



# **SAUDI ARABIA'S CURRICULUM OF INTOLERANCE:**

---

With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education  
Textbooks for Islamic Studies

*Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House*

With the Institute for Gulf Affairs

Copyright © 2006 by Freedom House

Published by the Center for Religious Freedom

Printed in the United States of America. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be used or reproduced in any manner without the written permission of Freedom House, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Center for Religious Freedom  
Freedom House  
1319 18<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: 202-747-7062  
Fax: 202-296-5078  
Website: [www.freedomhouse.org/religion](http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion)

## **ABOUT THE CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

The CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM is a division of Freedom House. Founded more than sixty years ago by Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, and other Americans concerned with the mounting threats to peace and democracy, Freedom House has been a vigorous proponent of democratic values and a steadfast opponent of dictatorship of the far left and the far right. Its Center for Religious Freedom defends against religious persecution of all groups throughout the world. It insists that U.S. foreign policy defend those persecuted for their religion or beliefs around the world, and advocates the right to religious freedom for every individual.

Since its inception in 1986, the Center, under the leadership of human rights lawyer Nina Shea, has reported on the religious persecution of individuals and groups abroad and undertaken advocacy on their behalf in the media, Congress, State Department, and the White House. It also sponsors investigative field missions.

Freedom House is a 501(c)3 organization, headquartered in New York City. Its Center for Religious Freedom is a membership organization and all donations to it are tax-deductible. It is located at 1319 18<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Washington, DC 20036; 202-747-7062; [www.freedomhouse.org/religion](http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion).

## **FREEDOM HOUSE BOARD OF TRUSTEES**

Peter Ackerman, *Chairman*

Stuart Eizenstat, *Vice Chairman*

Mark Palmer, *Vice Chairman*

Walter J. Schloss, *Treasurer*

Ned W. Bandler, *Secretary*

Max Kampelman, *Chairman Emeriti*

Bette Bao Lord, *Chairman Emeriti*

Jacqueline Adams, Kenneth L. Adelman, Bernard Aronson, Alan P. Dye, Thomas S. Foley, Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., Theodore J. Forstmann, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Sidney Harman, Robert Hormats, Samuel P. Huntington, John T. Joyce, Kathryn Dickey Karol, Farooq Kathwari, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Anthony Lake, Nancy L. Lane, Mara Liasson, Jay Mazur, Michael McFaul, John Norton Moore, Azar Nafisi, David Nastro, Andrew Nathan, Diana Villiers Negroponte, P.J. O'Rourke, Nina Rosenwald, David M. Rubenstein, Arthur Waldron, Ruth Wedgwood, Wendell Willkie II.

Jennifer Windsor, *Executive Director*

Richard Sauber, *Of Counsel*

## **CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

Nina Shea, *Director*

Paul Marshall, *Senior Fellow*

Melinda Haring, *Program Director*

## **ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR GULF AFFAIRS**

The primary research for this report was carried out by the Institute for Gulf Affairs. It collected the textbooks and provided excerpts from 12 of them to Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom.

The Institute for Gulf Affairs is an independent, nonpartisan organization that disseminates solid information about the Gulf region and produces thoughtful analyses of Gulf politics and international relations. Based in Washington, DC, the Institute is at the center of a global network of reliable individuals, some of whom, due to the closed nature of the Saudi political system, have no other outlet for their views. In order to fulfill this mission, the Institute convenes conferences in Washington, where informed analysts debate major issues concerning the Gulf countries and US-Gulf Relations; conducts independent research and investigations, reports of which are posted on its website: [www.gulf institute.org](http://www.gulf institute.org); fosters a deeper understanding of the Gulf countries among Washington policymakers and members of the press corps by providing them with up-to-date and exclusive information, and by putting them in contact with reliable analysts; and sponsors task forces whose reports help define the foreign policy agenda.

## **FREEDOM HOUSE'S CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ADVISORY BOARD ON THIS PROJECT**

### **ZAINAB AL-SUWAIJ**

Zainab Al-Suwaij is the co-founder and Executive Director of the American Islamic Congress (AIC). She works with the Anti-Defamation League and Facing History and Ourselves, and serves on Connecticut's Hate Crimes Advisory Board. Al-Suwaij has testified to the Senate, briefed the President and Secretary of State, and works with Congressional leaders. Her writing has appeared in numerous publications, including *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. Since 2003, Al-Suwaij has worked in Iraq to strengthen women's rights and help rebuild the Iraqi education system. She currently leads the State Department-funded Iraqi Women's Educational Institute, which trains female civil society activists in principles of democracy and civic leadership. Al-Suwaij co-founded the Iraqi Women Higher Counsel – which successfully lobbied the Iraqi Interim Governing Council to mandate 25% of parliamentary seats for women – and works with Women Waging Peace.

### **ZEYNO BARAN**

Zeyno Baran is Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Eurasian Policy at the Hudson Institute. As a Nixon Center scholar, she authored the monograph *Hizb ut-Tahrir: Islam's Political Insurgency* and the *Foreign Affairs* article "Fighting the War of Ideas." She delivered Congressional testimony on "Combating al-Qaeda and the Militant Jihadist Threat" and is a co-author of the "Muslim Manifesto," which calls for an end to violence and tyranny in the name of Islam. She has previously served as Director of the Caucasus Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

### **HILLEL FRADKIN**

Hillel Fradkin directs the Hudson Institute's Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World. He founded and now co-edits the journal *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. He received his doctorate in Islamic Studies from the University of Chicago where he studied with the late Fazlur Rahman. Fradkin has taught at the University of Chicago as well as other universities.

### **MARY HABECK**

Mary Habeck, Associate Professor of International Relations, teaches courses on military history and strategic thought at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Before coming to SAIS, she was a professor in Yale University's history department for eleven years. She is the author of *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror*; and *Storm of Steel: The Development of Armor Doctrine in Germany and the Soviet Union, 1919-1939*. She has co-edited two volumes on the First World War and the Spanish Civil War. She is

currently working on a second book on the war on terror entitled *The Jihadist Way of War*.

#### **HUSAIN HAQQANI**

Husain Haqqani is Director of the Center for International Relations at Boston University and author of the book *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*. He has worked as a journalist, diplomat, and advisor to three Pakistani Prime Ministers. He came to the U.S. as a Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is co-Chair of the Hudson Institute's project on Islam and Democracy and co-edits the journal *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*.

#### **R. JAMES WOOLSEY**

R. James Woolsey is Co-Chair of the Committee on The Present Danger. He was Chairman of the Board of Freedom House when it released *Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques* and he authored its Foreword. He served as Director of Central Intelligence from 1993 to 1995 and has practiced law for 22 years. He is now a consultant.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Acknowledgements	8
Foreword Peter Ackerman	9
Summary	11
Introduction	12
About the Report	15
Why This Matters	17
Saudi Claims of Moderation	19
The American Response	21
Conclusion	22
Appendix A: Detailed Textbooks Excerpts	23
Appendix B: Islamic Saudi Academy	31

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

We are grateful to the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, without whose generosity this project would not have been possible.

Freedom House deeply appreciates the volunteers and expert consultants who helped in the preparation of this report. We thank the Institute for Gulf Affairs, especially Director Ali Al-Ahmed, Deputy Director Fahad Nazer, and Research Associate Ronza Yako. Andrea S. Pimm, an Art Director at Heldref Publications, designed the cover.

Freedom House's Executive Director Jennifer Windsor, Deputy Executive Director Thomas O. Melia, and Director of Research Arch Puddington offered valuable editorial advice.

Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom Director Nina Shea wrote and edited the report. Senior Fellow Paul Marshall provided research and editorial advice; Program Director Melinda Haring coordinated the project; and Research Intern Daniel Wilson assisted with media outreach.



## FOREWORD

After the events of September 11, 2001, many thoughtful people – including officials in the governments of the United States and Saudi Arabia – expressed concern that Saudi Arabia’s educational system was actually fostering the intolerance and animosity that helped to lead to the murderous attacks of that day. Subsequently, the UN Arab Development Reports and the 9/11 Commission reports were among those that identified the key role of educational reform in promoting pluralism and the expansion of freedom within the region. In recent years, U.S. foreign policy has made a priority of seeking the reform of educational systems throughout the broader Middle East, including in Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi people themselves have been among those most concerned. One of the most detailed and useful analyses was a study conducted in 2003 by former Saudi judge Sheikh Abd Al-'Aziz Al-Qassem and Saudi author and journalist Ibrahim Al-Sakran, which examined three curricula for Saudi middle and high schools – *Al-Hadith*, a general curriculum on Islamic traditions, *Al-Fiqh*, a curriculum on matters of religious law and ritual, and *Al-Tawhid*, a curriculum on matters of belief. This study was presented at the Second Forum for National Dialogue, held in Saudi Arabia in late December 2003 under the patronage of then-Crown Prince Abdallah Ibn Abd Al-'Aziz and published early the following year. It noted that the Kingdom’s religious studies curriculum “encourages violence toward others, and misguides the pupils into believing that in order to safeguard their own religion, they must violently repress and even physically eliminate the ‘other.’”

While to our knowledge the report was never officially embraced by the Saudi religious or educational establishment, it did demonstrate that hard analysis and clear thinking was occurring in Saudi Arabia. Since then, the Saudi government has stated on numerous occasions that it has taken the necessary actions to revise and reform the state-managed school system to address these concerns. The most recent was a statement on May 18, 2006 by the Saudi foreign minister in a visit to Washington, just as this report was going to press. The minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, in a joint appearance with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, said to journalists that “...the whole system of education is being transformed from top to bottom. Textbooks are only one of the steps that has been taken by Saudi Arabia.”

Yet it appears that the reform is far from complete. The study that follows is a review of a set of textbooks for Islamic studies published by the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia and apparently in use during the current school year, both in the Kingdom and in Saudi-supported Islamic academies abroad. The Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House, in cooperation with the Institute for Gulf Affairs, has examined passages of books prepared for students from grades 1 through 12, focusing primarily on the treatment of religions other than the Saudi state’s Wahabbi sect of Islam. The material found in these books reveals that the Saudi government continues to propagate an ideology of hate toward the “unbeliever,” which includes Christians, Jews, Shiites, Sufis, Sunni Muslims who do not follow Wahhabi doctrine, Hindus, atheists and others.

This report's objective is both to inform and spur debate over whether adequate reforms have been implemented in the Saudi government's educational system, and to urge greater efforts in the future.

Given the closed nature of the Saudi society, there has been a dearth of opportunities for a full and comprehensive examination of the "reformed" educational system. We do not know with certainty what is taught on a daily basis in the Saudi schools. What we know is what these textbooks contain. We also know that whatever is being taught today in Saudi public school textbooks about Muslims and their relations with other religions and cultures will influence a new generation of Saudis, as well as growing numbers of Muslims throughout the world who are receiving instruction from these texts.

As we know too well, the problem of bigotry, incitement to violence and propagation of intolerance is not a problem only faced by Saudi Arabia. Historically, governments of various extremist ideologies, both religious and secular, have tried to portray those outside their belief systems as inferior or infidels. Recent events, whether in Darfur, Kosovo or Rwanda, have shown the human costs of such ideologies of hate. In the globalized world in which we find ourselves today, we all have a stake in what other peoples' children, as well as our own, are taught.

Peter Ackerman  
Chairman of Freedom House

## SUMMARY

This report has been written in response to concerns over whether adequate reforms have been implemented in the Saudi government's educational system. After September 11, 2001, complaints were voiced around the world, including by the U.S. government, that Saudi schools demonize the West and the "other."

Senior Saudi government spokesmen have also acknowledged this as a problem, and have repeatedly pledged that reform is underway or completed.<sup>1</sup> Yet our findings contradict Saudi Arabia's public claims that it has removed all such material from its educational texts.

Given the closed nature of the Saudi regime, Freedom House was unable to conduct a comprehensive review of all textbooks and curriculum used in the country. It is not possible to say precisely how these textbooks are used on a day-to-day basis. The fact that the Ministry of Education continues to publish the books described in this report, and that they were provided to the Institute for Gulf Affairs researchers by families of children and others associated with the schools, however, is sufficient to make them worthy of study and discussion.

As demonstrated by excerpts from the dozen current Islamic studies textbooks analyzed in this report, the Saudi public school religious curriculum continues to propagate an ideology of hate toward the "unbeliever," that is, Christians, Jews, Shiites, Sufis, Sunni Muslims who do not follow Wahhabi doctrine, Hindus, atheists and others. This ideology is introduced in a religion textbook in the first grade and reinforced and developed in following years of the public education system, culminating in the twelfth grade, where a text instructs students that it is a religious obligation to do "battle" against infidels in order to spread the faith.<sup>2</sup>

Since the government of Saudi Arabia is trying to assert itself as the world's authoritative voice on Islam, these religious texts have great significance. What is being taught today in Saudi public school textbooks about Muslims and how they should view their relations with other religions and cultures will influence a new generation of Saudis, as well as growing numbers of Muslims throughout the world who use these texts.

## INTRODUCTION

This report reviews some of the major textbooks on Islamic studies published by the Saudi Ministry of Education that are in use during the current academic year in public school classrooms in Saudi Arabia and in Saudi-supervised schools abroad.

When 15 of the 19 suicide hijackers who attacked America on 9/11 were discovered to be young Saudi nationals, Americans began asking questions about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, not only whether Saudi money supported terrorism, but also whether its educational system was teaching young people to view Americans as enemies, and was propagating intolerance towards others.<sup>3</sup>

Saudi Arabia is not a free society and it is difficult to document what is taught in its classrooms. However, in recent years, respected scholars and human rights advocates in the United States – in efforts led primarily by Muslims – did obtain some Saudi textbooks and analyzed them.<sup>4</sup> They found that Saudi Arabia had indeed sowed enmity against the West both in its public school religious curriculum and in other educational materials such as collections of religious fatwas that have enhanced authority since they are compiled and issued by the state and come from imams who occupy government salaried posts.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, researchers have found that for several decades Saudi publications have been indoctrinating students in an ideology of religious hatred against Christians, Jews, and others, including Muslims who do not adhere to strict Wahhabi teaching.<sup>6</sup>

The need for genuine, comprehensive educational reform in Saudi Arabia has also been made clear by Saudis themselves. In a report issued a year and a half ago, a Royal Saudi study group stated that the Kingdom's religious study curriculum "encourages violence toward others, and misguides the pupils into believing that in order to safeguard their own religion, they must violently repress and even physically eliminate the 'other.'"<sup>7</sup>

The Saudi government has since claimed publicly that all intolerant material has been removed from its public school textbooks. The Saudi Ambassador to the United States, Prince Turki al-Faisal, has repeatedly stated that his government has eliminated from the Saudi textbooks "any material that can be possibly interpreted as advocating intolerance or extremism."<sup>8</sup> For over a year, the Saudi embassy in Washington has been giving similar assurances that reforms have been completed. On March 7, 2005, a Saudi Foreign Ministry spokesman declared at an embassy press conference in Washington, D.C.: "We have reviewed our educational curriculums. We have removed materials that are inciteful or intolerant towards people of other faiths."<sup>9</sup>

This report demonstrates that this is simply not the case.

The Saudi Ministry of Education Islamic studies textbooks reviewed in this report continue to promote an ideology of hatred that teaches bigotry and deplores tolerance. These texts continue to instruct students to hold a dualistic worldview in which there

exist two incompatible realms – one consisting of true believers in Islam, the believers in “monotheism”<sup>10</sup> and the other the unbelievers – realms that can never coexist in peace. Students are being taught that Christians and Jews and other Muslims are “enemies” of the true believer, and to befriend and show respect only to other true believers, such as the Wahhabis. These Saudi state textbooks propound a belief that Christians and Jews and other unbelievers have united in a war against Islam that will ultimately end in the complete destruction of such infidels.<sup>11</sup> Like the statements of Osama bin Laden, they advance the belief that the Crusades never ended and continue today in various forms. Some of the most disturbing examples include the following (See Appendix A for text excerpts.)

Regarding Sunni, Shiite, Sufi and other non-Wahhabi or non-Salafi Muslims, the textbooks:

- Condemn the majority of Sunni Muslims around the world as “bad successors” of “bad predecessors.”<sup>12</sup>
- Condemn and denigrate Shiite and Sufi Muslims’ beliefs and practices as heretical, and call them “polytheists.”<sup>13</sup>
- Denounce Muslims who do not interpret the Qur’an “literal[ly].”<sup>14</sup>

Regarding Christians, Jews, polytheists (including Muslims who are not followers of Wahhabism) and other infidels, the books:

- Command Muslims to “hate” Christians, Jews, polytheists and other “unbelievers,” including non-Wahhabi Muslims, though, incongruously, not to treat them “unjustly.”<sup>15</sup>
- Teach that the Crusades never ended, and identify the American Universities in Beirut and in Cairo, other Western and Christian social service providers, media outlets, centers for academic studies of Orientalism, and campaigns for women’s rights as part of the modern phase of the Crusades.<sup>16</sup>
- Teach that “the Jews and the Christians are enemies of the [Muslim] believers”<sup>17</sup> and that “the clash”<sup>18</sup> between the two realms “continues until the Day of Resurrection.”<sup>19</sup>
- Instruct students not to “greet,”<sup>20</sup> “imitate,”<sup>21</sup> show loyalty to,<sup>22</sup> be courteous to<sup>23</sup> or “respect”<sup>24</sup> non-believers.
- Define jihad to include “wrestling with the infidels by calling them to the faith and battling against them,”<sup>25</sup> and assert that the spread of Islam through jihad is a [religious] “obligation.”<sup>26</sup> [the word qital, translated here as “battle,” is derived from the verb qatala, “to kill,” and is virtually never used metaphorically.]

Regarding Anti-Semitism, they:

- Instruct that “the struggle between Muslims and Jews”<sup>27</sup> will continue “until the hour [of judgment]”<sup>28</sup> and that “Muslims will triumph because they are right” and “he who is right is always victorious.”<sup>29</sup>

- Cite a selective teaching of violence against Jews, while in the same lesson, ignore the passages of the Qur'an and hadiths [narratives of the life of the Prophet] that counsel tolerance.<sup>30</sup>
- Teach the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as historical fact and relate modern events to it.<sup>31</sup>
- Discuss Jews in violent terms, blaming them for virtually all the “sedition” and wars of the modern world.<sup>32</sup>

## **ABOUT THE REPORT**

This report was prepared by the Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House with the assistance of the Institute for Gulf Affairs, which collected the textbooks reviewed here. The Institute's director, Ali al Ahmed, is a Saudi national living in Washington, D.C., who has collected and written about Saudi state textbooks since 2001. Center director Nina Shea is the author of this report.

The report is based on a dozen textbooks for Islamic studies published by the Saudi Ministry of Education and used during the current academic year in public school classrooms at elementary, middle and high school levels. It is not an analysis of all Saudi religious studies texts, but does include a broad range of texts used at lower, middle and high school levels that we believe is representative of the materials used in religious studies classes in non-vocational Saudi state schools.<sup>33</sup>

These religious texts are for use in public schools within Saudi Arabia, as well as in Saudi state-run schools in major cities throughout the world. One of these schools, from which some of the textbooks were collected, is the Islamic Saudi Academy, near Washington, D.C. (See Appendix B.)

The textbooks evaluated in this report were obtained by the Gulf Institute through informal channels, from teachers, administrators, and families with children attending Saudi schools both in Saudi Arabia and in the Saudi academy outside Washington. As the covers of these textbooks state, they are not for sale; and they are generally not publicly available, especially outside the country. In September 2005, Senator Arlen Specter, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, was told he would be provided with a complete set of the current textbooks by the Saudi Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal<sup>34</sup> but was actually provided only with a single textbook.<sup>35</sup>

The original copies of the books cited here are held in the archives of the Institute for Gulf Affairs. Freedom House had excerpts translated by two, separate, translators. Photocopies of the original Arabic-language texts of all the pages cited in this report are posted on the Freedom House website: [www.freedomhouse.org/religion](http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion).

This study does not purport to be a general survey of all aspects of the Saudi curriculum. We have not tried to address whether the Saudi curriculum has modernized in other subject areas, such as math and science, to better prepare students for employment upon graduation. Nor is it a comprehensive review of the entire contents of the available textbooks. Our focus is primarily on their treatment of religious groups and believers, including other Muslims, although we have also included some historical excerpts dealing with the issues of Israel and Palestine. The texts were not studied for their content on other important issues, such as women, democracy, and trade and business practices.

The Center for Religious Freedom convened a distinguished board of advisors, including Zainab Al-Suwaij, Executive Director of the American Islamic Congress; Zeyno Baran, Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Eurasian Policy at The Hudson Institute;

Hillel Fradkin, Senior Fellow and Director of the Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World at The Hudson Institute; Mary Habeck, Associate Professor of Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS); Husain Haqqani, Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Director of the Center for International Relations at Boston University; and R. James Woolsey, Co-chair of the Committee on Present Danger and former Director of Central Intelligence. The report was also reviewed by Freedom House senior staff and the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees.



## WHY THIS MATTERS

The importance of Islamic studies curriculum and textbooks in Saudi society should not be underestimated. The Saudi public school system has 25,000 schools. Some five million Saudi children in all grades are instructed each year in Islamic studies from Ministry of Education textbooks.<sup>36</sup> Scholars estimate that within the Saudi public school curriculum, Islamic studies comprise between a quarter and a third of students' weekly classroom hours in lower and middle school, plus several hours each week in high school.<sup>37</sup>

Religion is the foundation of the Saudi state's political ideology, and religion is an important part of Saudi education. Saudi Arabia defines itself as an Islamic state, and has established Wahhabism as the official state doctrine.<sup>38</sup> Saudi Wahhabism is an extreme interpretation of Islam based on a dualistic worldview in which the true "monotheists" are obliged until judgment day to "fight" "polytheists," and "idolators," including Christians, Jews, Shiites and insufficiently devout Sunni Muslims.<sup>39</sup>

Within Saudi Arabia, dissent from the state's religious dogma can result in official condemnation or criminal prosecution. One example is provided in the opening fatwa of an educational pamphlet distributed by the Saudi embassy in Washington that rebukes a Muslim preacher in Europe for his "infidelity" because he "casts doubts about the infidelity of Jews and Christians."<sup>40</sup> The Saudi government exercises strict control over what teachers say to their students about religious matters. In November 2005, a Saudi schoolteacher was fired from his job and sentenced to 750 lashes and a three-and-a-half year prison term for making positive statements about Jews and the New Testament; he was pardoned after public and international protests.<sup>41</sup>

Adherents of Wahhabism constitute a small minority within world Islam, yet, Saudi Arabia is trying to assert itself as the world's authoritative voice on Islam. Its conquest of the Hejaz in 1924 gave it control of Islam's two holiest sites and the Hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca that is one of the five pillars of Islam. This role, along with its vast oil wealth, has been used by Saudi Arabia to lay claim to being the leading power within all of Islam and the protector of the faith, a claim emphasized in the Saudi Basic Law. Saudi Foreign Policy Adviser Adel al-Jubeir stated to Tony Snow on American television that "the role of Saudi Arabia in the Muslim world is similar to the role of the Vatican."<sup>42</sup> In an interview with Barbara Walters in 2005, King Abdullah also drew a parallel between Saudi Arabia's role within Islam and the Vatican's within worldwide Catholicism. Likewise, Saudi ambassador Turki Al-Faisal highlighted this analogy in 2006 in a letter to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.<sup>43</sup> Once confined as a fringe sect in a remote area of the Arabian Peninsula, Wahhabist ideology is being given global reach by the wealthy Saudi government.

Saudi Arabia is also seeking to influence Islamic education, particularly in the 85 percent of the Muslim world that is Sunni. Abdurrahman Wahid, the former president of Indonesia and an Islamic scholar who has headed the world's largest Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama, observed that due to oil wealth "[i]n recent decades,

Wahhabi/Salafi ideology has made substantial inroads throughout the Muslim world.”<sup>44</sup> According to some estimates, Saudi Arabia has spent \$75 billion in the last quarter century supporting this propaganda, roughly three times more a year than the Soviet Union did during the height of the Cold War.<sup>45</sup> Saudi Ministry of Education textbooks for Islamic studies are also used in the international network of schools directly supervised by the Saudi state. A brochure from the Saudi Islamic Academy in Alexandria, Virginia, states: “The curriculum of the Arabic Language, Islamic Studies, and Arabic Social Studies and Civics is based on the Curriculum of the Saudi Ministry of Education. Other curricula such as Science, Math, Social Studies, English and Computer Science are similar to programs of study offered by the Fairfax County Schools in Virginia.”<sup>46</sup> Saudi religious studies textbooks have also been found in some Islamic schools and madrassas throughout the world that are not directly operated by the Saudi government. The Report of the 9/11 Commission observed that worldwide “even in affluent countries, Saudi-funded Wahhabi schools are often the only Islamic schools” available<sup>47</sup>

Thus, what is being taught today in Saudi public school textbooks about Muslims and how they should understand their proper posture toward other religions and cultures may not simply influence a new generation of Saudis, but also those Muslims around the world who rely on the Saudi government’s claim that its instructions on Islam are authoritative.

## SAUDI CLAIMS OF MODERATION

Since September 11, 2001, the Saudi government has repeatedly claimed to American audiences that it has undertaken extensive educational reform. On separate occasions, Saudi King Abdullah, the Saudi envoy in Washington, and the Saudi ministers of education and of foreign affairs have each declared the Kingdom's commitment to educational reform.<sup>48</sup> Some were quite specific. One said that all but five percent of the curriculum had been reformed.<sup>49</sup> Another attested that 36 of the 66 major textbooks had been revised.<sup>50</sup> Another said that Saudi Arabia had removed 31 controversial items from its curriculum.<sup>51</sup> At the same time, these officials have also stressed that reform will take place "slowly"<sup>52</sup> or take place over a "three year period of enlightenment,"<sup>53</sup> or even over a "ten year" period.<sup>54</sup>

Saudi Ambassador Prince Turki al-Faisal, who took up his Washington post in fall 2005, has worked assiduously to reassure Americans that educational reform has in fact taken place. In December 2005, the embassy placed an ad in *The New Republic*, an American political journal, proclaiming:

Having modernized our school curricula to better prepare our children for the challenges of tomorrow...Saudi Arabia has vowed to fight evil with justice, confront deviant thoughts with wisdom and noble ideas, and challenge extremism with moderation and tolerance.<sup>55</sup>

During a nation-wide speaking tour, on March 21, 2006, Ambassador Turki stated publicly at a Town Hall meeting in Los Angeles that:

The Kingdom has reviewed all of its education practices and materials, and has removed any element that is inconsistent with the needs of a modern education. Not only have we eliminated what might be perceived as intolerance from old textbooks that were in our system, we have implemented a comprehensive internal revision and modernization plan. New curricula emphasize critical thinking, math, and science, and these curricula also emphasize the teaching of true Islamic values and the positive skills necessary for good citizenship and productivity, as well as how to safeguard [sic] community in peace, the environment, health and human rights. In every level of education, from grade school to high school to college, the government has gone so far as to sponsor lectures that promote moderation and tolerance. Even kindergarteners are made aware of the importance of tolerance and peace.<sup>56</sup>

The ambassador also transmitted to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom a 74-page document published by the embassy, dated March 2006, and entitled "Summary of Saudi Arabia's Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums." Purporting to demonstrate that Saudi textbooks have been reformed, it provides selected examples of deletions and revisions of lessons from some of the same texts examined here. (A number of the changes were related to showing more tolerance for "capitalism," "trade," "doing business with non-believers," "political

parties,” national patriotism, and “legislation,” subjects that are not addressed in this study.) In the area of tolerance towards other religions, the March 2006 report gives examples of:

- Deletions in primary grade texts concerning the continuing crusade by Christians, advocacy of jihad and the denunciation of the study of Orientalism. However, the present study finds similar statements are still contained in the textbooks for later grades.<sup>57</sup>
- A redefinition of Abraham as a “monotheist.” Western audiences may understand this revision to show greater tolerance for Jews, and even Christians, who also consider Abraham to be their “father in faith.”<sup>58</sup> However, Muslims too claim Abraham as a prophet, and this change does not necessarily signify a new or more tolerant position toward other faiths.
- New exceptions to the ban on pictures in a passage warning against “glorifying sculptured pictures formed like idols or statues that depict the creation of God.” This revision, however, does not appear to have any necessary bearing on tolerance of other religious groups, such as Shiite Muslims who use art as part of their Islamic expression. The revised passage repeats its warning against religious art and makes clear that the exceptions are pragmatic ones pertaining to passport and ID photos.<sup>59</sup>
- Revised language that directs the believer to hate the unbeliever and to treat him “justly” (in the revised fourth grade text on Monotheism). The new language reads: “To hate the infidels who antagonize Muslims but do not be unjust to them”; and, “And to love for the sake of God and hate for the sake of God.”<sup>60</sup> At best, the textbook revisions contain mixed messages. Other current textbooks continue to call for “jihad”<sup>61</sup> against infidels and for the killing of Jews.

## THE AMERICAN RESPONSE

Since 2004 the United States State Department has designated Saudi Arabia a “Country of Particular Concern” under the International Religious Freedom Act after finding that “religious freedom did not exist” in the Kingdom,<sup>62</sup> but it has largely neglected Saudi teaching and propaganda, both domestically and internationally.

It was not until late 2005 that an American official publicly raised a question about the Saudi government’s role in spreading an ideology of Islamic extremism in its educational publications. While on a visit to Saudi Arabia in October 2005, Under Secretary of State Karen Hughes publicly raised U.S. concerns about this for the first time, citing a study published earlier that year by Freedom House’s Center for Religious Freedom on Saudi government textbooks and publications advocating religious hatred found within the United States itself.

In March 2006, in a written profile of Saudi Arabia, the U.S. State Department *Country Reports on Human Rights* for the first time commented briefly on the issue: “NGOs have reported on intolerance in the education system and, in particular that religious textbooks emphasized intolerance and hatred of all other religious traditions, especially Christianity and Judaism. Saudi officials claimed to have revised textbooks to remove content disparaging religions other than Islam. However, many recently published textbooks continued to contain language that was intolerant of Judaism, Christianity, and the Shi'a tradition in particular.”<sup>63</sup>

Apart from this summary comment in the State Department’s reporting, there is little evidence that the U.S. government is undertaking a focused effort to follow up Undersecretary Hughes’ statements.

When given a direct opportunity to comment about Saudi educational reform at a public talk in the United Kingdom on March 31, 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice asserted that reform is underway, then minimized the extent of the reforms, before changing the topic to foreign exchange programs.<sup>64</sup> Foreign exchange opportunities for Saudi students are indeed important, but they are no substitute for real educational reform that would benefit students within Saudi Arabia and in Saudi-supported schools around the world.

## CONCLUSION

The descriptions of the “other” – Muslim “deviants,” “polytheists,” and “infidels” – in these Islamic studies textbooks for the current academic year do not comport with the picture of “moderation and tolerance” presented by the Saudi ambassador to Washington and other Saudi officials. These books continue to reflect a curriculum that inculcates religious hatred toward those who do not follow Wahhabi teachings. When the current school year ends, thousands more will graduate from Saudi public schools steeped in the belief that those of differing religious faiths are morally inferior and even evil. Their texts will have taught them that peaceful coexistence with so-called “infidels” is unattainable and that violence to spread Islam is not only permissible, but an obligation.

The history of other wars and conflicts should remind us that education can be used to promote hatred, division, and hostility. Particularly in light of the Saudi desire to play a pivotal role in world Islam, Saudi educational policies should be a source of real concern for the United States and other democratic governments. Education is at the core of the prospects for sustained progress towards freedom and democracy in the region. Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden understands this well. In his April 23, 2006 audiotape, he railed against those who would “interfere with school curricula.”

A failure by Saudi Arabia to thoroughly reform its educational system will directly undermine U.S. foreign policy goals of encouraging moderation and democratic progress within the Islamic world.

Clearly, more information is needed. The State Department should provide more detailed information through its publicly available reports about the use and contents of Islamic studies textbooks of Saudi Arabia’s public school curriculum.

The U.S. government also needs to add its voice to those who are speaking out against intolerance. At the highest levels, it should raise the contents of bigotry and intolerance in educational materials with Saudi Arabia. It should support those within the country who speak up on behalf of Saudi Arabia’s repressed non-Wahhabi Muslim minorities and non-Muslims residing in the Kingdom.

As a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a Member State of the United Nations, Saudi Arabia is obliged to uphold tolerance and respect pluralism and religious freedom. As a strategic ally of the United States, it should put an immediate end to the propagation of hatred and religiously based justifications for hostility and violence in its public school educational materials, textbooks, and curriculum.

## APPENDIX A: DETAILED TEXTBOOKS EXCERPTS

In the First Grade textbook on Monotheism and Jurisprudence, students are taught that Jews, Christians and other non-Muslims are destined for “Hellfire.” While many religions teach that they are the one, true faith, Saudi assertions are distinctive: They are government-sponsored, they contradict the Islamic teaching that Judaism and Christianity are “heavenly religions,” and they are used as the starting point for an argument that eventually leads in high school textbooks to a justification of religious violence.

- “Every religion other than Islam is false.”<sup>65</sup>
- “Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words (Islam, hellfire):  
Every religion other than \_\_\_\_\_ is false. Whoever dies outside of Islam enters \_\_\_\_\_.”<sup>66</sup>
- “Give examples of false religions, like Judaism, Christianity, paganism, etc.”<sup>67</sup>
- “Explain that when someone dies outside of Islam, hellfire is his fate.”<sup>68</sup>

A Fourth Grade textbook on Monotheism and Jurisprudence instructs students to “hate (*tubghida*) the polytheists and the infidels” as a requirement of “true faith.” Incongruously, the same sentence instructs that they are not to treat the infidels “unjustly,” but does not provide any clarification of what this means.

- “Belief is not just a word that a person pronounces with the tongue. It consists of speech, conviction, and action.”<sup>69</sup>
- “True belief means:... That you hate the polytheists and infidels but do not treat them unjustly.”<sup>70</sup>

The theme of hating the infidel is developed further in a discussion of loyalty and friendship in a Fifth Grade textbook on Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence and Qur’anic Recitation. Students are instructed to be loyal to and befriend only other “monotheist believers” It teaches:

- “It is not permitted to be a loyal friend to those who oppose God and His Prophet.”<sup>71</sup>
- “Whoever obeys the Prophet and accepts the oneness of God cannot be loyal to those who oppose God and His Prophet, even if they are his closest relatives.”<sup>72</sup>
- “It is forbidden for a Muslim to be a loyal friend to someone who does not believe in God and His Prophet, or someone who fights the religion of Islam.”<sup>73</sup>
- “A Muslim, even if he lives far away, is your brother in religion. Someone who opposes God, even if he is your brother by family tie, is your enemy in religion.”<sup>74</sup>

The Sixth Grade textbook on Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence and Qur’anic Recitation commands students not to “cry” at funerals or “pray” at grave sites or construct mosques over graves, thus banning the mourning traditions of many Shiites and other Muslims:

“Funeral prohibitions:

1. It is forbidden to be angry upon bereavement, cry out loudly, tear one’s clothes, or beat one’s cheeks or other [parts of the body].
2. It is forbidden to sit on graves, and walk on them.

3. It is forbidden to pray at graves, with the exception of the funeral prayer.
4. It is not good to raise one's voice during the funeral, even in mentioning the name of God or reading the Qur'an.
5. It is forbidden to build mosques on graves."<sup>75</sup>

The Sixth Grade text on The History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia contains a lesson on Palestine in which students are instructed that if the Muslims unite in a "fight" against the Jews they will be victorious over the Jews and their American and British allies, as they once were against Christian Crusaders. By linking a discussion of the Crusades with the Palestinian issue, the text can be easily read to mean that the "fight" could or should be a military one. A map of the region is provided but it labels Israel within its pre-1967 borders as "Palestine: Occupied 1948."

- "Just as Muslims were successful in the past when they came together in a sincere endeavor to evict the Christian crusaders from Palestine, so will the Arabs and Muslims emerge victorious, God willing, against the Jews and their allies if they stand together and fight a true jihad for God, for this is within God's power."<sup>76</sup>
- "Who is the Muslim leader who defeated the Crusaders and liberated Jerusalem?"<sup>77</sup>
- "What is the name of the battle in which he triumphed?"<sup>78</sup>
- "Give another verse [from the Qur'an] that affirms God's aid to the believers."<sup>79</sup>
- "Cite a noble hadith that explains the qualities of the Jews."<sup>80</sup>

In the Eighth Grade, the textbook on Monotheism warns against imitating the unbelievers and teaches pupils to spot "condemnable" characteristics in Jews. It teaches that unbelievers include Muslims who do not follow the Wahhabi practice of not building mosques at gravesites.

- "The student notes some of the Jews' condemnable qualities."<sup>81</sup>
- "The student is warned against imitating the Jews and Christians' excessive veneration of righteous men."<sup>82</sup>
- "The student gives examples of polytheism among members of this nation."<sup>83</sup>
- "They are the people of the Sabbath, whose young people God turned into apes, and whose old people God turned into swine to punish them." "As cited in Ibn Abbas: The apes are Jews, the keepers of the Sabbath; while the swine are the Christian infidels of the communion of Jesus."<sup>84</sup>
- "God told His Prophet, Muhammad, about the Jews, who learned from parts of God's book (the Torah and the Gospels) that God alone is worthy of worship. Despite this, they espouse falsehood through idol-worship, soothsaying, and sorcery. In doing so, they obey the devil. They prefer the people of falsehood to the people of the truth out of envy and hostility. This earns them condemnation and is a warning to us not to do as they did."<sup>85</sup>
- "The Jews lost their religion and attacked the religion of Islam, which consists of accepting the oneness of God and the worship of Him alone."<sup>86</sup>
- "They are the Jews, whom God has cursed and with whom He is so angry that He will never again be satisfied [with them]."<sup>87</sup>



- “Some of the people of the Sabbath were punished by being turned into apes and swine. Some of them were made to worship the devil, and not God, through consecration, sacrifice, prayer, appeals for help, and other types of worship. Some of the Jews worship the devil. Likewise, some members of this nation worship devil, and not God.”<sup>88</sup>
- “Building mosques on graves is an expression of polytheism.”<sup>89</sup>
- “Some Muslim countries have seen the graves of righteous men venerated through the construction of mosques. Graves have even been worshipped. In doing this, they [Muslims] imitated the Christians.”<sup>90</sup>
- “Note some condemnable characteristics of the Jews in the verse.”<sup>91</sup>
- “Activity: The student writes a composition on the danger of imitating the infidels, giving some examples of imitation among the students. He then presents it to his classmates.”<sup>92</sup>

A Ninth Grade Saudi textbook on Hadith teaches teenagers in apocalyptic terms that violence towards Jews, Christians and other unbelievers is sanctioned by God. It selectively cites a particularly inflammatory hadith about violence towards Jews and makes it broadly applicable, while failing to provide any historical context and ignoring other contradictory hadiths showing respect for Jews.<sup>93</sup> It then directly ties this lesson to the Palestinians’ political situation:

- “The clash between this [Muslim] community (*umma*) and the Jews and Christians has endured, and it will continue as long as God wills. In this hadith, Muhammad gives us an example of the battle between the Muslims and the Jews.”<sup>94</sup>
- “Narrated by Abu Hurayrah: The Prophet said, The hour [of judgment] will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them. [It will not come] until the Jew hides behind rocks and trees. [It will not come] until the rocks or the trees say, ‘O Muslim! O servant of God! There is a Jew behind me. Come and kill him.’ Except for the gharqad, which is a tree of the Jews.”<sup>95</sup>
- “It is part of God’s wisdom that the struggle between the Muslim and the Jews should continue until the hour [of judgment].”<sup>96</sup>
- “The good news for Muslims is that God will help them against the Jews in the end, which is one of the signs of the hour [of judgment].”<sup>97</sup>
- “Muslims will triumph because they are right. He who is right is always victorious, even if most people are against him.”<sup>98</sup>
- “God will help Muslims if their intentions are sincere, if they are united, if they adhere to the law of their Lord, if they obey His judgments, and if they are patient and enduring.”<sup>99</sup>
- “The Jews and Christians are enemies of the believers, and they cannot approve of Muslims.”<sup>100</sup>
- “This hadith showed one of the qualities of the Jews. It is: [fill in the blank.]”<sup>101</sup>
- “Help your classmates to give some examples of how our Muslim brothers suffer in Palestine and to propose some ways for you to ease their sufferings.”<sup>102</sup>

A Tenth Grade textbook on Monotheism contains a lengthy discussion condemning as “polytheists” other Islamic traditions that interpret the Qur’an differently, alluding to

other Sunnis, Shiites and Sufis, who together comprise the majority of Muslims residing in Saudi Arabia, as well as in the world at large. The followers of the Asharite doctrine (Sunnī Muslims found throughout the world) and the Maturidi doctrine (Sunnī Muslims found primarily in Pakistan and India), who comprise millions of Sunnī Muslims in the world, are referenced as “polytheists,” or idol worshipers:

- It states that the founders and followers of these Sunnī doctrines are “bad predecessors to bad successors.”<sup>103</sup>
- It condemns them either for not interpreting the text of the names and characters of God in a literal way, “such as interpreting the face [of God] as His essence, and His hand as the blessing He bestows”;<sup>104</sup> or for “believ[ing] that the [scriptures] do not mean what their literal meaning would suggest.”<sup>105</sup>

Another textbook for boys for Tenth Grade on Hadith and Islamic Culture contains a lesson on the “Zionist Movement.” It is a curious blend of wild conspiracy theories about Masonic Lodges, Rotary Clubs, and Lions Clubs with anti-Semitic invective. It asserts that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is an authentic document and teaches students that it reveals what Jews really believe. It blames many of the world’s wars and discord on the Jews. While easy to dismiss as loopy, these conspiracy theories are gaining ground. In its charter, Hamas has adopted conspiracy theories that mirror virtually point by point those given in this Saudi textbook.<sup>106</sup> This year, the U.S. Holocaust Museum opened an exhibition on the *Protocols*, identifying it as “dangerous” and noting “despite countless exposures of the *Protocols* as a fraud, the myth of a Jewish world conspiracy has retained incredible power for Nazis and others who seek to spread hatred of Jews.” This Saudi Tenth Grade textbook states:

- “Freemasonry is covertly Jewish. It puts forward general, humanist slogans, and non-Jews may rally to its cause. It is a secular, atheist, secret movement that serves the Jews indirectly. It is the secret power that creates circumstances and conditions for the Jews. As such, it helps Zionism to achieve its aims.”<sup>107</sup>
- “Goals of the Zionist Movement
  1. Instill a fighting spirit among the Jews, as well as religious and nationalist fanaticism to challenge [other] religions, nations, and peoples.
  2. Establish Jewish control over the world. The starting point for this is the establishment of their government in the promised land, which stretches from the Nile to the Euphrates.
  3. Incite rancor and rivalry among the great powers so that they fight one another, and kindle the fire of war among states so that all states are weakened and their state arises.”<sup>108</sup>
- The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* “were discovered in the 19th century. The Jews have tried to deny them, but there are many proofs of their veracity and their origin among the elders of Zion.”<sup>109</sup>
- “The following points summarize the protocols:
  1. Undermine the foundation of the existing international community and its systems to enable Zionism to gain sole control over the world.
  2. Eliminate Christian nationalities, religions, and nations in particular.
  3. Work to increase the corruption of existing governments in Europe. Zionism believes in the corruption and collapse of these governments.

4. Gain control over the means of publication, propaganda, and newspapers; use gold to incite unrest; and exploit people's desires and spread depravity."<sup>110</sup>
- “The decisive proof of the veracity of the protocols and the infernal Jewish plans they contain is that the plans, plots, and conspiracies they list have been carried out. Whoever reads the protocols -- and they emerged in the 19th century -- will realize today how much of what they described has been implemented.”<sup>111</sup>
  - “Examples of how the Zionists achieve their goals:
    1. Sedition, ruses, and conspiracies throughout history. Examples include...
      - a. The French Revolution: The Jews exploited the French Revolution to fight against religions, break down values, and spread meaningless slogans. They had a hand in planning the revolution and its code of morals.
      - b. The First World War: The Jews played a role in starting it.
      - c. Bringing down the Ottoman Islamic caliphate: the role of the Jews of Donma in this is no secret.
      - d. The Bolshevik Russian revolution against Tsarist rule. It is known that the roots of Marxist thought are Jewish. Karl Marx was a Jew from Germany.”<sup>112</sup>
  - “You can hardly find an example of sedition in which the Jews have not played a role.”<sup>113</sup>
  - “Attempting to inundate peoples with vice and rampant prostitution. The Jews have taken control of this trade and they try to spread it. They manage bars in Europe and America, as well as in Israel itself.”<sup>114</sup>
    - “Gaining control over literature and the arts; spreading degenerate, pornographic literature; and encouraging perverted trends in literature, thought, and the arts.”
    - “Gaining control over the film industry in the Western world and elsewhere.”
    - “Fraud, bribery, theft, and swindles.”<sup>115</sup>
  - “Destructive Movements that Zionism has used to achieve its aims.
    1. Freemasonry. This is a secret Jewish organization that works surreptitiously to advance larger Jewish interests. Masonry is a deceptive word that fools listeners into thinking that it is a noble profession, since it means "free builders" and its slogan is "freedom, brotherhood, and equality."
    2. B'nai B'rith, or sons of the covenant. This group was founded in 1834 in America.
    3. International Lions Clubs. "Lions" means lions. These are Masonic clubs based in America and they have secret agents all over the world.
    4. Rotary Clubs. They were founded in 1905 in Chicago, America, and then spread all over the world.”<sup>116</sup>

The Tenth Grade text on Jurisprudence teaches that, in law, the life of non-Muslims (as well as women, and, by implication, slaves) is worth a fraction of that of a “free Muslim male.”<sup>117</sup> Blood-money is money paid to the victim or the victim’s heirs for murder or injury.

- “Blood money for a free infidel. [Its quantity] is half of the blood money for a male Muslim, whether or not he is ‘of the book’ or not ‘of the book’ (such as a pagan, Zoroastrian, etc.)”<sup>118</sup>
- “Blood money for a woman: Half of the blood money for a man, in accordance with his religion. The blood money for a Muslim woman is half of the blood money for a male Muslim, and the blood money for an infidel woman is half of the blood money for a male infidel.”<sup>119</sup>

The Eleventh Grade Hadith and Islamic Culture textbook for boys in the Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies track instructs Muslims not to greet unbelievers and not to extend courtesies to them.

- “The greeting ‘Peace be upon you’ is specifically for believers. It cannot be said to others.”<sup>120</sup>
- “If one comes to a place where there is a mixture of Muslims and infidels, one should offer a greeting intended for the Muslims.”<sup>121</sup>
- “Do not yield to them [Christians and Jews] on a narrow road out of honor and respect.”<sup>122</sup>

The Eleventh Grade Hadith textbook for boys in the Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies track also includes a selective history lesson on “The Crusader Threat,” which it identifies as the “origin of the clash between the Muslims and the Christians.” It does not mention the Muslim conquest of the Middle East or the Muslim invasions of Europe before the Crusades, or any example of peaceful coexistence between Muslims and the West, or any example of United States military support of and cooperation with Saudi Arabia or any other Muslim country. It teaches that the Crusader threat began with the first Crusade in 1095 and continues in modern times with Christian proselytizing, Orientalist studies, and colonialism. It includes “raising women’s issues” as part of the modern crusade. Various medical missions and Christian schools, universities, radio programs and social services in the Middle East are cited by name as part of the modern crusade. Most troubling, it maintains that the crusades have not ended. In this, it finds an echo in the declarations of Osama bin Laden, who has identified his enemy as the “Zionist-Crusaders.”

- “The new approach to the crusades took several forms, including:
  1. Proselytizing (Christianization): undertaken by the church and supported by Christian governments.
  2. Orientalism: undertaken by scholars and intellectuals to serve the church and Christian governments.
  3. Military colonialism.”<sup>123</sup>
- “Areas of Missionary Activity
  1. Health services
 

This activity consists of establishing Christian hospitals and clinics and sending out traveling doctors. As one of the Christianizers said, ‘Where you find people, you find pain. And where there's pain, there's a need for a doctor. And where there's a need for a doctor, there's an appropriate opportunity for missionary activity [Christianization].’

One of the first examples was the American Medical Mission in Sivas, Turkey in 1859.

After 1875, crusader medical centers were established in Gaza, Nablus, and other cities in Syria and Palestine.

2. The establishment of churches, monasteries, and convents  
This has taken place in every Islamic country where there are Christians, even if they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. They have even established churches in countries where there are no Christians among the original inhabitants.
3. The establishment of schools  
They founded many schools in the Islamic world at various educational levels. These include: the American Universities of Beirut and Cairo, the Jesuit University, Robert College in Istanbul, Gordon [Memorial] College in Khartoum, and others too numerous to mention.
4. Social services  
These include homes for orphans, the elderly, widows, divorced women, etc.
5. The establishment of radio stations broadcasting to Muslim countries in their languages  
The radio station Voice of Forgiveness, Radio Cyprus in Nicosia, Radio Monte Carlo, Voice of the Good News Radio in Addis Ababa, and Vatican Radio.
6. Printed materials and books calling people to Christianity.”<sup>124</sup>

A Twelfth Grade textbook on Hadith and Islamic Culture for boys in the Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies track contains a chapter entitled “Jihad in the Path of God.” It explains various meanings of jihad and examines their application. While, as the text explains, one of the meanings of jihad is self-perfection or “wrestling with the spirit,” it acknowledges a more militant meaning as well. This discussion does not mention the ban against coercion in Islam, or clarify whether infidels can be militarily forced to submit to the “call.” In fact, in repeated statements, it justifies a militant jihad for the purpose of spreading the faith. The word *qital*, translated here as “battle,” is derived from *qatala*, “to kill” and is virtually never used metaphorically.

- “Jihad in the path of God – which consists of battling against unbelief, oppression, injustice, and those who perpetrate it – is the summit of Islam. This religion arose through jihad and through jihad was its banner raised high. It is one of the noblest acts, which brings one closer to God, and one of the most magnificent acts of obedience to God.”<sup>125</sup>
- “Muslim scholars have agreed that jihad to spread the faith of God is an obligation, but it is a collective obligation. If a sufficient number of people undertake it, those who remain have not committed a sin.”<sup>126</sup>
- “God has forbidden Muslims to go to jihad en masse and urged them to mobilize a group from each community of them that will undertake the obligation of jihad, which frees the other group [from this obligation].”<sup>127</sup>
- “When is battle jihad in the path of God? Battle can only pursue two aims: To fulfill an order from God, sacrifice in His path, spread the creed of monotheism,

defend the realms of Islam and Muslims, and raise up the word of God. This is jihad in the path of God.”<sup>128</sup>

- “Jihad continues until the Day of Resurrection.”<sup>129</sup>
- “It is part of God’s wisdom that he made the clash between truth and falsehood continue until the Day of Resurrection. As long as this clash endures, jihad continues.”<sup>130</sup>

## APPENDIX B

### THE ISLAMIC SAUDI ACADEMY

The Islamic Saudi Academy is the American branch of a worldwide network of 19 schools supervised and funded by the Saudi state. The chairman of the Academy's board is the Saudi ambassador to Washington, at present Prince Turki Al-Faisal. Its tuition is underwritten by the Saudi government.<sup>131</sup> It teaches Islamic studies from the same Wahhabi textbooks that are analyzed in this study. (Some of the textbooks reviewed in this study were provided by families connected with the Academy).

Established in 1984, its main campus (Grades 2-12) is located in Alexandria, Virginia, on the outskirts of Washington, D.C.<sup>132</sup> Its mission is "to be the premier educational institution" for the Muslim community.<sup>133</sup> The school enrolls over a thousand students each year. Like other Saudi academies abroad, enrollment is open both to the children of Saudi diplomats and to other students who have no connection the kingdom.

All Saudi academies abroad, with the exception of those in the United States and Great Britain, utilize the same Saudi Ministry of Education curriculum used by public schools in Saudi Arabia itself. In the United States, the Saudi Academy has a dual curriculum, pairing Saudi Ministry of Education curriculum for courses in Islamic studies, civic studies and Arabic with local county curricula for math, computers, science and English.<sup>134</sup>

In 2002, the *Washington Post* provided a rare glimpse into what is taught at the Academy: "Then [the students] file into their Islamic studies class, where the textbooks tell them the Day of Judgment can't come until Jesus Christ returns to Earth, breaks the cross and converts everyone to Islam, and until Muslims start attacking Jews."<sup>135</sup> An American citizen who was the valedictorian of his class there was convicted on March 29, 2006 of plotting to assassinate President George W. Bush and of being a member of al Qaeda, and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment.<sup>136</sup>

The Academy is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the Commission for International and Trans Regional Accreditation.

Eighteen other Saudi schools, each chaired by the local ambassador from Saudi Arabia, are located in throughout the world, in Algiers, Ankara, Beijing, Berlin, Bonn, Djibouti, Islamabad, Istanbul, Jakarta, Karachi, Kuala Lumpur, London, Madrid, Moscow, Paris, Rabat, Rome, and Tunis.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This report cites numerous examples, including the following from the Saudi Foreign Minister before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on September 23, 2005: “We have gone through a whole program of going into the educational system from top to bottom, from schools, teachers, books, and we have taken everything out of them that does not call for cooperation, coexistence, and knowing the people of the world and working together for a better world.” al-Faisal, Saud. “The Fight Against Extremism and the Search for Peace.” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York. 23 September 2005. Available at:

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight\\_against\\_extremism\\_and\\_the\\_search\\_for\\_peace\\_rush\\_transcript\\_federal\\_news\\_service\\_inc.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight_against_extremism_and_the_search_for_peace_rush_transcript_federal_news_service_inc.html).

<sup>2</sup> Translator’s note: In this passage the word “qital” is translated as “battle”; the root of this word is derived from the word “to kill” and is virtually never used metaphorically. The twelfth grade text for boys on Hadith and Islamic Culture, 2005-6, states: “Jihad in the path of God – which consists of battling against unbelief, oppression, injustice, and those who perpetrate it – is the summit of Islam. This religion arose through jihad and through jihad was its banner raised high. It is one of the noblest acts, which brings one closer to God, and one of the most magnificent acts of obedience to God” and “When is battle jihad in the path of God? ... To fulfill an order from God, sacrifice in His path, spread the creed of monotheism, defend the realms of Islam and Muslims, and raise up the word of God. This is jihad in the path of God.”

<sup>3</sup> Hearing before U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Chaired by Senator Arlen Specter, *Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?* 109<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d Sess. 8 November 2006; Hearing before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Homeland Security. *Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11, Connecting the Dots?* 108<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess. 10 September 2003; “Schumer: Is Saudi Academy in Virginia Another Madrassa?” The Office of Charles Schumer, press release, 23 February 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Doumato, Eleanor Abdella. “Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia’s School Texts,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Spring 2003, p. 231; Groiss, Arnon, ed. *The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks*. Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, American Jewish Committee, 2003; *Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques*, Washington, DC: Freedom House, Center for Religious Freedom, 2005. Available at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/pdfdocs/FINAL%20FINAL.pdf>; “New Saudi Curriculum Disparages Christianity and Judaism,” Saudi Institute, press release. 13 June 2004; Schwartz, Stephen, “Reading, Writing and Extremism,” *The Weekly Standard* 2 June 2003.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Convened as part of the National Dialogue by the Saudi monarch. Dankowitz, Aluma. “Saudi Study Offers Critical Analysis of the Kingdom’s Religious Curricula.” MEMRI, No. 195. 9 November 2004. Available at: <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=ia&ID=IA19504>.

<sup>8</sup> al-Faisal, Turki. “Fractured Realities: A Middle East in Crisis.” 59th Annual Middle East Institute Conference. National Press Club, Washington, DC. 8 November 2005.

<sup>9</sup> al-Jubier, Adel. Press conference. Royal Saudi Embassy, Washington, DC. 7 March 2005. Available at: <http://www.saudiembassy.net/2005News/Statements/TransDetail.asp?cIndex=512>.

<sup>10</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006. “The students give examples of polytheism among members of this nation.”

<sup>11</sup> Habeck, Mary. *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.

<sup>15</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Fourth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 118.



- 
- <sup>17</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.
- <sup>18</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>19</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 59.
- <sup>20</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>21</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 45.
- <sup>22</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Fifth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426.
- <sup>23</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006.
- <sup>24</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>25</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 57.
- <sup>26</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 58.
- <sup>27</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>28</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>29</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p.149.
- <sup>30</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006.
- <sup>31</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 103-104.
- <sup>32</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 104.
- <sup>33</sup> The Islamic studies curriculum includes courses on Monotheism, Hadith [narratives of the life of the Prophet], Jurisprudence, Qur'anic Recitation and Muslim History.
- <sup>34</sup> al-Faisal, Saud. "The Fight Against Extremism and the Search for Peace." Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York. 23 September 2005. Available at: [http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight\\_against\\_extremism\\_and\\_the\\_search\\_for\\_peace\\_rush\\_transcript\\_federal\\_news\\_service\\_inc.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight_against_extremism_and_the_search_for_peace_rush_transcript_federal_news_service_inc.html).
- <sup>35</sup> Center for Religious Freedom interview with Senator Specter staff member, May 8, 2006.
- <sup>36</sup> "Summary of Saudi Arabia's Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums," Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006.
- <sup>37</sup> Doumato, Eleanor Abdella. "Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia's School Texts," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Spring 2003, p. 231.
- <sup>38</sup> U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Report on Saudi Arabia." (May 2003).
- <sup>39</sup> Doran, Michael Scott. "The Saudi Paradox." *Foreign Affairs* 83.1 (2004): 35-51. Available at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83105/michael-scott-doran/the-saudi-paradox.html>; Wahhabism began 250 years ago with the movement created by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab.
- <sup>40</sup> *Rulings for Travelers and Emigrants*, authored by Sheik Bin Baz and Sheik Mohammad al-Salih Ibn al-Athimein and printed by the Saudi Arabian Airforce publishing house for distribution in the United States

---

by the Cultural Department of the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington, D.C. Collected from the Herndon Mosque, Herndon, VA, 11/16/03. Available at:

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/pdfdocs/FINAL%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> See report on schoolteacher Mohammed al Harbi, "Saudi jailed for discussing the Bible." *The Washington Times* 14 Nov. 2005. Available at: <http://washingtontimes.com/world/20051114-015138-3548r.htm>; "Saudi Arabia: U.S. Should Take 'CPC' Action After Teacher is Flogged and Jailed for 'Praising Jews' and Speaking of the Gospels," Center for Religious Freedom press release. 18 Nov. 2005. Available at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/news/bn2005/bn-2005-11-19.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Jubeir, Adel, Saudi Foreign Policy Advisor; interview by Tony Snow, *Fox News Sunday*, 18 May 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Faisal, Turki. Letter to USCIRF Chairman Michael Cromartie. 15 March 2006; King Abdullah. Interview with Barbara Walters. Nightline with Barbara Walters. ABC News. 14 October 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Wahid, Abdurrahman. "Right Islam vs. Wrong Islam." *Wall Street Journal*. 30 December 2005. Available at: <http://www.opinionjournal.com/extra/?id=110007743>.

<sup>45</sup> Alexiev, Alex, "Growing Wahhabi Influence in the United States," Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 26 June 2003; Kaplan, David E., "Hearts, Minds, and Dollars: In an Unseen Front in the War on Terrorism, America is Spending Millions... To Change the Very Face of Islam." *U.S. News & World Report*, 25 April 2005. Available at: <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/050425/25roots.htm>

<sup>46</sup> Islamic Saudi Academy Brochure, October 27, 2005, page 8.

<sup>47</sup> *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United State*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, p. 372.

<sup>48</sup> King Abdullah. Interview with Barbara Walters. Nightline with Barbara Walters. ABC News. 14 October 2005; al-Faisal, Turki. Interview with Wolf Blitzer. Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer. CNN. 24 July 2005; al-Faisal, Turki. "Fractured Realities: A Middle East in Crisis." 59th Annual Middle East Institute Conference. National Press Club, Washington, DC. 8 November 2005; al-Faisal, Saud. "The Fight Against Extremism and the Search for Peace." Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York. 23 September 2005. Available at:

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight\\_against\\_extremism\\_and\\_the\\_search\\_for\\_peace\\_rush\\_transcript\\_federal\\_news\\_service\\_inc.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/8908/fight_against_extremism_and_the_search_for_peace_rush_transcript_federal_news_service_inc.html).

<sup>49</sup> Cordesman, Anthony. "Saudi Arabia: Opposition, Islamic Extremism, and Terrorism," 27 November 2002. Available at: [http://www.saudi-american-forum.org/Library/2002\\_11\\_27\\_Cordesman.pdf](http://www.saudi-american-forum.org/Library/2002_11_27_Cordesman.pdf); also see Cordesman, Anthony. *Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?* 109<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d Sess. 8 November 2005. Available at: [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=1669&wit\\_id=4790](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=1669&wit_id=4790)

<sup>50</sup> This figure was provided by a Saudi official to the U.S. government. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations, Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives, 15 November 2005. Available at: [http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa24596.000/hfa24596\\_0f.htm](http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa24596.000/hfa24596_0f.htm).

<sup>51</sup> Khan, M. Ghazanfar Ali. "Kingdom and Gulf Countries Make Changes in School Curriculums." *Arab News*. 24 May 2005. Available at: <http://www.arabnews.com/?page=1&section=0&article=64226&d=24&m=5&y=2005>.

<sup>52</sup> *The New Republic*, 12 December 2005.

<sup>53</sup> "Saudi Arabia's Progress on Economic, Educational, and Political Reforms," April 2005. Available at: <http://www.saudiembassy.net/Conferences-Press-Kit-Visits/CP-Visit-April-2005/Reform%20Fact%20Sheet%20April%202005%20PDF.pdf>

<sup>54</sup> "Summary of Saudi Arabia's Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums," Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006.

<sup>55</sup> *The New Republic*, back cover, 12 December 2005.

<sup>56</sup> al-Faisal, Turki. "Saudi Education in the Global Community." Town Hall Los Angeles, Los Angeles. 21 March 2006. Available at:

<http://www.saudiembassy.net/2006News/Statements/SpeechDetail.asp?cIndex=592>. He repeated the same assurances before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and the Economic Club of Chicago, on April 20, 2006.

<sup>57</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-

---

1427; 2005-2006; *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006;

“Summary of Saudi Arabia’s Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums,” Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006, p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> “Summary of Saudi Arabia’s Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums,” Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006, p. 18.

<sup>59</sup> “Summary of Saudi Arabia’s Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums,” Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006, p. 20. “The revised edition warns against glorifying sculptured pictures formed like idols or statues that depict the creation of God. However, pictures do not glorify or photographs used for identification or in passports are acceptable.”

<sup>60</sup> “Summary of Saudi Arabia’s Comprehensive Program to Revise the National Educational Curriculums,” Washington, DC: Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, March 2006, p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 59.

<sup>62</sup> U.S. State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Saudi Arabia Country Report on Human Rights Practices*, February 2004.

<sup>63</sup> U.S. State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Saudi Arabia Country Report on Human Rights Practices*, March 2006.

<sup>64</sup> Rice, Condoleezza. “Remarks at BBC Today-Chatham House Lecture,” Ewood Park, Blackburn, England. 21 March 2006. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/63969.htm>. “QUESTION: (Inaudible) from the Middle East program at Chatham House. There has been much talk of reform in Saudi Arabia but students of the crucial educational sector remain indoctrinated by the most narrow of Wahabi Islamic officials. Given this, how seriously does the United States take the reform -- Saudi reform process, and in particular the educational system? And how do you propose to persuade them to move in towards a more meaningful democracy, hopefully liberal democracy?”

“SECRETARY RICE: Well, thank you. First of all, there is reform going on in Saudi Arabia, but at a very, let me say, measured pace, and, of course, in very narrow circumstances or in very narrow elements of the society. And I think you've put your finger on it. I think some of this is the educational system which, at one time, was more open actually to people being trained outside of the country. A lot of people were trained here in Great Britain, in the United States. And one thing that we've begun to do is to try to increase again the number of educational exchanges and students who will actually come from Saudi Arabia to go to school in the United States or in Great Britain or another. I think it's extremely important because it leads to a kind of opening up of the society. I think it's also very important that the Saudis -- and they express a desire to do so -- take on the question of what kind of education people are getting. Are they being educated for the skills of the modern society or is it simply education that is closed to one set of beliefs and one set of doctrines.”

<sup>65</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, First Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 29.

<sup>66</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, First Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 30.

<sup>67</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, First Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, First Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Fourth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 48.

<sup>70</sup> *Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Fourth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 49.

<sup>71</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Fifth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 14.

<sup>72</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Fifth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 14.

- <sup>73</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Fifth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 14.
- <sup>74</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Fifth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 14.
- <sup>75</sup> *Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence, and Qur'anic Recitation, Sixth Grade, First Semester*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 94.
- <sup>76</sup> *History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sixth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 76.
- <sup>77</sup> *History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sixth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 76.
- <sup>78</sup> *History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sixth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 76.
- <sup>79</sup> *History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sixth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 76.
- <sup>80</sup> *History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sixth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1425-1426, p. 76.
- <sup>81</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 42.
- <sup>82</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 42.
- <sup>83</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 42.
- <sup>84</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 42.
- <sup>85</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>86</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>87</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>88</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>89</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>90</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>91</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 43.
- <sup>92</sup> *Monotheism, Eighth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 46.
- <sup>93</sup> According to Doumato, this is a common practice in Saudi textbooks. Doumato, Eleanor Abdella. "Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia's School Texts," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Spring 2003.
- <sup>94</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>95</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>96</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>97</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 148.
- <sup>98</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.
- <sup>99</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.

- 
- <sup>100</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.
- <sup>101</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.
- <sup>102</sup> *Hadith, Ninth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 149.
- <sup>103</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 67.
- <sup>104</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>105</sup> *Monotheism, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>106</sup> Reporter David Remnick provided a summary of conspiracy theories involving the Jews from the Hamas charter in a recent article in the *New Yorker* magazine. "In short, 'No war broke out anywhere with their [the Jews'] fingerprints on it.' The Jews also have formed 'secret organizations' and 'destructive spying' agencies – Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, and others – to promote the Zionist project, which 'has no limits... After Palestine it will strive to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates.' This plan is 'outlined in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion,' the tsarist-era forgery of a Jewish plan for world domination." Remnick, David, "The Democracy Game: Hamas Comes to Power in Palestine," *The New Yorker* 27 February 2006, p. 62.
- <sup>107</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 101.
- <sup>108</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 102.
- <sup>109</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 103-104.
- <sup>110</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 104.
- <sup>111</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 104.
- <sup>112</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 104.
- <sup>113</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 105.
- <sup>114</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 105.
- <sup>115</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 105.
- <sup>116</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture, Tenth Grade (Boys)*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 105.
- <sup>117</sup> *Jurisprudence, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 47.
- <sup>118</sup> *Jurisprudence, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 47.
- <sup>119</sup> *Jurisprudence, Tenth Grade*. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 47.
- <sup>120</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>121</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.
- <sup>122</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 66.

---

<sup>123</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 117.

<sup>124</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Physical Sciences, and Technical Fields (Boys)*, Eleventh Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 118-119.

<sup>125</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 57.

<sup>126</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 58.

<sup>127</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 58.

<sup>128</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 59.

<sup>129</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 59.

<sup>130</sup> *Hadith and Islamic Culture: Management, Social Studies, Natural History, and Technical Studies (Boys)*, Twelfth Grade. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Education Development, 1426-1427; 2005-2006, p. 59.

<sup>131</sup> [www.saudiacademy.net](http://www.saudiacademy.net)

<sup>132</sup> "About ISA." Islamic Saudi Academy. Available: [http://www.saudiacademy.net/html/about\\_ISA.html](http://www.saudiacademy.net/html/about_ISA.html).

<sup>133</sup> Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, 2005. Available at: [www.moe.gov.sa/English con/about-saud/education.htm\\_cvt.htm](http://www.moe.gov.sa/English/con/about-saud/education.htm_cvt.htm).

<sup>134</sup> "The curriculum of the Arabic Language, Islamic Studies, and Arabic Social Studies and Civics is based on the Curriculum of the Saudi Ministry of Education. Other curricula such as Science, Math, Social Studies, English and Computer Science are similar to programs of study offered by the Fairfax County Schools in Virginia." Islamic Saudi Academy Brochure, October 27, 2005, page 8. Available: [www.saudiacademy.net](http://www.saudiacademy.net)

<sup>135</sup> Strauss, Valerie and Emily Wax. "Muslim Schools in America: Where Two Worlds Collide." *Washington Post* 25 February 2002: A1.

<sup>136</sup> Deane, Daniela and Caryle Murphy, "Falls Church Man Gets 30 Years for Bush Assassination Plot," *The Washington Post*, 29 March 2006; Markon, Jerry and Dana Priest, "Terrorist Plot to Kill Bush Alleged: Suspect, a Va. Man, Was Held by Saudis Nearly Two Years," *The Washington Post*, 23 February 2006; "Schumer: Is Saudi Academy in Virginia Another Madrassa?" The Office of Charles Schumer, press release, February 23, 2005. Available at: [http://www.senate.gov/~schumer/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/press\\_releases/2005/PR41490.VAIslamicSchool.022305.html](http://www.senate.gov/~schumer/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/press_releases/2005/PR41490.VAIslamicSchool.022305.html).

<sup>137</sup> [www.GDSSA.gov.sa](http://www.GDSSA.gov.sa)



**Center for Religious Freedom  
Freedom House**

1319 18th St. NW

Washington, DC 20036

Phone: 202-747-7062

Fax: 202-296-5101

Website: [www.freedomhouse.org/religion](http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion)