁵⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: League of Arab States establishment, vol 3, p.7.

call⁽¹⁾. Of king Abdulaziz sayings to Bin Al-Rashid: (I see that war broke out to gather to study, maybe we agree on what save Arabs from their horrors, or maybe we ally with one country to save our rights and enhance our interests)⁽²⁾.

Ibn Saud was earlier than Al-Hussain with the idea of unity or League of Arab States, moreover Al-Hussain joined to English, allied with them and carried out his great revolution after King Abdulaziz Al Saud's offer who did not want benefit for himself, but for all Arabs and Muslims⁽³⁾. King Abdulaziz sent also to Ottoman government suggesting to it to start and invite Arabs to a conference on which Ottoman Empire does not have sovereignty, in order to unite Arab countries in one political bulk, or through formulating states that are associated to each other to achieve the Nation interests. This step is the first one towards unity that King Abdulaziz introduced, and called for cooperation, reunification of the Arabs and their word. King Abdulaziz did not stop his constant support for the matter of Arab unity in his policy that he followed thereafter⁽⁴⁾. During the First World War years, it was indicated to the Arab Secret Organizations leaders that it was the time for Arabs movement. Revolution was the only way through which they achieved their hopes of unity to which they seek; so they called Al-Sharif Hussein to lead their revolution against Turkish after the allies' balance weighed. In the light of that, Al-Sharif Hussein announced the formulation of a united Arab country⁽⁵⁾.

This political movement began after several correspondences between Sharif Hussein and the British high commissioner to Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon ⁽⁶⁾, after that Sharif Hussein announced his revolution that began in Makkah Al-Mukarramah on 10 June 1916 AD, declaring independence and revolution⁽⁷⁾, and one of its most important goals was liberating the Arabs and achieve their independence and unity. After Sharif Hussein received guarantees from Britain to sponsor this unity and take care of the interests and achieve their independence, and their hopes

⁽¹⁾ Ahmed Attar: Saqr Al-Jazira, Vol 6, P1195, Khayr Al-Din Al-Zirikli: Al-Wajeez in King Abdulaziz biography, p.277

⁽²⁾ Noura Al-Dhuibi: King Abdulaziz Bin Abdulrahman Al Saud's situation from the Second World War (1358-1364 AH/ 1939-1939-1945 AD), unpublished Master Thesis, Umm Al-Qura University, Makkah Al-Mukarramah, 1431 AH /2010 AD, P. 191

⁽³⁾ Ahmed Attar: Saqr Al Jazeera, p.1195.

⁽⁴⁾ Khayr Al-Din Al-Zirikli: Al-Wajeez in King Abdulaziz biography, p.277

⁽⁵⁾ Ali Muhafaza: The Historical Origins of the League of Arab States, p. 33.

⁶ Sir Henry McMahon (1278-1368 A.H.) (1862-1949 A.D.) the British High Commissioner in Egypt, the owner of the famous correspondence with Sharif Husayn, he studied at Heliberg Military College and graduated from it as an army officer in 1300 A.H. / 1883 A.D., then he worked in the political department of the Government of India until he reached the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Government of British India position in 1328-1332 AH / 1911-1914 AD, and in 1332 AH / 1914 AD, he was appointed as the first high commissioner to Egypt after the declaration of British protection over it. He also attended the peace conference in the International Committee for the Middle East as a representative of Britain in 1337 AH / 1919 AD. Najda Safwa: The Arabian Peninsula in British Documents, Vol. 1, p. 117.

⁽⁷⁾ Amin Al-Rihani: Recent History of Najd, p. 210; Amin Saeed: The Great Arab Revolt, pg. 147; Abd al-Rahim Abd al-Rahman: History of Modern and Contemporary Arabs, p. 300.

and aspirations were strengthened in the allies in order to fulfill their promises in obtaining the Arab peoples right to self-determination, but those promises were nothing but illusions, The Allies imposed occupation and mandate on the Arabs, and breaking up their countries⁽¹⁾.

Also during the First World War, the Arab region witnessed the beginning of forming a new political map for dividing the Arab countries after Sykes-Picot Agreement. On 16 May 1916 AD and Balfour Declaration ⁽²⁾ in 1917 AD, which gives a homeland to the Jews in Palestine, in preparation for the British and French hegemony over the Arab region and even the entire Middle East region⁽³⁾ and early of 1919 AD, the Arab movement aimed at independence was accompanied by efforts aimed at Arab unity, and this unity began to find great popular support, but it lacked the most important intellectual frameworks and organizational foundations⁽⁴⁾

During the period between the two world wars, the first and the second, the Arab resistance to foreign colonialism continued to get rid of colonial control. This resistance has yielded a certain degree of independence for some countries after the Arab consciousness opened up and matured in all Arab countries. As a result, several revolutions took place, including: The popular revolution in Egypt, led by Saad Zaghloul against the British occupation in 1919 AD, the Syrian revolution against the French Mandate in 1919-1920 AD, and in Palestine and Iraq in 1920 AD.⁽⁵⁾

By early of thirties of the twentieth century AD, unionism tendencies began to take place in the Arab political movements as a reaction to the narrow national tendencies, and as an expression of the desire and aspirations of the masses for unity. The Arab nationalists in Asia seized the opportunity of their meeting in Jerusalem during the Islamic Conference that was held in 1931 AD, to discuss aspects of the Arab issue, and accordingly an Arab charter was formulated in which all efforts are unified in all Arab countries to achieve unity, and among its most important articles are:

Article one: The Arab countries are a complete and indivisible unit, and all kinds of divisions that the Arab countries have gone through is not approved or recognized by the nation.

Article 2: Unifying efforts in all Arab countries to be one main goal, which is achieving independence.

Article 3: The Arab nation rejects and resists all forms of colonialism because it contradicts the dignity of the Arab nation

⁽¹⁾ Maysoon Obeidat: The League of Arab States p. 5-6.

⁽²⁾ Balfour Declaration or promise: (Balfour Declaration) issued by the British government through a letter sent by Arthur James Balfour on Muharram 17 AH / November 2, 1917 AD to Lord Lionel Walter, in which he refers to the the British government support to the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, and the Balfour Declaration is considered one of the earliest international historical documents in history. Firas Al-Bitar: The Political and Military Encyclopedia, Part 2, International Publishing House, Beirut, 1431 AH / 2010 AD, pp. 486-487.

⁽³⁾ Ali Muhafaza: The Historical Origins of the League of Arab States, p. 32.

⁽⁴⁾ Khalil Al-Hadithi:: The League of Arab States in the era of regional blocs, p. 38.

⁽⁵⁾ Nabi Abdul Qadir: the League of Arab States,role p. 38.

After the death of the King of Iraq, Faisal I, in 1933 A.D.⁽¹⁾, there was only Abdul Aziz Al Saud on the Arab scene, and a number of leaders of the national movements in Syria and Palestine gathered around him, as King Abdul Aziz concluded several alliances and treaties of friendship with most Arab countries. For example, the treaty between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which Iraq joined in May 1936 AD, and the Kingdom of Yemen joined later in April 1937 AD, and this indicates that King Abdul Aziz was at the forefront of those calling for the reunification of the Arabs and their word.

On 29 May 1941 AD, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated the need for uniting and gather the Arab and their word, and that must come from the Arabs themselves. Almost a year after this statement, in Jumada al-Awwal 1361 AH / June 1942 AD, the Egyptian Prime Minister Mustafa al-Nahhas called for establishing Arab unity, as well. Nuri Al-Saeed provided a federal project known as the (Blue Book) to the British Minister of State, Mr. Casey, on Muharram 8, 1362 AH / 14 January, 1943. His memorandum included the following points:

- 1- Reuniting Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and southeast of Jordan into one state.
- 2- Establishing a League of Arab States to which Iraq and Syria would join, and the field would be opened to the rest of the Arab countries.
- 3- Giving the Jews local rule in the places where they form the majority of the population.
- 4- this League of Arab States should have a permanent council that handles defense and foreign affairs, to be nominated by the states of league members.⁽²⁾

After presenting this project, the British Minister of State, who resides in Cairo, held talks with King Abdul Aziz on 28 and 30 December and 1943 AD in Jeddah, as King Abdulaziz affirmed through this meeting his support for all economic cooperation between Arab countries under British supervision, as for unity, he rejects it due to family considerations.⁽³⁾ Egypt also opposed this project because it believes that it will lead to the extension of Iraqi influence into the regions of the Fertile Crescent, and this leads to the decline of Egypt's influence in those regions⁽⁴⁾

After that the voices began to call for Arab unity, aiming at uniting the Arab countries, with the aim of finally getting rid of control and dependence, and the call for Arab unity began to spread with strong echoes in various Arab societies, and in light of this climate, the call for establishing a unitary entity that brings together the independent Arab countries under its banner, and helping the rest of Arab countries, which haven't yet attained independence ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Van der Meulen: King Ibn Saud and the rising Arabian Peninsula, Wessi E C translation. on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King Abdul Aziz House, Riyadh, 1419 AH / 1999 AD, p. 121.

⁽²⁾ Ahmed Faris: The League of Arab States (1945-1985 AD), a historical and political study, Ed1, Arab Unity Studies center, Beirut, 1968 pp. 12-13.

⁽³⁾ Ali Muhafaza: The Historical Origins of the League of Arab States, p. 43.

⁽⁴⁾ Nisreen Al-Hamdani: Regional and international variables and their impact on the League of Arab States and the League's reform initiatives; Published master's thesis, Mutah University, Jordan, 2007pp. 22-23.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid., pg. 12..

Although the call for Arab unity was on the table several centuries ago, the idea of establishing a unified Arab organization did not become clear until after World War II. The Western colonial powers, particularly Britain, sought to mitigate Arab hostility. On the contrary, they tried to win over all Arab countries to their side⁽¹⁾.

It is clear from the foregoing that King Abdul Aziz had a real and sincere desire to establish cooperation and an alliance between the Arab countries. He consistently urged Arabs and Muslims to ally and unite for the benefit of the Arab nation. In return, he rejected any unitary projects that served personal purposes or did not serve the interests of Arabs and their unity.

Second: The history of the League of Arab States:

The League of Arab States was established among a group of newly established Arab countries, some of which are related with historical, religious, social and linguistic links, most of which were established after the first world war. Asia Arab countries were then divided into Ottoman Empire provinces and after its collapse during the first world war, its assets were distributed to the victorious countries. African Arab countries were under foreign occupation before the first world war and lately gained independence⁽²⁾.

So, the League of Arab States establishment came under extraordinary circumstances, where the Arab countries lived under extreme conditions under colonial occupation, and League of Arab States combined both the Arab and colonial countries' volition, specifically Britain, in addition to the great pressures exerted by Arab public opinion.⁽³⁾ The League of Arab States establishment is a reflection of genuine ties between Arab countries, as the Arab governments have realized that their economic and military weakness does not insure the countries' security based on their power and the Arab countries' subjection to Western colonialism has made them pay particular attention to international security guarantees rather than military relying.⁽⁴⁾ The League of Arab States is the first step towards unity and was established to particularly defend Arab Member countries' interests and generally Arab societies. This is the fundamental core and objective for which it was established⁽⁵⁾.

The national trend has been growing towards the establishment that is consistent with the future generation aspirations in the Arab countries and on the other side, the European Colonial Powers are trying to engage with existing Arab regimes at that time to create a form of regional organization that includes the generation aspirations without achieving it. As a result, the League

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p.12

⁽²⁾ Suhayl Fatlāwī League of Arab States faces globalization challenges, Vol2, Ed1, Al-Hamid Publishing and Distribution House, Jordan, 2011, p.17.

⁽³⁾ Abd an-Nabi Abdel Qader : The League of Arab States role, p. 34.

⁽⁴⁾ Gamel Aref: Confidential notes pages of the first Secretary of the League of Arab States, Abdulrahman Azam, Vol1, D,Ed. Modern Egyptian Printing and Publishing Office, Cairo, D. d: P 261.

⁽⁵⁾ Ghalib Al-Otaibi: League of Arab States and Arab Disputes Resolution, Ed1, Naif Arab University for Security Sciences, Riyadh, 2010, p.5.

of Arab States has come to light, carrying three variables: National thought, International forces intervention, and country regions and national dominance⁽¹⁾.

The idea of establishing Arab society including Arab countries thus emerged, while the Second World War in its fourth year ⁽²⁾ carried out a series of Arab and international variables. The implementation steps for the League of Arab States establishment have begun since the early 1940s⁽³⁾.

Although the Arab countries suffered from challenges during the Second World War years, Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, on 27 May 1941, submitted a memorandum entitled "The Arab Policy of Britain", in which he showed Britain's non-opposition with the establishment of an Arab Union decided by themselves, and then said: The Arab Union is not politically practical at the moment because of the Saudi antagonism and Iraq's desire to be the leader of the Arabs, and it is not currently possible. On the other side, there is no harm in declaring the British Government's support for the Arab union and achieving Arab aspirations.

The designated name of the League of Arab States is Egypt after its submission to the Preparatory Committee on 2 October 1944. This was preceded by several proposals such as Syrian calling it (Arab Alliance), and the Iraqi proposal to call it (European Union) After discussing all proposals under this protocol, the Arab countries declared their agreement on cooperation and solidarity within an official organization with the name (League of Arab States),⁽⁴⁾ on October 7, 1944, thus establishing the League of Arab States. The Charter of the League of Arab States was published on March 8, 1945, and was signed by seven independent Arab countries at that time: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and then Saudi Arabia, and open the space for other countries to join in the future.⁽⁵⁾

According to Chapter 8 of the Charter of the UN, the League of Arab States is a regional organization for the availability of international regulation conditions: peace and regional and social solidarity, in addition to its internal organizational elements, which indicate that the establishment of a regional organization must always be open to countries with geographical unity, interests unity, and objectives and seek to defend its common determination, preserve

⁽¹⁾ Khalil Al-Hadithi:: Arab system and League of Arab States reforming, Ed1, Bait AlHikma, Baghdad, 2001, p.56; Gamel Mattar: League of Arab States, Arab Regional System, and 1980s challenges, seminar, League of Arab States Reality and Ambition, Ed1, CAUS, Beirut, 1982, p.128.

⁽²⁾ Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli: Al-Wajeez in King Abdulaziz biography, p278

⁽³⁾ The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the League of Arab States Selected attitudes and documents, King Abdulaziz House, Riyadh, 1437/2015, p.12.

⁽⁴⁾ Gamel Aref: Confidential notes of the first Secretary of the League of Arab States, Vol1, p263.

⁽⁵⁾ Hafiz Wahba indicated that Lord Killearn mentioned to him in Dhu 'hajjah 1362

AH/December 1943 that he told El Nahas and Nuri al-Said that we Shouldn't neglect the island man (King Abdulaziz) The man has the ability and experience and after consideration Fifty years in the Arabian Island, p.205; Ahmed Attar: Saqr Al-Jazira, Vol, P1199, Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli: Al-Wajeez in King Abdulaziz biography, p278

security and peace and strengthen cooperation ties in the various economic, cultural and social fields of these countries' region⁽¹⁾.

The legal and actual description of the League of Arab States is that it is an international organization whose objective is to regulate relations between sovereign countries relating to the Arab Nations, and it is compiled by an international system that is once described as a subsystem of a general international system, a regional system or a national regional system. In any case, it is an Arab system. Arabism is a distinctive common feature of the system's parties and its units⁽²⁾.

Since the League of Arab States' establishment till nowadays, its process hasn't been festivities and holidays, but a continuous cycle of struggle included with success and failure. It seeks to preserve its entity in the first place and then perform its duties thereafter.

Arab leaders' perspective who participated in the League of Arab States establishment idea in that era was insightful and cooperation language among Arab countries was one of the first forms of the regional international organization that our modern world and its importance remains to date⁽³⁾.

According to the previous, the League of Arab States establishment idea is a victory for Arab unity calling for Arab countries' sovereignty and independence and rejecting all the fragmentation and division projects that Western countries were seeking to achieve.

Third: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia efforts of establishing League of Arab States:

Saudi Arabia is eager to encourage any idea to bring Arab Unity and save their Islamic identities. It supported the idea of establishing and supporting the League of Arab States "after all doubts dispelled about British intentions, who had begun to support the idea of establishing it". Saudi Arabia, together with other Arab States, has supported the progress and construction of the League of Arab States in all its branches and committees in order to achieve the objective for which it was established. Saudi Arabia has played positive roles and effort in the service of the issues of the Islamic Ummah and mediating the resolution of many of them. This role reflects the position and size of Saudi Arabia at the religious, economic, political and geographical level.

Saudi Arabia's efforts in preliminary consultations:

Since its establishment, Saudi Arabia has realized the importance of joint Arab action and the unification of Arab positions. Therefore, it was and still utilizing all its possibilities, capabilities and human and material resources to maintain the integrity, unity and solidarity of the Arab nation.

Saudi Arabia was and still playing a leading role at the regional and Arab levels. This was illustrated by its policy efforts on many issues in the Arab arena⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Abdulaziz Sarhan : Regional organizations, Ed1, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, Egypt, 1975, p.31.

⁽²⁾ Khalil Al-Hadithi:: League of Arab States in the era of regional blocs, p11

⁽³⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: League of Arab States establishment, vol 3, p.16.

⁽⁴⁾ Mansur Al-Mansur: Foreign Policy in the Arab Framework and Saudi Role and the most important factors affecting it, in The Foreign Policy of the Kingdom Of Saudi Arabia In One

During World War II and in the early 1940s, Mostafa el-Nahas to survey Arab Governments in Rabi' Al-Awwal 1362 AH/March AC1943 AD to bring the point of view closer together and know their position on the issue of Arab unity among them. Therefore, el-Nahas issued invitations to Arab Governments to hold bilateral consultations on their perception of Arab Unity. Arab delegations began arriving in Cairo, including the Saudi delegation. Mustafa al-Nahas, Chairman of the Committee, King Abdelaziz was officially invited to participate in the several months of preliminary consultations. The reason for this delay was that each delegation met with the Egyptian delegation separately to discuss views on the idea of Arab unity.

El-Nahas asked King Abdelaziz to send a representative to Egypt to consult on preliminary consultations and share perspectives and El-Nahas told the King the content of the consultations between him and Nouri Al-Saeed. Initially, King Abdul Aziz's position rejected the idea, because of his doubts about Nouri's Al-Saeed intentions. Thus, the King answered El-Nahas request with an extensive writing in which he mentioned some of the matters relating to Nouri and the doubts about him. Nouri al-Saeed project was The Fertile Crescent Unity, which was rejected by King Abdelaziz; because he believed that there were no longer hidden objectives behind them, through which Nouri seek to annex Syria and Palestine to Iraq, as well as Nouri personal interests. King Abdelaziz believed that Nouri action was a threat to the security and stability of Saudi Arabia⁽¹⁾..

El-Nahas understood the importance of King Abdul Aziz's participation for his high position in the Arab and Islamic worlds. Moreover, he grew tired of Nouri al-Saeed's moves to support the Greater Syria project. El-Nahas did not accept a union led by Iraq as a major force affecting the region, which meant isolation of Saudi Arabia and Egypt⁽²⁾.

Mostafa El-Nahas sent a special envoy to Riyadh to discuss with King Abdul-Aziz, and Kamel Hobeisha, the envoy of el-Nahas, arrived in Riyadh on September 20, 1943, verbal message conveyed was conveyed to King Abdul-Aziz in addition to that Al-Nahas had great hopes on Saudi Arabia's participation in the preliminary consultations.

King Abdul-Aziz responded to El-Nahas with a letter in which he said: (He is no doubt about the nobility of the intention and sincerity of El-Nahas, and that the idea of forming a union with a central Government currently has considerable difficulties and obstacles, which push us to exclude it, because its research is a waste of time, provoking conflict and strife between Arab States) as King Abdelaziz added in his response to El-Nahas: (As your highness took the lead in seeking to convene a meeting that includes representatives of Arab governments, and as we consider that any meeting is a good thing with Allah willing, and as we are convinced that your initiative requires our support; we are ready to send a personal envoy, so people know that we agree together)

After that, King Abdul Aziz sent his advisor, Sheikh Yusuf Yassin, to Cairo to meet Mostafa el-Nahas on October 11, 1943 AD. Consultations began between el-Nahas and Yusuf

Hundred Years, Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Al-Istifa Printing Corporation, Riyadh 1419 AH, p.173.

⁽¹⁾ Noura Al-Thwaini: The Position of King Abdul Aziz On The Second World War p. 197.

⁽²⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: Establishing the League of Arab States (LAS), vol , p.76.

Yassin, which focused on some of the positions of the Saudi side, in addition to strengthening relations with Egypt for the benefit of the Arab nation, and emphasizing that the objective of this gathering is in the interest of the Arab nation, and the moves to be based on a careful study of the conditions of the Arab nation for the benefit of it.⁽¹⁾

Consultations continued until the fifth meeting between El-Nahhas and Sheikh Yusuf Yassin on ⁽²⁾ 2 November 1943, the records of which were very brief and general. The Saudi delegation expressed its willingness to cooperate in all economic and cultural fields. Political cooperation demanded that the delegation postpone its research between the Arab States currently and the Greater Syria and The Fertile Crescent was rejected by Sheikh Yusuf Yassin.⁽³⁾

Three main trends appeared through preliminary consultations:

First trend: Calling for Syria unity, which consists of Syria, Lebanon, eastern Jordan, and Palestine, under the leadership of Prince Abdullah bin al-Hussein, and Nouri Al-Saeed supported him because he understands this is as a step to achieve his unitary project, the fertile crescent.

Second trend: Calling for establishing a unified country including fertile crescent countries leading by Iraq, this trend is adopted by Iraq leaders and syrian political

Third trend: Calling for great and comprehensive union including Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Yemen in addition to fertile crescent countries⁽⁴⁾.

Before Nouri al-Saeed began his discussions with Mustafa Al-Nahhas on the Fertile Crescent Territorial Unity Project.⁽⁵⁾ The British ambassador advised him not to compete with Saudi Arabia, as the British Government has instructed Nouri Al-Saeed since beginning his endeavors to achieve his project, to understand what King Abdul Aziz thinks, and not to ignore or challenge Saudi Arabia's main and effective role⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p.80-28.

⁽²⁾ Youssef Yassin: (1285-1381H) (1896-1962) was Sheikh Youssef Yassin Mohamed Yassin, born in Latakia, Syria, in 1285 H/1896, where he stayed and learned in Egypt; then moved to work in Mecca with King Hussein bin Ali and then with his son Abdullah in the Emirate of Transjordan, after leaving the work, he went to Al-Quds, then Damascus. He met King Abdulaziz in Riyadh and felt his confidence, and King Abdulaziz commended him for the management of Umm Al-Qura newspaper, and then appointed him as chief editor, Amin Al-Rihani: The history of najd hadith, p.36.

⁽³⁾ Ahmed Al-Qushairi: The League of Arab States, how to be a league, how to be Arab, Dar Bou Salama, Tunisia, 1979, p55-57.

⁽⁴⁾ Ali Muhafaza: The history of the League of Arab States, p.447, Mona Al-Abed Al-Alt Jordan's political role in the League of Arab States between the years (1953-1974 AD) unpublished PhD Thesis, College of Graduate Studies, Jordan University, 2009, p.9; Mofeed Shehab: The League of Arab States p.10-11.

⁽⁵⁾ Fertile Crescent: American historian James used this term, meaning the fertile crescent-shaped land from southern Iraq to the north to the Mediterranean, which includes the following countries (Syria, Lebanon, eastern Jordan, Palestine, and Iraq). The reason for this name is because that countries geographically take the crescent form, in addition to being fertile agricultural lands, Mufid Shehab, League of Arab States, p. 11.

⁽⁶⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: Establishing the League of Arab States (LAS), vol 3, p.42.

Based on the aforementioned, it is clear that the reason for Saudi Delegation's request for delaying the completion of political cooperation between the Arab States was due to the reason that the Saudi delegation did not have opinions or proposals, which are being previously studied. In addition, the delegation had no knowledgeable about the main content of the negotiations and points around which the negotiations revolved. Moreover, King Abdul-Aziz policy in most situations has always been cautious and recreational, because the King still had concerns about the two Greater Syria projects announced by Prince Abdullah, and the Fertile Crescent announced by Nouri Al-Saeed, both of which he saw as threatening and dangerous to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its efforts in the Preparatory Committee:

With the end of preliminary negotiations at the beginning of the year 1944 AD, coinciding with the end of Second World War, in response to the intensification of calling for Arab Unity for Public Opinion of all kinds, such as journals and parties. On 12 July 1944 AD, the Prime minister of Egypt, Mustafa El Nahas invited Arab Governments that participated in the preliminary negotiations to send their delegates to participate in the Preparatory Committee for the General Arab Conference, which will formulate Arab unity projects.⁽¹⁾

The Preparatory Committee came together in Alexandria with the delegates from Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Eastern Jordan, Yemen, and representatives of Palestinian Arabs and eight consecutive meetings and began its first work on September 25, 1944 and lasted until October 7, 1944, The representatives of Saudi Arabia and Yemen failed to attend. At the outset, King Abdulaziz was not hasty with the idea of establishing the League of Arab States, for what we have stated about the intentions of Nouri Al-Saeed and the United Kingdom, King Abdul Aziz decided to wait for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to sign the Charter of the League of Arab States until the image becomes clear.

There have been a lots of attempts for the sake of dissuading King Abdul Aziz from his opinion, but the king dug in his heels. In addition, King Abdul Aziz believed that someone like Anthony Eden could not suggest to Arab states the idea of establishing the League of Arab States unless Britain had colonial purposes.

Abdulrahman Azam through his confidential notes sees that⁽²⁾ he was tasked with participating in the negotiations of the Arab States. At that time, he was serving as an ambassador of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the Hajj, Abdulrahman Azam was traveling to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as he had another mission before returning to Cairo, which is about meeting King Abdul Aziz for the sake of talking him into joining the League of

⁽¹⁾ Hafez Wahba: Fifty years in the Arabian Island, p.205; Ali Muhafaza: Historical origin of League of Arab States, P48, Ahmad Al Shugairi: League of Arab States how to be a league, P 86.

⁽²⁾ On Shaban 1310 AH/ March 1892 AD, Abdul Rahman Hassan Salem Azzam (1310 - 1396 AH/ 1892 -1976 AD) was born at the western village of Shoubak, Giza Governorate. He became the first Secretary of the League of Arab States at 8 Rabi Al-Thani 1364 AH / March 22, 1945 AD until 1371 AH / 1952 AD. For more information, see Ahmad Al-Alawneh, Nayl Al-Alam book, Vol.1, Dar Al-Manara Publisher, Jeddah 1422 AH/ 2002 AD, P100.

Arab States, Azam details what King Abdul Aziz said to some of his advisers: (If Azam meets me, I must enter the League of Arab States, but I do not want to enter it in this way). With the end of hajj, Azam went to Prince Faisal and being the King's Viceroy of Hijaz and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and informed him of his desire to meet King Abdul Aziz, who was in Riyadh and has not been out that year for hajj. Prince Faisal has stated that he wouldn't leave the Kingdom until meeting King Abdul Aziz. Azzam was keen on not to going back to Cairo without the permission of King Abdul Aziz for joining the League of Arab States.

With the presence of Azzam in Jeddah, he got sick, as he was determined to travel to Riyadh for the sake of meeting King Abdulaziz. When Prince Faisal found out his illness and desire to meet King Abdul Aziz, he tried to convince him to stay in Jeddah until he recovery, and then he could travel to meet King Abdulaziz in Riyadh. But Azam insisted on traveling, while he was sick. When Prince Faisal sent a telegram to his father King Abdulaziz to tell him about it and that the man was putting his own life at risk, on the same night, King Abdulaziz replied: (Stop Azzam from being travel by plane, and I will get it myself with Riyadh to meet him in Jeddah). King Abdulaziz arrived in Jeddah and met with Azzam after several days. During the meeting, Abdul Rahman Azzam was managed to disprove allay King Abdulaziz's concerns and remove his doubts about the idea of establishing the League of Arab States. Regarding the British role in the idea of establishing the League and its colonial goals, and the doubts that the king had about Britain's goals, Azzam addressed him by stating: (O long-lived, that is probably true, but it is important that this League of Arab States to be established, and Arabs can make it a tool that works in their service, not in the service of Britain)⁽¹⁾.

King Abdul Aziz agreed to sign the Pact after this meeting with Abdul Rahman Azzam, and then King Abdul Aziz sent a special envoy with a letter to King Farouk, after the Saudi envoy addressed King Farouk by stating: (Long-lived has no impediment to signing the Pact after what he had heard from Azzam, and Saudi Arabia's desire is to his selection in particularly to serve as Secretary-General of the League to ensure that the League is in the service of Arabs and does not go to the ranks of English politics)⁽²⁾.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia thus was presented in the preliminary negotiations to establish the League of Arab States since its beginning until the signing of the Alexandria Protocol, which means the approval of the Charter of the League of Arab States.

King Abdul Aziz's position of establishing League of Arab States:

The King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud was a good negotiator, strong willed and faithful in the issues of his people and his Arab and Islamic nation, convinced and called for that his country is a part of the international community, it has interests with all the world's countries, as well as with them. Hence the King Abdulaziz Initiative and his contribution to the establishment of the

⁽¹⁾ Gamel Aref: Confidential notes of the first Secretary of the League of Arab States, Vol, p 264-265.

⁽²⁾ Ibid: P266.

League of Arab States⁽¹⁾. King Abdulaziz's policy in the Arab field was based on clear stark display, as it was based on the defense of every country and Arab region, preserving the independence and freedom of the Arab countries, and seek to liberate other countries that were still subject to colonialism ⁽²⁾.

King Abdulaziz was also keen to establish an Arab unit based on religious foundations, far from the Arab nationalities that spread at the time. King Abdulaziz was not seeking to establish that Arab unit for his own benefit, but he was honest in his call for preserve the unity of the Arab nation and its entity.⁽³⁾ he believed that this unity takes place only after the liberation of all Arab countries from the constraints of colonial treaties Its obligations limiting its sovereignty, freedom and independence. Whenever that happened to every Arab country has its freedom, sovereignty and independence, Arab unity advocates are the Arabs themselves.⁽⁴⁾

King Abdulaziz's attitude on negotiations and meetings before establishing the League of Arab States is based on two main factors:

The first factor: King Abdulaziz had doubts about Nouri al-Saeed's intentions, Prime Minister of Iraq, who called for an Arab unit founded only on the territorial unit of the Fertile Crescent, and also on his personal interests, a project to create a greater Syria with the help and instruction of Prince Abdullah, Prince of Emirate of Transjordan. His suspicions were due to the fear that such Hashemite projects might endanger Saudi Arab's security and safety.

The second factor: King Abdul Aziz's suspicion that the British are the main driver to establishing the League of Arab States, despite the friendship between both, the interests of the Arab nation come first⁽⁵⁾.

King Abdulaziz policy became obvious, which was based on a clear principle for all, and that is every government free in its country, and no one has a purpose in anyone, so Egypt for Egypt, Palestine is for Palestine, Syria is for Syria, Iraq is for Iraq, Yemen is for Yemen, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Harmony shall spread among Arabic government and leaving the controversial which is usefulness to Arabs.⁽⁶⁾

In 1943, Egyptian prime minister Mustafa Al-Nahhas was addressed a formal invitation to King Abdul Aziz to participate in the preliminary consultations, which lasted for several for several months. The Negotiations of the consultation in the League of Arab States has recorded keenness of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to be the League to serve Arab interests, Sheikh

⁽¹⁾ Mostafa Alem: Factors building King Abdulaziz's personality and its impact on his political orientation, in *The Foreign Policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* book in One Hundred Years, Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Al-Istifa Printing Corporation, Riyadh 1419 AH, p.112.

⁽²⁾ Salahuddin Al-Mukhtar: *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, p 467.

⁽³⁾ Muhammad Al-Khudairi: The development of the external police during the reign of King Abdul Aziz. And the kingdom role in establishing and supporting political, regional and international organizations. within the *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's book in 100 years, research and studies*, King Abdulaziz foundation, Riyadh, 2007.

⁽⁴⁾ Salahuddin Al-Mukhtar: *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, p 467.

⁽⁵⁾ Noura Al-Thwaini: *The Position Of King Abdul Aziz On The Second World War* p. 197.

⁽⁶⁾ Ahmed Gomaa: *Establishing the League of Arab States (LAS)*, vol 3, p. 43.

Youssef Yassin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1943 AD, carried a letter addressed to Mustafa Al-Nahhas (The Saudi government was and still to be, active and willing to collect the word of "Arabs", and it would like to see the word of Arab states combined together and agreed on strong principle and foundations which would calm down to what the Arab nation aspires to, so it costs me to clear this principle to be considered The work of the committees and in preparing for the Conference meeting). was accomplished by Anzak Khair al-Din al-Zarkali who served as Minister Plenipotentiary in Cairo.

Sheikh Youssef Yassin presented a number of principles that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia considers important to be observed in the university project, During the Negotiations that began on October 11, 1943, the first was that the League seek to hold an alliance between the Arab States that seeks its solidarity and cooperation, and that the Arabs Alliance is not antagonistic, not for any nation, but for self-defense and peace among all. On 16th January 2016 Sheikh Youssef Yassin assigned the Charter of the League of Arab States and the assigning of the Charter was the beginning of the official declaration of the birth of the League of Arab States⁽¹⁾

April 12, 1945, King Abdulaziz ratified the Charter of the League of Arab States thus, the Saudi Arabia became a founding member in the League of Arab States, which considers the most important gesture of Arab diplomacy, established to face the external threats against the Arab world⁽²⁾

Attar said: (If anyone has a favor in the League of Arab States, then after God, to Abn Saud, shared by his brothers, Arab kings, rulers and princes. The idea is basically for Abn Saud, and without him the League of Arab States Nations cannot be established. Without the Hijaz, Nejd, Mecca, Medina and the Haramain, there will be neither Arabism nor Islam, also Egypt has merit in bringing together the Arab nations in its land)⁽³⁾.

It is clear from the foregoing that King Abdul Aziz, despite his reservation to the University's draft protocol, has effectively contributed in establishing and supporting the League of Arab States after doubts about the purpose of establishing the League have been removed. This is based on his previous calls for Arab unity and solidarity, and his keenness about his country's relationship with Arab States should be based on friendship and good-neighborliness, and decisions should be based on balance and contemplate, according to unshakable faith convictions. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia maintains its unity and sovereignty as well as the rest of the Arab States.

Conclusion:

Since its unification, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was keen to Strength its various relations with all Arab states, this is due to religious, historical and geographical interdependence. Furthermore, the kingdom never against Arab unity, but called for it. Supporting it as a nucleus

⁽¹⁾ The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the League of Arab States Selected positions and documents, seventy-year anniversary on the establishing of the League of Arab States, King Abdulaziz Administration, Riyadh, 1437, 2015, p.18.

⁽²⁾ Abdul Hakim al-Tahawi: King Faisal and Saudi Foreign Relations, Vol3, Ed93.

⁽³⁾ Ahmed Attar: Saqr Al Jazeera, p. 1196.

of a larger Islamic unit The Kingdom played a leading and major role in the Arab region through its political efforts in many important issues in the Arab arena, It worked effectively in establishing the League of Arab States with its brothers in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen. Iraq, Lebanon and Yemen, as it has been an active and effective member in the decisions of the League of Arab States since its inception, and the position of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its interests in Arab issues have clearly emerged in this direction.

Also, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, since its joining to the League of Arab States, has strived to maintain the unity of the Arab ranks, and has played an important role in supporting the League of Arab States politically and financially since its establishment.

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