

A Second Look at the Saudis

2. Cause and Effect

Time and again Saudi nationals have been leading the charge in the global “jihad” against the United States. And the root causes of this violent aggression clearly run deep. As noted in Part 1, a survey conducted by Saudi intelligence found that 95% of educated Saudi men approved of Osama bin Laden and his agenda.¹ This result is unequaled in American polling, and may not even be possible in a liberal democracy. Moreover, the survey was taken in October 2001, just weeks after the horrific images of 9/11 had been broadcast around the world.² How could such a monolithic and radical mindset even exist in the first place? Taking a closer look at the nation of Saudi Arabia reveals a clear and unmistakable answer, one that leads to the inevitable conclusion that the problem is not just a group of violent deviants, but the very fabric of Saudi society itself.

A Commitment to Education

Saudi Arabia is currently under a totalitarian regime, but one that is somewhat unique in that it is bifurcated. On the one hand, the government operates as a monarchy under the rule of King Abdulah and his peers in the Saudi royal family. On the other hand, the day-to-day lives of the people are governed as a theocracy run by the *ulema*, the council of Wahhabi religious leaders which has *de facto* control over many of the basic social institutions of the Kingdom. Along with the nation’s religious institutions, which include the holiest sites in Islam – the Holy Mosques of Mecca and Medina – the religious authorities also control the justice system. They appoint both the judiciary and the religious police, and impose a strict form of *Sharia* (Islamic law) as mandated by the Koran and their religious traditions.³ Most importantly, it is the religious authorities who dictate the curriculum of the Kingdom’s education system.⁴ Each of these social institutions revolves around the official state religion, what is generally referred to in the West as “Wahhabi” Islam.

Wahhabism is the strain of Islam first promulgated by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab in the Arabian Peninsula during the late eighteenth century. It was the political and military alliance between Wahhab and a local chieftain named Muhammad ibn Saud that gave birth to modern day Saudi Arabia.⁵ Together with ideological peers such as the fourteenth century Islamic scholar Ibn Taimiyyah, the teachings of Wahhab form the foundation of a movement known as “Salafi” Islam.⁶ The term *Salafi* refers to the first generations of Muslims during and immediately after the life of Mohammed, and the desire of its proponents to turn back the clock in order to achieve a “pure” Islamic state.⁷ While some have suggested that *Salafi* is simply the appropriate term for non-Saudi Wahhabis,⁸ in fact, *Salafi* is the term used by the Saudis themselves to describe their native strain of Islam.⁹ So for all practical purposes, the terms are synonymous. Regardless, the Wahhabis are clearly a minority movement within Islam.¹⁰ They consider themselves aligned with the broader and more mainstream Sunni school of Islam, but have a very austere approach to the practice of the religion, as well as their own distinct version of the Koran.¹¹ On the other hand, they view Shi’a and Sufi Muslims as religious heretics and impostors.¹²

The Wahhabi approach to a theocratic society is absolute, driven by a fanatical quest for religious purity, rather than a merely pragmatic effort to maintain political influence and power. As Prince Amr ibn Muhammad al-Faisal has explained, in Saudi Arabia “the religion is the law.”¹³ This is true in the most extreme sense. In its latest report on human rights practices in Saudi Arabia, the U.S. Department of State found that, “Freedom of religion did not exist. Islam is the official religion, and the law provides that all citizens must be Muslims.”¹⁴ The report goes on to note, “Conversion by a Muslim to another religion was considered apostasy. Apostasy is a crime under Sharia’a and, according to the Government’s interpretation, is punishable by death.”¹⁵ Indeed, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (the “USCIRF”) confirms that, “There have been several reported cases of executions of individuals found to be apostates in Saudi Arabia.”¹⁶

A prominent Saudi cleric, Sheik Muhammad bin Uthaimin, described this policy bluntly in a publication by the Saudi Ministry of Islamic Affairs, “Our doctrine states that if you accept any religion other than Islam, like Judaism or Christianity, which are not acceptable, you become an unbeliever. If you do not repent, you are an apostate and you should be killed because you have denied the Koran.”¹⁷ Indeed, according to the former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia (the highest religious authority in the Kingdom), Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz,¹⁸ any deviation from the mandates of Wahhabi Islam can become a death sentence. In a text distributed by the Saudi Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Bin Baz instructs:

If a person said: I believe in Allah alone and confirm the truth of everything from Muhammed, except in his forbidding fornication, he becomes a disbeliever. For that, it would be lawful for Muslims to spill his blood and to take his money.

Along the same line, if a person said: I believe in Allah alone, and believe in all the prophets, and Mohammed as their leader, except in forbidding homosexuality; he becomes a disbeliever, his blood would be OK to spill, and his money OK to take by the Muslims, if you can prove that he is such a person.¹⁹

If the statements above sound surreal, consider the fact that the Saudi government has, in fact, regularly beheaded those found guilty of homosexuality.²⁰

Even blasphemy is a capital offense in Saudi Arabia, and in January 2003 a Yemeni national was sentenced to death for “insulting the religion of his roommate.”²¹ According to the USCIRF, his fate is unknown.²² Likewise, when journalist Turki al-Hammad wrote that the source of Saudi Arabia’s problem with terrorism was Wahhabism itself, and that the Saudi people should renounce its violent and xenophobic doctrines, several Saudi clerics promptly issued a *fatwa* ordering his death.²³ On the other hand, in November 2005, a Saudi schoolteacher had better luck with the Wahhabi courts.²⁴ Although he was convicted of “mocking religion” after discussing the New Testament and defending the Jews in his classroom, he was only sentenced to 40 months in jail and 750 lashes.²⁵

In Saudi Arabia, the education curriculum is controlled by the religious authorities, and is the primary means for indoctrinating the population in the state religion – Wahhabi Islam. According to the USCIRF, 30-50 percent of the secondary school curriculum in Saudi Arabia is dedicated to religious teachings.²⁶ This finding was echoed by investigative journalist Lawrence Wright, who spent several months in Saudi Arabia in 2003 working at the English-language daily the *Saudi Gazette*. He observed:

Religion has become a steadily increasing part of the Saudi school curriculum, so students have less exposure to science, art, and languages. “My kid is in the fifth grade,” Omar Bagour, a columnist for *Al Madina* and a professor of economics at King Abdul Aziz University, told me. “Out of twelve subjects, seven are pure religion.”²⁷

This extreme commitment to religious indoctrination affects the substance of the nonreligious curriculum as well, leading to a myopic and insular perspective in the classroom. Ali al-Ahmed is a Saudi dissident who founded first the Saudi Institute, and now the Institute of Gulf Affairs, to speak out against the stifling oppression of the Saudi regime.²⁸ In an interview with the PBS news program *Frontline*, he explained:

[In] Saudi Arabia, you learn Islamic history only. You don't learn history of Europe, you know, of the Americas, of Asia. You only learn Islamic history, and you learn the Saudi state history, and you learn what they call the Salafi Da'wah, the Salafi movement . . . in the West, the so-called Wahhabi movement. And of course, doesn't teach you anything about the world. It teaches you about Islamic history, and the Islamic states, until today. But nothing about the rest of the Western world, or Asia, or anything else.²⁹

Indeed, the religious focus of Saudi education is so overwhelming that two out of every three doctorates earned in the Kingdom are in Islamic studies.³⁰

The Wahhabi program is imposed even on those Saudis who practice other forms of Islam. There are approximately two million Shi'a Muslims in Saudi Arabia.³¹ As Ali al-Ahmed, who himself is a Shiite, told *Frontline*:

Religious education in Saudi Arabia is compulsory, and you have no choice but to study this. You're Salafi or you're not Salafi, you have to study it, even if you don't believe in it. . . . Shi'a have to learn this. And they not only have to learn it, they cannot teach their own understanding of Islam to their own children in homes or mosques.³²

The USCIRF confirmed this, finding that, “The Saudi education system indoctrinates all students in the government's favored interpretation of Islam, regardless of the convictions of the children or their parents.”³³ What's more, terrorism expert Stephen Schwartz has gone on to describe just how compulsory this policy can be. He wrote:

All students are taught religion beginning in primary school. The curriculum is exclusively based on Wahhabism. Shi'a Muslim doctrines are condemned, from the beginning of the child's education, as heretical and sinful. . . . In 2001, four Shi'a high school students in Najran, aged 16 and 17, were arrested after a fight with a Wahhabi instructor who insulted their faith: They received two to four years in jail and 500 to 800 lashes.³⁴

Schwartz went on to note that, “Flogging is carried out in the kingdom using wooden rods and metal cables, which cause extraordinary suffering. No other Islamic society in the world imposes such punishments.”³⁵

The teachings of Wahhabism are pounded home outside of the classroom, as well. The content of print media and television programming is also controlled by the religious authorities, through the government.³⁶ Ali al-Ahmed described the pervasive presence of the Wahhabi

doctrine, “The religious clerics in Saudi Arabia control the religious education. And they control any religious material that is public, in media and television. The Saudi television, government television, or government books, or any books that you find in the library, only represent Salafi understanding of Islam.”³⁷ A 1995 manual by the Saudi Cultural Mission to the United States entitled *Education in Saudi Arabia* confirms this, stating that, “The government shall be concerned with the control of all books coming into the Kingdom from abroad or going out of the Kingdom to the outside world. No books shall be allowed for use unless they are consistent with Islam, the intellectual trends and educational aims of the Kingdom.”³⁸ And journalist Lawrence Wright encountered this policy first hand:

The religious establishment makes sure that millions of Islamic books are translated into other languages each year, but very few books are translated into Arabic. “Censorship of books is more rigid now than forty years back,” Muhammad Salahuddin, a columnist for *Al Madina*, told me one night at dinner. “Back then, I could buy a copy of ‘Das Kapital’ in Mecca. Now you cannot dream of finding such books.”³⁹

Needless to say, what applies to Karl Marx applies doubly to non-Islamic religious texts.

In a *Wall Street Journal* commentary, Ali al-Ahmed pointed out the hypocrisy of Saudi government protests against the reported desecration of the Koran at Guantanamo Bay. He recounted:

Indeed, the Saudi government desecrates and burns Bibles that its security forces confiscate at immigration points into the kingdom or during raids on Christian expatriates worshipping privately. . . . Although considered as holy in Islam and mentioned in the Quran dozens of times, the Bible is banned in Saudi Arabia. This would seem curious to most people because of the fact that to most Muslims, the Bible is a holy book. But when it comes to Saudi Arabia we are not talking about most Muslims, but a tiny minority of hard-liners who constitute the Wahhabi Sect.

The Bible in Saudi Arabia may get a person killed, arrested, or deported. In September 1993, Sadeq Mallallah, 23, was beheaded in Qateef on a charge of apostasy for owning a Bible.⁴⁰

The USCIRF found that these exclusionary practices are even directed at other Muslims. They reported that, “Saudi authorities do not permit the importation or dissemination of Shi’a religious literature or educational materials. All Shi’a books are banned.”⁴¹ In addition to banning books outright, the Saudi government employs a small army of censors to pour over all foreign books, magazines and newspapers that do make it inside the Kingdom, redacting or tearing out any material deemed “offensive” by the authorities.⁴² And while the internet may provide a means for gaining access to a broader world of ideas, by last count the Saudi government has blocked over 400,000 websites from being accessed from inside the Kingdom.⁴³

In fact, the control of the Wahhabi religious authorities extends far beyond issues of religious education and the mass media, to the very fabric of the society as a whole. Predictably, this has led to an endemic atmosphere of oppression, one which was observed first-hand by Lawrence Wright. He reports that the problem became especially severe after Islamic radicals

seized control of the Holy Mosque of Mecca in 1979. In order to appease the extremists, the Saudi royal family ceded even more authority to the Wahhabi *ulema*.⁴⁴ Wright recounted:

Wahhabi clerics, with their fear of outside influences, waged war on art and the pleasures of the intellect. Music was the first victim. Umm Kulthum and Fairouz, the songbirds of the Arab world, disappeared from the Saudi television stations. A magnificent concert hall in Riyadh was completed in 1989, but no performance has ever been held there. The Islamic courts have even banned the music played when a telephone call is placed on hold. There had been some movie theatres, but they were all shut down.⁴⁵

In a similar vein, Mike Ameen, a former Vice President of ARAMCO, told a humorous but revealing anecdote to *Frontline* about how absolute and capricious the power of Saudi religious authorities had become. He recalled:

One day, I get a telephone call from our people in Dhahran that says, “Mike, they’re banning vanilla. The vanilla extract is being banned.” I said, “Why?” He said, “Well, it’s got a little alcohol in it.” And you know, they’re going crazy. Anything with anything, any alcohol in it, anything. And they’re saying to me, “Look, we can’t make ice cream. We can’t make bread. We can’t make cakes. We can’t— it’s a big problem. We’ve got to do something about it.”⁴⁶

While Ameen was eventually able to talk his way into regular vanilla shipments, the overall atmosphere inside the Kingdom has changed little. And these are just a few examples of the cultural stranglehold which the Wahhabi religious authorities have on Saudi society.⁴⁷

Neil MacFarquhar of *The New York Times* has also sought to explain the history and motivation behind this relentless Wahhabi authoritarianism. He reported:

Throughout the sect’s history, the Wahhabis have fiercely opposed anything they viewed as *bida*, an Arabic word, usually muttered as a curse, for any change or modernization that deviates from the fundamental teachings of the Koran.

The telephone, radio broadcasts and public education for women were at one point condemned as innovations wrought by the Devil. Riots ensued over the introduction of television in 1965, and were only quelled after police fired on demonstrators. Similar tensions exist today. A recent ruling suggested that the music played as mobile phone rings should be outlawed on religious grounds.

Whenever the forces of change prevailed, it was usually with the argument that the novelty could help propagate the Koran. . . . “They believe that Islam is a total system, that it has an answer for every question,” said Yahya Sadowski, a political science professor at the American University of Beirut. “They believe there is a kind of blueprint that you can write out. It is all in the Koran.”⁴⁸

Taking a step back, Lawrence Wright described how truly suffocating this theocratic “utopia” has become. He wrote, “The fact that there are no secular charities or non-governmental institutions or, of course, political parties—civil society, in other words—means that there is no moderate, stabilizing middle ground between the government and the clerics.”⁴⁹ Without a healthy social and cultural life, Wright found an entire nation living under a sort of house arrest. He recalled hearing open complaints about depression and stress from complete strangers, and observed, “Before arriving in Saudi Arabia, I had expected loud confrontations that went on into

the night, as I had experienced in Cairo in the spring of 2002. But there was little of the natural exuberance, humor, and mischief that are so much a part of the Egyptian character. What I found instead was quiet despair, an ominous emotional flatness.”⁵⁰

What is true for Saudi men is doubly so for women in the Kingdom. Trapped underneath stifling black robes and veils, and forbidden from leaving their home without a male chaperone, they are systematically denied even the most basic freedoms. Carmen bin Laden, the Swiss-born ex-wife of one of the Bin Laden brothers, has written a book describing her experiences in Saudi Arabia. She recounted how quickly she was confronted with intense feelings of depression and claustrophobia:

I needed activity. I needed to read. I longed for some stimulation of my mind, and my body. The two TV channels broadcast an imam chanting the Koran all day; for lighter fare, little boys as young as six or seven, who had won prizes for their Koranic knowledge, recited the holy texts from memory. Foreign newspapers were Magic Markered into fragments: Any comment on Saudi Arabia or Israel, any photo or advertisement showing even one inch of a woman’s limbs or neck was blacked out by the censors. I held them up to the light, to divine the forbidden words veiled by the censor’s pen.

There were no books. There were no theaters, no concerts, no cinemas. There was no reason to go out, and in any case we could not go out: I was not allowed to go for a walk, and legally could not drive.⁵¹

For the women of Saudi Arabia, living under a state of “house arrest” is not an analogy; it is a fact of life.

Predictably, Saudi nationals are not the only ones to suffer under the Wahhabi regime. The Saudi government also adopts a policy of complete intolerance for the practice of other religions inside the Kingdom. As the U.S. State Department found:

The Government prohibited the public practice of non-Muslim religions. In general, non-Muslims are able to worship privately, but must exercise great discretion to avoid attracting attention. . . . Non-Muslim worshippers risked arrest, lashing, deportation, and torture for engaging in overt religious activity that attracted official attention.⁵²

Likewise, the USCIRF reported that among the actions taken by Saudi officials to ensure that only Wahhabi Islam was practiced in the Kingdom were, “The harassment, detention, arrest, torture, and subsequent deportation by government authorities of Christian foreign workers.”⁵³ But the USCIRF went a step further regarding private religious worship, stating that “the freedom to worship privately in community with others is not, in fact, respected in Saudi Arabia, as numerous foreign Christians attending house church worship services have been detained without charge for months, beaten, imprisoned, and deported for engaging in such worship.”⁵⁴ For example, in April 2002, more than 30 Christians were detained by the religious police and eventually deported from the Kingdom after a series of raids on private homes in Riyadh.⁵⁵ And in April 2005, approximately 40 Christians from Pakistan were detained, some for days, because they held religious services in a private home.⁵⁶ The USCIRF went on to note that Saudi Arabia, alone among Muslim nations, refuses to allow a single church, synagogue, temple or other non-Islamic place of worship to be built inside the Kingdom, and prohibits all non-Muslim clergy

from entering the country to conduct religious services.⁵⁷ Indeed, non-Muslims are not even allowed to be buried in Saudi soil.⁵⁸

Not only are non-Muslims regularly harassed and abused by Saudi authorities, but fellow Muslims who don't follow the strictures of Wahhabism are also persecuted. The USCIRF reports that, "The government strictly prohibits the public teaching and spreading of Islam within Saudi Arabia by non-Wahhabi Muslims – including Sunni and Shi'a Muslims."⁵⁹ To this end, Saudi authorities engaged in "detention, imprisonment, and, in some cases, torture of Shi'a clerics and religious scholars."⁶⁰ The USCIRF also noted yet another archaic legal mandate used to persecute fellow Muslims, reporting that, "Spurious charges of 'sorcery' and 'witchcraft' continued to be used by the Saudi authorities against non-Wahhabi Muslims. Several individuals remain in prison on these charges."⁶¹ Likewise, the State Department has reported that Saudi Shiites routinely face "officially sanctioned political, social, and economic discrimination."⁶²

In addition to imposing Sharia law and appointing the judiciary, the religious authorities also employ their own police force to compel obedience to Wahhabi religious mandates. Officially, the religious police are known as the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice.⁶³ But colloquially, they are known throughout Saudi Arabia as the *mutawaa*. The USCIRF reports:

The *mutawaa* is intrusive. They arbitrarily raid private homes and exercise broadly defined, vague powers, including the ability to use physical force and detain individuals without due process. . . . the *mutawaa* harass women for not complying with the dress code; detain men for appearing in public places with women who are not relatives; harass and detain female foreign workers arbitrarily; shear men's hair if it is determined to violate imposed standards; detain without charge Saudis and non-Saudis for long periods of time; and whip and beat both Saudis and non-Saudis.⁶⁴

Indeed, CIA veteran Robert Baer reports that the *mutawaa* are so domineering that, "Anyone caught putting up a Christmas wreath is lashed."⁶⁵ And in its most recent annual report, the USCIRF not only confirmed that the *mutawaa* have "harassed, detained, whipped, beaten, and meted out extrajudicial punishments to individuals deemed to have strayed from 'appropriate' dress and/or behavior," but went on to note that, "a press report identified a former member of the *mutawaa* as the leader of an attack on the U.S. consulate in Jeddah that resulted in the deaths of five people."⁶⁶

One of the most disturbing illustrations of the power of the religious authorities in Saudi Arabia occurred on March 14, 2000, when a fire broke out in a girl's school in Mecca.⁶⁷ Shortly before the fire started, a janitor had locked all of the gates to the school and then wandered off leaving them unattended, a common practice to enforce the strict segregation of the sexes at girl's schools in the Kingdom.⁶⁸ When the fire broke out, many of the students panicked and tried to escape before donning their headscarves and *abayas* (full-length robes), as mandated by Wahhabi religious law.⁶⁹ They were immediately intercepted by members of the *mutawaa*, who tried to physically beat them back inside the burning building.⁷⁰ As several other improperly dressed students pressed against one of the locked gates, another member of the *mutawaa* stood outside refusing to let them out until they were properly attired.⁷¹ Fifteen schoolgirls died as a result.⁷² Lawrence Wright attempted to investigate the incident while working at a Saudi

newspaper in 2003. After encountering constant evasions and silence inside the Kingdom, he turned to a colleague in the U.S. to get the larger story:

I spoke to Dr. Khaled Abou El Fadl, a law professor at U.C.L.A. and a member of the board of Human Rights Watch. He told me that he had received a call from a businessman in Mecca who claimed to be the father of one of the dead girls. “He was at work, a ten-minute drive from the school,” Abou El Fadl told me. “He got a call and rushed over, and there he encountered police and firemen. He pushed his way through, and then he noticed the *muttawa’ a*.” A few minutes later, the father said, his daughter ran to the gate with a group of girls. The girls pleaded for someone to let them out. “She was screaming, ‘Break the lock! Break the lock!’” Abou El Fadl continued. “The smoke was overwhelming, it was very hot. One of the girls was screaming that her clothes were sticking to her skin.”

Seventeen fire engines had responded to the alarm, along with members of the civil defense. Between them and the desperate students stood the *muttawa’ a*. None of the representatives of Saudi society standing outside the gate of the girls’ school—the police, the firemen, the parents, the bystanders—were able to summon the collective will to ignore the *muttawa’ a* and save the girls. The man who called Abou El Fadl said he was afraid of challenging the religious police. They sent his daughter back into the school to get her abaya. She burned to death. “He said, ‘I want the criminals tried. They murdered my daughter. Help me bring justice,’” Abou El Fadl told me. But that was the last he heard from the man.

No one was prosecuted for the deaths. . . . The government said that there would be a follow-up investigation, but nothing came of it.⁷³

While a western observer might view this lack of accountability as a symptom of incompetence or corruption, a closer look at the oppressive and extremist nature of the Saudi regime suggests another possibility: the *mutawaa* weren’t punished because they were simply doing their job – the absolute enforcement of Wahhabi religious law. Indeed, a young member of the Saudi royal family was once publicly flogged for getting into a fistfight with a *mutawaa* who was harassing a female relative in a downtown shopping center.⁷⁴ The message that the power of the *mutawaa* is not to be challenged, by anyone, clearly resonated with the public at large.

Taken together, the above reports clearly illustrate that Saudi society actually has two of the basic characteristics one would expect to find in a cult – rigid isolationism combined with relentless indoctrination – but played out on a national level. However, isolation and intolerance may not necessarily lead to aggression and violence. To see how these conditions led to Osama bin Laden’s 95% approval rating, you have to take a closer look at the doctrine and dogma of Wahhabi Islam itself. To understand the tenets of this living religion, three sources are key: first, the official textbooks used in Saudi Arabia’s education system; second, the sermons and lectures of Wahhabi clerics and religious authorities; and third, other religious guides and commentaries published and disseminated by the Saudi government and religious authorities.

Not surprisingly, Saudi authorities have been just as strict in controlling information flowing out of the Kingdom as they have been about information flowing into it. As CIA veteran Robert Baer reports, “with few exceptions, American journalists are not issued visas to visit the kingdom. The few who visit find themselves closely controlled by the secret police. . . . Saudi Arabia remains a country closed to foreigners and objective, first-hand analysis. Now more than

ever, the expatriate community is confined to its gilded ghettos.”⁷⁵ A number of journalists and government officials have confirmed this assessment.⁷⁶ In spite of these constraints, a number of watchdog groups, former government officials, Saudi dissidents and investigative journalists have succeeded in shedding ever more light on the Wahhabi regime.

Islam and the Infidel

As Senators Jon Kyl (R-AZ) and Charles Schumer (D-NY) have noted, “Wahhabism is an extremist, exclusionary form of Islam that not only denigrates other faiths, but also marginalizes peaceful followers of Islam.”⁷⁷ These traits are amplified throughout the Saudi educational curriculum, but are developed in the first instance in the Koran itself. What distinguishes the Wahhabi Koran from its more mainstream counterparts are its commentaries and subtle modifications which reflect Wahhabism’s xenophobia and emphasis on aggression as a means of promoting the faith.⁷⁸ Terrorism expert Stephen Schwartz notes that, “The Wahhabi Koran is notable in that, while Muslims believe that their sacred text was dictated by God and cannot be altered, the Saudi English version adds to the original so as to change its sense in a radical direction.”⁷⁹ He provides an example from the final lines of the first *surah* of the Koran, of which a literal translation reads:

Guide us to the straight path,
The path of those whom You have favored,
Not of those who have incurred your wrath,
Nor of those who have gone astray.⁸⁰

However, the translation produced by the Wahhabi religious authorities and distributed around the world by the Saudi government reads:

Guide us to the Straight Way.
The Way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace,
Not (the way) of those who have earned Your Anger (such as the Jews)
Nor those who went astray (such as the Christians).⁸¹

The significance of the changes are clear. What was originally a general call to lead a morally righteous life is transformed into a divisive statement condemning other religions. A wedge is driven between believers of the Wahhabi faith and non-believers, or “infidels” (*kafir*). *The Washington Post* discussed the text with a prominent American Muslim, Maher Hathout, chairman of the Islamic Center of Southern California in Los Angeles, and reported that, “The commentary accompanying the Saudi-published Koran, Hathout said, was ‘very alien to the spirit of tolerance’ in U.S. society. ‘This may [make] sense over there, but doesn’t make any sense here,’ he said.”⁸² By one count, Saudi Arabia has now printed and distributed 138 million copies of the Wahhabi Koran worldwide.⁸³

A number of watchdog organizations have reviewed and translated Saudi educational materials, including the Center for Monitoring the Impact for Peace, the Middle East Media Research Institute, and the Center for Religious Freedom.⁸⁴ What they have found is a pervasive and consistent message that all non-believers are infidels, and all infidels are mortal enemies of Islam. This lesson is hammered home early and often. For example, a fifth-grade text teaches:

It is forbidden for a Muslim to be a friend of one who does not believe in God and his Messenger. . . . God has severed the [link of] friendship between Muslims and

infidels. The Muslim, even if he lives far away, is your brother-in-belief, while the infidel, even if he is your brother of kin, is your enemy by religion.⁸⁵

A seventh-grade Saudi textbook goes a step further, teaching that, “We have to be careful of infidels, and we can ask Allah to destroy them in our prayers.”⁸⁶ An eighth-grade text on geography warns, “There is no doubt that the Muslims’ power irritates the infidels and spreads envy in the hearts of the enemies of Islam – Christians, Jews and others – so they plot against them, gather force against them, harass them and seize every opportunity to eliminate the Muslims.”⁸⁷ A ninth-grade textbook reaffirms that, “It is forbidden to befriend the infidels or support them or help them by any means. . . . They are enemies of Allah and of the believers.”⁸⁸ The same textbook warns ominously that, “God knows of man’s manifest deeds as well as of anything he hides and conceals. If anyone covertly befriends the infidels and reveals information about the Muslims to them, then God is aware of that and will repay him for his evil deed.”⁸⁹ Another ninth-grade text book published by the Ministry of Education warns bluntly, “Jews and Christians are the enemies of believers; they will never approve of Muslims, beware of them.”⁹⁰ And a tenth-grade textbook reaffirms that, “It is compulsory for Muslims to be loyal to each other and to consider the infidels their enemy.”⁹¹ These are but a few examples of a lesson which Saudi students are constantly drilled on, both inside the classroom and out.

The same message is repeated by Saudi religious leaders in mosques, on television and in other media. The Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia from 1993 to 1999, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, wrote that any sense of fraternity between infidels and Muslims was forbidden.⁹² Bin Baz gained notoriety in 1966 when he wrote an essay claiming that the earth was indeed flat, and the sun orbited around it, as taught in the Koran.⁹³ On the topic of the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, he explained that, “According to the Koran, the Sunnah, and the consensus of Muslims it is a requirement of Muslims to be hostile to the Jews and the Christians and other polytheists.”⁹⁴ Note that under Wahhabi doctrine, the term “polytheist” (*mushrikin*) is actually even more derogatory than the term “infidel” (*kafir*). He went on to warn that, “It is not right for a Muslim to support the unbelievers, or to ask them to support him against his enemies; they are the enemy, do not trust them.”⁹⁵ Finally, he concluded that the verses of the Koran prove “with absolute clarity that there is a religious requirement to despise the infidel Jews and Christians . . . until they believe in Allah alone.”⁹⁶

While Bin Baz died in 1999, his teachings have been reaffirmed time and again by Saudi religious authorities. For instance, on February 3, 2005, Saudi cleric Sheikh Musa al-Qarni urged his fellow Muslims to be more candid about the status of non-believers. However, Al-Qarni also went on to point out the more “benevolent” side of Wahhabism. He lectured on Saudi state television:

What position must we adopt towards Allah’s enemies? Is it the position we have adopted? First of all, we must be aware of the fact that at present we see that [the West] doesn’t want us even to say the words ‘Allah’s enemies.’ They don’t want us to say that the Jews and the Christians are Allah’s enemies. They don’t want us to say that the Jews and the Christians are the enemies of the Muslims and the enemies of Islam. This is fixed and established in the Koran and in the tradition.

. . . If this is so, if this is something fixed, how is it that we find in the things that we say, among our children, our own flesh and blood, among Muslims, people who are in denial of these things, who deny that there is a great enmity between

Muslims and non-Muslims? It is true that we say that Islam's fundamental approach is that of mercy, and that the fundamental principle of Islam is mercy for human beings. But he who submits to Allah's religion and extends his hand to allow Allah's religion to spread all over the earth and to make Allah's word supreme – it is toward him that religion is merciful.⁹⁷

Obviously, that's not the kind of "mercy" that's going to do us any good in preventing another September 11. Likewise, at the Al-Rahmah mosque in Mecca another Saudi cleric, Sheikh Marzouq Salem al-Ghamdi, exhorted that, "The Jews and Christians are infidels, enemies of Allah, his Messenger, and the believers. They deny and curse Allah and his Messenger."⁹⁸ And in a fatwa instructing Muslims traveling abroad on how they should comport themselves, Sheikh Muhammad bin Uthaimin urged his followers to always "harbor enmity and hatred for the infidels and refrain from taking them as friends."⁹⁹ A former member of Saudi Arabia's highest religious body, the Council of Senior Clerics, when Bin Uthaimin died in January 2001 more than 500,000 people attended his funeral in Mecca.¹⁰⁰

And in case anyone missed the implications of all this for us, yet another prominent Saudi took the lesson a step further. In an essay written shortly after September 11, Sheikh Ali Khudeir declared, "It is known that the infidel West, led by the Americans, is the greatest warrior against Allah, Allah's Messenger, and the Muslims during this time. . . . [T]he war of the West, and particularly that of America, is against Islam everywhere."¹⁰¹ This sentiment was also picked up on by the 9/11 Commission, which summed up the views of Al Qaeda this way:

America is responsible for all conflicts involving Muslims. Thus Americans are blamed when Israelis fight with Palestinians, when Russians fight with Chechens, when Indians fight with Kashmiri Muslims, and when the Philippine government fights ethnic Muslims in its southern islands. America is also held responsible for the governments of Muslim countries, derided by al Qaeda as "your agents." Bin Ladin has stated flatly, "Our fight against these governments is not separate from our fight against you."¹⁰²

While the Commission's sense of chagrin seems palpable, the instinct to lash out at America is predictable considering the basic tenets of the Wahhabi creed. Not only is the U.S. an infidel nation, but it is both the world's sole remaining super-power and an icon for religious tolerance, individual liberty and secular democracy. Thus, the United States itself is perceived as an open insult to the Wahhabi ideology. Saudi cleric Sheikh Saad al-Buraik illustrated this view nicely in a Riyadh mosque, when he observed that, "I am against America until this life ends, until Judgment Day. . . . My hatred of America, if part of it was contained in the universe, it would collapse. She is the root of all evils, and wickedness on earth."¹⁰³

These lessons have also been repeated in texts published by the Saudi government and distributed around the globe. The Center for Religious Freedom is a division of Freedom House, the international watchdog group originally founded by Eleanor Roosevelt, among others. In January 2005, the Center for Religious Freedom completed a report on materials published in Saudi Arabia and distributed here in the U.S. by Saudi-affiliated mosques and cultural centers. One such text, entitled *Loyalty and Dissociation in Islam*, was found being distributed in Washington, DC.¹⁰⁴ Published in Riyadh, it instructs:

To be dissociated from the infidels is to hate them for their religion, to leave them, never to rely on them for support, not to admire them, to be on one's guard

against them, never to imitate them, and to always oppose them in every way according to Islamic law. . . . There is consensus on this matter, that whoever helps unbelievers against Muslims, regardless of what type of support he lends to them, he is an unbeliever himself.¹⁰⁵

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, a prominent Saudi-based charity, has put out a book entitled *Islamic Views*. Published by the Saudi government's Armed Forces Printing Press, the book explains, "You should not back the Jews and the Christians and the Communists against the Muslims; the Communists, the Polytheists, the Jews, and the Christians, those who do not believe in Mohammed. You should say they are infidels."¹⁰⁶ Likewise, a text by the Saudi government's Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, found in a San Diego mosque, instructs:

It is basic to the belief of Islam that everyone who does not embrace Islam is an unbeliever and must be called an unbeliever and that they are enemies to Allah, his Prophet and the believers. . . . That is why the one who does not call the Jews and the Christian unbelievers is himself an unbeliever.¹⁰⁷

These are the lessons that are hammered home over a lifetime of learning in Saudi Arabia, and exported around the world.

What's more, Saudi clerics have consistently attacked any suggestion that they moderate their message regarding the infidel. The same text cited above goes on to address contemporary calls to religious tolerance and interfaith harmony, rejecting them out of hand. It reads:

The effect of this sinful call [for interfaith harmony] is that it erases the differences between Islam and disbelief, between truth and falsehood, good and bad, and it breaks the wall of resentment between the Muslims and the unbelievers, so that there is no loyalty and enmity, no more *jihad* and fighting to raise Allah's word on earth.¹⁰⁸

Likewise, in a Mecca mosque on May 11, 2001, Sheikh Adnan Ahmand Siami condemned the notion of religious harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims. He declared:

Several years ago, a sinful call arose, which unfortunately garnered support from some clerics, intellectuals, and preachers of this Islamic religion . . . They flaunted an empty and false slogan of 'religious harmony,' Christian-Islamic friendship . . . a call to dismantle the pact among Muslims in all the corners of the Islamic world and to replace it with an accursed alternative harmony – the 'Harmony of the Jews and Christians.' This is, in truth, a call to Muslims to stop accusing Jews, Christians, and other non-Muslims of being infidels. . . . There can be neither an agreement nor a meeting point between the people of Islam and the Jewish and Christian People.¹⁰⁹

Not only are all non-believers categorically deemed enemies of the faithful, but any moderate "clerics, intellectuals, and preachers" who question this doctrine are attacked, as well.

Once again, non-Muslim "infidels" are not the only ones singled out as enemies of Wahhabi Islam. Those Muslims who do not follow the totalitarian edicts of the Wahhabis, particularly Shiites and Sufis, are deemed impostors or heretics (*takfir*).¹¹⁰ As Saudi dissident Ali al-Ahmed explained to *Frontline*:

Salafi is what you call in the West *Wahhabi*. . . . It's intolerant toward other Muslims who are not Salafis. You can see a book that is printed by a branch of Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud University in the Washington area, and they printed this book where they say that 95 percent of Muslims are claimant to Islam, . . . they are not called Muslims. They are claimant to Islam, or claim to be Muslims.¹¹¹

The USCIRF supports this assessment. It found that, "Members of the official religious establishment have reportedly issued *fatwas* (religious edicts) declaring the Shi'a to be outside the pale of Islam and authorizing the state to prevent them, including forcibly, from practicing certain aspects of their religion."¹¹² Ali al-Ahmed went on to tell just how extreme intolerance toward Shi'a Muslims can be:

Some clerics stated they should sometime be either killed or thrown away or deported, and they should not be allowed even to work. . . . Their businesses should be taken over. And there's another cleric who will say, 'Shi'a must be slaughtered,' this word. And this guy is an official in the government. This year, there is another fatwa by a government official, who is still working for the government, who said the same thing: that jihad should be waged against Shi'a.¹¹³

The concept of *jihad* will be further addressed shortly. For now, note that in addition to Shi'a Muslims, certain types of Sunnis who do not follow the austere rites of the Wahhabis (such as those who celebrate Mohammed's birthday) are also condemned. Al-Ahmed continues:

All of these people are not accepted by Salafi as Muslims. As I said, 'claimant to Islam.' And all of these people are supposed to be hated, to be persecuted, even killed. And we have several clergy – not [just] one Salafi clergy – who have said that against the Shi'a and against other Muslims. And they have done it in Algeria, in Afghanistan. This is the same ideology.¹¹⁴

Others have backed up Al-Ahmed's claims. In particular, they note that Sheikh Abdullah bin Abdul Rahman Jibrin has stated that Shi'a Muslims are "*mushrikin* (polytheists) whose blood may be shed," and who "deserve to be killed."¹¹⁵ Sheikh Jibrin is a member of Saudi Arabia's Council of Senior Clerics, the Wahhabi equivalent to the College of Cardinals in the Catholic hierarchy. Likewise, Sheikh Salman bin Fahd al-Auda, who has been described as one of the most influential preachers in the Kingdom, publicly called on the Saudi government to expel Saudi Arabia's Shiite population.¹¹⁶ As for the Wahhabi persecution and mass murder of Shi'a Muslims in Algeria and Afghanistan, this will be further discussed in Part 3 (and of course, the current slaughter of Iraqi Shiites by Saudi suicide bombers was discussed at length in Part 1).

This extreme xenophobia is also perpetuated through the practical example set by the Saudi justice system. In Saudi Arabia, the Wahhabi religious authorities appoint the judiciary and impose a strict form of Islamic law.¹¹⁷ The U.S. State Department reports:

Under the Hanbali interpretation of Sharia's law followed in the Kingdom, judges may discount the testimony of persons who are not practicing Muslims or who do not adhere to the correct doctrine. Legal sources reported that testimony by Shi'a is often ignored in courts of law or is deemed to have less weight than testimony by Sunnis. . . . [In civil cases,] once fault is determined by a court, a Muslim male receives 100 percent of the amount of compensation determined, a male Jew or

Christian received 50 percent, and all others (including Hindus) received 1/16 of the amount a male Muslim receives. Women receive 50 percent of what males receive in each of these categories.¹¹⁸

Likewise, the USCIRF has confirmed that in Saudi Arabia, “judges may discount the testimony of individuals who do not adhere to the Wahhabi version of Islam.”¹¹⁹ In particular, the Commission found that, “Shi’a testimony in various court cases is discounted or rendered inadmissible by judges.”¹²⁰

Predictably, these prejudiced and oppressive laws also feed corruption in the Kingdom. The USCIRF reports that some dishonest employers in Saudi Arabia regularly threaten false charges of blasphemy (a capital offense) when confronted with rightful claims for pay and benefits by foreign workers.¹²¹ Journalist Lawrence Wright saw the impact of this skewed legal system firsthand while working as a guest reporter for an English-language daily in Saudi Arabia in 2003. He recounted:

[T]he *Gazette* received a tantalizing letter—a plea from a group of Indian taxi-drivers. Fifty of them had been brought to the kingdom seven years before with the promise of office jobs in private companies and a guaranteed monthly wage of six hundred riyals. (They included a copy of the contract with their letter.) Upon their arrival, the employer seized their passports and their residence permits, and told them that they actually would be “limousine drivers”—that is, cabbies—and that, rather than receiving a wage, they would be required to pay rent on their taxis. Some of the men didn’t even have a driver’s license, but they were all thrown out onto the chaotic streets of Jeddah. After enduring a series of indignities, including beatings, fifteen of the men had gone on strike. The men were crowded into a hovel, stranded, hungry—virtual prisoners.¹²² . . .

Because they were expats, they had no real legal standing in the country. Their employer had made them sign documents in Arabic that they couldn’t read, as well as some blank sheets of paper. One of the drivers told Faisal [an Indian reporter] that the owner of the company had his own jail, where he locked up drivers who defied him. . . .

Now the drivers and the owner were headed for labor court, where such disputes are nearly always resolved in favor of the Saudi employers. . . . [The next day] Faisal told me that the Arabic document that they had signed when they first arrived in the kingdom released the owner from any financial liability. The owner also produced other documents, apparently made up from the blank sheets of paper the drivers had signed, which said that they owed him several thousand riyals each.

“What will happen to them now?” I asked.

“They’re going to prison,” he told me.¹²³

After being waived off the story by his Saudi editor, Wright never did attempt to intervene on behalf of the Indian cab drivers. He provided the following explanation:

I recalled the story of Abd al-Karim Mara’i al-Naqshabandi, a Syrian expat worker who had been sentenced to death for allegedly practicing witchcraft against his employer, a nephew of King Fahd. The evidence against him was

absurd. Human-rights workers jumped on the case, when they discovered that Naqshabandi's employer had wanted him to falsely testify against another employee, and, when he refused, made the witchcraft charge. Naqshabandi became a cause célèbre, but he was preëmptorily beheaded—a grisly message to outsiders who meddled in Saudi affairs.¹²⁴

However, Saudi authorities aren't completely ambivalent toward pragmatic considerations. One reason such miscarriages of justice are not more widely known in the U.S. is that treatment of foreign nationals varies by country of origin. Americans and Europeans are granted far more respect, while foreign nationals from other third-world countries such as Yemen, the Philippines and Bangladesh receive the brunt of the punishment.¹²⁵

It's also worth noting that the Saudis have apparently found a solution to the “he-said, she-said” dilemma. As the USCIRF reports, “testimony by a man is said to be equivalent to the testimony of two women.”¹²⁶ Of course, if you happen to be both female and a foreigner, your standing in a Saudi court is practically nil. Not surprisingly, the USCIRF found that:

Domestic violence is not regarded as a crime under Saudi law, and spousal abuse is prevalent. The State Department reports that foreign domestic workers are subject to forced confinement, withholding of food, beatings and other physical abuse, including rape. . . . In one case, the Commission was told of a foreign domestic worker who had become pregnant after being raped by her employer. She was subsequently imprisoned because it is illegal for female foreign workers to become pregnant in Saudi Arabia if they are not married.¹²⁷

So strict are the misogynistic dictates of Wahhabism, that a woman will not be admitted into a hospital for medical treatment without the consent of a male relative.¹²⁸ And in some areas of the Kingdom, the Islamic dress code is so severely enforced that children may not have a chance to see the face of their mother until after she dies.¹²⁹

The examples above give a glimpse of the paranoia and xenophobia endemic in Wahhabi dogma, and hence in Saudi society. However, some Saudi religious authorities have struck a moderating tone in discussing their perspective on the infidel. For instance, *The New York Times* recounted an interview in which a Saudi professor of Islamic law in Riyadh assured a Western reporter, “Well, of course I hate you because you are a Christian, but that doesn't mean I want to kill you.”¹³⁰ Likewise, on May 24, 2004, Saudi scholar Dr. Ahmad bin Abd al-Latif declared on Saudi television, “Cursing the oppressing Jews and the oppressing and plundering Christians and the prayer that Allah will annihilate them is permitted. In fact, the Prophet himself used to curse some oppressors. But if it is possible, people should pray that Allah guides the others. There is no need for anger to overcome us. We should not pray *only* for their annihilation and for Allah to take revenge on them.”¹³¹ Unfortunately, these “moderate” voices have not held sway in Wahhabi religious discourse.

The Call to Jihad

Just as human rights and watchdog groups have found a constant theme of the infidel-as-enemy in Saudi textbooks and sermons, so they have found a pervasive call for *dawah* (the call to spread Islam) through *jihad* (holy war).¹³² In addition, these teachings repeatedly praise the *mujahideen* (holy warriors) who volunteer to wage jihad around the globe. As *The New York*

Times reported, “Whereas most sects in Islam view jihad as necessary only when attacked, the Wahhabis view it as a means to spread their religion [through] smiting one’s enemy first.”¹³³

Once again, the lesson is hammered home early and often. A fifth-grade textbook teaches that, “God loves the *Mujahideen*.”¹³⁴ In a sixth-grade geography textbook, students are instructed, “The Muslims in all parts of the land are entrusted with the duty of defense and *Jihad* which will ensure the Muslims’ glory and dignity and the purification of the Islamic holy places.”¹³⁵ An eighth-grade textbook teaches that, “The most important activity is jihad for the sake of Allah and the convocation of Allah’s religion on earth.”¹³⁶ One ninth-grade textbook published by the Saudi government’s General Presidency for Girls Education emphasizes that waging war against infidels is a sacred act, stating that, “*Jihad* is the best of pious actions after faith in Allah.”¹³⁷ Other ninth-grade texts take matters a step further, declaring that, “Jihad against the enemies is a religious duty,” and “*Jihad* in Allah’s cause is the path to victory and to strength in this world, as well as to attaining Paradise in the hereafter.”¹³⁸ Even ninth-grade grammar textbooks are filled with militaristic slogans and images, such as, “The Muslim is hostile to his enemy,” “The Arab soldier is the bravest soldier,” and “I saw a soldier decapitating his enemies.”¹³⁹ A tenth-grade book on Islamic jurisprudence teaches, “God in His mercy has legislated many ways for guarding religion. Among them are: Killing apostates and heretics [and] *Jihad* in the cause of God.”¹⁴⁰ An eleventh-grade textbook instructs:

Since friendship with infidels is forbidden in the religion of Allah, no one will do this unless he has a sickness in his heart. . . . Since the hypocrites love the infidels and take them as friends, the believer must do the opposite . . . show the infidels rudeness and violence, and wage *Jihad* in the way of Allah without fear of the infidels and hypocrites.¹⁴¹

Another text for high school juniors printed by the Saudi Ministry of Education illustrates the general principle in more practical terms:

To be true Muslims, we must prepare and be ready for *jihad* in Allah’s way. It is the duty of the citizen and the government. The military education is glued to faith and its meaning, and the duty to follow it. . . . Preparing the weapons for war and possessing them; even better than that is building special factories for manufacturing military vehicles, tanks, rockets, planes, and other things needed in modern warfare.¹⁴²

Under a picture of a hand grenade, the textbook goes on to assure its readers, “The Kingdom participates [in the manufacture of] both heavy and light weapons, out of an awareness of its . . . belief in the holy *Jihad* for the sake of exalting the word of the One God and the victory of the Religion.”¹⁴³ Finally, these texts follow the logic of war-as-religion to its ultimate conclusion. Confirming what we’ve all already seen in practice on September 11, a ninth-grade textbook teaches Saudi students that, “It is permitted to destroy, burn and demolish the infidels’ bastions, as well as anything that strengthens them against the Muslims, if it contributes to the Muslims’ victory and the infidels’ defeat.”¹⁴⁴

The lesson that jihad is the highest calling of a devout Wahhabi is constantly repeated by Saudi religious and governmental authorities. The former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, has written that, “Jihad is the most preferable form of righteousness.”¹⁴⁵ As Israeli terrorism expert (and former ambassador to the U.N.) Dore Gold notes, “According to bin Baz, only through the jihad against the infidels could Muslims remove all obstacles and spread

the da'wa (Islamic mission) worldwide. He explicitly justified jihad by the sword."¹⁴⁶ Likewise, Sheikh Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Humaid, the former chief justice of the Saudi judiciary, has written that, "Jihad is a great deed indeed, there is no deed whose reward and blessing is as that of it, and for this reason, it is the best thing one can volunteer for."¹⁴⁷ And at a mosque in Dammam another prominent Saudi, Sheikh Muhammad Saleh al-Munajjid, preached that:

What we want, oh Brothers, is that the Muslims rub the sleep from their eyes, and stop sinking in their desires and will rise to educate their children to jihad. This is the greatest benefit from this subject: educating the children to jihad and to hatred of the Jews, the Christians, and the infidels; educating the children to jihad and to reviving the embers of jihad in their soles. This is what is needed now and for preparing what will be in the future.¹⁴⁸

Saudi cleric Sheikh Salman bin Fahd al-Auda, on a website he launched from his home in Buraydah, explains the meaning of "jihad" this way:

The general meaning of jihad is the expenditure of effort in order to establish Allah's religion, call people to it, and establish its authority on the Earth. . . . The specific meaning of jihad is the military engagement of the unbelievers and those who carry the same legal status as the unbelievers. Jihad, by this meaning, becomes obligatory upon the inhabitants of the countries that come under the occupation of the unbelievers.¹⁴⁹

Of course, according to Osama bin Laden and his compatriots, Saudi Arabia came under the "occupation" of U.S. forces after the Persian Gulf War, when approximately 5,000 U.S. Air Force personnel remained in the Kingdom in order to protect it from Iraq.¹⁵⁰

Saudi religious commentaries have also echoed these sentiments. *Islamic Views*, a book distributed by the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, teaches that Islam "is a religion of Jihad," and exhorts its readers to "teach our children to love taking revenge on the Jews and the oppressors."¹⁵¹ A 1995 manual by the Saudi Cultural Mission to the U.S. entitled *Education in Saudi Arabia* makes clear that among the first principles of the curriculum shall be that, "Striving and fighting for the sake of Allah is a prescribed duty, a followed tradition and an existing necessity."¹⁵² The manual also mandates that students be taught "to fight spiritually and physically for the sake of Allah," and "to plant and spread Islam throughout the world."¹⁵³

Yet another prominent theme in the Wahhabi curriculum is celebrating the deaths of those who die waging jihad – martyrdom. One ninth-grade textbook counsels that, "*Jihad* in the way of Allah is the apex of Islam in terms of exertion and sacrifice of your life."¹⁵⁴ Another ninth-grade text reads, "The martyr is the most rewarded one by God's side."¹⁵⁵ A tenth-grade textbook on Arabic Literature assures, "There are two happy endings for Jihad fighters in God's cause: victory and martyrdom."¹⁵⁶ And an eleventh-grade textbook teaches, "Do not forget that Allah was with them against their polytheist enemies, and that he who died on *Jihad* in the way of Allah achieved martyrdom. How great a reward is Paradise!"¹⁵⁷ Likewise, prominent Saudi cleric Sheikh Saad al-Buraik preached in a Riyadh mosque, "Which is better, to suffer a slow death, or die as a martyr on your way to heaven – a death that will be forgiven on the first drop of blood."¹⁵⁸ He went on to proclaim that, "The [Peace] Agreements which cancelled jihad, and disassociation with non-Muslims, should all be demolished."¹⁵⁹ Incredibly, the former Saudi Ambassador to London, Ghazi al-Qusaibi, also expressed his personal admiration and support for martyrdom to a London-based newspaper.¹⁶⁰ He stated:

[A]nyone who dies for the sake of Allah is a martyr. When the Prophet Muhammad was asked about the meaning of ‘for the sake of Allah,’ he said, ‘Anyone who fights so that the words of Allah will be supreme.’ . . . I do not fear death – on the contrary, I long to die as a martyr, although I am at an age that does not allow me to carry out a martyrdom operation. My weight does not permit this. But I still hope to die as a martyr.¹⁶¹

The Saudi government promptly recalled Ambassador Al-Qusaibi from London after he made these remarks.¹⁶²

It is no wonder that so many of the terrorist attacks against the U.S. have been perpetrated by Saudis. As the above examples illustrate, the young men of Saudi Arabia are constantly called to wage war “for the sake of Allah” against the enemies of Islam, which by their reckoning includes everyone who is not a Wahhabi Muslim. The ultimate aim is to spread the Wahhabi religion through a latter-day version of “the sword or the cross.” As Prince Turki al-Faisal helpfully pointed out to *Frontline*, “A Salafi jihadist believes that the jihad is *Fardh Ein*, which is obligatory. You and I sitting here, in their interpretation, I should take out a sword, put it on your neck and say, ‘Do you accept Islam or not?’ And if you don’t, I cut off your head. That’s what a jihadist would do.”¹⁶³ Prince Turki has recently resigned as the Saudi ambassador to the United States.

Equally insightful, Sheikh Wajdi Hamzeh al-Ghazawi clarified how the doctrine of jihad has played out in current events while speaking at a Mecca mosque on October 6, 2001. Lashing out at those who dismissed the September 11 attacks as mere “terrorism,” he declared:

The meaning of the term “terror” that is used by the media . . . is the jihad for the sake of Allah. Jihad is the peak of Islam. Moreover, there are religious scholars who view it as the sixth pillar of Islam. Jihad – whether speaking about the defensive jihad for Muslim lands and Islam like in Chechnya, the Philippines, and Afghanistan, or whether speaking about jihad whose purpose is the spread of religion – is the pinnacle of terror as far as the enemies of Allah are concerned.¹⁶⁴

It’s worth noting that Osama bin Laden is apparently one of the “religious scholars” who have declared that, “Jihad is the sixth undeclared pillar of Islam.”¹⁶⁵ No matter how many different ways they phrase it, the lesson is always the same: killing non-believers is a sacred act. But as disturbing as this lesson is, the creed and mission of Wahhabism get darker still.

Déjà Vu All Over Again

A number of commentators (and even President Bush) have taken to referring to the ideology of Al Qaeda and its supporters as “Islamofascism.” In fact, a closer look at the tenets of Wahhabism as it is currently promulgated in Saudi Arabia suggests a number of striking parallels with the fascist movements in mid-twentieth century Europe. One point of obvious similarity is their rhetoric about the Jews. Indeed, in its review of Saudi literature found being distributed inside the U.S., the Center for Religious Freedom reported that, “Saudi textbooks and documents spread throughout American mosques preach a Nazi-like hatred for Jews.”¹⁶⁶ The Saudis appear to have a long tradition of virulent anti-Semitic rhetoric. And the Wahhabi powers-that-be have apparently concluded that “liberating Palestine” by driving the Jews out of Israel will not suffice. They now espouse the view that the only solution is the “final solution”.

Once again, official Saudi textbooks form the foundation of the Wahhabis' indoctrination of budding extremists. For example, a ninth-grade textbook informs its readers that, "The hour [of Judgment] will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them. A Jew will hide behind a rock or a tree, and the rock or tree will call upon the Muslim: 'O Muslim, O slave of Allah! There is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!'"¹⁶⁷ A tenth-grade textbook reaffirms that on Judgment Day, "Muslims will kill all the Jews."¹⁶⁸ And the introduction to an eleventh-grade textbook teaches that, "the Summons to Islam in its initial stages was confronted by this when factions of the Jews strove to oppose it and deceive it by various treacherous and perfidious methods, violating their agreement with the Messenger of Allah. Allah responded to their deception by slaughtering them, cleansing the land of their evil and filth."¹⁶⁹

Saudi clerics have also maintained a steady drumbeat of genocidal rallying cries. In a sermon at the Holy Mosque of Medina on June 7, 2002, broadcast on official Saudi television, Sheikh Abd-al-Bari al-Thubayt railed, "O God, the Jews have transgressed all limits in their tyranny. O God, shake the ground under their feet, pour torture on them, and destroy all of them."¹⁷⁰ Just over a month later in the Holy Mosque of Mecca, Saudi cleric Sheikh Usamah bin Abdallah Khayyat added for good measure, "O God, destroy the tyrant Jews. O God, deal with the Jews and their supporters. O God destroy them for they are within your power."¹⁷¹ And a sermon in a Taif mosque helpfully pointed out, "The ingathering [of the Jews] from all the corners of the Earth to the land of Palestine is one of the signs of the Day of Judgment. . . . The purpose of this ingathering is that it will become possible to torture them and kill them to the very last one along with the False Messiah."¹⁷²

Along with calls for the extermination of the Jews, Saudi discourse is also rife with more general forms of rabid anti-Semitism. For example, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, a Saudi-based mega-charity, has produced and distributed a text entitled *A Handy Encyclopedia of Contemporary Religions and Sects*. The entry for "Animosity toward the Jews" reads as if it were cribbed directly from the writings of the Third Reich. Just substitute the words "German" for "Muslim," and "Fatherland" for "Arabian Peninsula," and decide for yourself:

The Jews are humanity's enemies; they foment immorality in this world; The Jews are deceitful, they say something but mean the exact opposite; Who was behind the biological crisis which became like brain washing? A Jew; Who was behind the disintegration of family life and values? A Jew; The one that stirred-up hate and turned the individuals against their Muslim governments in the Arab peninsula? A Jew; Who promoted Atheism and made the countries thrive on Muslims' blood? The Jews; Every tragedy that inflicts the Muslims is caused by the Jews.¹⁷³

The Saudis have also taken to that old classic – blood libel. On March 10, 2002, Dr. Umayma Ahmad al-Jalahma of King Faisal University explained in the Saudi government daily *Al-Riyadh*:

During this holiday [Purim], the Jew must prepare very special pastries, the filling of which is not only costly and rare – it cannot be found at all on the local and international markets. . . . For this holiday, the Jewish people must obtain human blood so that their clerics can prepare the holiday pastries. . . . Before I go into the details, I would like to clarify that the Jews' spilling human blood to prepare pastry for their holidays is a well-established fact, historically and legally, all

throughout history. This was one of the main reasons for the persecution and exile that was their lot in Europe and Asia at various times.¹⁷⁴

This was not the first time the Saudis had been so instructed about the rituals of the Jewish religion. In 1972, the Saudi monarch, King Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud, claimed that, “two years ago while I was in Paris on a visit, the police discovered five murdered children. Their blood had been drained, and it turned out some Jews had murdered them in order to take their blood and mix it with the bread you eat on [Passover].”¹⁷⁵ This account was published in the Arab newspaper *Al-Soyyad*.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, King Faisal also ordered that all hotels in the Kingdom be stocked with copies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*,¹⁷⁷ the same anti-Semitic work that inspired the Nazis.¹⁷⁸

One should also note that, while the above incidents may be directed at the Jews in Israel, such perverse conspiracy theories are not limited to them. Consider what the Saudi government daily *Al Watan* had to say about U.S. operations in Iraq on December 19, 2004. They reported:

Secret European military intelligence reports indicate the transformation of the American humanitarian mission in Iraq into a profitable trade in the American markets through the practice of American physicians extracting human organs from the dead and wounded, before they are put to death, for sale to medical centers in America. A secret team of American physicians follow the troops during their attacks on Iraqi armed men to ensure quick operations for extracting some organs and transferring them to private operating rooms before they are transferred to America for sale.¹⁷⁹

The article goes on at length, describing the organs of choice sought by scavenging American physicians, and how much they have been willing to pay Iraqi collaborators for tips leading to them.¹⁸⁰

What’s more, Jews are not the only subjects of the genocidal rhetoric of the Wahhabis. In October 2001, Khaled Muhammad Batrafi, a Saudi columnist for the London-based newspaper *Al-Hayat*, wrote about a preacher he knew who had “called for the death and annihilation of Christians and Jews.”¹⁸¹ And as terrorism expert Stephen Schwartz has noted, “Wahhabism has always viewed Shia Muslims genocidally, as non-Muslims worthy of annihilation.”¹⁸² All of which has led former CIA director James Woolsey to conclude that the term “Islamofascism” might be too innocuous for the Wahhabis. He observed that, “This underlying Salafist ideology being spread by the Wahhabis is fanatical and murderous, indeed explicitly genocidal. (The president’s ‘Islamofascist’ term is thus perhaps understated – the Italian fascists were horrible, but not genocidal. ‘Islamofascist’ would be more accurate.)”¹⁸³

There is yet another theme running through Wahhabi rhetoric which is reminiscent of the fascists, and that is their mutual affinity for slave labor. For example, Saudi cleric Sheikh Saad al-Buraik, who accompanied Crown Prince Abdullah (now the King) on his visit with President Bush in Crawford, Texas on April 25, 2002, preached in a Riyadh mosque:

Muslim Brothers in Palestine, do not have any mercy or compassion on the Jews, their blood, their money, their flesh. Their women are yours to take, legitimately. God made them yours. Why don’t you enslave their women? Why don’t you wage jihad? Why don’t you pillage them?¹⁸⁴

This reference to slavery might seem bombastic, but in fact, slavery appears to be a very serious issue among Wahhabi scholars of late. Most notably, Sheikh Saleh al-Fawzan has taught that, “Slavery is a part of Islam. Slavery is a part of jihad, and jihad will remain as long as there is Islam.”¹⁸⁵ As for those who suggest that Islam has abolished slavery, Al-Fawzan bluntly retorted, “Whoever says such things is an infidel.”¹⁸⁶ This is the same Al-Fawzan who is the primary author of the Saudi religious textbooks now used in grade schools throughout the Kingdom, and exported around the world.¹⁸⁷ A member of the Council of Senior Clerics, Al-Fawzan’s lecture on slavery was recorded on tape and distributed throughout the Kingdom.¹⁸⁸ Another interesting note, when the relatively progressive Saudi scholar Sheikh Hassan al-Maliki criticized the extremist nature of Al-Fawzan’s textbooks, he responded by threatening to have Al-Maliki beheaded.¹⁸⁹ We will return to the topic of slavery later in the series of reports to follow, because the Saudis do actually seem to be practicing what they preach in this area. For now, it should be noted that the U.S. State Department has classified Saudi Arabia as one of the world’s worst offenders when it comes to the modern-day practice of human trafficking.¹⁹⁰

Yet the characteristic of the Wahhabis which ties them most closely to the totalitarian ideologues of twentieth century Europe is their insatiable desire to subjugate those who are “beneath” them and forcibly imprint the Wahhabi creed on the rest of the world. In a joint op-ed in *The Washington Post*, Senators Jon Kyl and Charles Schumer explained:

Wahhabism uses mosques and schools, called madrassas, to indoctrinate mostly young people with a hatred of Jews, Christians and traditional Muslims who reject this radicalism. Its goals are world domination and the destruction of its enemies. Osama bin Laden is a follower of Wahhabism. So were all 19 of the Sept. 11 hijackers.¹⁹¹

As shown above, two constant themes of Wahhabi religious instruction are the doctrines of the infidel-as-enemy and war-as-religion. And these teachings aren’t just the province of the lunatic fringe. They have been propagated by the highest religious authorities in the Kingdom, including the former Grand Mufti and several members of the Council of Senior Clerics.¹⁹² Thus, they represent official Wahhabi doctrine, the state religion of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Following these two principles to their logical end yields a disturbing conclusion – the jihad advocated by the Kingdom’s religious authorities will not truly run its course until there are no more infidels left to fight. Thus, the Wahhabis are at war with the world.

Indeed, Saudi clerics have made this conclusion crystal clear. As Saudi cleric Sheikh Musa al-Qarni lectured on Saudi television in February 2005:

[W]e must realize that Allah obligated us to disseminate this religion all over the globe . . . if we run up against someone who opposes this path and attempts to obstruct the spread of the upright religion and the light, and to obstruct their reaching others – in this case it is a duty to fight such a person. And Allah said: “Fight them until there is no more strife and Allah’s religion reigns supreme.”¹⁹³

Likewise, the imam of the King Fahd Defense Academy’s mosque, Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman al-Arifi, predicted that, “We will control the land of the Vatican; we will control Rome and introduce Islam in it. Yes, the Christians . . . will pay us *Jiziya* [a poll tax imposed on non-Muslims], in humiliation, or they will convert to Islam.”¹⁹⁴

Texts on the mission of Islam distributed by the Saudi government are even more disturbing. In a tone eerily reminiscent of the ideological underpinnings of the global “workers’ revolution” exported by the former Soviet Union, a text published in Saudi Arabia entitled *To Be a Muslim* instructs:

Working for Islam is a must from the Islamic point of view because the existing political and economic system and manmade laws operate functionally to deny the wisdom of Allah on earth. This denial makes it compulsory for every Muslim to establish a functionally Islamic society in every country on earth and to restore the Islamic way of life taught by the prophets. It is also every Muslim’s responsibility to remove all impediments to the worship of Allah alone, by every human being in belief, behavior and social life.¹⁹⁵

Just as the true fulfillment of the communist utopia could only occur with the global overthrow of capitalism, so the only remedy for the endless string of perceived slights by the West is the global domination of Islam. The text concludes that, “[The success] of secular cultures makes it all the more necessary to abolish all traces of such primitive life and to reinforce the understanding and application of the eternal and universal Islamic *deen* [creed] until it becomes the ruling power throughout the world.”¹⁹⁶

On May 21, 2003, Saudi cleric Sheikh Nasir bin Hamid al-Fahd issued an Islamic ruling which demonstrated just how far some would be willing to go to achieve this grand Wahhabi vision of global supremacy.¹⁹⁷ Al-Fahd declared that the use of weapons of mass destruction against the United States would be permissible, even if they killed children or other Muslims.¹⁹⁸ So long as they were targeting infidels, any incidental casualties would be acceptable under Islamic law. He went on to declare that, “on the basis of the rule of treating as one has been treated . . . if a bomb that killed ten million of them and burned as much of their land as they have burned Muslims’ land were dropped on them, it would be permissible, with no need to mention any other argument. We might need other arguments if we wanted to annihilate more than this number of them.”¹⁹⁹ This finding outstripped that of even Al Qaeda’s own spokesman, Suleiman Abu Gheith, who declared that, “We have the right to kill four million Americans – two million of them children – and to exile twice as many and wound and cripple hundreds of thousands.”²⁰⁰ Consider also that Osama bin Laden himself once declared that, “To seek to possess [chemical and nuclear] weapons that could counter those of the infidels is a religious duty.”²⁰¹ This is so, he explained, because, “It is the duty of Muslims to prepare as much force as possible to terrorize the enemies of God.”²⁰²

While some have argued for annihilating American infidels by the millions, other Saudi clerics have proposed a more diplomatic solution. For them, there is a third option for Christians and Jews, in addition to converting to Islam or death. That is subjugating themselves to Muslim rule and paying *jizya*, a poll tax imposed on non-Muslims as a token of their servility. Indeed, the former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh bin Baz, held out this possibility, all the while emphasizing that simply living in peace with the infidel was only permissible where justified by practical necessity. He lectured:

So all of this is when one is unable to fight the unbelievers, or to make them give the *jizyah* – if they are from the People of the Book (*ahlulkitaab*).²⁰³ However, when one does have the ability to wage *jihad* against them, then what is required is to call them to enter into Islaam, or to be fought against, or to pay the *jizyah* if

they are from its people. So in this case it is not permissible to seek peace with them, nor to abandon fighting, nor the *jizyah*.

Rather, seeking peace is allowed when there is a need or necessity; when you are unable to fight them, or unable to enforce the *jizyah* upon them.²⁰⁴

Another Saudi preacher, Sheikh Marzouq Salem al-Ghamdi, went on to explain just what life under Islamic law should be like for a Christian or Jew. At the Al-Rahmah Mosque in Mecca, he lectured:

If the infidels live among the Muslims, in accordance with the conditions set out by the Prophet – there is nothing wrong with it provided they pay *Jizya* to the Islamic treasury. Other conditions are . . . that they do not renovate a church or a monastery [and] do not rebuild ones that were destroyed, that they feed for three days any Muslim who passes by their homes . . . that they rise when a Muslim wishes to sit, that they do not imitate Muslims in dress and speech, nor ride horses, nor own swords, nor arm themselves with any kind of weapon; that they do not sell wine, do not show the cross, do not ring church bells, do not raise their voices during prayer, that they shave their hair in front so as to make them easily identifiable, do not incite anyone against the Muslims, and do not strike a Muslim. . . . If they violate these conditions, they have no protection.²⁰⁵

At the end of the day, total subservience is all their really asking.

Yet another Saudi cleric who has taken a more nuanced approach while still making his aspirations clear is Sheikh Salman bin Fahd al-Auda, whom one Saudi dissident described as “the most influential preacher in Saudi Arabia.”²⁰⁶ In the mid-1990’s he theorized that, “The West, and above all the United States, and Western culture, in general are undergoing a historical process that is deterministic. This process leads to its total collapse, sooner or later.”²⁰⁷ He reminded his readers that “jihad is the highest Islamic goal,” but also urged that, “We should not simplify this issue and narrow its meaning to a restricted military battle in one of the Islamic regions or even to an all-out war against the West, which is possible and predicted and we assume is arriving.”²⁰⁸ Rather, he encouraged his readers to also undertake “actions that will facilitate the collapse of the American economy . . . to bring about the certain fall of the West.”²⁰⁹ The West would then be replaced by “an international regime on the foundations of Islamic justice,”²¹⁰ the “global caliphate” much heralded by Osama bin Laden and his peers. Needless to say, the triumphant Islamic regime that Al-Auda foresaw would be one predicated on the teachings of Wahhabism.²¹¹ He concluded:

I seek that Allah the highest will provide us with comfort by giving us the privilege to see the realization of the fate of the dominant infidel nations of the West, and that he will bring joy to our hearts, and those of our descendants, by our witnessing the fall of these entities . . . and I plead with him to take revenge. Allah will take revenge against the tyrants with his sword in this world and the world to come.²¹²

Note that the 9/11 hijacker Said Al-Ghamdi specifically praised Al-Auda in his martyrdom video from December 2000.²¹³

Others have sounded similar themes, taking a pragmatic approach and emphasizing that victory over the West is a long-term project. On June 13, 2004, Saudi professor Nasser bin

Suleiman al-Omar gave a lectured on Saudi television that hinted at infiltration as a means of subversion.²¹⁴ He declared, “Islam is advancing according to a steady plan, to the point that tens of thousands of Muslims have joined the American army and Islam is the second largest religion in America. Today, America is defeated. I have no doubt, not even for a minute, that America is on its way to destruction. . . . It will be destroyed gradually. America will be destroyed. But we must be patient.”²¹⁵ To be sure, they don’t just want to destroy America, they want to take America’s place at the top of the modern world order. On October 25, 2004, Saudi cleric Sheikh Muhammad Saleh al-Munajid hinted at this in a televised interview on a Saudi-owned network in which he declared, “It is our duty to globalize the world around Islam . . . The problem is that globalization now comes from the others to us. Therefore, we are being globalized, and not globalizing others. We want to turn the tables.”²¹⁶

Not only are the global agendas of the Wahhabis and the fascists the same, but it is striking how similar the doctrine of the “global caliphate” is to that of the Third Reich. The Third Reich was, after all, a reference to the third incarnation of the Holy Roman Empire. Founded in 962 A.D., the Holy Roman Empire was ruled by the reigning King of Germany, who was perfunctorily anointed emperor by the Pope.²¹⁷ Geographically, the Holy Roman Empire encompassed the vast majority of continental Europe.²¹⁸ Thus, the aspiration of the Nazis was to reassert the dominion of the German race over Europe (and beyond), just as their ancestors had done 1,000 years earlier.²¹⁹ Likewise, the vision of a global Islamic super-state promulgated by Wahhabis like Osama bin Laden is seen as a return to the original Caliphate, the Islamic state that reached its height in the eighth century. Historically, the Caliphate was a theocratic state founded on *Sharia* – a legal code based on the Koran and Islamic tradition.²²⁰ Its guiding principle was the complete abolition of any wall between church and state. The Koran effectively served as the constitution, and the senior religious authorities (the *ulema*) were its quasi-judicial interpreters.²²¹ By 750 A.D., the Caliphate stretched from Spain and Portugal, across North Africa and the Arab Peninsula, through Iran and Pakistan, and ultimately to India.²²² It is to this pinnacle of power that the Wahhabis yearn to return, and ultimately surpass, by attacking the West and establishing a modern “global caliphate.”

This agenda was nicely stated by Reda Seyam, a Saudi-sponsored jihadist who has been implicated in the Bali nightclub bombings.²²³ Interviewed by *Frontline*, Seyam explained:

We believe that the caliphate shall be restored, and we believe that Rome shall be conquered. Islam was the dominant power in the world for the longest time of any empire. For more than a thousand years, Islam ruled the world, until the fall of the caliphate. Communism lasted only 70 years before it fell. Capitalism will fall soon. We offer the alternative, an Islamic program. But the West is not willing to try it. The West is afraid that they will have to give up its sensuous lusts and greed for money. . . . Usama bin Laden didn’t say you have to kill this or that person. The Quran says this. It is my understanding that what the Quran says is that Muslims are supposed to fight those who go against God’s will.²²⁴

Another Saudi ideologue affiliated with Al Qaeda, known by the *nom de guerre* Louis Attiya Allah, has described the game plan for establishing the modern global caliphate in more practical terms, breaking down the strategy into phases. The first phase is to create an Islamic super-state that has the material and military resources to take on the West directly. The second phase is to take on the West directly. He writes:

The [Arab] nation-states . . . are a Western model that the West created to allow it to build up its general colonialist plan for the Islamic East. These countries have no religious foundation, and have neither a right to exist nor a popular base. They were forced upon the Muslim peoples, and their survival is linked to the Western forces that created them. Therefore, the general aim of the *Jihad* and the Mujahideen is to strike at the foundations and infrastructure of the Western colonialist program or at the so-called world order – or, to put it bluntly, to defeat Crusaders in the battle that has been going on for over a century. Their defeat means, simply, the elimination of all forms of nation-states, such that all that remains is the natural existence familiar to Islam – the regional entity under the great Islamic state [the Caliphate]. . . . in the long term the changes happening here will be the key to the cleansing of the entire Islamic world, to ridding ourselves of the colonialists, and to removing the Crusaders – so that we can then prepare for the great conflicts with them in the battles to come, including the decisive war . . . of which the Prophet spoke.²²⁵

The dreams of the Third Reich and the global caliphate are thus mirror images of each other, the one grounded in Western history, the other in that of the Middle East. At the end of the day, both are nostalgic justifications for a brutal and totalitarian vision of the future.

These parallels have not been lost on U.S. officials. In December 2005, former director of the CIA James Woolsey wrote an editorial noting the similarities between the rabid xenophobia and totalitarian agendas of the Wahhabis and the Nazis. He noted that for the Wahhabis, “the common objective is to unify first the Arab world under theocratic rule, then the Muslim world, then those regions that were once Muslim (e.g. Spain), then the rest of the world.”²²⁶ He then cautioned:

Such totalitarian visions seem crazy to most of us; we thus tend to underestimate their potency. Yet the Salafists’ theocratic totalitarian dream has some features in common with the secular totalitarian dreams of the twentieth century, e.g., the Nazis’ Thousand Year Reich, or the Communists’ World Communism. The latter two movements produced tens of millions of deaths in the 20th century in part because, at least in their early stages, they engendered “fire in the minds of men” in Germany, Russia, and China . . . [Salafists] haven’t attained the Nazis’ and Communists’ death totals yet, but this is only due to lack of power, not to less murderous or less totalitarian objectives.²²⁷

As we shall see in Part 3, while the death toll inflicted by the Wahhabis is indeed a far cry from that of the Nazis and Soviets, they have certainly made remarkable progress in igniting jihadist conflagrations around the globe. Clearly, they’ve gone far beyond mere “terrorism.” And while the odds that they will actually succeed in turning their mad dream into reality may be slim to none, they have already proven more than capable of murdering 3,000 Americans on our own native soil. On that count, they have already surpassed the Nazis.

Are Wahhabi ambitions really this grand? Consider the fact that over the entire decade of the 1990’s Osama bin Laden repeatedly and emphatically called for the removal of U.S. troops from Saudi Arabia.²²⁸ This was supposedly his primary motive for attacking America on September 11. In April 2003, the U.S. finally caved in to this demand by announcing that it would pull the remainder of its troops out of the Kingdom.²²⁹ Yet less than a month later, Al

Qaeda attacked several residential compounds for foreign workers in Riyadh, killing nine Americans.²³⁰ This inaugurated a whole new wave of attacks in the Kingdom, including the grotesque beheading of Paul Johnson and an attack on the U.S. Consulate in Jeddah.²³¹ Clearly, Bin Laden's carping about American troops in the Kingdom was a canard, a convenient "wedge issue" with which he could drum up popular support among more moderate Saudis in the short term.²³² What, then, is his true agenda? Looking over the above illustrations of the Wahhabi ideology, the answer seems clear.

A Lesson Taken to Heart

Ultimately, the rabid xenophobia of Wahhabi thinking leads to an inevitable conclusion. As Saudi dissident Ali al-Ahmed put it, "If you don't believe in Salafi, you are not a human being. You are something of a lower grade, that you can be persecuted or hurt, and it is OK, accepted, in that ideology. It's accepted to be killed, or maimed."²³³ And this lesson is taught in Saudi textbooks, as well. One eighth-grade textbook teaches that, "Jews and Christians were cursed by Allah and turned into apes and pigs."²³⁴ While this might strike some as rather juvenile name-calling, in fact it is a profound moral lesson. Islam forbids the eating of pork, and pigs are reviled as filthy and fundamentally worthless animals. And the symbolic significance of apes is open and obvious – they are subhuman.

This same sentiment has been regularly repeated in sermons at the Kingdom's mosques. For instance, at the Abu Bakr Al-Saddiq mosque in Dammam, Saudi cleric Sheikh Bandar bin Khalaf al-'Utaibi challenged, "Is there any kind of humiliation we have not tasted from the brothers of apes and pigs?!"²³⁵ Likewise, Sheikh Mustafa bin Said Aytim preached in a Mecca mosque:

Oh Muslims, see the state of the nation today, after it deviated from the path set out by the clerics. [The nation] has made the offspring of apes and pigs its stars; the hangers-on of the apes and pigs have become the centers of influence and power. . . . The Jews, Christians, and the hypocrites gnaw away at the body of the nation and then carry out raids on it with the knights of the destructive media and with the deadly weapon of globalization.²³⁶

Sheikh Aytim was even more blunt during another sermon in Mecca, preaching:

It is no surprise that the Jews and Christians deny the Koran. What is amazing is that some ignoramuses and traitors from among the Muslims say: "The Jews and Christians are our brothers." . . . The [Infidel's] hatred of Muslims is certain and absolute. This is a solid belief, which Allah has proven in the Koran, and there is also historical evidence of it. . . . And lo, today we see that they lie about security and peace – a security council here, a peace emissary there; a security plan here, a prayer for peace there. By Allah, who told you that wild animals can become human? Can wild animals give birth to anything other than wild animals?²³⁷

In a similar vein, a sermon by Saudi cleric Sheikh Saad al-Buraik was taped and distributed throughout Saudi Arabia under the anti-Semitic title *A Monkey Desecrates a Mosque*.²³⁸ This was the same sermon in which Al-Buraik called for the enslavement of Jewish women. The lesson is pounded home again and again.²³⁹

In fact, it is quite evident that this moral lesson was taken to heart by the 9/11 hijackers. On the morning of September 11, 2001, each of the hijackers read a list of instructions meant to

focus their minds on the task at hand. The document is believed to have been written by Abdulaziz al-Omari, one of the Saudi hijackers who had served as imam of his mosque back home.²⁴⁰ It began by instructing the hijackers to “make an oath to die and renew your intentions.”²⁴¹ Eventually, the handwritten memo addressed how to prepare for killing the pilots, and any flight attendants or passengers that got in the way. It read, “You must make your knife sharp and you must not discomfort your animal during the slaughter.”²⁴² Given the teachings of Wahhabism, clearly this is a message that must have resonated with its readers. And consider the fact that among those killed when American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon were several 11-year-old children on a cross-country field trip sponsored by the National Geographic Society, as well as two young sisters who were just three and eight years of age.²⁴³ Since the hijackers (all of whom were Saudis)²⁴⁴ sat in first class, it’s almost certain that they saw them board the airplane. How could they still go through with it? The answer is simple, the lives of these infidel children simply did not count.

Indeed, almost all of the “muscle” hijackers in the 9/11 attacks were first recruited for their deadly mission inside Saudi Arabia, before they ever set foot in Afghanistan.²⁴⁵ And not only had they been through Saudi grade school, but roughly half had completed at least some college inside the Kingdom, as well.²⁴⁶ In particular, Imam Mohammed Ibn-Saud Islamic University, which has been described by some authorities as a “terrorist factory,” produced three of the 9/11 hijackers including Abdulaziz al-Omari.²⁴⁷ Saudi dissident Ali al-Ahmed pointed out the obvious when he stated to *Frontline*:

[T]he hijackers, 15 hijackers who are Saudis, they studied this thinking – destructive thinking – in Saudi Arabia. They spent a few months in Afghanistan. But they lived their life, they studied this in government mosques. They studied this kind of curriculum that I talked to you about. . . . Government curriculum inspired what happened in New York.²⁴⁸

Likewise, CIA veteran Robert Baer has concluded that, “The Kingdom’s secondary schools and universities have become the West Point of global terrorism.”²⁴⁹

When some Saudi officials began comparing the 9/11 hijackers to American fringe groups such as the Weather Underground, Al-Ahmed countered that, “It’s not really a fringe group, because these people were recruited from Saudi Arabia just recently [and] . . . There are a lot of them who are willing to do the same.”²⁵⁰ The Center for Religious Freedom observed that this prognosis has already been borne out by subsequent events. It reported:

The same hostility toward “infidels” propagated in official Saudi Islamic publications and *fatwas* surfaces repeatedly in statements by Muslim terrorists. A prime example occurred on May 29 and 30, 2004, when a terrorist squad went through the compound of foreigners in Khobar, Saudi Arabia, segregating the Muslims from the non-Muslims (mainly Christians and Hindus) before slitting the throats of the latter, and in some cases, beheading them. To the remaining terrified Muslims the slaughterers calmly explained how certain verses in the Koran should be read and understood to preach hatred of “unbelievers.” Their explicit aim was to cleanse the land of Mohammad of Christians and polytheists. While Saudi officials were quick to denounce this ruthless act of terror, it followed logically from the state’s relentless indoctrination in hate ideology.²⁵¹

Indeed, the link between the promulgation of the Wahhabi ideology in Saudi Arabia and the contemporary era of jihadist terrorism targeting the United States (and Iraqi Shiites) could hardly be more obvious, as shown in Part 1. The Saudis have clearly been backing up their words with actions.

A Cause for Celebration

Note also that the flip side of this cause-and-effect relationship can be seen by the reaction inside Saudi Arabia to the murder of 3,000 Americans on September 11. Before the attacks, Ziad Jarrah, the Lebanese pilot of United Flight 93, wrote a suicide letter to his girlfriend in Germany.²⁵² In it, he reassured her, “I did what I had to do, and you should be proud of that. It is a great honour and you will see the result, and everyone will be celebrating.”²⁵³ He couldn’t have been more right about the celebrating. The PBS news program *Frontline* has reported that drivers in the streets of Riyadh honked their horns in celebration upon first hearing news of the attacks.²⁵⁴ Saudi dissident Dr. Saad al-Faqih recalled the atmosphere among the more discrete members of Saudi society:

The first thing that happened after the incident, people received a message in their mobile phones, “Congratulations.” And then the next message in the mobile phone was “Our prayers to Bin Laden.” They were very jubilant and happy and looking at Bin Laden as a hero. People started killing sheep and killing camels and making big feasts and inviting their relatives and friends to celebrate the big event in America.²⁵⁵

Ali al-Ahmed also confirmed this account of celebrations inside the Kingdom, explaining that, “Yes. Saudi Arabia people celebrated. . . . [T]here are people who were so happy to see it, and they still today, they are happy and they support what happened in New York, because they are from the Salafi school of Islam.”²⁵⁶

On December 13, 2001, the Pentagon released videotape found in Afghanistan depicting Osama bin Laden discussing the September 11 attacks in a meeting with some of his followers.²⁵⁷ What made the video most significant at the time was its depiction of Bin Laden personally taking credit for the attacks, as well as discussing key details of their planning and execution. However, the purpose of the meeting itself was for Bin Laden to hear firsthand about reaction to the attacks back home in Saudi Arabia. In fact, it was subsequently confirmed that the person with whom Bin Laden was conversing on the videotape, a Saudi veteran of the war in Afghanistan named Khaled al-Harbi, was in Saudi Arabia on September 11, 2001, and left for Afghanistan ten days later.²⁵⁸ When Bin Laden brought up the celebratory reaction to the attacks in Al Qaeda’s training camps in Afghanistan, Al-Harbi recalled the reaction back home:

[A]ll of a sudden the news came and everyone was overjoyed and everyone until the next day, in the morning, was talking about what was happening and we stayed until four o’clock, listening to the news every time a little bit different, everyone was joyous and saying “Allah is great,” “Allah is great,” “We are thankful to Allah,” “Praise Allah.” And I was happy for the happiness of my brothers. That day the congratulations were coming on the phone non-stop. The mother was receiving phone calls continuously. Thank Allah. Allah is great, praise be to Allah.²⁵⁹

He also told Bin Laden about three Saudi clerics who had come out in support of the September 11 attacks.²⁶⁰ One of them was an official government cleric named Sheikh Abdullah al-Baraak who, according to Al-Harbi, had given a “very impressive sermon” on the day of the attacks.²⁶¹ He challenged the youth of Saudi Arabia, “You are asking for martyrdom and wonder where you should go?” He said that Allah had just shown them the way.²⁶² Another Saudi cleric identified by Al-Harbi, Sheikh Sulaiman bin Nasr al-Ulwan, declared that “this was *jihad* and those people [who died in the World Trade Center] were not innocent people.”²⁶³ This is the same Al-Ulwan, by the way, who issued a May 2001 fatwa declaring that, “If *jihad* fighters are not able to kill combatants without killing children, there is no problem in such cases if they are killed.”²⁶⁴ Al-Ulwan’s sentiments regarding the victims of September 11 were also shared by yet another Saudi cleric, Sheikh Ali al-Khudier, who wrote that, “We should not regret the deaths of civilians in the Twin Towers attack since the American is an infidel.”²⁶⁵ Once again, the lives of infidels simply don’t count. As for Bin Laden’s friend, Al-Harbi, he would later return to Saudi Arabia under amnesty and is now a free man.²⁶⁶

Clerics and commoners were not the only ones reveling in the attacks. Shortly after September 11, Prince Al-Whalid bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz traveled to New York to visit Ground Zero. He was personally accompanied by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani on a tour of the devastation. In his autobiography, *Leadership*, Giuliani describes the disturbing encounter:

In the month since the attack, I had accompanied many world leaders to the site. Without exception, seeing Ground Zero up close overpowered them, as it had me. When the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder, visited, he had tears in his eyes. Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, and Vladimir Putin all were devastated – Putin whispered, as if to himself, “This could happen in Moscow.”

When Prince Alwaleed arrived he was wearing an opulent gold robe and headdress, along with seven or eight aids in black robes. He gave me a cashier’s check for \$10 million, for the Twin Towers Fund. Looking at the site from the small podium, the Prince was saying the right things. . . . But something wasn’t quite right. I thought there was a smirk to his face, which seemed to carry over to his entourage. He was the only visitor who was unmoved by what he saw.²⁶⁷

When the smirking was over, things only got worse. After the tour, Prince Whalid issued a statement through his publicist in which he blamed U.S. policy toward Israel for the attacks. The statement advised, “I believe the government of the United States should re-examine its policies in the Middle East and adopt a more balanced stance toward the Palestinian cause.”²⁶⁸ When Giuliani promptly returned the \$10 million donation, the Prince immediately left the country. Back home in Saudi Arabia, he told a local newspaper that Giuliani’s decision must have been forced by “Jewish pressures.”²⁶⁹

Later, Prince Whalid had the audacity to tell the American press that, “Giuliani should never have politicized the matter . . . it was none of his business. His business was to receive the check.”²⁷⁰ Apparently, his statement regarding Israel was meant to placate audiences back home, lest they be too angered by the disloyalty of his donation to the families of the American dead. To further make amends with his people, the Prince would go on to donate \$27 million in a telethon for the Saudi Committee for Support of the Intifada in April 2002.²⁷¹ The money would be provided to the families of Palestinian “martyrs,” including the families of suicide bombers

who had murdered Israeli women and children.²⁷² By all accounts the event was a resounding success, raising more than \$155 million for the cause.²⁷³

Occasionally progressive voices from inside the Kingdom will speak out against the root causes of such behavior, shining a light on the heart of the problem. In December 2001, a physician from Riyadh named Dr. Sahr Muhammad Hatem wrote a letter to a London-based Arabic newspaper. She complained:

The mentality of each of us was programmed upon entering school as a child, that [Islam] is everything . . . that anyone who is not Muslim is our enemy, and that the West means enfeeblement, licentiousness, lack of values, and even *Jahiliya* [a state of primitive savagery]. Anyone who escapes this programming in school encounters it at the mosque, or through the media or from preachers lurking in every corner. . . .

We all focus on bin Laden and his ilk, but we have yet to focus on the more dangerous people, and I mean those who fill our heads with this rhetoric in the schools, the mosques and the media, who disseminate words without hesitation, without considering the consequences. . . . The solution is the Islam that was taught us by the Prophet of this nation – an Islam of tolerance – and not the Islam of those who control our media.²⁷⁴

Saudi journalist Suleiman al-Hatlan has concurred, telling CBS News, “extremism has unfortunately become a part of our everyday practice. In schools, in mosques, almost everywhere you go to in Saudi Arabia.”²⁷⁵ And even Prince Whalid, perhaps in another attempt at “saying the right things,” has conceded the source of the problem. He told *The Los Angeles Times*, “Why fifteen Saudis? You can’t just say it happened by coincidence. Clearly, there’s something wrong with the way of thinking here, with the way people are raised.”²⁷⁶ Of course, he was raised in Saudi Arabia, too.

The Next Generation

There have been ample indications that the vicious Wahhabi ideology is already taking root in the next generation of young Saudis. Consider the Saudi telethon mentioned above in which \$155 million was raised to support the Intifada in Israel. At one point during the televised program, a 6-year-old toddler walked into the donation center with a plastic gun strapped around his shoulder and toy explosives strapped to his torso.²⁷⁷ He proceeded to make a symbolic donation of the toy explosives.²⁷⁸ Likewise, *Frontline* obtained a clip of a children’s daytime television show in Saudi Arabia in which one child enthusiastically exclaimed, “send my greetings to the land of Jerusalem and tell them that a martyr does not die when he is killed. Tell them about a people whose limbs, even when blown apart, will leap up and defend their honor!”²⁷⁹ Even more disturbing, a lecturer at King Saud University named Badria bin Abdallah al-Bishr publicly protested that her fifth-grader was taught that Osama bin Laden is a hero in school, while her third-grader was instructed to draw a picture of two airplanes hitting the World Trade Center towers.²⁸⁰

Moreover, among young adults the situation appears even worse. As noted in Part 1, many of the Saudis taking part in the most recent string of terrorist attacks, both inside the Kingdom and in Iraq, are not Al Qaeda veterans, but rather young men and teenagers representing a whole new wave of Saudi jihadists. In addition to following the call to jihad, the

young people of Saudi Arabia are now embracing Osama bin Laden with more familiar forms of hero worship. For instance, a student at King Saud University informed Neil MacFarquhar that, “Young people are wearing T-shirts with bin Laden’s picture on them, just the way people used to wear pictures of Che Guevara.”²⁸¹ And a sociology professor at the same university observed, “Many young women are saying ‘My God, bin Laden is so charming,’ or ‘My God bin Laden is so handsome.’ He is politically appealing, that is why they view him as handsome.”²⁸²

Investigative journalist Lawrence Wright observed much the same thing during his stay in the Kingdom. He recalled an ominous conversation he had with a group of relatively progressive Saudi professionals:

“My daughter is for bin Laden,” another of the men admitted. “When I go to wake her up, I see pictures of Palestinian girl martyrs on her wall. It scares me to death. If we go into her room at night, she’ll be listening to Britney Spears, but as soon as we close the door she’s listening to martyr songs.”

The other men nodded. . . . “Bin Laden changed our life. He proved that mighty America is vulnerable. To us, we’re afraid of our future, but the youth think America is on the verge of collapsing and it’s time for us to fight it.”

“We are afraid of our children.”²⁸³

Even more disturbing accounts have come from journalists who were able to interact directly with Saudi youth.

While spending over two years in the Kingdom, beginning just months before September 11, British journalist John Bradley was able to cultivate relationships with several young Saudis. One of them was a 19-year-old named Mohammed. In Riyadh, the two watched an Al Jazeera documentary on the September 11 attacks. Predictably, the program was hagiographic in tone, showing events from the hijackers’ point of view. Bradley recounted:

Toward the end of the documentary, an Imam was shown reciting the line from the Qu’ran that the lead hijacker, Egyptian Mohammed Atta, had reprinted on the cover of his doctoral thesis in Hamburg: “Say. My prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death are [all] for Allah, the Lord of the worlds.” The Imam’s voice grew ever-more emotional, hysterical even, as images of the two planes crashing into the Twin Towers were relayed in slow motion, followed by terrifying shots of men and women jumping from the windows of the burning buildings.

Mohammed was fighting back tears. “They had everything and they gave it all up for Allah,” he said quietly, in reference to the fact that the hijackers had, like him, mostly benefited from relatively privileged backgrounds and a good education. “Look at me! I haven’t sacrificed anything at all. I’m ashamed.”²⁸⁴

Bradley noted that as they watched the film, Mohammed dined on American-style hamburgers, his favorite food. And not long after the viewing, he was mischievously perusing an American “lesbian” chat site on the internet.²⁸⁵ Such behavior was emblematic of the Saudi youth he observed, a simultaneous embrace of Wahhabi values and Western (mostly American) culture that he saw as “something bordering on schizophrenic.”²⁸⁶

Soon Bradley found that, in spite of his young friend's amiable and courteous behavior towards him, their conversations would often drift into unsettling digressions on Wahhabi doctrine. He recounted:

On another occasion, I lost my temper during one of his outbursts on the need to "kill all the infidels," asking how he could claim to be a friend of mine—even buying me a Christmas present—and yet engage in such vile talk. Was I not in fact among those infidels who should all be killed? He backed down and qualified his statement with the absurd concession that I was "different." This expressed desire to kill all the infidels may have been exaggeration, or I somehow was an exception, perhaps as a useful guest or even as a protected subordinate, the traditional and historical place of Christian and Jewish *dhimmi* [second-class citizens] within the Muslim world. I even thought that maybe he was beginning to recognize, the first step toward reconsidering, his bigotry – after all, it is easier to hate "that kind" (put in your favorite groups subject to discrimination: blacks, gays, Jews, etc.) in the abstract, and more difficult when one gets to know some of them. But, a few days later, he told me, again quite casually, that he had explained our tempestuous friendship to his fiends, who had apparently criticized him for hanging out with an "infidel," by saying: "By talking to him I get to know our enemy better."²⁸⁷

When Bradley was invited to the home of yet another young Saudi, an English student named Fahd, he observed an important clue as to where this strident intolerance originated. While the two were sitting and chatting, they were interrupted by a clamor outside the room. It was Fahd's younger brothers and sisters, who were excited and curious to see a Westerner in person. But he declined to let them in, even after Bradley's urging. The young man explained:

"If I let them in," he said, "they will tell their friends at school tomorrow that they met a Westerner, and if the teacher hears this they will be in big trouble. He will tell them never to speak to infidels, and use them as a bad example for the other children. And then the other children will make fun of them."

"And what do you think of that?" [Bradley asked].

"Of course, I think it's stupid. But what can I do?"

"You can invite them in and try to make them understand that their teacher is an idiot! You have a duty to challenge such terrible attitudes."

"I cannot go against what their teachers say and what they say in the mosques and what their friends say! It will make their lives very bad. It will make them different from everyone else."

He got up, opened the door a fraction, and shouted at them. They ran away.²⁸⁸

So long as the Saudi religious education continues to demonize all non-believers and call its citizens to wage war against them, the cycle is bound to continue.

In spite of all this, Western journalists continue to seize upon any possible harbinger of meaningful change in Saudi Arabia. For example, John Bradley reported that the people of the Hijaz region of western Saudi Arabia, which includes the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and the port city of Jeddah, are much more worldly in their thinking. While no one confronts the

religious and governmental authorities openly, he found that criticizing and even disparaging Wahhabism is not uncommon within private gatherings. He attributed this largely to the fact that the region's elite merchant families had, through their business travels, acquired a very worldly perspective on society and religion which was being passed down from generation to generation.²⁸⁹ In addition, the same silent resistance to the Wahhabi hegemony is likely to exist among the routinely persecuted Shiite Saudis of the Kingdom's Eastern Province, and other regions have also historically been rooted in distinctly non-Wahhabi religious and cultural traditions. Indeed, Stephen Schwartz has opined that no more than 40% of Saudi nationals are true-blue Wahhabis.²⁹⁰ Based on his interactions with Jeddah's relatively cosmopolitan upper-class, Bradley concluded that, "the people of Saudi Arabia seem only to be waiting for their own chance to throw off the superficial layers of the imported ideology – in this case, Wahhabism."²⁹¹

In a similar vein, the PBS program *Frontline* hailed what it saw as a significant step forward for the Saudi media in February 2005. The transcript reads:

NARRATOR: In an unprecedented act of self-examination, "Tash Ma Tash" — Saudi Arabia's most popular TV comedy show — was allowed to air a bold sketch about extremist teachers instructing students how to hate non-Wahhabis.

1st TEACHER: *[subtitles]* God allows us to shed their blood and take their wealth and honor and to make them our slaves.

2nd TEACHER: *[subtitles]* We have to instill in our hearts the fact that they are infidels. They are loathsome. They are infidels. Infidels!

NARRATOR: A moderate teacher decides to complain to the authorities at the Ministry of Education.

3rd TEACHER: *[subtitles]* Hello. I've come to inform you about the ideas of some of the teachers in our schools.

NARRATOR: When he gets there, he finds the teachers he's come to complain about in charge.²⁹²

But with all due respect to the superb work of *Frontline*, frankly I don't find the fact that Saudi fanatics are now killing Americans in a more self-aware state of mind particularly reassuring. Nonetheless, this is a helpful illustration of the nature of the problem. For if there is one point on which all agree, it is that the heart of Wahhabi Islam within Saudi Arabia is the central Najd region.²⁹³ Unfortunately, the Najd also happens to be the home of Riyadh and the seat of power for both the royal family and the state religious authorities. And therein lies the problem.

What separates Saudi Arabia from other problem nations in the region is that the Kingdom's most extreme practitioners of Islam are running the nation's basic social institutions. In particular, they control the education system and media apparatus, which they are using to indoctrinate yet another generation of Wahhabi extremists.²⁹⁴ As the headmistress of a Saudi girl's school reported in September 2004, "I don't think there's hope for change in the near future because Islamists control the education authority. All influential positions in the Ministry of Education are held by Islamists." For good measure she added, "Our curricula is full of texts inciting hatred, not only towards other religions but also other Muslim sects."²⁹⁵ Her assessment was echoed in *Newsweek*, which reported:

[A] prominent Saudi dissident, Mai Yamani, daughter of that country's former oil minister, Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, said the Saudis are incapable of true reform. She described the Saudi royal family as "deeply connected" to the country's hard-core Wahhabi clerics and says the family has given them vast power over the country's schools and mosques in exchange for religious legitimacy. "Not only has the state embraced the hard-liners," she said, "the hard-liners are the state, fully embedded in its structure."²⁹⁶

And so the beat goes on. Indeed, the constant blaring of Wahhabi rhetoric across the Kingdom may well explain the involvement of Saudi Shiites in the Khobar Towers bombing, and the fact that Osama bin Laden himself came from one of the Jeddah merchant families that John Bradley found so refreshingly progressive.²⁹⁷

The Rhetoric of Bin Laden

A constant refrain of Saudi government officials in the wake of the September 11 attacks was that Osama bin Laden represents nothing more than a deranged outcast from Saudi society. For instance, in January 2002, then Crown Prince Abdullah stated, "You have had in your country Americans who have committed terrorist acts such as Timothy McVeigh, in Oklahoma. A deviant is a deviant regardless of nationality."²⁹⁸ And on October 21, 2002, the Crown Prince's spokesperson (and now the Saudi ambassador to the U.S.), Adel al-Jubeir, urged Americans not to fault the Saudi education system, pointing out to the Associated Press that, "the Unabomber went to Harvard."²⁹⁹ He also repeated the Crown Prince's point, asking, "Can you tell me that Timothy McVeigh represents America? Can you tell me that Jim Jones represents Christianity? Of course they don't."³⁰⁰ The absurdity of this line of argument is open and obvious. Timothy McVeigh never had the approval of 95% of educated American men, nor has the Unabomber ever received millions of dollars in financing from the Harvard Alumni Association. It's difficult to even imagine what the U.S. would look like today if those things were even close to being true.

Nonetheless, I must confess that for a time I did find their point somewhat compelling. What really got me was the rhetoric of Osama bin Laden himself. For one, there were his continual calls for a global "jihad" against the "infidels." For instance, in his *Declaration of War Against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places* of August 1996, Bin Laden claimed that "the sons of the land of the two Holy places [Saudi Arabia] know and strongly believe that jihad against the infidels in every part of the world is absolutely essential."³⁰¹ Focusing on his primary target, he went on to declare that, "Hostility toward America is a religious duty, and we hope to be rewarded by God for it."³⁰² In his February 1998 fatwa he went even further, declaring that it was "an individual duty of every Muslim . . . to obey God's command to kill the Americans and plunder their possessions where he finds them and whenever he can."³⁰³ Bin Laden made clear that this mandate applied to all Americans, both military and civilian alike.³⁰⁴ Likewise, in a September 2001 interview, Bin Laden explained that, "Al Qaeda was set up to wage a jihad against infidelity, particularly to counter the onslaught of the infidel countries against the Islamic states. Jihad is the sixth undeclared pillar of Islam."³⁰⁵ And in taped remarks released in October 2001, bin Laden stated, "These events have divided the whole world into two sides. The side of believers and the side of infidels, may God keep you away from them. Every Muslim has to rush to make his religion victorious."³⁰⁶ However, as we have now seen, these themes are in fact staples of Wahhabi religious thinking and the Kingdom's state education system.

However, there was one particular theme in Bin Laden's rhetoric which caught my attention: his continual harping on the Crusades. It's one thing to be angered by U.S. foreign policy in the region, I thought, but how could anyone in this day and age conflate the conduct of Europeans during the Dark Ages with that of the United States today? Could the horror of September 11 really be the result of some delusional obsession with an imagined grievance from centuries past? Perusing Bin Laden's speeches and writings, one finds numerous examples of this theme. For instance, on August 3, 1995, Bin Laden issued an "Open Letter to King Fahd" in which he complained that the King had tied Saudi Arabia's national security "to the Crusaders and to despotic Muslim countries."³⁰⁷ He railed against "the presence of the troops of the Crusaders and the Jews, who are profaning the two holy places."³⁰⁸ Likewise, in his *Declaration of War Against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places*, Bin Laden decried the "presence of the USA Crusader military forces" in Saudi Arabia.³⁰⁹ Indeed, his next major fatwa in February 1998 was entitled *Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders*.³¹⁰ And the theme continued after the attacks on September 11. In a speech first aired in December 2001, Bin Laden justified the attacks this way:

Three months after the blessed strikes against world infidelity and the head of infidelity, namely America, and two months after the fierce crusade against Islam [in Afghanistan], it gives us pleasure to speak about some of the ramifications of these events. These events have revealed extremely important things to Muslims. It has become clear that the west in general led by America bears an unspeakable crusader grudge against Islam.³¹¹

Over four years later, Bin Laden was still using the same rhetoric. In an audiotape released in April 2006, he railed, "The blockade which the West is imposing on the government of Hamas proves that there is a Zionist-Crusader war on Islam."³¹² On the face of it, this obsession certainly does bear a striking resemblance to the paranoid rantings of Ted Kaczynski.

But any apparent similarity between Bin Laden and the likes of McVeigh or Kaczynski quickly evaporates when one turns back to Saudi Arabia itself. Unbelievably, Bin Laden isn't the only one with the Crusades on his mind. In fact, the Crusades appear to be the central moment in "world history," as that subject is taught in grade schools throughout Saudi Arabia.³¹³ Not only that, but drawing connections between the Crusades and contemporary political events is a constant theme in Wahhabi rhetoric. For instance, a sixth-grade textbook entitled *History of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom* drives home the connection between the crusades and modern jihad, lecturing that just as "the Muslims in the past succeeded – having become united and devoted to Him – in driving away the Crusader Christians from Palestine, so [today's] Arabs and Muslims will be victorious – God willing – over the Jews and their helpers as soon as they become united and fight for God the *Jihad* He deserves."³¹⁴ An eighth-grade geography book published in 1994, which many of the 9/11 hijackers may very well have studied, echoes the point:

There is no doubt that the Muslims' power irritates the infidels and spreads envy in the hearts of the enemies of Islam – Christians, Jews and others – so, they plot against them, gather force against them, harass them and seize every opportunity in order to eliminate the Muslims. Examples of this enmity are innumerable . . . ending with what is happening to Muslims today – a malicious Crusader-Jewish alliance striving to eliminate Islam from all the continents.³¹⁵

Similarly, a tenth-grade history text lectures that, “Christianization is an organized Crusader movement aimed at spreading Christianity among the Muslims and others. The Christianization movement is closely connected with modern European Imperialism.”³¹⁶

The lesson continues outside the schools, taught by some of the most prominent religious authorities in the Kingdom. For example, in his 1999 book *The Ideological Attack* the former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, wrote:

The attack of the Christian crusaders is today at its most intense. . . . The Muslim whose mind has not been corrupted cannot bear to see the infidels wielding authority . . . therefore such a Muslim strives his utmost to expel and distance them – even if he has to sacrifice his own life, or his most cherished possession for this cause.³¹⁷

In 1997, Sheikh Abdul Mushin al-Kadi gave a sermon in which he attacked Christianity as a “distorted and twisted religion.”³¹⁸ Warning his listeners of today’s Christians, he stated, “The hearts of the Crusaders who despised us still [beat] in their chests, and the weapons with which they fought us are still in their hands.”³¹⁹ And on May 11, 2001, Sheikh Adnan Ahmand Siami attacked Pope John Paul II’s visit to the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, Syria, which was intended as a gesture of goodwill. In a Mecca mosque, he declared:

This Pope, the head of the Catholic Church, and those behind him calling for the unification of the religions, are the descendants of the Spanish Inquisitors who tortured the Muslims most abominably. . . . They are the descendants of those who led the Crusades to the Islamic East, in which thousands of Muslims were killed and their wives taken captive in uncountable numbers. . . . Can we expect compassion from these murderous wolves. What made the Pope go on his visit was his dissatisfaction with the robbing of the Muslims’ lands.³²⁰

Predictably, the Iraq war has spurred a whole new wave of proclamations that the Crusades have begun anew. When the U.S. first invaded Iraq, an imam in Jeddah frantically declared, “The Crusaders have come to take over!”³²¹ And on April 15, 2004, Saudi cleric Sheikh Muhammad Saleh al-Munajjid assured his followers on Saudi-owned satellite television, “The issue is not one person, two, ten or a hundred going out with their guns to support their brothers. Defeating the infidels requires a much greater effort. It requires the mobilization of the nation. How can the nation be mobilized? I believe the stupid acts of these Jews and Crusaders mobilize the nation. The big explosion will come! In spite of everything, it will happen!”³²²

The same theme is repeated in official Saudi government publications, as far back as 1977. That year, a book entitled *The Facts That the Muslim Must Know About Christianity and Missionary Activity* was printed under the official seal of the Saudi government. It stated that:

The Crusader wars that were ignited by the enemies of Islam continue. We suffer from its influence in the Philippines, in Lebanon, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sudan, Chad, Bulgaria, Thailand, Palestine, and others. These wars will continue until Allah will take possession of the earth, or until the reasons for these wars will be uprooted.³²³

Likewise, a text published by the Ascension Printing House in Saudi Arabia, and found at the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles, declares, “He is wrong who thinks that the Crusaders’ hate for Islam and the Muslims was over with at the end of the Crusades; it remains with us even

today if only in a different form from that which it had before.”³²⁴ Indeed, Israeli terrorism expert Dore Gold has observed that, “for the previous two decades [before 9/11], it had not been uncommon in Saudi religious circles to refer to the Christian world and the West as ‘Crusaderdom’.”³²⁵ He concluded, “Osama bin Laden was preaching nothing new. An entire generation of Saudis was brainwashed with this hatred; bin Laden merely set out to mobilize predisposed Wahhabi Muslims for a war against the West.”³²⁶

In fact, Bin Laden has taken great pains to wrap himself in the authority of Wahhabi clerics in Saudi Arabia. For example, on July 10, 1996, Bin Laden asserted that:

Now the people understand the speeches of the ulemas in the mosques—that our country has become an American colony. . . . What happened in Riyadh and [at the Khobar Towers] when 24 Americans were killed in two bombings is clear evidence of the huge anger of Saudi people against America. The Saudis now know their real enemy is America.³²⁷

And in an October 2001 interview with *Al-Jazira*, Bin Laden cited Saudi cleric Sheikh Hamoud bin Uqla al-Shuaibi when asked how he could justify killing “a Jew, or a Christian, or a Catholic.”³²⁸ This was the same Sheikh al-Shuaibi who would later implore, “We beseech Allah to render mujahidin everywhere victorious, and forsake America and those who help her and are allied with her, and bring further destruction upon her.”³²⁹

Indeed, the admiration between Osama bin Laden and the Saudi religious authorities is clearly mutual. On January 22, 2002, Saudi cleric Sheikh Abdullah bin Matruk al-Haddad of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs told *Al-Jazira* that:

Men like bin Laden will not allow the Islamic world to bow down under the infidel enemies’ tyranny, under the tyranny of the U.S. . . . There is no doubt that Usama bin Laden waged Jihad against the infidels, against the aggressor and the oppressor. America does not want Islamic principles on the face of this planet. . . . The nation who gave rise to Osama bin Laden is a strong and great nation. It is the nation of the future.³³⁰

Incredibly, Saudi cleric Sheikh Abudl Aziz bin Salih al-Jarbu went so far as to assert that, “Osama bin Laden is a natural continuation from Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab.” He wrote this in his text defending the terrorist attacks on September 11, entitled *The Foundations of the Legality of the Destruction That Befell America*.³³¹

Looking at the examples above, it’s easy to see that Osama bin Laden is far from a “deviant.” Rather, when viewed from the context of the Saudi education system, Bin Laden’s fanatical screeds represent little more than glorified high school term papers. As Michael Scheuer, the former head of the CIA’s Bin Laden Unit, put it, “bin Laden is not an aberrant character in the Peninsula, he is in fact the poster boy of their educational system.”³³² Indeed, Bin Laden seems to have inadvertently confirmed this himself during a 1998 interview. He confided, “Every grown-up Muslim hates America, Christians and Jews. It is part of our belief and our religion. Ever since I was a boy, I have been harboring feelings of hatred towards America.”³³³ And if Bin Laden were captured tomorrow, it would only be a matter of time before the next star pupil rises to the head of the class.

Saudi dissident Ali al-Ahmed made precisely this point when he told *Frontline*, “Bin Laden learned this in Saudi Arabia. He didn’t learn it on the moon. That message that bin

Laden received, it still is taught in Saudi Arabia. And if bin Laden dies, and this policy or curriculum stays, we will have other bin Ladens.”³³⁴ Others have echoed this warning. For instance, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman recounted:

There’s a real problem inside Saudi Arabia. Right after 9/11, you know, I was in neighboring United Arab Emirates. And I’ll never forget it. An Emirates official said to me – he’d just come from a conference in Saudi Arabia. He said, “Tom, let me tell you something. Bin Laden is in every home in Saudi Arabia.”³³⁵

And CIA veteran Robert Baer has concluded, “The kingdom’s mosque schools have become the hothouses of militant Islam, the breeding ground of Sunni terrorism. Bali, Kenya, Bosnia, Chechnya and lower Manhattan all point back to these schools, to the Saudi state.”³³⁶ Taking it all in, it is clear that the entire nation of Saudi Arabia has become a pressure-cooker for indoctrinating generation after generation of vicious ideologues. How can we possibly continue to ignore this threat?

Index

Part 2

¹ Elaine Scolino, “Don’t Weaken Arafat, Saudi Warns Bush,” *The New York Times*, January 27, 2002 (Available at http://www.sullivan-county.com/identity/saudi_support.htm).

² Ibid.

³ “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, released February 28, 2005 (Available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2001/nea/8296.htm>); “Report on Saudi Arabia,” United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, May 2, 2003, pp. 10-11 (Available at <http://www.uscirf.gov/countries/region/middleeast/saudi/saudiReport.pdf>); Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, online supplement to “Saudi Time Bomb?,” *PBS Frontline*, November 9, 2001 (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/interviews/ahmed.html>).

⁴ Indeed, Wahhabi religious leaders have had *de facto* control over the nation’s education system since 1963. Gerald Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom: The Inside Story of the Saudi-U.S. Connection* (New York: Random House, 2005), pp. 36, 96; Dore Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2003), p. 77; Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, *PBS Frontline*.

⁵ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 17-29.

⁶ *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), pp. 50, 362; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 91; Robert Baer, *Sleeping With the Devil* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2003), pp. 116-17; “Al Qaeda’s New Front,” *PBS Frontline*, original airdate March 12, 2004 (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/front/etc/script.html>).

⁷ Ibid. In case there was any doubt about the ideological foundation of Bin Laden’s agenda, one Al Qaeda operative described him this way, “The Prophet said the Salaf are the best generation of Muslims. Those who come after them have been guaranteed success, victory, salvation and safety from the fire [of hell]. In our generation, Osama is a Salafi.” Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (New York: Berkley Books, 2002), p. 36.

⁸ Susan Schmidt, “Spreading Saudi Fundamentalism in U.S.,” *The Washington Post*, October 2, 2003 (Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A31402-2003Oct1>); Assif Shameen, “Secrets of the Mosque,” *Time* (Europe), May 6, 2002 (“The main Salafist ideological principle is Takfir, the perception that secular Muslim society is heretical.”) (Available at <http://www.time.com/time/europe/magazine/2002/0408/cover/story.html>).

⁹ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, *PBS Frontline*; “Al Qaeda’s New Front,” *PBS Frontline*; “Saudi Time Bomb?,” *PBS Frontline*, original airdate November 15, 2001 (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/etc/script.html>); “Policy Focus: Saudi Arabia,” United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, February 2004, p. 4 n. 1 (Available at <http://www.uscirf.gov/countries/publications/policyfocus/archive/saudipolicybrief.pdf>).

¹⁰ *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 362; “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, a division of Freedom House, January 28, 2005, p. 14 (Available at <http://crf.hudson.org/files/publications/SaudiPropoganda.pdf>); “Al Qaeda’s New Front,” *PBS Frontline*.

¹¹ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, pp. 14, 27; Interview with Ali al-Ahmed,” *PBS Frontline*.

¹² *See generally*, “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom; Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, *PBS Frontline*. In its most recent report on the Kingdom, the Center for Religious Freedom summed up the relationship between Wahhabism and the Kingdom this way:

Saudi Arabia defines itself as an Islamic state, and has established Wahhabism as the official state doctrine. 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. . . .

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.

“Saudi Arabia’s Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies,” Center for Religious Freedom, a division of Freedom House, with the Institute of Gulf Affairs, May 2006, p. 17 (Available at http://crf.hudson.org/files/publications/CRF_SaudiReport_2006.pdf).

¹³ The Prince continued, “It permeates the culture. It is rooted in the history. It is part of the DNA, if you like, of the Saudis.” “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline*, original airdate February 8, 2005 (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/etc/script.html>).

¹⁴ “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” U.S. State Department.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 4.

¹⁷ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 38.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁰ For example, two young men were convicted of homosexual acts and then executed on January 1, 2002. See “Saudi Arabia: ‘Sexual orientation’ executions condemned,” Amnesty International UK, January 9, 2002 (Available at <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/news/press/13855.shtml>).

²¹ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 4.

²² Ibid.

²³ Lisa Beyer with Scott MacLeod, “Inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,” *Time*, September 14, 2003 (Available at <http://time-proxy.yaga.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,1005663,00.html?internalid=AC>); Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 141.

²⁴ “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, a division of Freedom House, November 18, 2005 (Available at http://www.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication_details&id=4814&pubType=HI_PressReleases).

²⁵ Ibid.; “Saudis slated for jailing teacher,” BBC News, November 17, 2005 (Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4446318.stm). Reportedly, under the glare of post-9/11 scrutiny of religious intolerance in the Kingdom, Saudi authorities ultimately pardoned the teacher. “Saudi Arabia’s Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 17.

²⁶ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 11; Testimony of Steven Emerson with Jonathan Levin before the United States Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, July 31, 2003 (Available at http://www.senate.gov/~gov_affairs/073103emerson.pdf).

²⁷ Lawrence Wright, “The Kingdom of Silence,” *The New Yorker*, January 5, 2005 (Available at http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?040105fa_fact2).

²⁸ For more information, see http://www.gulfinstitute.org/ali_ahmed.htm and http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Saudi_Institute.

²⁹ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

³⁰ Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. 161.

³¹ “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” U.S. State Department.

³² Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

³³ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 11. See also “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” U.S. State Department (“Islamic religious education is mandatory in public schools at all levels. All children receive religious instruction, which generally is limited to that of the Hanbali school of Islam.”).

³⁴ Stephen Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam* (New York: Anchor Books 2003), pp. 261, 297. The students have been identified as: Ali Mahdi Al-Masaad, Mubarick Salim Al-Misaad, Ali Yahia Al-Salim, and Ali Siraj Al-Saloom. "Torture in Saudi Arabia, Official and Real," The Saudi Institute, August 13, 2002 (Available at http://www.interet-general.info/article.php3?id_article=612).

³⁵ Ibid., p. 282.

³⁶ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence"; Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. 161. See also "In search of Al Qaeda," PBS *Frontline*, original airdate November 21, 2002 ("It's a society of non-stop propaganda, where power is absolute and conformity strictly enforced.") (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/search/etc/script.html>); Charles M. Sennott, "Saudi schools fuel anti-US anger," *The Boston Globe*, March 4, 2002 ("US diplomats and Saudi specialists say Saudi schools are the foundation of the broader society in which the House of Saud has for decades tolerated extremists within the religious hierarchy to set a tone – in schools as well as on national television and radio airways – of open bigotry toward non-Muslims, contempt even for those non-Sunni Muslims from other branches of the faith such as the Shiite, and of virulent anti-Americanism.") (Available at http://www.boston.com/news/packages/underattack/news/driving_a_wedge/part2.shtml).

³⁷ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

³⁸ Steven Stalinsky, "Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia's Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy," The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Report No. 12, December 20, 2002 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR01202>); Steven Stalinsky, "Inside the Saudi Classroom: Seeking Reform," *National Review*, February 7, 2003 (Available at <https://www.nationalreview.com/comment/comment-stalinsky020703.asp>).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ali al-Ahmed, "Hypocrisy Most Holy," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 20, 2005 (Available at <http://www.opinionjournal.com/editorial/feature.html?id=110006712>). See also "Saudi Arabia: End Secrecy, End Suffering," Amnesty International, accessed July 14, 2006 ("Sadiq 'Abd al-Karim Mal Allah, a Saudi Arabian Shi'a Muslim, was executed in 1992. Neither he nor his family knew that he was under sentence of death or for what 'crime' he had been convicted. He was apparently charged with smuggling a copy of the Bible into Saudi Arabia.") (Available at <http://www.amnesty.org/ailib/intcam/saudi/issues/dp.html>).

⁴¹ "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, p. 4.

⁴² Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 30.

⁴³ "World Report 2002: Saudi Arabia," Human Rights Watch (Available at <http://hrw.org/wr2k2/mena7.html>).

⁴⁴ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence." See also "House of Saud," PBS *Frontline* ("As the Saudi royal family moved to increase its religious standing, millions of dollars were diverted to religious education under the Ulema. They taught Wahhabism as the only true form of Islam and holy war against infidels as the obligation of every believer. New theological schools and universities were built to produce more clerics to help spread the word. Saudi charities raised millions more for the cause.")

⁴⁵ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence."

⁴⁶ "House of Saud," PBS *Frontline*.

⁴⁷ See generally Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*; Baer, *Sleeping With the Devil*.

⁴⁸ Neil MacFarquhar, "Bin Laden and His Followers Adhere To an Austere, Stringent Form of Islam," *The New York Times*, October 7, 2001 (Available to subscribers at <http://select.nytimes.com/search/restricted/article?res=F50E17FA39580C748CDDA90994D9404482>). See also Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Carmen bin Ladin, *Inside the Kingdom: My Life in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Warner Books 2004), pp. 58-59. See also Megan K. Stack, "In Saudi Arabia, a view from behind the veil," *The Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 2007 (Available at http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-women6jun06.0.5491632.full_story?coll=la-home-center).

⁵² "Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004," U.S. State Department.

⁵³ "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁵ "Annual Report of The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom," May 2004, p. 78. (Available at <http://www.uscifr.gov/countries/publications/currentreport/2004annualRpt.pdf>).

⁵⁶ "Annual Report of The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom," May 2005, p. 114. (Available at <http://www.uscifr.gov/countries/publications/currentreport/2005annualRpt.pdf#page=1>).

⁵⁷ "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, pp. 2-4. See also Yaroslav Trofimov, "Saudi Arabia Welcomes Foreigners To Work in Nation – but Not to Die," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 9, 2002 (Available at <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0402/78.html>).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1. Despite continued promises of reform, the abuse continues. In its most recent annual report, the USCIRF found that:

The Saudi government continues to engage in an array of severe violations of human rights as part of its official repression of freedom of thought, conscience, and religion or belief. These violations include: torture and cruel and degrading treatment or punishment imposed by judicial and administrative authorities; prolonged detention without charges and often incommunicado; and blatant denials of the right to liberty and security of the person. . . . In recent years, prominent Shi'a clerics and religious scholars have been arrested and detained without charge for their religious views; several remain in prison and reportedly have been beaten or otherwise ill-treated.

. . . Many persons worshipping privately continue to be harassed, arrested, imprisoned, tortured, often deported, and generally forced to go to great lengths to conceal private religious activity from the authorities. Even diplomatic personnel from Western countries report difficulties in their religious practices.

"Annual Report of the USCIRF (2005)," pp. 113-14.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶² "Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004," U.S. State Department.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, p. 7.

⁶⁵ Baer, *Sleeping With the Devil*, p. 22.

⁶⁶ "Annual Report of the USCIRF (2005)," p. 114.

⁶⁷ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 34

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence."

⁶⁹ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* "Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004," U.S. State Department.

⁷¹ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 34.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence."

⁷⁴ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 139.

⁷⁵ Baer, *Sleeping With the Devil*, pp. 20, 214.

⁷⁶ Douglas Jehl, "Holy War Lured Saudis as Rulers Looked Away," *The New York Times*, December 27, 2001 ("A former Central Intelligence Agency official [Kenneth M. Pollack] said that American deference and other constraints, including efforts by the Saudis to discourage efforts by American diplomats to mingle with ordinary people, had left the United States dangerously dependent on the Saudis for information that could affect American as well as Saudi security.") (Available at <http://www.pulitzer.org/year/2002/explanatory-reporting/works/122701.html>); Elaine Sciolino with Neil MacFarquhar, "Naming of Hijackers as Saudis May Further Erode Ties to U.S.," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2001 ("Even the most pro-Saudi current and former administration officials admit that the closed nature of Saudi society, the restrictions the royal family has placed on the relationship and a shortage of American government experts on the kingdom have made Saudi Arabia one of the least understood of America's allies.") (Available to subscribers at <http://select.nytimes.com/search/restricted/article?res=F30C1FF639550C768EDDA90994D9404482>); Charles M. Sennott, "Why Bin Laden Plot Relied on Saudi Hijackers," *The Boston Globe*, March 3, 2002 ("To keep the glaring spotlight of Sept. 11 deflected from Saudi Arabia, the kingdom denied many Western journalists visas until recently. For those few who were able to get in the country during the weeks after Sept. 11, the government restricted access to the region where the hijackers lived. People who spoke to Western reporters have been detained by Saudi officials.") (Available at http://www.boston.com/news/packages/underattack/news/driving_a_wedge/part1.shtml); John R. Bradley, *Saudi Arabia Exposed: Inside a Kingdom in Crisis* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2005), p. xi ("The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, so extraordinarily introverted and completely closed to outsiders, is perhaps the world's last great, forbidden country."); Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence" (Wright reported that he resorted to obtaining a job at the *Saudi Gazette* only "after more than a year of fruitless attempts to get a visa as a journalist."); Jamie Glazov, "Perfect Soldiers," *Frontpagemag.com*, July 6, 2005 (Terry McDermott, author of *Perfect Soldiers*, noted, "I'm less than pleased with the amount of information I was able to gather on the Saudi hijackers. The Saudi government would not allow me to do the sort of on the ground reporting there that I needed to do.") (Available at <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=18664>).

⁷⁷ Jon Kyl and Charles Schumer, "Saudi Arabia's Teachers of Terror," *The Washington Post*, August 18, 2003 (Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A7405-2003Aug17?language=printer>).

⁷⁸ "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Center for Religious Freedom, p. 27; Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, pp. 28-29; Stephen Schwartz, "Rewriting the Koran: A bigoted Saudi translation," *The Weekly Standard*, September 27, 2004 (Available at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/004/653wwewi.asp>).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.; "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Center for Religious Freedom, p. 27.

⁸¹ Schwartz, "Rewriting the Koran: A bigoted Saudi translation"; "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Center for Religious Freedom, p. 27.

⁸² David B. Ottaway, "U.S. Eyes Money Trails of Saudi-Backed Charities," *The Washington Post*, August 19, 2004 (Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A13266-2004Aug18.html>).

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ The Center for Monitoring the Impact for Peace is an Israeli group which monitors anti-Semitic and anti-Western teachings in Arab textbooks. See <http://www.edume.org/> for further info. The Middle East Media Research Institute is a widely cited U.S.-based group that monitors Islamic extremist content in Arab media. See <http://www.memri.org/aboutus.html> for further info. The Center for Religious Freedom is a division of Freedom House, a U.S.-based group devoted to promoting religious freedom around the world and originally founded by Eleanor Roosevelt, among others. See <http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/about/about.htm> for further info.

Other groups which have translated Saudi textbooks include the and the PBS news program *Frontline*. See <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/etc/textbooks.html> for further info.

⁸⁵ “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, January 2003 (Available at <http://www.edume.org/reports/10/toc.htm>). According to the CMIP, “This report presents the official Saudi worldview to which school students between the ages 6-16 are exposed through the medium of subject textbooks. For this purpose, 93 books taught in grades 1-10, mostly from the years 1999-2002, have been examined. Special emphasis is placed on the Saudi Arabian attitude to the “other”, namely, Christians, Jews and the West.” See also “Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies: Arabic with English Translation,” Center for Religious Freedom, a division of Freedom House, with the Institute of Gulf Affairs, May 2006, pp. 17-18 (Available at <http://crf.hudson.org/files/publications/ArabicExcerpts.pdf>).

⁸⁶ Beyer and MacLeod, “Inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia”; Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 174.

⁸⁷ “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ “Religious Textbooks,” online supplement to “Saudi Time Bomb?,” PBS *Frontline*, original airdate November 15, 2001 (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/etc/textbooks.html>); Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 215; “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace; Stalinsky, “Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia’s Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy.” See also “Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies: Arabic with English Translation,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 56.

⁹¹ Beyer and MacLeod, “Inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia”; Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 140.

⁹² Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 102.

⁹³ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 4; Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 44; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 110.

⁹⁴ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 111.

⁹⁵ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 111.

⁹⁷ “Saudi Preacher Musa Al-Qarni: ‘The Jews and Christians are Allah’s Enemies. . . We Ask Allah to Strengthen the Jihad Fighters in Iraq’,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 859, February 8, 2005 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP85905>).

⁹⁸ “Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Report No. 10, September 26, 2002 (Available at http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR01002#_edn9).

⁹⁹ Note that for the sake of consistency, I have spelled the name “Uthaimin” throughout. The name has also been translated as “Othaimin”. Neil MacFarquhar, “A Few Saudis Defy a Rigid Islam to Debate Their Own Intolerance,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 2002 (Available at <http://hvk.org/articles/0702/107.html>).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.; Khaled al-Awadh and Abdul Aziz Ghawwazi, “500,000 people attend Al-Othaimin funeral,” Arab News, January 12, 2001 (Available at http://www.fatwa-online.com/scholarsbiographies/15thcentury/ibnuthaymeen_whatthepaperssay.htm#1).

¹⁰¹ “Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Report No. 25, January 27, 2004 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=jihad&ID=SR2504>).

¹⁰² The Commission continued:

To the second question, what America could do, al Qaeda’s answer was that America should abandon the Middle East, convert to Islam, and end the immorality and godlessness of its society and culture: “It is saddening to tell you that you are the worst civilization witnessed by the history of mankind.”

9/11 Commission Report, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰³ “Saudi Telethon Host Calls for Enslaving Jewish Women,” Saudi Information Service, April 26, 2002 (Available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/document/document042602.asp>).

¹⁰⁴ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Statement of Steven Emerson, Third Public Hearing of The National Commission of Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, July 9, 2003 (Available at http://www.9-11commission.gov/hearings/hearing3/witness_emerson.htm).

¹⁰⁷ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 28.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁹ “Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis,” The Middle East Media Research Institute.

¹¹⁰ As Dore Gold has explained, “One of the central doctrines of Wahhabism was *takfir*, a charge that other Muslims could become infidels, or worse, by engaging in improper religious activities.” In fact, Wahhabi persecution of Shi’a Muslims actually dates back hundreds of years, when the Wahhabis sacked Karbala in 1801. They slaughtered five thousand Shi’a Muslims there, and destroyed the tomb of Husayn, one of Shi’a Islam’s most holy sites. And the tradition of lashing out at other Muslims continues to this day. As the Center for Religious Freedom has reported:

This raises the issue of *takfir*, accusing individuals or groups of blasphemy and condemning them for infidelity; included are other Muslims regarded by the fanatics as apostates. This is the most serious denunciation that could be made of another Muslim because Wahhabis believe apostates should be put to death, and it could be interpreted by fanatics as justification for murder.

Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 23; Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. 86; Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 20; 9/11 Commission Report, p. 54. See also Shameen, “Secrets of the Mosque,” (“The main Salafist ideological principle is Takfir, the perception that secular Muslim society is heretical.”); “Saudi Time Bomb?”, PBS *Frontline* (“Strict Wahhabies believe that all people who don’t practice their form of Islam are heathens and enemies.”)

¹¹¹ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*. Terrorism expert Stephen Schwartz has further described the attitude toward non-Wahhabis, and Shi’a Muslims in particular, in the Saudi academy:

Books that insult Shi’a Islam are published by the government agencies and distributed everywhere in the country. In addition, religious texts taught in universities insult Shi’a, using demeaning and derogatory words when describing them, especially *rafida*, which means ‘rejectionists in religion.’ This is an insult equal to the word ‘niger.’ Decrees from government religious agencies insult Shi’as and promote hatred, violence and discrimination against them. . . . The worst aspect of this situation, according to Dr. Al-Hassan, is the indoctrination of children in hatred of Shi’a Islam by Wahhabi clerics who alone are permitted to teach religious subjects in the schools. Shi’a children are especially harmed by this practice.

Likewise, the Center for Religious Freedom found that current Saudi textbooks effectively condemn the vast majority of fellow Sunni Muslims, as well. They reported:

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 (Sunni Muslims found throughout the world) and the Maturidi doctrine (Sunni Muslims found primarily in Pakistan and India), who comprise millions of Sunni Muslims in the world, are referenced as “polytheists,” or idol worshipers.

Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 296; “Saudi Arabia’s Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies,” Center for Religious Freedom, pp. 25-26.

¹¹² “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 3. One incident which clearly illustrates just how brazen such bigotry can be occurred on March 13, 1998, when the grand imam of the Holy Mosque of Medina, Sheikh Abdul Rahman al-Hudaifi, railed against the Shiites at length, condemning them as those who “attempt to destroy Islam.” What made the sermon truly outrageous was that the former president of Iran (a Shiite nation), Hashemi Rafsanjani, was in attendance that day on a state visit meant to repair Saudi-Iranian relations. Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp.176-77.

¹¹³ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*. See also Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 261 (“Wahhabism is based on the justification and promotion of violence against all ‘unbelievers,’ beginning with traditional Muslims who do not share the ‘reformed’ Wahhabi outlook.”)

¹¹⁴ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

¹¹⁵ Hamid Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay* (New York: Islamic Publications International, 2002), p. 63; Daryl Champion, “The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Elements of Instability Within Stability,” *MERIA Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4, December 1999 (Available at <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a4.html>); “Magazine writers moved on to Islamist groups,” *The Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, August 4, 2002 (Available at http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/tribune-review/specialreports/jihad/s_84622.html); Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 296.

¹¹⁶ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 163-64.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

¹¹⁸ “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” U.S. State Department. See also Trofimov, “Saudi Arabia Welcomes Foreigners To Work in Nation – but Not to Die.”

¹¹⁹ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 11.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9. Stephen Schwartz provided further details on the exclusion of Shi’a testimony:

The entire judiciary is Wahhabi, made up of graduates of the sect’s religious schools. There are no judges representing Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi’i or Shi’a jurisprudence. Shi’a Muslims must therefore be tried by judges who consider them “heretics,” and their testimony may not be heard against Sunni Muslims or even in cases affecting Sunnis.

Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 282.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹²² Apparently, such dire straights are not uncommon. According to Carmen bin Laden, not only are the passports of foreign workers routinely confiscated by their Saudi employers, but those workers are not allowed to obtain exit visas to leave Saudi Arabia without their employer’s signature. Thus, for foreign workers who are too poor to pay for their interim living expenses out of pocket, contesting the terms of their employment is a practical impossibility. And as Wright found out, those who do soon regret it. Bin Ladin, *Inside the Kingdom: My Life in Saudi Arabia*, p. 164.

¹²³ Wright, “The Kingdom of Silence.”

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* See also Baer, *Sleeping With the Devil*, pp. 23-24. Stephen Schwartz further described how capricious Saudi “justice” can be:

Prince Nayef, along with other members of the royal family, has become known for his habit of ordering exemplary floggings. An incident in 1980 was characteristic: Prisoners in the Dammam prison sang in celebration of the Muslim feast of *Eid al-Fitr*. Prison authorities, offended as Wahhabi enemies of song, tried to halt the music by segregating, then beating the prisoners. Prince Nayef ordered that 100 lashes be administered to every inmate, without trial. Prince Salman, governor of Riyadh and another of the “Sudairi Seven,” is also known for decreeing lashings without due process. In an incident involving Shi’a teenagers who resented insults directed against their faith by their teachers, Prince Meqran of Medina ordered that a dozen of them be whipped 300 times each. Four more Shi’a high school students suffered similar brutal punishments at the pleasure of another prince, Meshael.

Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 285. See also “Torture in Saudi Arabia, Official and Real,” The Saudi Institute.

¹²⁵ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 6; Trofimov, “Saudi Arabia Welcomes Foreigners To Work in Nation – but Not to Die.” To be sure, this does not mean that Western expatriates are beyond the reach of Saudi brutality. For one particularly disturbing episode, see Glenn Frankel, “Briton’s Tale of Torture Offers View of Saudi Justice,” *The Washington Post*, May 19, 2005 (Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/18/AR2005051802089.html?referrer=email>); Steve Maich, “‘I begged to confess,’” *Macleans*, October 31, 2005 (Available at http://www.macleans.ca/topstories/justice/article.jsp?content=20051031_114424_114424).

¹²⁶ “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 10.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

¹²⁹ Wright, “The Kingdom of Silence.”

¹³⁰ MacFarquhar, “A Few Saudis Defy a Rigid Islam to Debate Their Own Intolerance”; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 14. Likewise, Saudi professor Walid al-Shuzi explained in an interview broadcast on a Saudi-owned television network on March 18, 2005:

Some people say that when you leave a mosque you must love the Jews and Christians. . . . Honorable Sheik, these people do not distinguish between hating the infidels and attacking them. We are forbidden to attack them, but we have a duty to hate them, as is written in the Koran and the Sunna.

These people want to cause the Muslims to abandon their religion. This is what hypocrites do, as was said by Allah. . . . I hate him for the sake of Allah. Even if he were my cousin or my brother, and even if he were my own flesh and blood - I would hate him for the sake of Allah.

“Saudi Professor Walid Al-Shuzi: Attacking Jews and Christians is Forbidden but Hating Them is a Religious Duty,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Clip No. 624, March 18, 2005 (Available at <http://www.memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=624>).

¹³¹ “Saudi Sheikh Dr. Ahmad Bin Abd Al-Latif Allows Prayers for the Annihilation of Jews and Christians”, The Middle East Media Research Institute, May 24, 2004, Clip No. 87 (Available at <http://memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=87>).

¹³² As one charity board member explained, “As contrast to relief, Islam looks at Dawah as a tool for an end, which is the establishment of Islam and making it supreme in the world.” Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Coconspirator Statements, *United States v. Enaam M. Arnaout*, No. 02 CR 892 (N.D.Ill. January 6, 2003), p. 50 (Available at <http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/bif/usarnaout10603prof.pdf>).

¹³³ Neil MacFarquhar, “Saudis Support a Jihad in Iraq, Not Back Home,” *The New York Times*, April 23, 2004 (Available at <http://middleeastinfo.org/article4339.html>).

¹³⁴ Testimony of Steven Emerson with Jonathan Levin before the United States Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, July 31, 2003 (Available at http://www.senate.gov/~gov_affairs/073103emerson.pdf).

¹³⁵ Note that the purification of “the land of the two holy places” is a regular theme in Osama bin Laden’s rhetoric. For instance, in August 1996, he issued a major fatwa entitled *Declaration of War Against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places*. “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

¹³⁶ Stalinsky, “Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia’s Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy”; Stalinsky, “Inside the Saudi Classroom: Seeking Reform.”

¹³⁷ Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

¹³⁸ “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Statement of Steven Emerson, Third Public Hearing of the 9/11 Commission.

¹⁴² “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 57; Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 215; “Religious Textbooks,” PBS *Frontline*; “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

¹⁴⁵ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 8

¹⁴⁸ Al-Munajjid is actually a protégé of Bin Baz himself. Ibid., p. 255; Stalinsky, “Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia’s Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy.” See also http://63.175.194.25/words/munajjed/munajjid_eng.html.

¹⁴⁹ Note that some sources spell the name “al-Oadah” (as in the article cited here), “al-Awdeh” or “al-Awdah”. Bill Tierney, “Who is Prince Nayef? The most powerful man in Saudi Arabia,” *The Weekly Standard*, December 23, 2002 (Available at http://www.travelbrochuregraphics.com/extra/who_is_prince_nayef.htm).

¹⁵⁰ “Saudi Arabia: A Chronology of the Country’s History and Key Events in the U.S. – Saudi Relationship,” online supplement to “Saudi Time Bomb?,” PBS *Frontline* (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/etc/cron.html>).

¹⁵¹ Statement of Steven Emerson, Third Public Hearing of the 9/11 Commission.

¹⁵² Stalinsky, “Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia’s Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy”; Stalinsky, “Inside the Saudi Classroom: Seeking Reform.”

¹⁵³ David Twersky, “Jews and Christians Are Apes and Pigs, Saudi Textbook Says,” *The New York Sun*, December 23, 2002 (Available at <http://memri.info/bin/media.cgi?ID=39202>).

¹⁵⁴ Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

¹⁵⁵ “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

¹⁵⁸ “Saudi Telethon Host Calls for Enslaving Jewish Women,” Saudi Information Service.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ “Saudi Ambassador to London: ‘I Want Peace with Israel; I Long to Die as a Martyr; Stoning and Amputating Hands Are at the Core of Every Muslim’s Belief,’” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 389, June 13, 2002 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP38902>).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² David Pallster, “Saudis recall controversial ambassador,” *The Guardian* (London), September 19, 2002 (Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/saudi/story/0,11599,794579,00.html>).

¹⁶³ Prince Turki also claimed there is a distinction between “Jihadist Salafis” and non-violent mainstream Salafis. However, the above review of the doctrine of jihad and how it is promulgated by official Saudi textbooks and leading Wahhabi religious authorities suggests that this is a frivolous distinction. One gets the distinct impression that discussing “salafi jihadists” is just as useful as discussing “militant nazis.” “Al Qaeda’s New Front,” PBS *Frontline*.

¹⁶⁴ Consider how this line of thinking, that terrorism is ultimately just an expedient tactic in waging holy war, was reflected by Osama bin Laden himself when he explained:

Due to the imbalance of power between our armed forces and the enemy forces, a suitable means of fighting must be adopted, i.e. using fast-moving, light forces that work under complete secrecy. In other words, to initiate a guerrilla war, where the sons of the nation, and not the military forces, take part in it.

Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, pp. 190-91; "Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis," The Middle East Media Research Institute; "Osama Bin Laden v. The U.S.: Edicts and Statements," online supplement to "Hunting Bin Laden," PBS *Frontline*, (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/edicts.html#feb22>).

¹⁶⁵ The five pillars of Islam established in the Koran are: (i) belief in the basic tenet of Islam, "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger," (ii) participating in the five daily prayers, (iii) fasting during the daylight hours of the holy month of *Ramadan*, (iv) pilgrimage to Mecca (the *hajj*), and (v) giving alms to the needy (*zakat*). The suggestion that there is a sixth pillar of Islam – Jihad – is another example of the Wahhabi willingness to depart from the literal Koran in order to embrace a more vicious and strident form of Islam. As Dore Gold has pointed out:

Wahhabi writings, however, elevated jihad to a central obligation of Islam by attributing to the Prophet Mohammed such sayings as: "Jihad is the ultimate manifestation of Islam, as the Messenger said. . . . It is a furnace in which Muslims are melted out and which allows the separation of the bad [Muslim] from the good. It is also a pass to Eden [Paradise] and the Eden is in the shade of the swords." This jihad is, again, nothing less than an "armed struggle," rather than an inner struggle for the sole.

The irony is that Wahhabism professes to be a "purer" form of Islam, even as it departs from the literal Koran. Examples of such departures certainly lend credence to those who address the problem as more ideological ("Islamofascism") than religious.

Testimony of Jean-Charles Brisard before the United States Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, October 22, 2003, p. 6 (Available at <http://banking.senate.gov/files/brisard.pdf>); Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Center for Religious Freedom, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ Beyer and MacLeod, "Inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia"; Stalinsky, "Inside the Saudi Classroom: Seeking Reform."

¹⁶⁸ Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 176; Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

¹⁶⁹ Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

¹⁷⁰ Mitchell G. Bard, "Myths & Facts Online, Arab/Muslim Attitudes Toward Israel," Jewish Virtual Library (Available at <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf25.html>).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 175.

¹⁷³ Statement of Steven Emerson, Third Public Hearing of the 9/11 Commission.

¹⁷⁴ Bard, "Myths & Facts Online, Arab/Muslim Attitudes Toward Israel."

¹⁷⁵ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ As per the Holocaust Museum:

In 1921, Adolf Hitler learned of the *Protocols*, and its slurs became a mainstay of Nazi propaganda. Hitler referred to the *Protocols* in *Mein Kampf* (1924): "To what an extent the whole existence of this people is based on a continuous lie is shown incomparably by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, so infinitely hated by Jews. . . . Once this book has become the common property of a people, the Jewish menace may be considered as

broken.” The first edition of the *Protocols* published in Nazi Germany (Munich, 1933) had an introductory commentary by Alfred Rosenberg, the leading theorist for the Nazi Party.

Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Available at <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10007058>).

¹⁷⁹ “Saudi Government Daily Accuses U.S. Army of Harvesting Organs of Iraqis,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 834, December 24, 2004 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiarabia&ID=SP83404>).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. One should also note that the Jews are not the only supposed victims of Allah’s wrath. In response to the December 2004 tsunami which killed hundreds of thousands of people around the Indian Ocean, an advisor to the Saudi Justice Minister, Ibrahim al-Bashar, declared:

Whoever reads the Koran, given by the Maker of the World, can see how these nations were destroyed. There is one reason: they lied, they sinned, and were infidels. Whoever studies the Koran can see this is the result. . . .

These countries, in which these things occurred – don’t they refrain from adopting Allah’s law, which is a form of heresy? Man-made laws have been chosen over Allah’s law, which has been deemed unsuitable to judge people?! Whoever does not act according to Allah’s law is a heretic, that’s what Allah said in the Koran.

Likewise, Saudi professor Sheikh Fawzan Al-Fawzan declared, “especially at Christmas, fornication and sexual perversion of all kinds are rampant. The fact that it happened at this particular time is a sign from Allah.” And these people are outraged by unflattering Danish cartoons!

“Conspiracy Theories Surrounding the Tsunami: It was a Punishment from Allah for Celebrating Christmas and Other Sins; It was Caused by the U.S., Israel, India,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 842, January 7, 2005 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP84205>).

¹⁸¹ Batrafi went on to cite the Muslim doctrine of the “People of the Book” in arguing that this sermon represented a deviation from traditional Islam. Along with Christianity and Judaism, Islam is a Semitic religion grounded in the Old Testament. This common bond is recognized in the Koran and in Islamic tradition, where Christians and Jews are recognized as kindred “People of the Book.” In light of this status, Islamic teachings mandate tolerance toward Jews and Christians so long as they do not threaten Muslims. Thus, not all “infidels” are created equal, Jews and Christians generally have a privileged place among non-believers under Islamic law and theology. The lowest form of infidel, those who depart from the monotheism grounded in the Semitic religions, are referred to as “polytheists” (*mushrikin*).

However, Wahhabi authorities are now attempting to re-write the doctrine, arguing that modern Jews and Christians are different from those who existed in the time of Mohammed. Now, Christians and Jews also qualify as “polytheists,” who should be attacked and annihilated, rather than tolerated and respected in accordance with the Koran. This is yet another example of how the religious tradition is being altered to fit the rabid ideology of Wahhabism.

“Saudis Debate the Annihilation of Christians and Jews,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 295, November 1, 2001 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP29501>); Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 102-03.

¹⁸² Stephen Schwartz, a convert to Sufi Islam who first learned of the Wahhabis while doing academic research and relief work in the Balkans, further observed:

From its beginning, Wahhabism declared the entirety of existing Islam to be unbelief, and traditional Muslims to be unbelievers subject to robbery, murder, and sexual violation. Wahhabism has always viewed Shia Muslims genocidally, as non-Muslims worthy of annihilation. Wahhabism has always attacked the traditional, spiritual Islam or Sufism that dominates Islam in the Balkans, Turkey, Central Asia, India, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Wahhabism and neo-Wahhabism (the latter being the doctrines of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Pakistani Islamists) are the main source of Islamic extremist violence in the world today. Wahhabism

represents a distinct, ultraradical form of Islamism. Wahhabism is completely subsidized by the Saudi regime, using oil income.

Interview with Stephen Schwartz, “The Good and the Bad,” *National Review*, November 18, 2002 (Available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/interrogatory/interrogatory111802.asp>).

¹⁸³ R. James Woolsey, “The Elephant in the Middle East Living Room,” *National Review*, December 14, 2005 (Available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/woolsey200512140823.asp>).

¹⁸⁴ “Saudi Telethon Host Calls for Enslaving Jewish Women,” Saudi Information Service; Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. 181; Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 277.

¹⁸⁵ Ali al-Ahmed, “Author of Saudi Curriculums Advocates Slavery,” Saudi Information Agency, November 7, 2003 (Available at <http://www.arabiaradio.org/english/article.cfm?qid=132&sid=2>). See also “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 65 (“It is also known that Al-Fawzan advocates slavery and the subjugation of women, and believes elections are un-Islamic.”)

¹⁸⁶ Al-Ahmed, “Author of Saudi Curriculums Advocates Slavery.”

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Ali al-Ahmed’s report goes on to note, “Al-Fawzan’s most famous book, ‘Al-Tawheed – Monotheism’, is taught to Saudi high school students. In it, he says that most Muslims are polytheists, and their blood and money are therefore free for the taking by ‘true Muslims.’ ”

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Saudi Arabia is classified as a “Tier 3” offender by the U.S. State Department, the worst possible category. “Trafficking in Persons Report,” United States Department of State, June 2005 (Available at <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/>); See also “Saudi Arabia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices – 2004,” U.S. State Department (“Many foreign domestic servants flee work situations that include forced confinement, beating and other physical abuse, withholding of food, and rape. The authorities often forced domestic servants to return to their places of employment.”)

¹⁹¹ Kyl and Schumer, “Saudi Arabia’s Teachers of Terror.”

¹⁹² As noted above, the authorities propagating these views include the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia from 1993 to 1999, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, as well as Sheikh Muhammad bin Uthaimin, Sheikh Abdullah bin Abdul Rahman Jibrin and Sheikh Saleh al-Fawzan, all of whom are currently or formerly members of the Council of Senior Clerics.

¹⁹³ “Saudi Preacher Musa Al-Qarni: ‘The Jews and Christians are Allah’s Enemies. . . We Ask Allah to Strengthen the Jihad Fighters in Iraq’,” The Middle East Media Research Institute.

¹⁹⁴ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 241.

¹⁹⁵ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, pp. 42-43. While the author of the text, Fathi Yakan, was Syrian, he is but one example of how the Wahhabis have co-opted and promoted like-minded ideologues from throughout the Muslim world. Like any ideological movement, Wahhabism is not neatly confined within international borders. But as we shall see in further detail over the next reports, Saudi Arabia has become the engine which is driving the spread of Wahhabism around the globe. The full text of *To Be a Muslim* is transcribed at http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/to_be_a_muslim/index.htm.

¹⁹⁶ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 43.

¹⁹⁷ “Bin Laden Expert Steps Forward,” CBS News, November 14, 2004 (Available at <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/11/12/60minutes/main655407.shtml>); Kelly Uphoff, “Osama bin Laden’s Mandate for Nuclear Terror,” JINSA Online, December 10, 2004 (Available at <http://www.jinsa.org/articles/articles.html/function/view/categoryid/1701/documentid/2762/history/3,2360,655,1701,2762>); “Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder,” The Middle East Media Research Institute; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 214-15.

¹⁹⁸ Uphoff, “Osama bin Laden’s Mandate for Nuclear Terror”; “Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder,” The Middle East Media Research Institute; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 214-15.

¹⁹⁹ Uphoff, “Osama bin Laden’s Mandate for Nuclear Terror”; “Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder,” The Middle East Media Research Institute; Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 214-15.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ “Interview with Bin Laden ‘World’s Most Wanted Terrorist,’” ABC News, October 7, 2001 (Available at <http://www.islamistwatch.org/blogger/localstories/05-06-03/ABCInterview.html>).

²⁰² “No Peace,” *New York Daily News*, July 9, 2005 (Available at <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/col/v-pfriendly/story/326615p-279233c.html>).

²⁰³ See footnote 181 above for a discussion of the doctrine of the “People of the Book.”

²⁰⁴ Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, *The Ideological Attack* (United Kingdom: Message of Islam 1999), translated and annotated by Abu Aaliyah Surkheel ibn Anwar Sharif (Available at <http://www.al-sunnah.com/pdf/ideo.pdf>).

²⁰⁵ “Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder,” The Middle East Media Research Institute.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 163.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Jonathan D. Halevi, “Al-Qaeda’s Intellectual Legacy: New Radical Islamic Thinking Justifying the Genocide of Infidels,” Jerusalem Viewpoints, December 1, 2003 (Available at <http://www.jcpa.org/jl/vp508.htm>).

²⁰⁹ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 163.

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 164.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Erik Stakelback, “The Saudi Hate Machine,” *In the National Interest*, December 19, 2003 (Available at <http://frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=11388>).

²¹⁴ Steven Stalinsky, “Incitement to Jihad on Saudi Government-Controlled TV,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Report No. 29, June 24, 2004 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR2904>).

²¹⁵ Ibid.; “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline*.

²¹⁶ Steven Stalinsky, “Coming to America: Saudi Hate TV,” *The New York Sun*, October 26, 2005 (Available at <http://www.nysun.com/article/22097?access=118442>); “Saudi Cleric on American Democracy, Globalization, and Haircuts,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Clip No. 316, October 25, 2004 (Available at <http://www.memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=316>).

²¹⁷ “Holy Roman Empire,” *Wikipedia*, accessed on December 30, 2005 (Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_Roman_Empire).

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ “Nazi Germany,” *Wikipedia*, accessed on December 30, 2005 (Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_reich).

²²⁰ “Caliph,” *Wikipedia*, accessed on December 30, 2005 (Available at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph>).

²²¹ See also “Report on Saudi Arabia,” USCIRF, p. 10.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Reda Seyam was born in Egypt, and now resides in Germany. Seyam appears to have first fallen in with Saudi-sponsored Islamic jihadists in Bosnia, and spent several years thereafter living and working in Saudi Arabia while being supported by wealthy Saudi benefactors. He has also been tied to Saudi intelligence, working for suspected front companies and having taken several trips aboard an executive jet operated by the Saudi GID. Seyam

and his connections to Saudi Arabia will be further discussed in later reports. John Crewdson, "A couples' life torn apart by Islamic jihad," *Chicago Tribune*, November 26, 2004 (Available at <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0411260271nov26,1,7884981.story?coll=chi-news-hed>).

²²⁴ "Al Qaeda's New Front," PBS *Frontline*.

²²⁵ "Al-Qa'ida Magazine Debates Attacks in Saudi Arabia – Proposes More Attacks in the U.S. will Boost Support," Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 632, December 23, 2003 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=subjects&Area=jihad&ID=SP63203>).

²²⁶ Woolsey, "The Elephant in the Middle East Living Room." Likewise, the PBS news program *Frontline* observed:

The Salafist utopia is not just a return to the days of the Prophet, but a yearning for the caliphate, the world that Islam once conquered as it spread out from Arabia, west, north, south and east, from the Malay archipelago, beyond the Caucasus, across North Africa and into Andalusia in Spain.

"Al Qaeda's New Front," PBS *Frontline*.

²²⁷ Woolsey, "The Elephant in the Middle East Living Room."

²²⁸ See generally "Osama Bin Laden v. The U.S.: Edicts and Statements," PBS *Frontline*; Osama bin Laden, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders," translated by the Federation of American Scientists, February 23, 1998 (Available at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm>).

²²⁹ "U.S. Military Begins Moving Military Out of Saudi Arabia," Fox News (AP), April 23, 2003 (Available at <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,85446,00.html>).

²³⁰ "Patterns of Global Terrorism: 2003," United States Department of State, June 22, 2004 (Available at <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2003/33773.htm>); Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 225.

²³¹ Alfred B. Prados, "Saudi Arabia: Current Issues and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service, June 17, 2005, p. 4 (Available at http://www.ndu.edu/library/docs/crs/crs_ib93113_17jun05.pdf).

²³² Note that this is not the only example of Osama bin Laden and other Wahhabis using reactionary rhetoric and "wedge issues" to broaden their appeal. For instance, Bin Laden has frequently railed against the plight of the Palestinian people. Yet as Dore Gold points out, Al Qaeda has made no attempt to participate in the Intifada. Indeed, Lebanese journalist Hisham Melhem has stated bluntly, "[Bin Laden] never served the Palestinian cause. He never did anything to help the Palestinian people." Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 10; Bin Laden, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders."

²³³ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

²³⁴ Stalinsky, "Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia's Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy"; "Report on Saudi Arabia," USCIRF, p. 12; "Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies: Arabic with English Translation," Center for Religious Freedom, p. 43; Twersky, "Jews and Christians Are Apes and Pigs, Saudi Textbook Says."

²³⁵ "Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis," The Middle East Media Research Institute.

²³⁶ "Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder," The Middle East Media Research Institute.

²³⁷ "Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis," The Middle East Media Research Institute.

²³⁸ "Saudi Telethon Host Calls for Enslaving Jewish Women," Saudi Information Service.

²³⁹ British journalist John Bradley observed the same sentiment in a far different context. In exploring how young Saudi men justified their sexual exploits during trips to the West, he reported, "Young Saudis are given to saying that screwing Western women is not religiously forbidden in Islam, because, since they are 'infidels,' they do not come into the moral scheme of things." Again, such thinking may seem like adolescent hijinks. Yet, the same line of reasoning might just as well be used to justify sexual assault against foreign workers in the Kingdom. Bradley, *Saudi Arabia Exposed: Inside a Kingdom in Crisis*, p. 94.

²⁴⁰ Terry McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers: The 9/11 Hijackers: Who They Were, Why They Did It*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), p. 249; *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 232.

²⁴¹ “Full Text of Notes Found After Hijackings,” *The New York Times*, September 29, 2001 (Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/29/national/29SFULL-TEXT.html?ex=1133586000&en=33abae0f265f6e2f&ei=5070&ex=1126670400&en=c064f57856036b87&ei=5070>).

²⁴² *Ibid.* This line of rhetoric has clearly been internalized by Al Qaeda. Long after the attacks on 9/11, a Saudi ideologue known by the *nom de guerre* Sheikh Nasser Al-Najdi stated on an Al Qaeda website:

[T]he heresy of that infidel and his rebellion against the religion of Allah requires the permitting of [shedding] his blood and his humiliation, and that his blood is like the blood of a dog and nothing more. . . . burn with desire for the blood of the infidel, to slaughter the enemy of Allah, and to cut him up into pieces.

“New Al-Qa’ida Online Magazine Features Interview with a ‘Most-Wanted’ Saudi Islamist, Calls for Killing of Americans and Non-Muslims,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 591, October 17, 2003 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP59103>).

²⁴³ “People killed in plane attacks,” *USA Today*, September 25, 2001 (Available at <http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2001/09/11/victims-list.htm>); “Team from National Geographic Killed in Pentagon Crash,” *National Geographic News*, September 12, 2001 (Available at http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2001/09/0912_disasterngs.html).

²⁴⁴ *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 239.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* There have also been reports that Satam al-Suqami was a student of Islamic law at the King Fahd University prior to the attacks, although the 9/11 Commission seems to dispute this. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 312; “Hijackers were from wealthy Saudi families,” *The Sunday Times* (London), October 28, 2001 (Available at <http://sid-hill.com/911/wealthy.htm>).

²⁴⁷ Schwartz, “Rewriting the Koran: A bigoted Saudi translation.” See also *9/11 Commission Report*, p. 233.

²⁴⁸ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

²⁴⁹ Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, pp. 22, 161-62.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 15.

²⁵² Kate Connolly, “‘I did what I had to do,’ says suicide pilot’s last letter,” *The Observer* (London), November 18, 2001 (Available at <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/warterrorism/story/0,1373,596941,00.html>).

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ “Saudi Time Bomb?,” PBS *Frontline*.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*.

²⁵⁷ “Transcript of Usama Bin Laden Video Tape,” United States Department of Defense, released December 13, 2001, p. 4 (Available at <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2001/d20011213ubl.pdf>).

²⁵⁸ “Saudi officials identify man on bin Laden tape,” CNN News, December 16, 2001 (Available at <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/12/16/ret.tape.identity/>).

²⁵⁹ “Transcript of Usama Bin Laden Video Tape,” U.S. Defense Department, p. 4.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; David Ensor, “Bin Laden named nine hijackers on tape, not one,” CNN News, December 21, 2001 (Available at <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/12/20/ret.bin.laden.translation/index.html>).

²⁶¹ “Transcript of Usama Bin Laden Video Tape,” U.S. Defense Department, p. 2; John Miller, “Bin Laden Translation Omitted Sections,” ABC News, December 20, 2001 (Available at <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines01/1220-06.htm>).

²⁶² “Transcript of Usama Bin Laden Video Tape,” U.S. Defense Department, p. 2.

²⁶³ Ibid. Note that the name is spelled “Shaykh Sulayman ‘Ulwan” in the Defense Department transcript.

²⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the 9/11 Commission noted that Sheikh Al-Ulwan’s spiritual followers include 9/11 hijacker Abdulaziz al-Omari and Al Qaeda leader Abu Zubaydah. Halevi, “Al-Qaeda’s Intellectual Legacy: New Radical Islamic Thinking Justifying the Genocide of Infidels”; *9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 233, 521 fn. 60.

²⁶⁵ Halevi, “Al-Qaeda’s Intellectual Legacy: New Radical Islamic Thinking Justifying the Genocide of Infidels.”

²⁶⁶ “Saudi Tied to bin Laden Turns Himself In Under Amnesty Offer,” Reuters, July 14, 2004 (Available at http://www.thepowerhour.com/news/saudi_ties.htm).

²⁶⁷ Rudolph W. Giuliani and Ken Kurson, *Leadership* (New York: Hyperion, 2002), pp. 374-75.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, pp. 156-57.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.; Christopher Dickey, “‘America has to face reality,’” *Newsweek*, October 13, 2001 (Available at <http://msnbc.msn.com/id/3067551/>).

²⁷¹ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 171; “Saudi telethon raises \$77 million,” CNN News, January 7, 2005 (Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/asiapcf/01/06/saudi.telethon/>).

²⁷² Saudi spokesman Adel al-Jubeir has done a lot of tap dancing on the issue, but ultimately conceded, “If a family loses a breadwinner and they’re living in poverty, yes, we give them money. Are some of those families, families who had a suicide bomber? Yes.” Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 171; Pamela Hess, “Saudi Arabia sets aside \$50M for ‘martyrs,’” United Press International, April 9, 2002 (Available at <http://www.upi.com/inc/view.php?StoryID=09042002-050314-4015r>); “Documents: Saudis Paid Bombers’ Families,” Fox News, April 26, 2002 (Available at <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,51252,00.htm>). “News Conference With Adel Al-Jubeir, Adviser To The Saudi Crown Prince,” Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, June 12, 2003 (Available at <http://www.saudiembassy.net/StatementLink/03-ST-Adel-embassy-0612-transcript.asp>).

²⁷³ “Saudi telethon raises \$77 million,” CNN News.

²⁷⁴ “Saudi and other Arab Intellectuals: The Fault Lies in Our Education Not in American Society,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 331, January 14, 2002 (Available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP33102>); Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 4.

²⁷⁵ “A Terror Breeding Ground,” CBS News, February 27, 2005 (Available at <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/02/25/60minutes/main676552.shtml>).

²⁷⁶ Posner, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, p. 189; Richard Verrier, “Saudi Arabia Needs to Confront Its Role in Sept. 11, Prince Says,” *The Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 2003 (Available at <http://www.brothersjudd.com/blog/archives/009133.html>).

²⁷⁷ “Saudi Telethon Raises Over \$100 Million for Palestinians,” Fox News (Associated Press), April 13, 2002 (Available at <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,50260,00.html>).

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline*.

²⁸⁰ “Saudi University Lecturer: My Son’s Teacher Was a Terrorist,” The Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch No. 877, March 11, 2005 (Available at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP87705>); Olivier Guitta, “A Nation at Risk: Saudi Arabia’s top educator leaves no Wahhabi child behind,” *The Weekly Standard*, April 4, 2005 (Available at http://www.weeklystandard.com/Utilities/printer_preview.asp?idArticle=5415&R=C61C726). Well before September 11, Carmen bin Laden had a very similar experience with the Saudi education system. She recounted:

When Wafah was seven or eight, I remember, I looked through her exercise book one evening and I found she'd written down, "I hate Jews. I love Palestine," in her childish Arabic script. What was happening to my daughter? If she was going to hate somebody, I wanted her to have a good reason. The Arab-Israeli dispute was something she knew nothing about.

The next day I went to the school principal and said, "My daughter doesn't know where Palestine is. She knows nothing about Israel. She isn't even doing geography yet. How can she be taught to hate when she doesn't know anything about it?"

The principal, a small but imperious woman, was completely impervious to my protest. "This is not a matter for you to discuss," she told me. "You are a foreigner, you cannot understand. Does your husband know about this?"

Fortunately for her, Carmen bin Laden's status as a member of one of the Kingdom's most well-connected families allowed her to speak out on occasion without incurring consequences that might befall lesser members of the Kingdom. Bin Ladin, *Inside the Kingdom*, pp. 140-41.

²⁸¹ MacFarquhar, "Saudis Support a Jihad in Iraq, Not Back Home."

²⁸² Ibid. Or as Saudi scholar Jamal Kashoggi has observed, "Osama bin Laden has become a symbol of defiance. Whoever stands in defiance of American arrogance will be seen as a local hero." Nicolas Pelham, "Saudi clerics issue edicts against helping 'infidels,'" *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 12, 2001 (Available at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/1012/p7s1-wome.htm>).

²⁸³ Wright, "The Kingdom of Silence." Note that Saudi expert Simon Henderson has testified that, "Among ordinary Saudis there are some who are less religious than others but it would be difficult to say there are many, if any, secular Saudis." Testimony of Simon Henderson before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, September 10, 2003 (Available at http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=910&wit_id=2573).

²⁸⁴ Bradley, *Saudi Arabia Exposed*, p. 89.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 90.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 97-98. Bradley went on to describe how the inundation of petrodollars into the Kingdom has also fueled the rise in fundamentalism among Saudi youth. He observed:

For one of the main, but largely overlooked, reasons for the emotional and religious vacuum young Saudis face is the presence of so many foreign maids and drivers in the kingdom. Their numbers mushroomed during the oil-boom years, and their influence has led to a distancing of parents and children, since the servants were expected to act as surrogate parents. Most of the domestic servants are non-Muslims and non-Arabs, meaning the results have been doubly negative: They lack the authority—and presumably, since they themselves are treated by many employers as little more than errant children, also the inclination—to discipline those in their care, while being unable to pass down by example the core Islamic values and traditions that have always formed the bedrock of Saudi society.

If absence of authority is one side of the equation, the other is the feeling of entitlement among so many youths in Saudi Arabia. The growing legions of middle-class teenage Saudis—perhaps the majority—are now like my friend Mohammed, able to obtain anything by simply shouting at the top of their lungs. A few seconds later—whatever the time of day or night—a Filipino maid is knocking gently at the bedroom door. Coddled by servants, ignored by parents, aware of the limitations of their own education and abilities to succeed in the wider world that attracts and repels them, taught that they are deserving and should be served rather than that they need, and should, work to obtain goals, Saudi youth have no guides, which leads some to wantonness and others to the straight and narrow of fundamentalism.

Ibid., p. 92

²⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 5, 10-14

²⁹⁰ Interview with Stephen Schwartz, *National Review*.

²⁹¹ Bradley, *Saudi Arabia Exposed*, p.10.

²⁹² “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline*.

²⁹³ Bradley, *Saudi Arabia Exposed*, p.6; Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, p. 120; “A Chronology: The House of Saud,” online supplement to “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline* (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/cron/>).

²⁹⁴ In particular, the Wahhabi stranglehold on the Kingdom’s universities is one of the key factors explaining why Saudi Arabia has far surpassed Iran in its hostility toward the United States. In Iran, the state universities are generally regarded as bastions of relatively progressive thinking which over time will hopefully lead to a more moderate and democratic society. Indeed, in a surprising show of solidarity with the U.S., Iranian students in Tehran held a candlelight vigil for the victims of September 11. However, state universities in the Kingdom have become little more than finishing schools for Islamic jihadists. This has been abetted by Saudi Arabia’s overwhelming reliance on foreign labor. Due to the paucity of professional jobs available to native Saudis, there is little point in pursuing a professional degree as opposed to devoting themselves to further religious instruction. Indeed, it has been reported that two out of three doctorates earned in the Kingdom are in Islamic studies. In the more bluecollar Iran, by contrast, professional degrees are eagerly sought after, and Iran is often exporting its professional talent abroad. Juliette Niehuss, “Why Washington needs Iranian students,” *Asia Times*, July 23, 2003 (Available at http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/EG23Ak05.html); Jack Kelly, “Disaffected youth, sour economy bode change in Iran,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 22, 2002 (Available at <http://www.post-gazette.com/World/20020422iran0422p2.asp>).

²⁹⁵ “Saudi moves to reform education system as academic year opens,” Agence France-Presse, September 8, 2004 (Available at <http://www.wrn.org/article.php?idd=6635&sec=43&con=37>).

²⁹⁶ Michael Isikoff and Mark Hosenball, “Terror 101: Are the Saudis funding schools devoted to fomenting radical Islamic ideology?,” *Newsweek*, December 3, 2003 (Available at <http://msnbc.msn.com/id/3660811/>).

²⁹⁷ “A Biography of Osama bin Laden,” online supplement to “Hunting Bin Laden,” PBS *Frontline* (“Osama had his primary, secondary and even university education in Jeddah.”) (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/bio.html>).

²⁹⁸ “Interview With Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia,” *The New York Times*, January 28, 2002 (Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/28/international/middleeast/29CND-STEXT.html?ex=1136350800&en=c48753925c4c07ac&ei=5070>); Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 192; “House of Saud,” PBS *Frontline*.

²⁹⁹ Stalinsky, “Preliminary Overview—Saudi Arabia’s Education System: Curriculum, Spreading Saudi Education to the World and the Official Saudi Position on Education Policy”; Twersky, “Jews and Christians Are Apes and Pigs, Saudi Textbook Say.” See also “Transcript: Interview With Adel al-Jubeir,” CNN News, May 23, 2003 (Available at <http://cnnstudentnews.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0305/23/nfcnn.04.html>).

³⁰⁰ “The Saudi Dilemma,” PBS *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, November 6, 2001 (Available at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/july-dec01/saudi2_11-6.html).

³⁰¹ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 172.

³⁰² Senator Bob Graham with Jeff Nussbaum, *Intelligence Matters: The CIA, the FBI, Saudi Arabia, and the Failure of America’s War on Terror* (New York: Random House 2004), p. 31.

³⁰³ Bin Laden, “Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders.”

³⁰⁴ Osama bin Laden, “Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders,” translated by the Federation of American Scientists.

³⁰⁵ Testimony of Jean-Charles Brisard before the United States Senate, October 22, 2003, p. 6.

³⁰⁶ “Osama bin Laden’s Statement,” *USA Today*, October 7, 2001 (Available at <http://www.usatoday.com/news/sept11/2001/10/07/bin-laden-statement.htm>).

³⁰⁷ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 171.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ “Osama Bin Laden v. The U.S.: Edicts and Statements,” PBS *Frontline*.

³¹⁰ Bin Laden went on to declare:

The Arabian Peninsula has never – since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas – been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. . . . for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people.

Note that at the time the U.S. only had about 5,000 troops in Saudi Arabia, all of them dedicated to protecting the Kingdom against Saddam Hussein and maintaining the southern no-fly-zone over Iraq.

Bin Laden, “Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders”; Gerald Posner, *Why America Slept: The Failure to Prevent 9/11* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), p. 149; “Saudi Arabia: A Chronology of the Country’s History and Key Events in the U.S. – Saudi Relationship,” online supplement to “Saudi Time Bomb?,” PBS *Frontline* (Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/etc/cron.html>).

³¹¹ “Excerpt: Bin Laden Tape,” *The Washington Post*, December 27, 2001 (Available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/binladentape_122701.html).

³¹² Michael Slackman, “Bin Laden Says West Is Waging War Against Islam,” *The New York Times*, April 4, 2006 (Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/24/world/middleeast/24binladen.html>).

³¹³ See generally “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

³¹⁴ Ibid.; “Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies: Arabic with English Translation,” Center for Religious Freedom, p. 34.

³¹⁵ “The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks,” Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Bin Baz went on to assured his followers:

Thus as long as we continue to cling to the Religion of Allaah, glorifying and venerating Him, following His Sacred Laws (*Sharia*) and fighting those who oppose Him, then the opposite will happen; it will be the enemies of Allaah who will fear the Muslims.

Statement of Steven Emerson, Third Public Hearing of the 9/11 Commission; Bin Baz, *The Ideological Attack*.

³¹⁸ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 174.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid., pp. 174-75.

³²¹ Wright, “The Kingdom of Silence.”

³²² Stalinsky, “Incitement to Jihad on Saudi Government-Controlled TV.”

³²³ Indeed, Dore Gold notes that, “What is remarkable about this official Saudi text—including its anti-Americanism and repeated references to the ongoing Crusades—is how familiar it is. For in recent years Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda followers have articulated many of these same themes in interviews and religious rulings. Yet this book was published twenty-four years before the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Osama bin Laden hadn’t yet set foot in Afghanistan; he was only a university student in Saudi Arabia.” Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, pp. 101-03.

³²⁴ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Center for Religious Freedom.

³²⁵ Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom*, p. 174.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 184.

³²⁷ “Osama Bin Laden v. The U.S.: Edicts and Statements,” PBS *Frontline*.

³²⁸ Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 188.

³²⁹ Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 187. Referring to the American military action in Afghanistan, Sheik al-Shuaibi also made it clear that, "It is the duty of every Muslim to stand up with the Afghan people and fight against America. . . . everyone who supports America against Islam is an infidel, someone who has strayed from the path of Islam." Douglas Jehl, "For Saudi Cleric, Battle Shapes Up as Infidel vs. Islam," *The New York Times*, December 5, 2001 (Available at <http://www.udel.edu/global/agenda/2002/readings/NYTsaudidissidents.html>); Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 186. See also Pelham, "Saudi clerics issue edicts against helping 'infidels'."

³³⁰ Testimony of Emerson and Levin before the United States Senate, July 31, 2003.

³³¹ Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, p. 187.

³³² Mahan Abedin, "Are we Winning the War on Terror? An Interview with Michael Scheuer," *Global Terrorism Analysis*, December 14, 2004 (Available at http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?issue_id=3175).

³³³ Posner, *Why America Slept*, p. 25.

³³⁴ Interview with Ali al-Ahmed, PBS *Frontline*. Carmen bin Laden, the Swiss-born ex-wife of one of the Bin Laden brothers who lived in the Kingdom for several years, has made precisely the same point:

Osama Bin Laden and those like him didn't spring, fully formed, from the desert sand. They were made. They were fashioned by the workings of an opaque and intolerant medieval society that is closed to the outside world. . . . Despite all the power of their oil revenue, the Saudis are structured by a hateful backward-looking view of religion, and an education that is a school for intolerance. They learn scorn for what is foreign: The non-Muslim doesn't count. . . . When Osama dies, I fear there will be a thousand men to take his place.

Bin Laden, *Inside the Kingdom*, p. 200.

³³⁵ Interview with Thomas Friedman, CBS News' *Face the Nation*, May 30, 2004 (Available at http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/ftn_053004.pdf)

³³⁶ Baer, *Sleeping with the Devil*, p. xxx.