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THE STATE OF TOLERANCE IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is making measurable progress in reforming its textbook content, but still has much to do. Before assessing the current status of this effort and the way ahead, a look at the context in which these reforms are taking place is very much in order.

Background

Recent education reform in Saudi Arabia began in the shadow of tragedy. The public outcry inspired by the 2002 Meccan girls' school fireⁱ led to the abolishment of the General Presidency for Girls' Education dominated by the conservative religious establishment and a transfer of the responsibility for girls' education to the Ministry of Education.ⁱⁱ Later that year, the royal advisory council – the Shura Council – recommended a new national strategy on technical and vocational education, finally addressing Saudi business' complaints about the lack of qualified Saudi applicants for jobs.ⁱⁱⁱ

Reform priorities changed again after May 2003, when an al-Qaeda-led wave of terror attacks rocked the country. National Dialogue Forums convened by then-Crown Prince Abdullah featured expert testimony in December of 2003 that the Kingdom's Islamic curriculum "encourages violence towards others." This precipitated the first steps toward meaningful reform, intended to excise some of the more controversial passages from Saudi textbooks.^{iv}

Parallel to these efforts, Saudi de-radicalization programs were initiated in 2004. As a result, approximately 3,500 imams (out of a total of 75,000) have been subsequently relieved of their duties for espousing extremist views; and more than 20,000 others have been retrained.^v Extremists in prison also began receiving counseling and religious reeducation. Thousands of prisoners have participated in the six-week rehabilitation course; and recidivism relating to terrorist activities appears to be relatively low, although the program is still quite new. In 2007, the Mohammed bin Nayef Center for Counseling and Advice opened. A modified halfway house, the Center focuses on education as a way to modify radical behavior in the prisoner population, including updated classes on religion, history and culture that reflect a more tolerant and peaceful interpretation of scripture.^{vi}

King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saud, who ascended the throne in 2005, has sought to reproduce this same tone in the regular school curriculum. He has installed more moderate figures in the Ministry of Education^{vii} and made skillful use of peripheral institutions to bypass conservative elements in pursuing reform.^{viii} The use of international accreditation standards, international partnerships, independent financing, and the privatization of higher education have all provided openings to reform.^{ix} The King Abdullah University of Science and Technology, the Kingdoms' first co-ed university dedicated solely to science and technology, was placed under the authority of the Saudi oil company ARAMCO rather than the Ministry of Higher Education to ensure that it came online in a timely manner.^x It is just one of over 100 new institutions of higher learning opened in Saudi Arabia between 2006 and 2010.^{xi}

A further indication of the King's commitment to reform was his establishment in 2007 of the Tatweer Education Reform project, a \$2.4 billion program responsible for curriculum reform and dedicated to graduating capable and open-minded young Saudis.^{xii} As a result, thousands of

Saudi teachers have been involved in teacher training programs in the UK, and future plans call for expanding access to modern pedagogy to at least 500,000 of them.^{xiii}

English is being introduced in the fourth grade, and early education has become a priority: in 2011 Saudi Arabia opened one preschool per day, and the government plans to almost triple that pace for 2012. Additionally, the Saudi education ministry has announced a more “hands-off” policy, giving schools more autonomy in setting up their curriculums. Finally, a holding company has been established to disburse educational funds; and an independent body has been set up to institute educational standards for public and private schools.^{xiv}

Textbook Reform

The above measures coupled with the Kingdom’s efforts to reform its textbooks are indicative of its commitment to engaging the rest of the world in a socially and economically beneficial way. This is a welcome initiative, as this material is taught in Saudi-sponsored schools throughout the world. The effort itself is also consistent with the Kingdom’s larger goal of de-radicalization. The reform process, however, is undeniably delicate, since it is taking place in an environment where change does not come easily. The distribution of power between the Saudi Islamic scholarly class (the Salafist *ulema*) and the monarchy (which depends for its legitimacy on the religious endorsement of the clerics) makes any attempt at fundamental reform exceedingly difficult.

“The government has the exclusive say in the areas of national security, defense, the economy, and foreign relations; the clerics control the public sphere, education, religious indoctrination, and, to some degree, the dissemination of their teachings abroad.”^{xv}

Challenging the underlying religious ideology that perpetuates intolerance risks internal conflict with the religious elites in a highly charged atmosphere, made all the more sensitive by the Kingdom’s custodianship of the two holiest sites in Islam, which serve as the religious center of gravity for more than a billion Muslims worldwide.

Challenges aside, the Kingdom has made notable progress in its textbook reforms, an exemplary case being its most recent eighth grade textbook on the Hadith.^{xvi} In place of its past message of exclusion of non-Salafists and the demeaning of other faiths as polytheists rejected and hated by Allah, including People of the Book (Christians and Jews), this text now conveys a very different message regarding God’s will toward non-Muslims, such as:

The prayer of the oppressed, be he Muslim or non-Muslim, is answered and not rejected.^{xvii}

Additionally, the revised books reflect efforts to highlight cooperation between Muslims, countering previous calls to violence against polytheistic worship that in many instances were no more than thinly veiled references to Shi’a and Sufi practices.

Perhaps the most resounding testament to the progress of the reforms is demonstrated in the following passage, which is deeply rooted in Islam, tolerance, and non-violence.

The reason behind the call for Monotheism: when the prophet used to preach Islam, he did not use force or seek violence to show people the right path of guidance. The Prophet made

sure they knew that this was for their own good that they were being helped to find this path...^{xviii}

What makes this material so positive is its contrast to earlier editions of the same textbook. These were generally characterized by constant critical associations of other faiths, including "People of the Book," with polytheism, which then served as a basis for the exclusion, denigration, and even direct violence often associated with the Salafist interpretation of Islam.

Many regional experts, such as Dr. Ondrej Beranek of Brandeis University, claim that analysts and critics in the West fail to appreciate the importance of Salafist power where issues of Saudi domestic policy are concerned, claiming that:

"...[they] do not fully understand the nature of the Saudi religious establishment and its influence on the political culture of the country. Every decision taken by the government of Saudi Arabia, especially when it pertains to the social sphere or might "threaten" public morals, has to accord, somehow, with the will of the ulema."^{xix}

This monolithic social control is sometimes credited with maintaining a high degree of social stability in Saudi Arabia. However, the negative impact of intolerant material, particularly where it has been exported to pluralistic societies, is becoming a cause for increasing concern at the highest levels of the monarchy.

ICRD contends that even subtle changes could provide a better balance between the Islamic identity of the Saudi state, the religious and non-religious education of the students, and the elimination of discriminatory content. Recent 'thorough' curriculum reform, for example, has failed to eliminate numerous examples of intolerance. The offending material still found in grades one, two, four, five, seven and eight can easily be removed without compromising the textbooks' basic message. What purpose is served, for example, by calling believers to enact violence against a group of people, particularly where there is no clear way to determine who might belong to that group? And yet this direct and unspecific incitement still finds expression in these texts, as demonstrated by the continuing inclusion of the below in the reformed 8th Grade Monotheism text:

Sorcerers should be killed as was called for by the prophet.

The positive results of recent reforms need to be mirrored in all disciplines at all levels in upcoming reforms, so the entire curriculum reflects a consistent tolerant framing. Currently, offensive material that has been removed from certain revised texts can still be found in other unrevised texts. This sends a confusing and contradictory message to students as they proceed from one grade to the next. For example, the following intolerant passage that was appropriately removed in the new 8th Grade text on monotheism can still be found in the 10th Grade History text on prophets, biographies, and the spread of Islam:

- *The Jews don't have deep faith and have an inclination towards kufr [disbelief].*
- *The Jews are occupied by materialism. The sole reason for the distortion of the Torah by the Jews was for the sake of getting material gains.*
- *The Jews are eager about life, even if it means living under humiliation, and they refuse to fight.*

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- *Feelings of arrogance and superiority inhabit the Jews. They claim they are the chosen people even though God himself has denied that, humiliated them, misled them and made them into swine and apes.*

Clearly, much remains to be done. Saudi Arabian society is still characterized by officially sanctioned cultural, political and religious homogeneity, a homogeneity that is supported by a domestic religious doctrine that thoroughly dominates every aspect of society and is strongly fixated on a “unification” theme. The education system acculturates students in this perspective by taking any characteristics that diverge from this norm and exaggerating them to suggest threatening, deviant religious and social identity categories, thereby justifying doctrines of intolerance and even calls for violence.

As late as 2011, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) expressed grave concern about the promotion of religious intolerance and religion-based violence in Saudi textbooks and went so far as to call for designating Saudi Arabia as a “country of particular concern,” due to its “egregious and systematic violations of religious freedom.”^{xx}

Since the first major external review of the content of Saudi Arabian curriculum was conducted in 2003, a flurry of additional studies has followed. These have largely focused on identifying the most extreme cases of intolerance and calls to violence that Saudi children are exposed to during their education. The consensus findings of these reports demonstrate a consistent pattern of using the educational curriculum to generate a climate of broad-based intolerance for non-Salafist identity groups.

A number of passages serve to exclude other groups, which are then treated with both religious and cultural disdain, even to the point of cautioning against establishing cooperative relationships with them so as not to incur the wrath of Allah. All of this serves to deepen the divide between Saudi students and outsiders, who are consistently portrayed as a threat, as illustrated in this passage from a 12th Grade textbook on monotheism:

The reasons for hostility towards kuffar [disbelievers]:

1. *The kuffar are enemies of Allah.*
2. *Being loyal to the kuffar means one is satisfied with their state of kufr [disbelief] and this is contradictory with being satisfied with Allah as a God, Islam as a religion and Mohammed as a messenger.*
3. *Kuffar are the enemies of Islam and its people.*
4. *Being loyal to kuffar means one is willing to advocate for them, and this causes the discontent of Allah and His punishment is due.*

Building on this foundation of earlier studies, ICRD conducted this first comprehensive evaluation of the most recently published (2011-2012) Saudi textbooks. Using a team of scholars – most of whom were Salafist scholars, intimately familiar with Saudi culture, the educational system, and associated regional identities – the analysis accomplished a number of specific objectives. Themes of intolerance in the curriculum were identified, with new and old editions of representative texts used to gauge the tangible outcomes of the ongoing reform efforts. A baseline of the current, more-egregious content was established, with a supporting database of

relevant quotes for each grade. This baseline will provide a substantive benchmark by which to evaluate future reforms (Addendum A).

Specific categories of intolerant material were also highlighted that provide generally negative portrayals of religious and other minorities. Where it is relevant, counter-arguments that refute intolerance using Islamic doctrinal sources were also provided (Addendum B). Finally, in the interest of balance, the textbooks in question contain significant tolerant content as well. This is catalogued in Addendum C.

Recommendations

To expand the accomplishments to date of Saudi educational reform, it is strongly recommended that the following steps be taken:

1. Encourage the Kingdom to enhance the academic rigor of curriculum development

- a. Require a higher degree of scholarship for teachers of Islamic studies
- b. Base critiques of intolerance on Qur'anic principles
 - Use 8th grade Hadith textbook (2011-2012) as the standard for future reforms
 - Initiate a professional development program for textbook writers on reducing bias and conjecture
- c. Create a diverse curricular review body that includes representation from each of the Kingdom's cultural and faith traditions
- d. Develop functional partnerships with other Muslim countries on issues relating to religious education

2. Continue to monitor the progress of textbook reform on a periodic basis

- a. Include classroom pedagogy in future studies
- b. Track the international distribution of the textbooks
 - Ensure that the latest revised versions are being used
 - Assess the local impact of texts in recipient countries

3. Accommodate Saudi realities in providing recommendations

- a. Conduct a meeting of Western and Saudi scholars to discuss educational reform strategies
- b. Present findings of textbook reviews privately.

In summary, as with any religion, many of the concerns in question are a matter of emphasis or context (or both), i.e. which passages of one's Holy Book are given greater credence, those that tend to promote conflict or those that tend to promote peace, and determining what a particular passage actually means when considered in its proper literary and historical context. The principal conclusion of this study is that a great deal of progress has been made. However, just as there is cause for celebration, so too is there continuing cause for concern.

End Notes – Executive Summary

- ⁱ Fifteen girls died in the fire when they were not allowed to flee their burning school because they were deemed by the *mutaween* (religious police) to be dressed inappropriately.
- ⁱⁱ Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia's School Texts" in *Middle East Journal*, 57:2, Spring 2003, pp. 230-247. Pg. 232.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Michaela Prokop, "Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education," *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 79:1, January 2003, pp. 77-89. Pg. 86.
- ^{iv} Kelly McEvers, "Changing the Way Saudis Learn: Entry 1," Slate Magazine Online, 7 September 2009, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dispatches/features/2009/changing_the_way_saudis_learn/reforming_saudi_education.html, (accessed 15-Jul-2012).
- ^v United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, *USCIRF Annual Report 2012 - Countries of Particular Concern: Saudi Arabia*, 20 March 2012, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4f71a673a.html> (accessed 27 July 2012).
- ^{vi} Marisa L. Porges, "The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment," Council on Foreign Relations, 22 January 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorism/saudi-deradicalization-experiment/p21292> (accessed 15-Jul-2012).
- ^{vii} Scott Cole, "The Public Discourse on Education Reform in Saudi Arabia," *Al Qawl: A Student-Run blog from the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies*, 28 March 2012, <https://blogs.commonsworld.org/alqawl/2012/03/28/the-public-discourse-on-education-reform-in-saudi-arabia/> (accessed 14-Jul-2012).
- ^{viii} Leigh Nolan, "Liberalizing Monarchies? How Gulf Monarchies Manage Education Reform," (prepared for the Brookings Doha Center, No. 4, February 2012), pg. 15.
- ^{ix} Nolan, "Liberalizing Monarchies?" pg. 33.
- ^x Nolan, "Liberalizing Monarchies?" pg. 18.
- ^{xi} Nolan, "Liberalizing Monarchies?" pg. 14.
- ^{xii} Kelly McEvers, "Changing the Way Saudis Learn: Entry 1," Slate Magazine Online, 7 September 2009, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dispatches/features/2009/changing_the_way_saudis_learn/reforming_saudi_education.html, (accessed 15-Jul-2012).
- ^{xiii} Kelly McEvers, "Changing the Way Saudis Learn: Entry 3," Slate Magazine Online, 9 September 2009, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dispatches/features/2009/changing_the_way_saudis_learn/angry_teachers_and_empty_libraries.html, (accessed 15-Jul-2012).
- ^{xiv} Trevor Williams, "Saudi Education Reforms Highlighted," Global Atlanta, 2 July 2007, <http://www.globalatlanta.com/article/25241/>, (accessed 15-Jul-2012).
- ^{xv} Dr. Ondrej Beranek, "The Sword and the Book: Implications of the Intertwining of the Saudi Ruling Family and the Religious Establishment," in *Middle East Policy Brief* No. 28 (Brandeis University – Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Apr 2008) <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB28.pdf> pg. 5.
- ^{xvi} Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.
- ^{xvii} *Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II)*, 2011-2012, pg. 40.
- ^{xviii} *Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term II)*, 2011-2012, pg. 36.
- ^{xix} Beranek, "The Sword and the Book," pg. 5.
- ^{xx} U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Saudi Arabia: USCIRF Confirms Material Inciting Violence, Intolerance Remains in Textbooks Used at Saudi Government's Islamic Saudi Academy," http://www.uscifr.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2206&Itemid=1 (accessed 2-Jun-2011).



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1. BACKGROUND

The one constant in the history of the Arabian Peninsula is the centrality of the Ka'aba. Regarded by Muslims as the original house of worship built for man to worship his creator, the Ka'aba serves as the focal point of prayer for over a billion Muslims each day. Custodianship of the Ka'aba, then, symbolizes political might ordained by divine will. At the same time, the presence of the Two Holy Mosques means that Saudi Arabia, in a sense, belongs to all Muslims and must serve the global "*ummah*," or Islamic community. While the population of Saudi Arabia does not constitute a significant segment of the global Muslim population, it maintains a disproportionately powerful voice throughout the Muslim world. Saudi basic law emphasizes the country's role as the leading power in Islam and as the defender of the faith.¹ Saudi government officials have compared the role of Saudi Arabia in Islam to that of the Vatican in Catholicism, and the role of the Saudi King to that of the Pope.² Each year, the Kingdom hosts the Muslim World League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Jeddah is the permanent home of the Islamic Development Bank.³

Apart from this profoundly important role across the breadth of Islam, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia plays a number of additional roles in the global community. It has a young and rapidly growing population that, in the light of modern global integration, increasingly demands quality education, employment opportunities, human security and general stability. As a chief oil producer, the Kingdom is a major mover of the global economy, with a comprehensive foreign relations portfolio. It is also an enduring ally of the United States and many Western European nations, despite some deep ideological differences.

The national identity of Saudi Arabia is deceptively simple. It is an absolute monarchy, with the only semblance of political power-sharing occurring between the royal family and the powerful Islamic scholar class, the *ulema*. The Kingdom has one official religion, Islam, within which there is only one dominant ideology, Salafism, a puritanical sect of Islam that stresses a strict social adherence to *shari'a* law, imitation of the Prophet, and the purge of 'un-Islamic' practices. These practices, however, are defined by the theological interpretations of an 18th Century conservative, Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab,⁴ and rooted in the doctrine of Sheikh Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn-Taymiyyah, a 13th century Islamic scholar of the Hanbali school of jurisprudence. While a sizable Shi'a minority exists (as high as 15%), they wield little political power.

The theology of Sheikh ibn-Taymiyyah emerged primarily as a reaction to the rapid decline of Islamic military supremacy. His region of modern day Turkey, along the Syrian border, had been devastated by the Christian Crusaders and the Mongol barbarians. The damage inflicted by these

¹ Nina Shea, "Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies," (prepared for the Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House, 2006), pg 17.

² Adel al-Jubeir, interview by Tony Snow, Fox News Sunday, FOX, May 18, 2003.

³ The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, DC, USA, "Saudi Arabia: Islam's Heartland," www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/Islam/saudi_arabia_islam_heartland.aspx (accessed 10-Jul-2012).

⁴ The primary religious duty, according to Salafism is *tawheed*, or absolute unification of worship in God. Shirk, or polytheism, is the antithesis of *tawheed* and can describe a wide range of behaviors from photography to visiting the dead. The extreme rejection of shirk is often aimed at the persecution of Islamic minorities such as the Shi'a and Sufi sect.

conflicts had a deep cultural and psychological impact on Muslim identity, which had not known a significant external military threat since the time of the Prophet.⁵

Sheikh ibn-Taymiyyah preached a new form of Islam aimed at invigorating the fighting spirit of the Muslims. The defeat of Muslim armies, according to Sheikh ibn-Taymiyyah, was attributable to the gradual slide of Islam into impurity through religious apathy, innovations such as Sufism, and other less strict Islamic practices. By Sheikh ibn-Taymiyyah's reasoning, the greater (or personal) jihad did not exist, and the doctrinal restriction on jihad as a purely defensive act was misconstrued. Violent jihad was understood to be an obligation of the entire global *ummah*.⁶ The fact that many of the Mongol invaders had since converted to Islam (primarily Sufi or Shi'a) made jihad against them a doctrinally prohibited practice. However, through the association of *shirk*⁷ with apostasy, Sheikh ibn-Taymiyyah created an Islamic justification for war with other Muslims. This expanded the eligible targets of jihad beyond the traditional 'infidel' to include Shi'a and Sufi, principally for their veneration of graves and the righteous.

The Salafis continued to expand this categorization, seeking ways to condemn as *mushrikeen*⁸ the religious groups that receive protection under Islam, such as Christians, Jews and most other Muslims. Strict Salafist interpretation of the Holy Qur'an informs both legality and punishment. The legal system of Saudi Arabia is not *based* on religious law, it *is* religious law. Religious crimes such as apostasy and sorcery are punishable by death, and executions are frequent.

In times of extreme volatility, the royal family and the religious *ulema* typically achieve consensus in private and respond in tandem to threats, reinforcing one another's legitimacy. Dissent in the Kingdom against the monarchy or the religious elite is often met with swift punishment, preventing serious challenges to the authority of either. Saudi Arabia rarely bends to international pressure, especially in matters of religion. The training of popular perception to see the West as deviant and a threat to Islam results in a general rejection of Western principles out of hand. Saudi reformists and Western reformists understand reform in diametrically opposed ways, with those in the Kingdom traditionally advocating for moving the already conservative Kingdom even closer to a puritanical Salafist ideology and further from Western concepts of human rights, tolerance and liberty.

1.1 The House of Wahhab and the House of al-Saud

In order to understand the role that textbooks play in Saudi schools, it is essential to understand that the nation was founded on a symbiotic relationship between two powerful visions – one political and the other religious. The political vision of Muhammad ibn Saud sought to unite all of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula under his authority, while the religious vision of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab was to purge the land of beliefs and practices that, according to his strict interpretation of theology, contaminated its Islamic identity.

Separately, their visions had little hope of succeeding, but when they were joined, the foundation was laid for the modern state of Saudi Arabia. The political and religious views contained in Saudi

⁵ Tamin Ansary, *Destiny Disrupted: A History of the World Through Islamic Eyes* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2009) pg. 188.

⁶ Ansary, *Destiny Disrupted*, pg. 162.

⁷ Loosely translated as polytheism, best understood as the attribution of anything Godly to something other than Allah.

⁸ Loosely translated as polytheist, literally people of shirk.

textbooks emanate in many ways from this historical alliance and a dedication to fulfilling its mandate.

Sheikh Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792) was born in the Najd region in northern Arabia, a geographically and developmentally isolated area.⁹ Although the Ottomans had ruled Arabia since the 16th century, they never had much use for the Najd region. The Ottomans were careful to control the pilgrimage routes along the three coastlines of the peninsula and held Mecca and Medina tightly in their grip to legitimize their Islamic identity. The Najd region thus lagged behind the rest of the peninsula in its development.

During his studies throughout the Middle East, Sheikh Abdul Wahhab grew concerned with what he saw as the widespread deviation of Muslims from the monotheistic purity of Islam. He especially disapproved of the 'un-Islamic' practices that had crept into the Hejaz region, where they threatened Islam at its core in Mecca and Medina. This seemed to be a clear return of the most holy sites of Islam to the "*jahiliyyah*"¹⁰ practices of idol worship and polytheism that Muhammed himself had eliminated when he converted the Arab tribes to Islam. The Sheikh returned to his home in Najd and began his mission to purge the land of those practices that in his eyes reflected ignorant aspects of pre-Islamic culture.¹¹

Sheikh Abdul Wahhab quickly gained followers, but his views made him controversial and he drew the ire of powerful leaders in the region. In 1744, a local chieftain, Muhammad ibn Saud, offered the cleric refuge and the two men formed a religio-political alliance that ultimately proved instrumental to unifying the warring tribes that were scattered throughout the peninsula. Both men recognized the role the other could play in unifying the Arabian Peninsula under one ruler, ibn Saud, and one imam, Sheikh Abdul Wahhab. The message in the region was clear: all Muslims were to unite by accepting Islam as envisioned by the Sheikh and by pledging complete obedience to the new Muslim ruler on the condition that he upheld Islamic law.¹²

Centers of popular worship such as tombs and shrines that Sheikh Abdul Wahhab deemed loci of "innovative practices," which he considered a contemporary manifestation of *jahiliyyah*, were desecrated or destroyed. This began the persecution of Shia and Sufi Islam, forms of worship that the Sheikh condemned as un-Islamic. Religious purification supplanted cultural tradition, and social behavior was strictly regulated. By 1803 all the territory from Mecca, on the eastern side of the peninsula, to Bahrain, on the west, was united. In 1818 the hegemonic power of the region, the Ottoman Empire, took note of the growing political significance of the Wahhab and Saud capital, Al-Dar'iyah, and sent troops armed with modern weapons to raze the city, thereby ending the first Saudi State. The alliance between al-Saud and the Sheikh, however, endured.¹³

⁹ Ayman al-Yassini, "Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb, Muhammad," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0337> (accessed 12-Jul-2012).

¹⁰ The "Age of Ignorance" that preceded Islam in Arabia.

¹¹ Ayman al-Yassini, "Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb, Muhammad."

¹² Eleanor Abdella Doumato and Joseph A. Kéchichian, "Saudi Arabia," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0709> (accessed 18-Jul-2012).

¹³ Whitehead, Kim. "Saudi Arabia." *Islamic Fundamentalism*. Broomall, Pennsylvania: Mason Crest Publishers, 2003. Web. 23 November 2011.

In 1924 the al-Saud and Sheikh Abdul Wahhab alliance reasserted its goals of regional control. A group of Bedouin soldiers who had previously fought on the side of the Saudis, the Ikhwan or Brotherhood Movement, were ignited by the Sheikh's Islamic teachings and began to impose their newfound faith on their villages: congregational prayers were strictly enforced, as was the separation of unmarried men and women in all facets of life. They did not hesitate to use force to compel others to follow their version of Islam, and their willingness to fight was a great boon to Abdulaziz al-Saud in his quest to unite Arabia. The Ikhwan, more than 60,000 strong, helped usher in a Wahhabi revival in the 1920s that was crucial to Abdulaziz bringing the majority of the Arabian Peninsula under his command.

With the help of these holy warriors, Abdulaziz al-Saud conquered the Hejaz, the region containing the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. With this military success, the alliance of the two families secured profound ideological influence within the Islamic world. Once their power had been consolidated, however, the Ikhwan began to act independently, and threatened colonist-controlled territories outside the peninsula. Abdulaziz, however, preferred not to contest the colonial powers occupying Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Aden. This difference of views led to the Ikhwan Revolt of 1929 and the ultimate defeat of the Ikhwan movement in the 1929 Battle of Sabilla.¹⁴ Loyal Ikhwan warriors, with their stricter conservative ideology, were transformed into the Saudi National Guard. The event set the framework for the relationship between the Wahhabis and house of Saud that exists to this day, unquestioned political leadership for the Saudis with the approval, and oversight, of a strict theological orthodoxy.

In 1932, with the backing of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab's descendants, the Ahl ash-Sheik, ibn Saud declared himself King of the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Possibly in return for protection, the Sheikh made it a tenet of his interpretation of Islam that a Muslim had to pledge "*bayah*" (an oath of allegiance) to a Muslim ruler and not rebel in any way, as long as the ruler allowed his subjects to live according to the laws of Allah. Political obedience, then, was made an Islamic duty, and Salafist obedience was made a royal obligation.

Understanding the ties between the religious followers of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab and the House of Saud is profoundly important because of the legitimacy that each confers upon the other. The clerics produce rulings justifying the hereditary monarchy as Islamic and immune from popular protest; the monarchy uses its position as guardian of Mecca and Medina to give Salafism primacy in the Muslim world. In doing so the Saudis see themselves as reenacting Muhammad's smashing of the idols of polytheism that had filled the Ka'aba in his time. This symbolic and symbiotic relationship endures to the present day.

1.2 Ideology of the Modern Saudi State

The Saudi Ministry of Pilgrimage, under the Supreme Hajj Committee, has the dual role of administering the Hajj (the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the Muslim faith) and supporting projects at home and abroad that promote Islam's role in the community.¹⁵ The Saudi government has done an impressive job of building modern infrastructure to support the Hajj

¹⁴ Whitehead, "Saudi Arabia."

¹⁵ The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, DC, USA, "Guardian of the Holy Places," www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/Islam/guardian_of_the_Holy_Places.aspx (accessed 23-Nov-2011).

and dealing with a huge increase in the yearly number of pilgrims, while at the same time preserving the holiness of the experience.¹⁶ On a more controversial note, though, there are claims that they are failing to accommodate the diversity of views from across the Muslim world, using the exposure to impose ultra-conservative Salafist ideals.¹⁷

The Shia (roughly 10-15% of the global Muslim population) have been particularly affected by the strong Salafi doctrine represented in the official management of the Hajj, as many Shia-specific practices have been officially or unofficially frowned upon.¹⁸ Shi'a Muslims visiting the Prophet's Mosque in Medina are in danger of beatings or arrest by the religious police if they pray in the direction of Muhammad's body, as suits their tradition.

The most controversial teachings of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab stem from his understanding of "tawheed" (the oneness of Allah). This is a central tenet of Islam, which he said prohibits:

1. *Associating a person or object with powers that belong only to God.*
2. *Praying to a "saint" or anything or anyone else other than God.*

The Sheikh's progressive interpretation of those ideas concludes in a broad and violent intolerance of other religious ideas. Sheikh Abdul Wahhab built a wide-ranging argument, directly associating the sin of violating *tawheed* (monotheism) with his own classification of "*shirk*" (polytheism). For example, the condemnation of mourning at graves or marking them in any way directly and deeply impugned Islamic minorities, such as the Shi'a and Sufi.

His vision of a Muslim community was one in which Muslims would keep each other on the straight path. In accordance with this, the Salafists in Saudi Arabia literally implement the Qur'anic verse "And let there rise up from you a community inviting others to what is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful."¹⁹

Salafis have long disputed the notion that they are imposing their version of Islam onto others.²⁰ Sheikh Abdul Wahhab himself was taken aback by such accusations and attacked those who claimed this:

*"An example of [their lies] is ... that I deem all people to be disbelievers except those who follow me, and that I claim marrying them is not valid! ... I absolve myself before Allah from this claim, which only emanates from one with deficient intellect and no understanding. So may Allah curse the people of evil and false objectives."*²¹

¹⁶ Joan Catherine Henderson, "Religious Tourism and Its Management: The Hajj in Saudi Arabia," *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13:6, 7 December 2010, pg. 541-552. Pg 545.

¹⁷ Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "Saudi Arabia: From "Wahhabi" Roots to Contemporary Revisionism," in *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East* Editors: Eleanor Abdella Doumato and Gregory Starrett. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc., 2007. Pp. 153-176.

¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, "Saudi Arabia: Treat Shia Equally," <http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/09/02/saudi-arabia-treat-shia-equally> (accessed July 10, 2012).

¹⁹ Qur'an 3:104.

²⁰ However, the above verse is explicitly used as justification for a group of religious police called "mutawwas" who walk through the cities in Saudi Arabia enforcing strict doctrinalism.

²¹ *al-Durar al-Saniyyah* 1/80.

He also made it a point to specifically state that he did not claim those who followed Sufism to be non-Muslims:

*"... we do not reject the Sufi tariqah (way) and purifying the inner-self from the impurities of disobedience which are connected to the heart and limbs, so long as its adherent is steadfast upon the Islamic law and the upright, compliant methodology, except that we do not start making explanations for his speech and his actions."*²²

However, in stark contrast with this assertion, Sheikh Abdul Wahhab lists many Sufi practices and pronounces that those who perform them may legally be killed and their possessions seized or families taken captive by other Muslims:

*"The people that ask for intercession through the Prophets and Angels, calling upon them and making supplication through their waseelah (intercessor) in attempt to draw nearer to Allah are committing the greatest of sins. Thus it is permitted to kill them and take their property."*²³

Sheikh Abdul Wahhab's teachings thus provide doctrinal support for violence against these Muslim groups, painting them as polytheists. This lays the foundation for future such claims against other faith traditions and amounts to a theological justification for violent *jihad* against any but the most orthodox Muslim faithful:

*"That he is a polytheist, guilty of violating tawheed, whose blood may be shed and whose wealth is lawful for seizure."*²⁴

The House of Saud faces a dilemma when it considers any reform of religious practice, including that relating to the educational curriculum. While it initially gained legitimacy to rule Mecca and Medina by virtue of having conquered them in the name of Islam, it can only maintain its legitimacy through continued adherence to "proper Islam," which, in turn, is defined by those empowered to confirm the religious pedigree of the monarchy, the Salafist *ulema*.

Sheikh Abdul Wahhab and his followers view the Qur'an and "*sunna*" (teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) as the only sources of Islamic law. While the Sheikh was careful to place himself within a context of orthodox scholars, he maintained that the rulings of such scholars were not vital to understand the plain meaning of the Qur'an and *sunna*. The Saudi *ulema* today, therefore, typically rejects the notion that critical thinking skills ought to be applied to one's knowledge of the Qur'an and *sunna* to reinterpret Islamic law for a contemporary context.

By the 1970s, the once powerful *ulema* had lost a number of battles over religious issues with the monarchy, and only retained leadership roles in three government ministries: education, higher education, and justice.²⁵ The failures of Nasser's Arab Nationalism became apparent after the 1967 Six Day War with Israel. This gave the Saudi regime the confidence necessary to begin instituting

²² *al-Durar al-Saniyyah* 1/241.

²³ *Kashf ash-Shubuhaat*.

²⁴ *al-Durar al-Saniyyah*.

²⁵ Alexander Bligh, "The Saudi Religious Elite (Ulama) as Participant in the Political System of the Kingdom," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 17, 1985, 37-50. Pg. 43.

reforms and to relax certain strict moral social codes. Both of these infuriated many Salafist conservatives, who began to see the Saudi regime as corrupt and un-Islamic.²⁶

In November of 1979, Islamist insurgents led by Juhaiman Saif al-Otaibi, a fundamentalist militant from Najd, seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca and demanded the overthrow of the Saudi Kings.²⁷ While al-Otaibi had sympathy from certain segments of the *ulema*, his claims that his brother-in-law Mohammed Abdullah al-Qahtani was the "*Mahdi*" (the Islamic redeemer who Muslims await to usher in the end times) were unacceptable to the religious establishment.²⁸ They eventually turned their support to their traditional ally, the House of Saud, and authorized a forceful recovery of the Grand Mosque. The Saudi government was severely shaken by the encounter and sought to reclaim their religious legitimacy by adopting many of the reforms called for by conservatives, who in practical terms, had much in common with al-Otaibi.²⁹

Among these reforms were numerous restrictions on the activities of women. Women announcers on television were banned and female employment in general was severely restricted. The trade in illegal alcohol was curtailed, and the ban on intermingling of the sexes was reemphasized.³⁰ To enforce these laws, the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice, the religious police also known as the "*mutaween*,"³¹ were given new powers³² after having previously experienced a slow decline in influence.³³

Policemen sometimes accompanied the *mutaween*, giving them the power to make arrests.³⁴ Punishments were harsh, as Saudi Arabia continued to be unique in the Islamic world for their frequent application of corporal "*hudud*" punishments (which are prescribed in the Qur'an and often include amputation or death).³⁵ It is only in the last decade that concrete moves to rein in the *mutaween* began, largely as the result of scandals, such as the deaths of two men in their custody in 2007 and 2008.³⁶

Because of their alliance with the descendants of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab, the House of Saud has long faced a dilemma between accepting their minority status in Islam and reinventing the country to be more tolerant of diverse Muslim practices, or aggressively spreading Salafist convictions throughout the Muslim world to ensure their dominance. After the seizure of the Grand Mosque, the

²⁶ Andrew Hammond, "Liberal Enclaves: A Royal Attempt to Bypass Clerical Power," in *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1979-2009: Evolution of a Pivotal State*, Viewpoints Special Edition, The Middle East Institute, Washington DC, 2009. Pg 37.

²⁷ Yaroslav Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca: The 1979 Uprising at Islam's Holiest Shrine*, (Anchor Books: New York, 2007). Pp. 2-4; 7.

²⁸ Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca*, pp. 99-100.

²⁹ Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca*, pp. 100-101.

³⁰ Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca*, pp. 241-242.

³¹ Eleanor Doumato describes, in an article in the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (cited below), that when they were first formed in 1926 the *mutaween* became a law unto their own, capable of administering anything from personal embarrassment to corporal punishment for any infraction against "public morality." Saudi Kings had worked to bring them under their control but, following the Grand Mosque Seizure, as Trofimov demonstrates, they were allowed to do such things as raid Western enclaves and businesses and were empowered to enforce an even broader array of moral infractions.

³² Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca*, pg. 242.

³³ Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "Gender, Monarchy, and Identity in Saudi Arabia," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 19:1, 1992, pp. 31-47. Pp. 38-39.

³⁴ Doumato, "Gender, Monarchy and Identity," pg. 39.

³⁵ "Hadd," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e757> (accessed 19-Jul-2012).

³⁶ Hammond, "Liberal Enclaves," pg. 37.

House of Saud, encouraged by the Salafist *ulema*, appears to have consistently chosen the latter.³⁷ The Kingdom began spending huge sums of money on the Islamic universities in Riyadh and Medina and began contributing to proselytizing organizations dedicated to spreading the Saudi brand of Salafism abroad.³⁸

Salafism is spread through attractively designed literature and significant financial support. Marketed as the “true Islam,” it attracts those who seek an answer to the challenge of Western-dominated modernity. Over the last two decades, the Kingdom has spent \$90 billion on proselytizing abroad.³⁹ This effort has the added political impact of countering the influence of Saudi Arabia’s main rival, Shi’a-dominated Iran.⁴⁰ It is no accident that the Kingdom’s export of Salafism on a grand scale coincided with Khomeini’s takeover of Iran in 1979. A number of violent extremists around the world have reported that their radicalization first began when they were exposed to Salafist literature or websites.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the Saudi government continues its propagation efforts unabated.

1.3 Early Years of Saudi Education

The history of the education system in modern-day Saudi Arabia goes back to the 1920s. At that time, only a few small, secular schools existed in the region, with most other educational institutions dedicated to rote memorization of the Qur’an.⁴² In 1925, King Abdulaziz bin Saud created a Directorate of Education and began establishing government schools.⁴³ These schools required six years of elementary education and five years of secondary education for boys within the Kingdom. Following the official establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932, state-sponsored modern education became a priority for the government. In 1938, the monarchy asserted control over all schools and education, with the exception of military academies.⁴⁴ The vast majority of Saudi Arabia’s population was illiterate, and schools were of poor quality.⁴⁵

The “Islamic Awakening” (*sahwah*), which was part of a reaction to the emergence of corrupt and oppressive secular regimes, redefined the nature of education in the Kingdom. Organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood, which had long rejected the Western trappings of modernity, called for a return to Islamic orthodoxy as a complete way of life. Members of the Brotherhood were widely persecuted and forced to flee the secular regimes of Egypt and Syria. During the 1950s and ‘60s,

³⁷ Juan Jose Escobar Stemmann, “Middle East Salafism’s Influence and the Radicalization of Muslim Communities in Europe,” in *The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 10:3, The Gloria Center, September 2006.

³⁸ Trofimov, *The Siege of Mecca*, pg. 242-243.

³⁹ Michael Prokop, “Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education,” *International Affairs* 79.1 (2003): 77-89, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Jan. 2003, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095542> (accessed 9-Sep-2011).

⁴⁰ Gareth Smyth, “Iran-Saudi Tensions Play Out in Beirut, Tripoli,” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/03/region-flashpoint-lebanon-iranian-saudi-tensions-play-out-in-beirut-tripoli.html> (accessed 08-Jul-2012).

⁴¹ Written Statement of J. Michael McConnell, Director of National Intelligence, before the US Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence hearing on Current and Projected National Security Threats, Feb 5, 2008, pp9-10

⁴² Helen Chapin Metz, ed., “Education” in *Saudi Arabia: A Country Study*, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992, <http://countrystudies.us/saudi-arabia/31.htm>

⁴³ “Educational System in Saudi Arabia: 2006” (prepared for Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Higher Education Saudi Arabian Cultural Mission in Washington, DC, 2006).

⁴⁴ “Saudi Arabia: Educational System – Overview” <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1302/Saudi-Arabia-EDUCATIONAL-SYSTEM-OVERVIEW.html> (accessed 10-Jul-2012).

⁴⁵ Helen Chapin Metz, “Education.”

many of them fled to Saudi Arabia with the patronage of then-Crown Prince Faisal.⁴⁶ In the 1970s their standing and influence in society began to increase rapidly, especially in the academic arena.

At this time, the Saudi Ministry of Education was in poor shape and overly dependent on foreign teachers. To address these weaknesses, the Saudis turned to members of the Muslim Brotherhood, many of whom had received a high-quality secular education, to fill the gap.⁴⁷ The Brotherhood thus came to play a key role in the development of the Saudi school system, making up much of the faculty and setting most of the curriculum.⁴⁸

By the 1980's, the Salafist *ulema* were able to regain a great deal of control over the Ministry of Education, as the government responded to various threats like the seizure of the Grand Mosque, the Shi'a takeover of Iran, and Shi'a revolts in the Kingdom in the late '70s and early '80s by giving the religious leaders greater control over society in exchange for their loyalty.⁴⁹ The collective impact of that history is the extent to which religious influences from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Saudi Salafists dominate the Saudi educational system. William Rugh, president of the America-Mideast Education and Training Services stated that, "Islam is not only integral to Saudi education but also serves as the very essence of its curriculum."⁵⁰

1.4 Saudi Education Today

Saudi Arabia has built up their educational institutions over the last sixty years from practically nothing into a massive system capable of meeting the demands of a young, rapidly growing and geographically scattered population. The public school system serves three major functions in Saudi society: preparing Saudi youth for a competitive domestic employment market; serving as the primary source of employment for Saudi nationals (especially women and those with social sciences degrees); transmission of Salafist theology in the heart of the Islamic world.

To accomplish these goals, approximately 33,000 public schools currently serve over 5.9 million students in Saudi Arabia.⁵¹ Ninety percent of Saudi students attend these public schools while the rest attend one of the Kingdom's estimated 2,800 private schools. Saudi students are taught from a standardized national curriculum and they are required to use the religion textbooks published by the Ministry of Education. Much of their classroom time is dedicated to religious education through all levels of their education.

Elementary schooling is required in Saudi Arabia and begins at age six for girls and boys. After the elementary level, students are encouraged, but not required, to continue to the intermediate level. To continue on to secondary school, students must receive the Intermediate School Certificate. At that

⁴⁶ "Muslim Brotherhood – An Ideological Protectorate of Saudi Arabia?"

<http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers36%5Cpaper3571.html> (accessed 10-Jul-2012).

⁴⁷ "Fundamentalist Islam at a Crossroads: 9/11, Iraq and the Saudi religious debate," in *Roundtable Summary*, (prepared for the Center for Strategic and International Studies Middle East Program, May 29, 2008).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Shmuel Bachar, Shmuel Bar, Rachel Machtiger, and Yair Minzili, "Establishment Ulama and Radicalism in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan," in *Research Monographs on the Muslim World*, Published for the Hudson Institute Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World, 1:4, Dec., 2006. 14.

⁵⁰ William A. Rugh, "Education in Saudi Arabia: Choices and Constraints," *Middle East Policy*, IX:2, June 2002, p 43.

⁵¹ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Education in Saudi Arabia (an Overview), (King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Public Education Development Project, 2011).

time, students are sorted into either regular secondary schools or vocational/technical secondary schools. Students who are not in the vocational schools study a common curriculum for the first year and can choose to focus on Administration and Social Science, Natural Science, or Shari'ah and Arabic studies for their last two years.⁵²

Table 1.1: Saudi Arabia Education - Fast Facts (2011)⁵³

Table 1.1: Saudi Arabia Education - Fast Facts (2011) ⁵³						
Teachers and Students						
Total		Male	Female	Education Employment		
Students	5,934,973	2,991,068	2,943,905	Total Education Staff (Teachers/Admin)	516,186	
Teachers	425,343	210,187	215,156	Foreign Employment as a share of Public Education Workforce	5.5%	
Public Schools*	32,986	14,698	13,830	Foreign Employment as a share of National Workforce	50%	
Classrooms*	230,222	121,426	107,129			
Schools						
		Distribution by Level			School Size	
Total Public Schools		Primary	Middle	High School	>100 Pupils	>50 Pupils
Public Schools (K-12)	32,986	13,990	7,170	3,860	50%	20%
Additional Facts						
New Public Schools Slated for Construction - 2010 Budget:				1,200		
Public Schools Currently Under Construction - 2010:				3,112		
*Male and Female totals do not add up exactly because there are a small number of co-education facilities that do not report gender data.						

The growing problems of youth unemployment and economic stagnation have added to the new emphasis on reform. In early 2009, King Abdullah made sweeping changes to his cabinet, supplanting many conservative members with more progressive-minded individuals in key areas such as the armed forces, courts, central banks, and the religious police.⁵⁴ The inclusion of Nora al-Fayez to oversee the female division of the Ministry of Education (MOE) marks the first time a

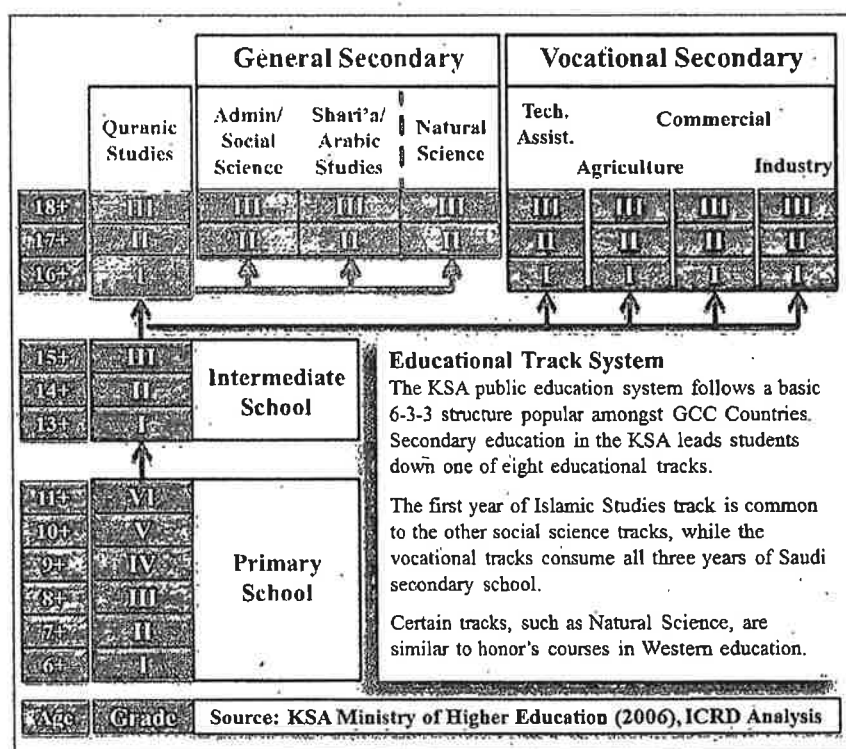
⁵² Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Higher Education, "Educational System in Saudi Arabia 2006," *Saudi Arabian Cultural Mission, Washington, DC*, http://www.sacm.org/Publications/58285_Edu_complete.pdf (2006).

⁵³ Data Sources: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Education in Saudi Arabia (an Overview), (King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Public Education Development Project, 2011), Ministry of Education (2010). Summary Statistics on General Education in K.S.A Academic Year 2010/2011. Retrieved from Ministry of Education website: <http://portal.moe.gov.sa/Pages/stats31-32.aspx>, Alpen Capital, GCC Education Industry, (September 19, 2010) <http://www.alpencapital.com/includes/GCC-Education-Industry-Report-September-2010.pdf>

⁵⁴ Julian Borger, "Saudi Arabia Appoints First Female Minister | World News | The Guardian," *Latest News, Comment and Reviews from the Guardian | Guardian.co.uk*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/feb/16/saudi-cabinet-woman-minister> (updated 16-Feb-2009, accessed 09-Sep-2011).

woman has been included in the cabinet. Additionally, the government opened the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology, the nation's first-ever co-ed institution of higher learning; initiated a 9 billion riyal (2.4 billion USD) education reform initiative (which includes revising outdated and insensitive passages in textbooks)⁵⁵; created several UNESCO academic chairs throughout the country's universities,⁵⁶ and; formed The King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz International Program for the Culture of Dialogue and Peace in 2010.⁵⁷ Despite these promising indicators of progress, however, there continues to be insufficient transparency regarding the actual process of textbook revision and curriculum reform.⁵⁸

Chart 1.1: Saudi Arabia's Multi-Track Education System



⁵⁵ "Saudi Arabia Speeds up Education Reform," in *Gulfnews*, <http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/saudi-arabia/saudi-arabia-speeds-up-education-reform-1.64121> (updated 15-Apr-2009, accessed 09-Sep-2011)

⁵⁶ "The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, DC, USA," *The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Homepage*, http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest_news/news12301001.aspx (updated 30-Dec-2010, accessed 09-Sep-2011).

⁵⁷ "The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, DC, USA," *The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia Homepage*, http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest_news/news10121002.aspx (updated 12-Oct-2010, accessed 09-Sep-2011).

⁵⁸ U.S. Commission of International Religious Freedom, *Annual Report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom May 2011*, Washington, DC, 2011, Pp. 149-151.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in a five-stage process:

1. A desk review of current textbooks and teacher training materials published by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Education (KSA-MOE),⁵⁹ with a specific focus on content relating to ethnic and religious tolerance. This desk review was conducted in two parts:
 - a. A preliminary review of available earlier editions of textbooks from a range of academic subjects and grades across the Saudi curriculum, which helped determine the proper criteria for data extraction and identify general trends of intolerance;
 - b. A thorough screening of sixty-nine books, including the most recent editions of textbooks (2011-2012) spanning a range of subjects throughout all grades, from which a comprehensive set of examples of religious or ethnic intolerance were extracted.
2. The collection and cataloguing of examples of intolerance found in official KSA textbooks and teacher training materials to help facilitate future curricular reform efforts;
3. A contextual analysis of content from the desk review and previous studies in order to clarify the nature of the text and its potential effect on the student's perception of tolerance, violence and the rule of law;
4. Documentation of the progress made to date by the KSA-MOE to remove pejorative or violent content as identified in previous research studies;
5. Development of strategic recommendations for the future enhancement of the Saudi curriculum and removal of discriminatory content.

The ICRD research team reviewed Saudi textbooks extending over a range of academic years and subjects, including the most recent texts available both in electronic and physical format. The team was composed of members selected on the basis of their native understanding of the Arabic language and their exposure to and knowledge of the prevalent values and culture of the Middle East. Particular attention was paid to the context in which religious and ethnic minorities were referenced, the type of language used (eg: unnecessarily pejorative or ambiguous), the emergence of visible trends, the recurrence of common themes across grades and academic years, and the age appropriateness of the content to the target audience. General themes of intolerance and the recurrent targets of intolerance were particularly highlighted.

Intolerant content was identified, translated, and filed into a database (see attached). Throughout the review, the process of identifying material as religiously or ethnically intolerant was guided by the following criteria:

1. **Context:** The attribution of negative characteristics to an entire religious or ethnic group by presenting selected historical incidents, personal characteristics (stereotyping or generalization),

⁵⁹ For a full list of books evaluated see Addendum E.

individual facts out of context, anecdotes, or opinions as universal truths.

2. Emphasis: The omission of alternative points of view, counter-narratives, or differing interpretations, particularly where they clearly exist and are prevalent. Examples of the practical application of selective quoting include references to quotations in the Hadith and Qur'an to justify negative assessments of certain groups, while actively ignoring quotations that portray them in a positive light.

Content was examined based on the recurrence of specific thematic types of intolerance, as well as explicitly mentioned ethnic or religious target groups. These categories ranged from direct calls for violence to the development of a general climate of intolerance. The following categories demonstrate prevalent trends that emerged in the course of this research:

Generic Intolerance:

This category refers to statements containing a biased or derogatory reference to a religious or ethnic target group that do not fall into the specificity of the following categories.

Threats from within Islam:

Material within this category tends to glorify and idealize Salafist ideology, beliefs, practices, and the qualities of its adherents and imply that other Islamic practices are a threat to this orthodoxy.

Misrepresentation of Identity:

Biased, often inaccurate, statements describing target groups, which are presented as fact, characterize selections in this section. A primary sub-category of this misrepresentation is associated with Salafist understanding of the concept of "*shirk*" (polytheism) and the practices, religious traditions, and customs performed by other religious or ethnic groups that Salafist ideology would pejoratively characterize as polytheistic. Also included are quotes that unnecessarily link specific individuals or groups with a broader target group, thereby framing their identity as a whole through a selected representative, and implicitly associating negative individual actions and beliefs with an entire target group.

External Threats:

References to or accounts of historical events that are blatantly skewed or false, deliberately painting a certain target group in a particularly negative light, or highlighting or omitting different aspects of a story.

Aggressive Jihad:

Content within this category tend to be viewed with the greatest concern as they contain direct and outright incitements to violence against specified or unspecified non-Salafist target groups, backed by the religious and moral justification of the concept of *jihad*.

Material was then analyzed in three sections: a specific evaluation of the material in the newly revised religious curriculum textbooks; a comparison of selected revised texts with older editions; and a disaggregated analysis of intolerance in the 2011-2012 curriculum according to the target groups mentioned or implied, in order to provide a baseline for future analyses.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand the link between the content of Saudi Arabia's educational curriculums and the violent radicalization of students both in Saudi Arabia and around the world, several studies have analyzed Saudi textbooks for their inclusion of intolerant and demeaning references aimed at a broad cross-section of groups. While these studies have consistently identified many such instances and a number have called for specific reforms,⁶⁰ most earlier studies have focused on a small number of texts. These previous studies were examined with an eye toward understanding the findings of existing critiques and developing a comparative framework for a deeper review of a much larger selection of texts, the results of which are presented in subsequent chapters.

3.1 Early Studies

Broad international criticism of the Saudi Arabian curriculum began appearing immediately after the attacks of September 11, 2001. In 2002, according to the Congressional Research Service, the Saudi foreign minister conceded that the Saudi's own internal evaluation of textbooks concluded that 5% of the textbook content was considered 'horrible.'⁶¹ In 2006, former Saudi Ambassador to the United States, Prince Turki al-Faisal, heralded the Kingdom's success in curriculum reform as reported by the Washington Post:

*"Not only have we eliminated what might be perceived as intolerance from old textbooks that were in our system, we have implemented a comprehensive internal revision and modernization plan."*⁶²

A 2003 study by Bader Mousa al-Saif⁶³ reviewed textbooks from a series of courses on monotheism. While monotheism is only one part of a more expansive Saudi Arabian religious curriculum, it is the only class other than Qur'anic Studies to be taught in all grades. Al-Saif's analysis of the textbooks from grades one through twelve identified aggressively intolerant passages that encouraged hateful and demeaning images of Jews and Christians.

Going beyond the textbooks, al-Saif attempted to understand how teachers are presenting the curriculum through the study of memoranda and teacher recommendations contained in the textbooks. His findings revealed that teachers are instructed to highlight differences between Muslims and all other groups.⁶⁴ This even extended to delegitimizing Jews' and Christians' claims to being "People of the Book,"⁶⁵ a status that would give them rights that Muslims are bound to respect: "...it is clear that non-Muslims are seen as ahl al-shirk [people of polytheism]. Jews and Christians are not Ahl-e-Kitab [People of the Book]!"⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Confirmed by Saudi Prince al-Faisal in an interview on 60 Minutes.

⁶¹ Febe, Armanioes. "Islamic Religious Schools, Madrasas: Background." Congressional Research Service. Oct 29, 2003 <www.policyalmanac.org/world/archive/madrasas.pdf>

⁶² Shea, Nina. This is a Saudi textbook. (After the intolerance was removed.) Washington Post, May 21, 2006 <www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/19/AR2006051901769.html>

⁶³ Bader Mousa al-Saif, "A Glimpse at the Saudi Religious Educational System: Mohammed ibn Abdul Wahhab's Kitab at-Tawhid & Monotheism School Textbooks' treatment of Ahl al-Kitab – A Unique Saudi Worldview: A Look at the 'Other,'" (paper prepared for "Constructs of Inclusion and Exclusion: Religion and Identity Confirmation in Middle Eastern School Curricula," by the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, Nov. 2003).

⁶⁴ Al-Saif, "A Glimpse..." 15.

⁶⁵ See Addendum B for Qur'anic references to the People of the Book and a brief analysis of the Islamic principles involved.

⁶⁶ Al-Saif, "A Glimpse..." 16.

Al-Saif also examined the source material of the Monotheism textbooks, Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab's 18th century *Kitab at-Tawheed*, or the Book of Monotheism, to show that the modern Saudi textbooks inflate negative perceptions of Jews and Christians in a way that is not present in the Sheikh's book. To highlight the danger that exclusive exposure to the Saudi school system can create, he cited interviews with Saudi students on the subject of Judaism and the Jews. Students who had studied abroad tended to be considerably more tolerant than those who had stayed in Saudi Arabia.

While Monotheism is a major part of the Saudi religious education curriculum, al-Saif's study was limited in scope and may only reflect certain aims of the Saudi educational establishment, namely, to highlight group differences between Muslims and their understanding of non-monotheists. Furthermore, the study did not seek to apply the lessons it took from analyzing the curriculum and teaching practices to develop recommendations for reform. While it did demonstrate the existence of religious intolerance, it did not explore the extent to which that intolerance extends beyond religious groups to include cultural or ethnic perspectives.

A study by Arnon Gross, also in 2003,⁶⁷ analyzed ninety-three textbooks on various subjects from grades one through ten, taken mostly from the years 1999-2002. This study used UNESCO criteria for analyzing textbooks, and consisted mainly of a large set of quotations drawn from the textbooks and organized according to subject. Minimal analysis was performed on these lists, leaving it to the reader to determine the levels of objectivity and tolerance that these passages exhibited.

The main findings of the study revealed how Saudi Arabian textbooks form an Islamic group identity by simultaneously mixing narratives of ideological supremacy and external acts of humiliation. The result is the creation of an "other" that is invariably defined as an enemy of Islam, led by "a malicious Crusader-Jewish alliance striving to eliminate Islam from all the continents."⁶⁸ Deep analysis of the motivations behind the propagation of these narratives, however, was not addressed in the study.

Addressing the issue from a different angle, an important assessment carried out in 2003 by Eleanor Abdella Doumato⁶⁹ sought to elaborate on the critiques levied against Saudi Arabia's textbooks. Rather than claiming that aggressive intolerance was the key motivation behind the creation of such a curriculum, Doumato attributed the controversial passages in the textbooks to what she describes as an overwhelming fear and defensiveness that permeates Saudi culture. In addition, the reason these texts spread extremism, in her view, related less to the type of Islam that underpins them and more to an aversion to encourage critical thinking and independent reasoning, leaving students few tools with which to reject charismatic extremist propaganda. In a climate of defensiveness with respect to internal and external criticism, creative ambiguity and intellectual ambivalence are strongly discouraged, resulting in the natural emergence of fundamentalist viewpoints.

Framed in this way, problematic passages on the West, Christians, Jews and others are revealed to be responses to perceived threats rather than aggressive calls for conquest. The core imperative is

⁶⁷ Dr. Arnon Gross, "The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks," (paper produced for CMIP, Jan. 2003).

⁶⁸ Gross, "The West, Christians and Jews..." 31.

⁶⁹ Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia's School Texts" in *Middle East Journal*, Vol 57, No. 2, Spring 2003.

the development of a protective group identity, up to and including instructing students to be hostile when dealing with unbelievers on a personal basis.

To reach her conclusions, Doumato read through the religious textbooks being taught from grades nine through twelve, for both girls and boys. While this study covered a more sophisticated curriculum, which was intended for an older group of students than that analyzed by Gross, it lacks analysis of the crucial early years of education that strongly bias the students' developing perceptions of other groups.

Several years later in 2006, Nina Shea published a study through Freedom House⁷⁰ that illustrated Saudi Arabia's efforts to establish itself as the arbiter of orthodoxy in the Muslim world, compared changes in textbooks to Saudi promises of reform, and concluded that the Kingdom is consciously working to build an extremist following inside and outside its borders.

Nina Shea's 2006 study reviewed what she described as a "representative" sample of a dozen of the "major textbooks on Islamic Studies" used during the 2005-2006 academic year at the elementary, middle, and high school levels both inside and outside of Saudi Arabia. The study focused on the treatment of non-Salafi religious groups and believers. Shea categorized some of the more controversial quotes according to topic. Nina Shea's study confirmed the earlier findings of Gross and Al-Saif relating to deeply ingrained intolerance, and laid the groundwork for a more comprehensive study.

These studies advocated total reform based on the very real evidence of intolerance in the texts. However, the ultimate impact of these reports might have been limited by the fact that they did not develop reform proposals that took into account the powerful political and religious interests at play in the Kingdom.

3.2 Updates

Nina Shea published two additional studies as a follow-up to her 2006 effort, in 2008 and 2011.⁷¹ The 2008 update compared twelve passages identified as key carriers of religious intolerance from the 2006 editions of the textbooks to the 2008 editions. The 2011 analysis similarly compared fifteen key controversial passages referring to non-Salafi groups and non-Muslim groups identified in previous studies to their counterparts in the 2010-2011 and 2009-2010 schoolbooks. It also included objectionable or violent teachings found in the reviewed textbooks of 2010-2011.

In 2008, Arnon Gross published a research update on his 2003 study.⁷² It scrutinized eight books in a range of subjects that were 2006 editions of the same books reviewed in 2003, and included a cursory review of several new textbooks. Much like the Nina Shea updates of 2008 and 2011, the study sought to demonstrate the progress of promised reforms, or lack thereof.

⁷⁰ Nina Shea, "Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies," Center for Religious Freedom, 2006.

⁷¹ Nina Shea, "2008 Update: Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance: With Excerpts from Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies," Center for Religious Freedom: Hudson Institute, 2008;

Nina Shea, "Ten Years On: Saudi Arabia's Textbooks Still Promote Religious Violence," Center for Religious Freedom: Hudson Institute, September 11th, 2011.

⁷² Dr. Arnon Gross, "The West, Christians and Jews in Saudi Arabian Schoolbooks, A Research Update," (paper produced for CMIP, Jul. 2008).

The updates by Shea and Gross were both intended to offer insight into the progress of educational reform in the Kingdom rather than to present an updated comprehensive view of the state of the curriculum. As such, the most recent broad look at the Saudi education system dates back to 2006, with Nina Shea's original study. The earlier 2003 studies are particularly out of date, not least of all because they do not reflect the 2002 transition of girls' education into the Saudi Ministry of Education's purview.

ICRD's current study seeks to rectify these limitations, building on the important prior work done by these scholars, by reviewing the entire religious studies curriculum together with a large proportion of other courses, and identifying deeper trends represented in the intolerant materials that are being taught to students. By doing so, the current study is meant to demonstrate as broadly as possible where intolerant content remains, where it has been effectively excised, and what specific religiously and ethnically intolerant material children are being exposed to when they pass through the Kingdom's education system.

3.3 Conclusion

While earlier studies have revealed many of the problems of intolerance afflicting the Saudi education system, no study comprehensively tackles the religious education curriculum, from grades one through twelve. Furthermore, many of the most comprehensive studies are outdated and do not reflect the current state of the Saudi curriculums. Rather, updates have focused on identifying key areas of controversy to monitor whether change is occurring. A new broad-based study of content and an analysis of the context of reform are needed in order to set a new baseline, demonstrating what the Saudi curriculum consists of today and indicating how best to address outstanding intolerant content that threatens to perpetuate ethnic and religious conflict.

It is crucial to keep in mind that the primary objection to textbook reform in the Kingdom has been based on the argument that pressures to make content-related amendments to the textbooks are nothing more than repackaged attempts at Western cultural imperialism targeted at Islam itself.⁷³ Unfortunately, prior studies that have more staunchly demanded wholesale reforms may have played into these post-colonial perceptions, resulting in greater defensiveness and entrenchment. This ICRD study differentiates itself both by the thoroughness of its research and by its treatment of the contextual challenges to reform. The analysis with respect to the latter takes into account the delicate balancing act between the religious and the political elements within which the Kingdom's educational goals are formulated, i.e. preserving an Islamic identity in the face of globalization, solidifying social support for the monarchy, and responding to a general feeling of communal defensiveness. By engaging the Saudi leadership in a discussion informed by their own stated needs, interests, and options for authentic reform, it is hoped that this study will help facilitate future reform, guided by tolerant Islamic principles.

⁷³ Michaela Prokop, "Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education," in *International Affairs*, 79:1, 2003, Pp. 77-89; 89.

4. EVALUATION OF REFORMED RELIGIOUS CURRICULUM

In Chapter 6, ICRD presents the analysis of material drawn from the entire 2011-2012 curriculum, demonstrating the persistence of intolerance in the textbooks. That material, together with an exhaustive list of quotes found in the attached database, is intended to form a definitive baseline for the future evaluation of ongoing Saudi reforms.

Within the 2011-2012 texts that form that baseline, a number of the new edition texts have undergone the reform process to remove religious and ethnic intolerance. At present, the core religious textbooks from six grades have been revised and disseminated, while three grade levels – third, sixth and ninth – are currently undergoing revision for release later this year. The Kingdom does not anticipate revision of the high school textbooks to be completed before the 2013-2014 school year, and it is unclear if the entire curriculum will be reformed or just the religious textbooks.

Saudi Arabia follows a 6-3-3-education model, considering grades one through six as primary education, grades seven through nine as intermediate, and grades ten through twelve as high school.

Progress to date has produced ‘thoroughly revised’ editions of the first, second, fourth, fifth, seventh and eighth grade religious curriculum.⁷⁴ These specific textbooks should be considered the most determined attempt to-date by the Ministry of Education to produce a religious curriculum free of intolerance. ICRD has confirmed that these textbooks are in wide distribution, as the analysis of this curriculum was performed on physical textbooks taken directly from Saudi classrooms. The tables below describe the current state of the recently revised textbooks in the primary and intermediate grades.⁷⁵

The conclusions drawn from the textbook revision effort are mixed, as the sections to follow demonstrate; but it should be noted that some of the most tolerant textbook content is to be found in

Table 4.1: Current Status/Schedule of Textbook Reform			
	Grade	Status	Announced Release
Primary	One	Complete	In Distribution
	Two	Complete	In Distribution
	Three	Incomplete	Late 2012
	Four	Complete	In Distribution
	Five	Complete	In Distribution
	Six	Incomplete	Late 2012
Intermediate	Seven	Complete	In Distribution
	Eight	Complete	In Distribution
	Nine	Incomplete	Late 2012
High School	Ten	Incomplete	2013
	Eleven	Incomplete	2013
	Twelve	Incomplete	2013

⁷⁴ For more on the Saudi revision claims see: Nina Shea, “Ten Years On: Saudi Arabia’s Textbooks Still Promote Religious Violence,” Center for Religious Freedom: Hudson Institute, September 11, 2011 (p. 6), USCIRF Annual Report, May 2010 (p.130), USCIRF Annual Report, May 2010 (p.167)

⁷⁵ For a comparison of selected textbooks from the revised curriculum with textbooks from the 2009-2010 curriculum, see Chapter five. To gain additional clarity on the progress in textbook reform, books from grades four and seven are evaluated against previous editions. This offers preliminary insight into the entire revision program, with an idea of what might be expected as further reforms are implemented.

the new revisions. The eighth grade Hadith textbook, in particular, should be highlighted as a model of success in which themes of intolerance, exclusion and hostility have been replaced with comprehensive lessons prohibiting the oppression of religious minorities and specifically countering notions that justice is reserved for Muslims only. While the textbook does contain a Hadith passage, repeated in several instances throughout earlier grades in the curriculum, which references Jews who wish death on the Prophet, its language is softened and the Jews are identified as 'a group of Jews' rather than simply the universal reference to 'Jews.' While this might seem like a subtle difference, it is the kind of nuance that was conspicuously absent in earlier editions; and the lesson is one of many in this particular textbook that advocate restraint, non-violence and kindness. If the Ministry of Education is satisfied that this textbook does not pervert the teaching of Islam, it should be used as an exemplary template for revising the entire curriculum.

Reform of the monotheism curriculum was less successful. The eighth grade monotheism textbook, for example, does not exhibit the same degree of tolerance found in the Hadith textbook. A blanket directive to kill sorcerers is still taught, which is the kind of doctrine that fails to account for the legal environment in which a foreign student might encounter these texts, thus creating a threat to security and the social order in countries where sorcery is not presumed to be punishable by death. The same textbook does contain a lesson advocating tolerance for the personal safety of non-believers, but this is couched between a clear admonishment to hate them and the example for the lesson, which extols the Prophet's kindness towards *mushrikeen* and Jews, *despite* his own hatred for them. These kinds of diluted messages are superficial at best and cynical at worst.

Lessons on the social exclusion of *mushrikeen* are still found in the revised textbooks, as are those that make claims respecting the violation of monotheism by Jews, Christians and Islamic minorities.

Despite the remnants of intolerance still found in the revised textbooks, the Ministry of Education should be recognized for the undeniable progress it has made, as many of the lessons appear to directly challenge arguments of intolerance found in the remaining curriculum. By the same token, the rest of the curriculum forcefully contradicts the lessons of tolerance found in the revised grades. Clearly, the impact of the current revisions needs to be solidified through the continued reforms of other grades – most particularly the high school texts.

4.1 Revision of Primary Grades

The results of revisions at this level have been modestly successful, with some, but certainly not all, objectionable content removed from the religious curriculum. The revised textbooks also include several lessons on tolerance that have been included here. Earlier studies of the Saudi curriculum that were mentioned in the desk review did not focus on tolerant aspects of the texts, their inclusion here, however, lends analytical balance. It should be noted that the primary curriculum was not found to be particularly intolerant, relative to the High School curriculum for example, even prior to the revisions.

Table 4.2: Remaining Intolerance in Revised Textbooks (Primary)		
1	Any Religion other than Islam is <u>worthless/void</u> . Monotheism, Grade 1 (Term I), 2011-2012, p22	Broadly intolerant and inappropriate for the 1 st grade
2	Guide us in the path of those who walked in your Grace, and they are the Prophets, martyrs, and the righteous and not those who have been shown the truth but abandoned it, <u>like the Jews, or those who substituted truth for ignorance and delusion like the Christians.</u> Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p37	Gratuitous negative references to Jews and Christians while Sura al -Fatiha does not name Jews or Christians (see full transliteration). ⁷⁶
3	Some phenomena of shirk: shirk that was exercised in old times is the same that is exercised today: 1. Praying to the dead as in saying to the dead: my master, save me; 2. <u>Kneeling to someone or something other than God, like kneeling to graves of prophets, the righteous men...</u> 3. Sacrificing to other than Allah, like sacrificing for the graves of the righteous and saints. 4. Magic, because of what is in it of devil worship. Monotheism, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p28	Description of shirk makes references to basic religious practices of Islamic minorities within Saudi Arabia. It is very harmful for the minorities that attend the Saudi education system
4	Worship Allah only in the ways that were made lawful for us by the prophet. We should not come up with our own forms of worship; the Prophet said: "Whoever performs a deed that is not in accordance with our matter will have it rejected." Monotheism, Grade 5 (Term II), 2011-2012, p17	Students are later taught that Islamic minorities do this
Positive Statements		
1	My religion teaches me to improve our treatment of the help (maids and workers). Jurisprudence, Grade 2 (Term II), 2011-2012, p14	Non-Muslims fall into this category

⁷⁶ Al-Fatiha | 7 verses | The Opening | سورة الفاتحة Sura #1 | Makkah

Bismillāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm

Al hamdu lillāhi rabbi l-'ālamīn

Ar rahmāni r-rahīm

Māliki yawmi d-dīn

Iyyāka na'budu wa iyyāka nasta'īn

Ihdinā ṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm

Ṣirāṭ al-ladīna an'amta 'alayhim ḡayril magdūbi 'alayhim walād dāllīn

Translation: [Quran 1:1].

In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

The Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

The Lord of the Day of Judgement.

Thee alone do we worship and Thee alone we seek for help.

Guide us to the Right Path.

The path of those upon whom Thou has bestowed favors, Not of those who Thou has cursed once nor of those who have gone astray.

2	The Prophet denies that a person has reached the necessary faith if he does not love his/her Muslim brethren... Hadith, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p60	Inclusive of Islamic Minorities
3	"People of the book, let us come to common terms between us that we worship no one other than Allah, that we associate no partners with Him, that we choose no one from among ourselves as patrons and lords, say that we bear witness that we are believers." Monotheism, Grade 5 (Term II), 2011-2012, p12	While this may appear somewhat intolerant, it is distinctly inclusive

4.2 Revision of Intermediate Grades

The revision of grades seven and eight also produced mixed results. On the one hand, the eighth grade Hadith textbook already mentioned is not only free of major intolerance; it contains comprehensive lessons on religious tolerance. On the other hand, the Monotheism textbook of the same grade is as intolerant as the Hadith text is tolerant, containing direct calls for extrajudicial violence against sorcerers. At the same time, the eighth grade Jurisprudence textbook teaches students that jihadists must be supplied with sufficient weapons and that the charity of infidels must not be accepted. The latter lesson is particularly troubling as the Somali Salafist terrorist group Al-Shabaab regularly targets and rejects the humanitarian assistance of 'infidel' aid workers.

Table 4.3: Remaining Intolerance in Revised Textbooks (Intermediate)		
1	The violation of monotheism by Jews and Christians: they have raised their scholars and monks to the status of Gods when they obeyed them in forbidding what God Himself had made permissible. Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p54	Sweeping indictments of the entire faith practice, marking them as polytheists within the context of Salafist teachings
2	<u>The worst kind of injustice is slandering God and His prophet such as when one attributes a partner or son to God or when one attributes lying to the Prophet.</u> Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p46	
3	Condemn the mushrikeen for <u>they are ignorant and have lost their minds.</u> Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p80	Judgmental against non-believers
4	...disobedience is a characteristic of Jews Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p132	Intolerant generality aimed at an entire people of faith. Also judgment made that are forbidden by Islam itself (see footnote) ⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Neither those who disbelieve among the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) nor Al-Mushrikun (the disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah, idolaters, polytheists, pagans, etc.) like that there should be sent down unto you any good from your Lord. But Allah chooses for His Mercy whom He wills. And Allah is the Owner of Great Bounty. Baqara V#106

5	They (infidels) can't believe that because of their <u>ignorance, stubbornness and weakness.</u> Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p120	Judgmental against non-believers (see footnote)
6	The prophet was asked, "Which acts/deeds does God love the most? And he answered: Praying on time, then honoring your parents and jihad for the sake of Allah." <u>And the explanation of Jihad in this context is making an effort to obey Allah by fighting the infidels to elevate the words of Allah</u> Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p37	Glorification of aggressive jihad
7	Jihad in the name of Allah is considered to be the pinnacle of Islam and is the reason for the glory of Islam. Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p38	
8	Conditions for Zakat (charity): 1. Being a Muslim: an infidel's zakat cannot be accepted for Allah rejects all their acts. Jurisprudence, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p12	Extreme bias toward non-Muslims. With this definition the text is teaching prejudice by denouncing the majority of Muslim countries, which accepts aid from the West.
9	Who deserves our charity (zakat)? Mujahideen who have committed their lives for the sake of Allah. They should be given enough weapons, food and others to continue their jihad and sustain themselves. Jurisprudence, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p40 (& p42)	Direct call to support jihadists with weapons. This justification is used by multiple terror groups like: Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba, etc.
10	Moderation during worship: ... <u>No additions to the religion, nor innovation,</u> or taking away from it in performing obligations. Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p28	These are covert biases toward Islamic minorities that negatively impact student attitudes toward accepting others negatively.
11	Sorcerers should be killed as was called for by the prophet. Monotheism, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p24	Direct call to violence
12	The Jews didn't know what was in the Torah that was revealed to them, which mentions the prophet-hood of Muhammad, therefore they deserved the anger of Allah... ..Jews will not wish for death, ever, because of what they have committed of disbelief and oppression, so they are scared of punishment. Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p20	Direct hostility toward Jews based on human judgment. (See previous footnote)

The Jews said that the Christians follow nothing (i.e. are not on the right religion); and the Christians said that the Jews follow nothing (i.e. are not on the right religion); though they both recite the Scripture. Like unto their word, said (the pagans) who know not. Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection about that wherein they have been differing. Baqara 114

13	How did Allah show the lies of the Jews in their claims that they were His loved people? Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p21	Religious justification for intolerance
14	The house of Allah must be cleansed from types of shirk... Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p48	Denies the faith of and implies violence against Islamic minorities
15	<u>The non-believers hate the spread of Islam</u> , and put forth all of their effort to block people from it, and they do not want from us except for us to follow their religions. Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p217	Non fact based assertions can cause irreparable damage to the students as they internalize this information as 'truth'.
16	Jihad for Allah's cause is one of the strongest reasons for the survival of the ummah, with a strong authority, with safety over its nations, and the <u>spreading of its religion to defeat the enemies, and conquering countries and spreading the religion.</u> Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p220	Promotes aggressive jihad
17	The non-believers rush to accuse the prophets of false assertions, to block people from following them and having faith in them. Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p265	Unsupported, blanket assertion
Positive Statements		
1	The prophet said: "Support your brother whether he is an oppressor or oppressed." So one of his companions asked him why should he support an oppressor even if he is a Muslim, the prophet answered: "you support him by demanding him to stop the oppression." Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p42	Calls for opposition of oppressors, even if they are Muslims. Implies dialogue rather than violence
2	Islam is the religion of love and brotherhood. It demanded a relationship among Muslims based on these principles. Islam warned against issues that might cause hatred and animosity between Muslims. Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p47	Inclusive of Islamic minorities
3	The reason behind the call for Monotheism: when the prophet used to preach Islam, he did not use force or seek violence to show people the right path of guidance. The Prophet made sure they knew that this was for their own good that they were being guided to find this path... Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p36	Emblematic lesson on the religious tolerance of the Prophet
4	Is justice during dealing with people for Muslims only? [being just] Explain this. Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p20	Direct lesson on religious tolerance

5	<p>Oppression is a bad characteristic, and a big sin, that the Prophet warns you of, and tells you the punishment of the oppressor. Of his punishment is: He will be in hell on the day of Judgment.</p> <p>...Be careful of oppressing your classmates, children, servants, and others. Because the prayers of the oppressed are answered... <u>The prayer of the oppressed, be he Muslim or non-Muslim, is answered and not rejected.</u></p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p39-40</p>	
6	<p>Clarify if this statement is wrong or right: It is permitted to oppress the non-believer.</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p56</p>	
7	<p>The true strength that a Muslims should be praised for: 1. His ability of self-control [referring to anger].</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p57</p>	Lesson on temperance and tolerance
Both Tolerant and Intolerant		

<p>1 <u>Hate the haters of Allah for they do not believe in Him.</u> God almighty said: "Moved by wrong suspicions of Allah due to ignorance. They said: Do we have any hand in this affair. You say: Indeed this affair is wholly Allah's". And a Muslim should respond to these haters by disowning them and their disbelief. Allah said: "You will not find any believers in Allah and Judgment Day loving those who oppose Allah and his Messenger even if they were their fathers or their sons, or their brothers or their kin" <u>This does not mean that you can violate them or attack them. Their position on Allah does not give you the right to violate or attack them but you should treat them well, soften their hearts, refrain from oppressing them and do them justice.</u> As Allah declared: "Allah does not forbid you to deal kindly and justly with those who fought you not because of your faith nor drove you out of your homes, for Allah loves those who are just."</p> <p>Also He said: "Oh you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah, as witnesses to fair dealing and let not the hatred of others make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just, that is next to piety and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that you do." <u>The Prophet Muhammad dealt with the polytheists and Jews as merchants and neighbors,</u> visiting them in sickness and calling them to Islam on their death beds. <u>The Prophet did all this even though he hated their standing as disbelievers and polytheists, but he made sure he guided them whenever he could.</u></p> <p>And of those <u>believers who have committed sins, we shall love them for they have loved Allah and the Prophet</u> but we shall resent their sins. <u>Because they are of our religion, we should never hesitate to advise them on getting back on track by</u> promoting virtue and avoiding evil and wrongdoing.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 8 (Term I), 2011-2012, p19</p>	<p>This lesson contains both tolerant and intolerant elements</p> <p>It directs students to hate the perceived enemies of Allah such as Jews and polytheists, but to also treat them kindly and specifically prohibits violence against them</p> <p>The lesson also encourages a sense of forgiveness that is exclusive to Muslims</p>
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5. COMPARISON OF REVISED TEXTBOOKS (GRADES 4 AND 7)

A major goal of this study is to evaluate the progress of reforms. To this end, ICRD used six textbooks from the 2009-2010 fourth and seventh grade religious education curriculum to compare against the newly revised textbooks. The purpose of this comparison is to determine the level of success achieved by the reform initiative and to make recommendations where deficiencies are found.

5.1 Fourth Grade Revisions

The recent revision of the fourth grade religious curriculum appears to have removed much of the blatant hostility toward Christianity that was found in the 2009-2010 editions, but criticism of Islamic minorities remains. It could be argued that ingrained in the fundamental thesis of Salafism is an inherent intolerance of Sufi and Shi'a practices, and that this therefore represents a valid aspect of sectarian theology. This may be a compelling argument from the Salafist perspective, but when sectarianism moves beyond making distinctions and begins to manifest an outright call for violence, it becomes a major cause for concern.

Fourth Grade, Monotheism and Jurisprudence, 2009-2010

While the content of the 2009-2010 combined monotheism and jurisprudence textbook for the fourth grade is not found to be particularly intolerant in comparison with later grades, there are some objectionable lessons. A common practice in earlier textbooks was to build an argument linking the non-Muslim People of the Book with polytheism. This line of reasoning is ultimately used to support what appears to be a key element of Salafist doctrine, which challenges the deference, afforded the People of the Book in the Qur'an. According to traditional Salafist theology *mushrikeen* are treated in many respects as pagans and identified as the original enemies of Islam.

The Qur'an states:

"Indeed, those who believed and those who were Jews or Christians or Sabeans [before Prophet Muhammad] - those [among them] who believed in Allah and the Last Day and did righteousness - will have their reward with their Lord, and no fear will there be concerning them, nor will they grieve."

Surat Al-Baqarah, [Verse 62]

The manner in which the earlier curriculum (2009-2010) moves students away from their adherence to this doctrinal protection is not as direct in the early grades. Instead, a gradual foundation is laid for much more severe criticism, exclusion and intolerance in later grades. In an early lesson of the combined fourth grade textbook, for example, standard definitions of polytheism are established:

Whoever believes that Allah is the one who created and blessed him, but does not worship Allah alone, but also worships other entities than him, is a mushrik...

Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term I), 2009-2010, p28

The textbook continues along this theme, reinforcing the prohibition against idolatry:

...worship must not be directed except towards Allah, so if the worshiper does so he is performing an act of monotheism, but if he addresses them to other than Allah he is not performing an act of monotheism, but falls into shirk and the denial of Allah.

Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term I), 2009-2010, p34

In the second term textbook, the issue of idolatry is revisited, taking a sterner tone. Lessons in the textbook define the meaning of idol.

Anything that is worshipped without being Allah and accepts this worship from a worshiper or follower or servant other than obeying Allah and the Prophet is an idol.

Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term II), 2009-2010, p100

Finally, the textbook completes the lesson by associating Jesus with other unacceptable objects of worship (including the devil). Mainstream Islam contends that Jesus, as an Islamic prophet does not “accept worship.”⁷⁸ This would seem to exonerate Jesus Christ from the ‘idol’ designation in the above lesson, as it clearly states that the idol must accept the worship. However, the authors of the textbooks string together the lessons and then offer a leading question which subverts them, implying that Christians are *mushrikeen*:

Exercise: identify the entities that were worshipped other than Allah and as such became idols: the angels, the pharaohs, Issah (Jesus), the devil.

Monotheism and Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term II), 2009-2010, p106

This direct association of the central figure of Christianity with general idolatry, polytheism, and even the devil, without any qualification related to Christian practice, creates a specific environment of misrepresentation and intolerance. The progressive line of reasoning results in the student ultimately understanding Jesus not as a key prophet in Islam, but rather as an idol on par with the devil; and Christians are not People of the Book as portrayed in the Qur’an, but rather polytheistic *mushrikeen* that worship the idol Jesus, thereby negating any protections under Qur’anic edict. This sets up the entire community as legitimate targets for *jihad*.

Fourth Grade, Monotheism and Jurisprudence, 2011-2012 (Revised)

Although the revised editions of the fourth grade textbook omit the direct associations of Jesus with idolatry and references to Satanic motives for polytheistic practice, the revisions are not entirely successful. This is particularly disconcerting, as the prevalence of intolerance in the fourth grade textbooks was far short of the levels found in later grades even before their revisions.

Only one statement remains to be found in the 2011-2012 Jurisprudence textbook that demonstrates direct intolerance toward people of other religious faiths:

Guide us in the path of those who walked in your Grace, and they are the prophets, martyrs, and the righteous and not those who have been shown the truth but abandoned it, like the Jews, or those whose who substituted truth with ignorance and delusion like the Christians.

Jurisprudence, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p37

⁷⁸ Interestingly, this would also invalidate the application of the label of idol to the Buddha.

As previously noted, this statement seems to make reference to the opening verse of the Qur'an, which does not name Christians or Jews specifically.

The monotheism textbook, however, is riddled with additional objectionable statements targeting Jews, Christians and minority Muslims such as Shi'a and Sufis, either by name or deed. Most Saudi students would recognize references to grave worship as the most apparent 'sin' of Shi'a and Sufi theology, furthering the Salafist argument that Shi'a and Sufis are actually polytheists and infidels:

The position of Infidels concerning the monotheism of worship: the unification of worship: Mushrikeen recognized that Allah is the Lord of everything but they do not unify God in worship but associate idols, or graves or the sun or the jinn or other gods to worship along with God.

Monotheism, Grade 4 (Term I), 2011-2012, p16

The first term monotheism textbook goes on to assert that any positive action by a *mushrik* is invalid. This is a hallmark of intolerant education, discouraging cooperative behavior with non-Salafists that might in some way erode the prejudice of a student that witnesses their good behavior. It actually presumes that students would likely have their bigotry challenged, and seeks to pre-empt any humanization of the 'other' by invalidating any altruistic or noble behavior:

All deeds by men are refused if they do not believe in monotheism. Proof from Qur'an: "But it has already been revealed to thee and to those before thee, if you were to join gods with Allah, your work in life will be fruitless and you will surely be among the losers."

Monotheism, Grade 4 (Term I), 2011-2012, p19

The continued intolerance against the practices of Shi'a and Sufis, in particular, casts a negative light on the revision process. The following lesson takes misrepresentation of the practices and beliefs of Islamic minorities to a new level by equating them with the original enemies of Islam that persecuted the Prophet. Such an association exposes Shi'a and Sufis to the hostility found in the Qur'an that is supposedly reserved for the polytheist tribes that violently opposed the Prophet and his companions.

Some phenomena of shirk: Shirk that was exercised in old times is the same that is exercised today:

- 1. Praying to the dead as in saying to the dead: my master, save me;*
- 2. Kneeling to someone or something other than God, like kneeling to graves of prophets, the righteous men and the greats;*
- 3. Sacrificing to other than Allah, like sacrificing for the graves of the righteous and saints.*
- 4. Magic, because of what is in it of devil worship.*

Monotheism, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p28

5.2 Seventh Grade Revisions

The results of the recent seventh grade revisions are also mixed. While several instances of religious tolerance have been included in the curriculum, a disturbing degree of intolerance appears to have survived the reform process.

Seventh Grade, Monotheism, Hadith, Tafsir, 2009-2010

Of the three seventh grade textbooks evaluated in the 2009-2010 curriculum, the Hadith textbook contained the lowest level of intolerance. While it firmly established the supremacy of *shirk* among sins, it appears to have avoided the accusatory language more commonly found in the Monotheism curriculum towards People of the Book and Islamic minorities.

Polytheism is a major sin, and if a person dies a polytheist, Allah does not forgive his polytheism and he deserves to burn eternally in hell.

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term I), 2009-2010, p15

The seventh grade Monotheism textbook from 2009-2010 is rife with condemnations of the practices of Islamic minorities. While Sufis are called out by name elsewhere in the curriculum as *mushrikeen*, the Shi'a are not. By contrast, this textbook contains direct attacks upon Shi'a beliefs. The purpose of the textbook is explicit, to condemn *shirk* in the Islamic community.

The three lessons that follow do not mention either Sufi or Shi'a by name, however, the first two are direct condemnations of Shi'a and Sufi practices, while the third references Ali, who is venerated by all Shi'a:

Be warned against all types of shirk, which includes: What some people who identify as Muslims fall into, like ghulu of the prophets and the righteous, by asking them for relief, sacrificing to them, and asking for intercession. The Prophet warned against all these things... deeds should be done for Allah alone. Whoever dies in a state of shirk will dwell in hell.

Monotheism, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p33

Some Muslims worship Allah with partners from the dead, like sacrificing on their grave sites, and roaming around it... they have fallen in the trap of great shirk... A person has to commit to Allah only...

Monotheism, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p49

This hadith shows the virtue of Ali, and does not mean exaggeration in him, or elevating him above his status by praying to him for this is a great shirk which God has forbidden.

Monotheism, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p44

In addition to the multitude of admonishments against *shirk*, the textbook presents a warning that again implicates People of the Book as *mushrikeen*. This promotes a common line of reasoning in the Saudi curriculum that Islamic minorities, by committing *shirk*, are merely doing so in imitation of Jews and Christians. Such reasoning seems designed to further delegitimize Islamic minorities while simultaneously demonstrating the toxic corruption that results from relating to Jews and Christians:

The Prophet said that shirk will fall on this ummah like the previous ummahs of Jews and Christians, who partnered or asked for gods with Allah. He said this as a warning...

Monotheism, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p77

Also in the monotheism textbook is a lesson titled '*The necessity of distancing oneself from the mushrikeen.*' This is a direct call for the social exclusion of the Shi'a minority.

The Tafsir (Qur'anic interpretation) textbook from 2009-2010 is extremely negative, presenting numerous, and sometimes graphic, depictions of the hell that awaits non-believers. However, it typically falls short of direct intolerance. The notion of non-believers being damned to hell is a common doctrinal element in both Islam and Christianity, and the Saudis cannot be expected to omit this fundamental principle, despite how stark this theme is for inclusion in the studies of children at this age. However, there also persist isolated instances of intolerance in the textbook.

The following statement is in direct opposition to the Qur'an. The Qur'an states that People of the Book need not fear hell; however, in this textbook there are more than 20 different passages clearly stating that non-believers will go to hell. This lesson is an example of the Salafist belief that criticisms against the Christians and Jews essentially nullify the Qur'anic protections provided for People of the Book.

*Allah makes clear in the beginning of this surah the disbelief of the Jews, Christians, and mushrikeen...
...Those of the People of the Book who do not believe in the Prophet are disbelievers.*

Tafsir, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p118-119

The textbook also specifically refers to the unrelenting hostility of non-believers toward Muslims motivated only by hatred of Islam. This directly promotes two views: (1) that non-believers and Muslims can never live in peace (and should therefore not bother trying), and (2) that aggression by Muslims against non-believers is merely an act of self-defense. The following passage demonstrates the blanket presumption that being non-Muslim is equivalent to hatred of Islamic faith and manifests in aggression:

The non-believers' persistence of hostility towards the Muslims, and defeating them, is for no reason other than their belief in Allah.

Tafsir, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p58

Finally, the Tafsir textbook repeats the lesson in the Monotheism text calling for the social exclusion of the broadly categorized *mushrikeen*:

Topic of the surah: Disassociating one's self from shirk and its people.

Tafsir, Grade 7, 2009-2010, p142

Seventh Grade, Monotheism, Hadith, Tafsir, 2011-2012, (Revised)

The revised seventh grade textbooks contain some of the same intolerance found in previous editions, as well as several new lessons on religious tolerance.

As previously noted, the 2009-2010 Hadith textbook from this grade was not a major source of direct intolerance, and the revised edition continued this trend. In the revised edition, however, two new themes emerge. On the one hand, the textbook contains several lessons that appear to challenge the narrative found elsewhere in the curriculum advocating intolerance toward Islamic minorities, as this statement from the second term textbook demonstrates:

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The religion of Islam is keen on the existence of love and affinity between all Muslims.

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p22

While the text seems to promote exclusivity in some respects, as other religious minorities are not mentioned, the reconciliatory message toward fellow Muslims is repeated throughout the textbook. This is an exceptionally positive transformation, considering the depth of aggression demonstrated in earlier texts. For example, the following lesson directly contradicts previous themes of intolerance toward Shi'a and Sufi minorities:

Islam is the religion of love and brotherhood. It demanded a relationship among Muslims based on these principles. Islam warned against issues that might cause hatred and animosity between Muslims.

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p43

Another lesson conveys a critical prohibition in Islam against oppression that was not included in previous textbooks. This text specifically directs students to confront oppression, even when the perpetrator happens to be a fellow Muslim. These passages may be seen to subvert terrorist messages that appeal to Muslims to support one another in any act against the infidels:

The Prophet said: "Support your brother whether he is an oppressor or oppressed." So one of his companions asked him why he should support an oppressor even if he is a Muslim, the Prophet answered: "you support him by demanding him to stop the oppression."

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p42

On the other hand, the revised Hadith textbook still calls for violent *jihad*. This is another example of conflict in the Saudi curriculum, as the same textbook that describes Islam as a religion of love and brotherhood also offers high praise for violence:

"Jihad in the name of Allah is considered to be the pinnacle of Islam..."

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p38

Lest the student confuse the term with the promotion of the inner or personal *jihad* the statement is preceded by the qualifier:

The Prophet was asked, "Which acts/deeds does God love the most? And he answered: Praying on time, then honoring your parents and jihad for the sake of Allah". And the explanation of Jihad in this context is making an effort to obey Allah by fighting the infidels to elevate the words of Allah.

Hadith, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p38

The revised monotheism textbook does not exhibit the same level of intolerance towards Islamic minorities that can be found in the 2009-2010 edition, but still contains several intolerant messages. In one instance a lesson contains a similar allegation regarding the People of the Book that was previously found in the 2009-2010 Tafsir textbook. Here Jews and Christians are accused of polytheism rather than disbelief, but the concept remains, the deference of the Qur'an towards Jews and Christians is invalidated by a selective presentation of Islamic doctrine.

The violation of monotheism by Jews and Christians: they have raised their scholars and monks to the status of Gods when they obeyed them in forbidding what God Himself had made permitted.

Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p54

A positive outcome of the revisions of the seventh grade Monotheism text is the broad removal of negative references to grave worship. There remains only a single direct denigration of Islamic minorities in the book, which is embedded in a biographical sketch of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab:

The Islamic world at the time of Sheikh Imam Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab was living in deteriorating condition in terms of religious and worldly matters. Islam had been misguided through different manifestations:

- 1. The spread of innovation and polytheism like placing domes in cemeteries... and raising living and dead people to the level of saints;*
- 2. The alienation of Ahl-Al-Sunnah who avoided these innovations and who are the people of righteousness and truth...*

Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p8

More subtle and nuanced understandings of relationships with the People of the Book emerge in the revisions. The framing of this particular passage serves as evidence that dialogue and religious tolerance do not suggest a departure from Islam:

Say, "O People of the Scripture, come to a word that is equitable between us and you - that we will not worship except Allah and not associate anything with Him and not take one another as lords instead of Allah." But if they turn away, then say, "Bear witness that we are Muslims [submitting to Him]."

Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p32

Perhaps the most resounding testament to the progress of the reform effort is demonstrated in the following lesson, which is deeply rooted in Islam, tolerance and non-violence.

The reason behind the call for Monotheism: when the Prophet used to preach Islam, he did not use force or seek violence to show people the right path of guidance. The Prophet made sure they knew that this was for their own good that they were being guided to find this path...

Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p36

Moving to the revised Tafsir textbook, however, opens the reform process up to more criticism. While there does appear to be one sincere instance of religious tolerance, there remain a number of objectionable lessons in the book. A cause for celebrating progress is found in the following passage, which actually moves beyond simple tolerance and reminds Muslims of the shared basis for the religious faith of Muslims, Christians and Jews:

We believed in what has been revealed to us and that is the Qur'an and what has been revealed to you, the Torah and the Bible, and we believe in One God, which is the same as your God, there is no other but Him, and to Him we submit (especially the Muslims).

Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p31

In another example of inconsistency, however, a scathing attack follows the previous example of tolerance with what can only be understood as a direct accusation of blasphemy being intrinsic to Christian theology.

The worst kind of injustice is slandering God and His Prophet such as when one attributes a partner or son to God...

Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p46

In several instances, such as those presented below, the Tafsir textbook simply descends into argumentative confusion under a barrage of petty insults.

...condemn the mushrikeen for they are ignorant and have lost their minds...

Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p80

...disobedience is a characteristic of Jews...

* Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p132

They (infidels) can't believe that because of their ignorance, stubbornness and weakness.

Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p120

A final example of the incomplete nature of the reforms is a capstone quotation. It is the kind of suggestion that leaves students corralling all of the prejudices they hear into a frame of national identity and security. The material directly implies that religious minorities present a threat to the peace and prosperity of the Kingdom.

KSA enjoys security, stability, prosperity, cooperation between its citizens and their support of their rulers; all that is by virtue of Allah because of its commitment to Islamic guidelines and teachings like monotheism and refusing all kinds of other worship.

Tafsir, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p34

6. CURRICULUM REVIEW: 2011-2012 BASELINE

The primary purpose of Saudi education seems to be to create pious, Salafist adults with a comprehensive understanding of the physical, cultural and religious threats to Saudi society and Islam. Through the curriculum, the student learns to strictly align his cultural identity with his religious identity, and to protect both from the corruption of non-Salafist practices, perceptions and ideologies. While the religious and cultural concerns of an independent nation fall well within their sovereign right to determine, when the policies that emerge from them produce a climate of wide-ranging intolerance, both at home and abroad, those policies should be reevaluated. In the case of Saudi Arabia, this will be greatly facilitated by the staunch commitment of the current government to removing such material.

The Saudi education system is found to promote intolerance over the course of a student's career in two primary ways: it creates a climate of general prejudice against non-Salafist and non-Muslim groups, and it contains direct discriminatory calls to action – both violent and non-violent. This intolerance is supported through a web of misrepresentation, complicated and contrived identity associations, and the misapplication of selective interpretations of scripture. Such prejudice is not conducive to stability, cooperation and prosperity in a society that includes a large number of foreign residents and workers. In this context, direct calls for violence are simply unacceptable.

6.1 Key Themes of the Saudi Curriculum

The main sub-text of the religious content in the curriculum seems to be the conviction that the Salafist religious and Saudi national identity are under simultaneous and complementary threats, both internal and external; and that the only true protection lies in the Salafist control of Saudi religious life. The social science curriculum emphasizes the moral decline of various Islamic states and gives multiple examples of vulnerability due to spiritual weakness in the face of aggressive European colonialism. It asserts that the prosperity and stability of the Kingdom owes itself to the purity of Islamic faith and adherence to *shari'a* law.

Many textbooks including the earliest grades promote a conditional atmosphere of respect. Simple acts of courtesy such as greetings and smiling are reserved for Muslims or 'believers,' as are more serious matters of esteem such as friendship, loyalty and love. More disconcerting is the exclusivity of prohibitions on violence, which, in some parts of the curriculum, is only forbidden against fellow Muslims.

The religious curriculum supports the narrative of Salafist security through the constant generation of categories of the *mushrikeen* out-group, in essence creating a new interpretation of Islamic doctrine that advocates overt hostility towards the Shi'a minority. The Shi'a are often considered by the monarchy to be agents of neighboring Iran, and Sufis, the traditional enemies of Salafism.

The People of the Book are also frequently identified as *mushrikeen* (enemies of Islam bound for hellfire) and afforded little deference, seemingly against the will of the Prophet himself.⁷⁹ Lessons repeated throughout the curriculum reference Hadith chastising Christians and Jews for 'elevating

⁷⁹ For an Islamic analysis of the treatment of the People of the Book in the Qur'an, please see Addendum B.

their clergy to the status of gods,' refusing Islam out of stubbornness, idolatry, and building grave sites for the righteous (an accusation that also conveniently indicts Shi'a and Sufis).

The story of Christ, venerated in Islam as a Prophet and Messiah, is told as a cautionary tale against the worship of prophets (or idols, as one textbook calls him). The Jews are portrayed in a particularly derogatory manner, as the eternal enemies of both monotheism and Islam. They are accused of historic betrayal and disobedience, and depicted in the stereotype as greedy and deceitful parasites. A variety of claims are made regarding the Jews and Zionism that include the promotion of hoaxes and conspiracy theories, such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their sinister manipulation of international groups like the Lions and Rotary Clubs.

Islamic minorities such as Sufis and Ahmadhiyya are identified by name as *mushrikeen* and described as the products of European conspiracies. The Shi'a are seldom named, but their beliefs and practices are described often and in some detail as polytheistic and otherwise heretical, typically as imitations of People of the Book.

Overall the Saudi curriculum seems to accomplish its objectives of identifying purity of practice with Salafism, and the Salafist identity with Saudi national identity. All the while students are inculcated with fear and hostility toward what conservative Salafist clerics deem to be threats to Islam. Discriminatory and occasionally violent calls to action are scattered throughout the curriculum, and are supported by a litany of charges against the targets. Everything from avoidance to hatred and murder is advocated.

While previous studies have exposed the prevalence of intolerance in the Saudi textbooks, this analysis attempts to gauge its depth. Insinuated intolerance is explored, such as embedded assumptions that betray an intrinsic dislike toward non-Salafists. An example is the admonishment against attending sporting events, because of the risk of developing a loving friendship with a non-believer or a competitive one with a Salafist due to overarching allegiance to an athletic team.

Other examples of tenuous textual exegesis are used to excuse direct prejudice and the incitement of intolerance. Descriptions of Jews and Christians as apes and swine are excused with weak extrapolation of references to passages in the Qur'an and the Hadith, as demonstrated in an 8th Grade Monotheism textbook from the 2010 curriculum⁸⁰. After specific mention in critical reports, a more recent reform initiative launched by the Ministry of Education removed this content from the 8th grade textbooks, which is laudable. However, review of the entire curriculum demonstrates that the same material is still taught in the 10th grade religious curriculum,⁸¹ casting some doubt on the thoroughness and effectiveness of these reform efforts.

The following content is extracted from the most recently published Saudi textbooks. It serves as not only a baseline for observing future reform efforts, but a critical analysis of the potential impact and intention of the material, based on the aforementioned methodology. Regional subject matter experts, Saudi nationals and Muslim scholars conducted the analysis. While examples of egregious intolerance, calls to violence and deceptive categorization of out-groups make up the bulk of what is

⁸⁰ *Monotheism, Grade 8, 2010-2011, p.42.*

⁸¹ *History of the Prophets, Biographies and the spread of Islam, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p.31*

included below, several Addenda to this report contain more exhaustive results of both the textbook material extraction and the analysis with respect to specific categories of intolerance.

6.2 Intolerant Content by Target Group

Table 6.1: Jews and Zionism

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	<p><u>The Protocols of the Elders of Zion</u></p> <p>The protocols are a secret agreement, which aims to fulfill world domination by the Jews. It is speculated that it was made for the Basel conference and it was discovered in the 19th century. The Jews have tried to deny it, even though the evidence shows and proves that it was written by the Elders of Zion.</p> <p>Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p116</p>	<p>The lesson presents the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as an authentic document. The 'Protocols' have long been proven to be a hoax designed to promote hostility against Jews. The inclusion of such material degrades the quality of education.</p>
2	<p>One of the tools used by the Zionists is the creation of organizations, which employs people of different nationalities, so that the Jews don't become the sole face of these organizations. These clubs work on charities and humane activities but the underlying goal is to achieve the goals of the Zionist movement. Some of the organizations are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Masonism... b. Lions Clubs: ...have spies all over the world c. B'nai... d. Rotary Clubs <p>Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p116</p>	<p>This lesson contains claims that have no basis in fact, nor are there attempts to present factual evidence. This inhibits the receptivity of Islamic countries educated with Saudi material to cooperative partnerships for the benefit of their own population. This also serves to perpetuate suspicion against the West and insulate Salafism from legitimate criticism.</p>

3	<p>All Jewish claims to Palestine are false. The truth is the Jews have always been without a homeland and they were hated and persecuted wherever they resided. They had no attachment to any society except for material gains and personal benefit through blackmail, bribes and conspiracies.</p> <p>History of the KSA, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p119</p>	<p>History courses are a key component to academic education as they provide the foundation for the students' perception of international relations, group identities and behaviors, shaping their understanding of current interactions and future states of affairs. The topic of the creation, development, and legitimacy of the state of Israel is a serious point of contention in many countries; therefore, quotations disputing Israel's legitimacy and presenting the state's actions and those of its people in a pejorative light, while biased, may not be considered false. The misrepresentation of actual historical facts, however, is intolerant.</p>
4	<p>Palestine is part of the Islamic world and is itself a Holy land. Al Aqsa mosque is at a threat of being destroyed by the evil Zionists and there have been numerous Muslim conferences to show the real malicious intentions of the Zionists, the purpose of these conferences was to unite the Muslims against the Zionist threat that persistently targets Islam and Muslims.</p> <p>History of the KSA, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p128-129</p>	<p>The 'evil' label is an emotional response to a perceived opponent. While arguments can be put forth against the actions and tenets of Zionism, the blanket labeling of a people as evil implies that this ideological statement is a descriptive fact.</p>
5	<p>There is no doubt that Zionism is a movement targeted against Islam, Arabs and Muslims in Palestine and the rest of the world.</p> <p>History of the KSA, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p 119</p>	<p>This lesson commits the logical fallacy of 'false consensus.' The Kingdom has every right to criticize the actions or policies advocated by Zionism, where they can be supported by evidence, but the curriculum crosses the line when it applies unsubstantiated motives such as global dominance (as alleged in the 10th grade Hadith and Islamic Civilization texts).</p>

6	<p>Jews throughout their history have never given any attention to peace because they believe that it pertains to the Jewish nation only, as for other nations, building peace with them is impossible because they believe that the other nations must live in internal struggle that prevents them from obtaining stability so that it may not confront it, and maybe that explains the Jewish adamancy towards the spread of corruption and chaos through different means even with the countries that acknowledge its existence by signing a peace treaty with it.</p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p118</p>	<p>This statement presents biased assumptions, conspiracy theories and opinions as historic facts, discouraging the student from considering the potential of a peaceful solution in Palestine.</p>
7	<p>The Jews don't have deep faith and have an inclination towards kufr (disbelief). The Jews are occupied by materialism. The sole reason for the distortion of the Torah by the Jews was for the sake of getting material gains. The Jews are eager about life, even if it means living under humiliation, and they refuse to fight. Feelings of arrogance and superiority inhabit the Jews. They claim they are the chosen people even though God himself has denied that, humiliated them, misled them and made them into swine and apes.</p> <p>History of the Prophets, Biographies, and the Spread of Islam, 10th Grade, 2011-2012, p31</p>	<p>This is an emblematic example of religious and ethnic intolerance, cloaked in extrapolated historical and religious narrative attributing only negative characteristics to Jews and justifying any injustice they have suffered as ordained by God.</p>
8	<p>Give some of the lessons learned about the traits of the Jews, which require us to be careful and avoid dealing with them in present times.</p> <p>History of the Prophets, Biographies, and the Spread of Islam, 10th Grade, 2011-2012, p40</p>	<p>This statement essentially asks students to memorize a list of reasons why Jews are corrupt and teaches them to be distrustful of all Jews.</p>

9	<p><u>The Goals of the Zionist Movement</u> The Zionist movement has one main goal: and that is Jewish world domination and the control of its fate. They aim to reach this goal through various sub-goals, which are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stirring the warring spirit of the Jews through religious and national extremism... 2. Instigating powers against each other, promoting feuds and wars between countries so that their country rises at the disadvantage and weakening of others. <p>Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p115</p>	This statement presents ethnically intolerant conspiracy theory as fact.
10	<p>Show the dangers of Zionism through these strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dissemination of obscenity, immorality and usury - Stirring up sedition (fitnah) and plots throughout history - Encouraging and supporting deviant trends in literature and art <p>Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-12, p118</p>	As mentioned in the analysis of a previous lesson, the Kingdom has every right to criticize the actions or policies of Zionism, where they can be supported by evidence. However, the curriculum makes no effort to do so, and crosses the line when it makes such unsubstantiated accusations.
11	<p>How did Allah show the lies of the Jews in their claims that they were His loved people? Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p21</p>	This question furthers the unbalanced portrayal of Jews and again asks students to view members of other faiths in a negative light.
12	<p>Those Jews will not wish for death, ever, because of what they have committed of disbelief and oppression, so they are scared of punishment.</p> <p>If you claim, oh Jews - falsely - that you are loved by Allah, and others are not, so wish for death, if you are being truthful in your claims... Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p20</p>	This quotation refers to a theological argument in the Qur'an that points out that we should all be uncertain of our fate on the Day of Judgment. The selective presentation of doctrine is used here to demean an entire faith and argue that their desire to live is somehow a demonstration of their sacrilege.
13	<p>Palestine is a Muslim land, owned by whoever has submitted himself to Allah, and the Jews have strayed from the true religion of Moses, and have distorted the Torah, and they are the source of corruption. Islamic World Studies, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p105</p>	Statement makes blanket, accusations against Jews that are unfounded and pejorative.

14	<p>The Jews came to Palestine with Yusha ibn Nun after continually disobeying the Prophets from Moses to David. After prophet Solomon died, the Jews were divided and their disobedience was intensified so Allah sent them to neighboring Assyrian and Chaldean empires and others to target them and disperse them. After the Jews were gone, many empires occupied Palestine from the Persians to the Romans to the Greeks, each of whom made sure to kick out the Jews from the land and disperse them for their wrong-doings and maliciousness.</p> <p>History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p118</p>	<p>This lesson furthers the unbalanced portrayal of Jews, attributing only negative characteristics to them and justifying any injustice they have suffered as ordained by God.</p>
15	<p>[...] the danger of a Jewish presence in Palestine as a threat to the religion of Islam, for Jews have been the enemies of Islam and our Prophet Mohammad since the dawn of Islam, and still are the predominant combatants against it, and the danger of their control over Palestine and Jerusalem in particular, which they have declared as their capital, is represented by their determination to destroy the Aqsa Mosque and build their alleged synagogue on its ruins, Allah forbid, for they have burnt it and repeatedly attacked it, but they will not, succeed in eliminating its features.</p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p98</p>	<p>The statement stereotypes all Jews and attributes only negative intentions and goals to them.</p>
16	<p>[...] Zionism does not seek to obtain the affection of others because it does not seek to draw them to Judaism, thus the relations of Jews with the countries they have lived in have been tense and unstable which has led many peoples to act against them and turn aggressive against them and kick them out. For ever since the Jews were fragmented communities in different countries they have not known peace with any nation because of their tendency towards cunningness, deceit, and conspiracy, and there is no better example of this than the Muslim experience with them in the city that the Prophet kicked them out of, and called for their expulsion from the Arabian peninsula in the same way that occurred to them in other countries like Germany, Poland, Spain, and others.</p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p117-118</p>	<p>This is extremely intolerant of Jews, presenting assumptions, misinformation, stereotypes and opinion as facts.</p>

Table 6.2: People of the Book (Jews and Christians)

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	<p>Guide us to the “straight path”, which is the religion of Islam, which has been bestowed upon us by Muhammad. Guide us in the path of those who walked in your Grace, and they are the Prophets, martyrs, and the righteous and not those who have been shown the truth but abandoned it, like the Jews, or those whose who substituted truth for ignorance and delusion like the Christians.</p> <p>Jurisprudence and Manners, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p37</p>	<p>This quote is insulting to both Jews and Christians. The Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad warn Muslims clearly and repeatedly to speak to non-Muslims with kind words and not to belittle their faiths.⁸²</p>
2	<p>Exercise: Put a tick or cross in front of the following sentences and correct the wrong statements:</p> <p>a. Those who have angered Allah are: the Christians and all those who have wronged the true path, so they worshiped God but not on His own terms. ()</p> <p>b. Those who have gone astray are: the Jews, and everyone who Allah has directed His anger against for they have corrupted and spread nonbelief (kufr) on the earth ()</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p14</p>	<p>This material impugns the entire communities of both Jews and Christians. The Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad warn Muslims clearly and repeatedly to speak to non-Muslims with kind words and not to belittle their faiths. The impact of the entire course of study, replete with such material, is to instill in children an extremely negative view of Jews and Christians.</p>
3	<p>Satisfaction of the Jews and Christians with the Muslims is impossible until they abandon Islam and follow their void religions.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p37</p>	<p>With no specific theological debate, and in some conflict with Islamic teachings as understood by other Muslims, Judaism and Christianity are described as "void." This material also stereotypes all Jews and Christians as not accepting of Muslims unless they convert.</p>

⁸² See Addendum B relating to an Islamic refutation of intolerance toward the People of the Book.

4	<p>Conclusion: ...The Jewish and Christian scholars among the people of the Book know that the message of Islam is clearly the truth, based on what was found in their books. But they oppose it out of stubbornness and arrogance. God sees them, and will not forget their actions for they will be punished. Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p46</p>	<p>This conclusion is an oversimplification. It accuses Jews and Christians of consciously following false religions and promises that they will all be punished by God.</p>
5	<p>The human being either is an original kafir like the Jews, Christians, and the pagans, as in the words of Allah: "Those who disbelieve among the people of the Book and among the polytheists will dwell in hellfire. They are the worst of creatures." The act of "takfeer" against these people is a responsibility. And whoever doesn't is a kafir himself because the person is denying what was brought to us by Allah and His Prophet. Or a person could be a Muslim, and in this case, the act of takfeer can't be committed against him unless the conditions of takfeer are met and those who make the ruling should be the religious scholars. Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p30</p>	<p>The Qur'anic quote that is referenced as support for this material does not specify that all Jews and Christians are disbelievers. The textbook, however, tells students that they must see all Christians and Jews as disbelievers, equal to pagans, and if they don't, then they themselves are disbelievers. This is directly subversive to other Qur'anic material regarding the People of the Book.</p>

Table 6.3: Christians

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	<p>The Christians were divided into numerous factions after Jesus, the most notable factions are: Jacobians: Believe Jesus was god. Al-Nostouriya: Believe Jesus was the son of God. Monotheists: Believe that Jesus was a worshipper of God and His Messenger. The two other infidel groups mentioned persecuted the Muslim one and were able to wipe them out. Only few monotheists remained to the day Mohammed was sent as a messenger. History of the Prophets, Biographies and the Spread of Islam, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p36</p>	<p>The lesson here is that true Christians were largely wiped out by polytheists, and those who remained were among the first Muslims. The implication is that no Christian remaining is a monotheist, and they are therefore not afforded any protections.</p>

2	<p>Christianization is a form of attack against the civilization of Muslim people, and the objectives of that being breaking the Muslims' will, and achieving control over them after the failure of the Crusades.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), p139</p>	<p>This loose reference to history portrays Christianity as seeking control over Muslims, encourages students to hold a sense of righteous persecution as Salafist Muslims, and to view any interaction between Christian and Muslim countries negatively.</p>
3	<p>Most Christians agree on the fact that education is the best means of transforming the Muslims into followers of Christ, that is why many of the foreign schools in Arab countries were linked to Christian missions, and as the Jesuits say: the first missionary is the school and the schoolbooks that the Missionaries use to attack Islam, and forge the history of Muslims and accuse them of blind racism, and that Islam does not spread without the sword...and the girls' missionary schools are also very important to the missionaries, particularly the boarding schools, because they make prayers personal among the students and take them away from the religious effects of the Muslims homes.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p. 141</p>	<p>This lesson is designed to deter students from pursuing Western education. The same blanket assertions could just as easily be made about Islamic schools.</p> <p>The pejorative and presumptive statement 'most Christians agree...' again falls into the deception of 'false consensus' on the part of the textbook author, who is likely not an expert on Christian opinion.</p>

Table 6.4: Islamic Minorities

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	<p>Women are forbidden from visiting graves and following funeral processions. And the Prophet curses those who do. It is also forbidden for women to visit graves for the purpose of praying or to be blessed, for it is a bid'ah [innovation], which leads to shirk. And when she goes for the purpose of sacrificing something, it is an act of Major Shirk (polytheism), which takes her out of the folds of Islam.</p> <p>Jurisprudence, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p96-97</p>	<p>In Islam, declaring that a Muslim is not a Muslim is an extremely serious accusation. This statement is directed toward certain Muslim minorities that do visit graves and essentially denigrates them and pronounces them non-Muslims.</p>

2	<p>[False callings against Islam] are of two types: First type: distorted religious types: like the Qadianis and the Baha'i, and the non-religious or secular: like nationalism, socialism and others.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p103</p>	The lesson is an oversimplification that describes the broadest range of non-Islamic identity markers as anti-Islamic.
3	<p>Qadian today is one of the main strongholds for spreading aberration and deviation in the name of religion, and from within Islamic countries. This is how the Qadianism movement, in our current time has become a destructive and corruptive force in the Islamic world.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p105</p>	This lesson portrays religious minorities as destructive and corrupt. The usage of Qadian to refer to Ahmadiyya is considered pejorative.
4	<p>These were all factors that contributed to pushing Islamic literature to stand against what emerged from the blasphemy and societal and ethical corruption, such as the Sufi tariqas and what they had adopted from witchcraft and sorcery, and what it had engrained in the spirit of the people in terms of a tendency towards dependence and a lack of motivation and other such aspects of weakness. In addition to other concepts such as the belief in saints and the righteous, and the visiting of the graves and the call for intercession.</p> <p>Arabic Literature, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p17</p>	The statement dismisses the beliefs of the Sufi Islamic minority. The text also contains a reference to witchcraft and sorcery, a crime considered punishable by death elsewhere in the curriculum, which conjures up a dangerous association between the two.
5	<p>The Prophet blocked all paths that lead to shirk:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He warned against venerating the righteous and saints because that will lead to their worship... 2. The Prophet also warned against building structures over graves.... 3. The Prophet also warned against praying at graves... <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p49</p>	This statement is critical of the beliefs and practices of Islamic minorities, setting the stage for persecution of Shi'a and Sufi minorities, in particular.
6	<p>Innovation in worship: Includes the chants or zikr innovated by Sufis for they are contradictory to the permitted forms of zikr.</p> <p>Building on graves, building mosques, and visiting them for the purpose of seeking blessings or pleading to the dead and other polytheist actions...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p133</p>	Together with earlier material and references to the beliefs of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab, this material directly links innovation (of which the Sheikh was extremely critical, dismissing as polytheism) with the beliefs and practices of Islamic minorities.

Table 6.5: Infidels

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	Conditions for Zakat (charity) 1. Being a Muslim: an infidel's Zakat cannot be accepted for Allah rejects all their acts. Jurisprudence, Grade 8 (Term I), 2011-2012, p12	This statement insults all non-Muslims and claims that their acts of charity are illegitimate. This kind of material creates obstacles to seeing outsiders in a positive light.
2	The non-believers hate the spread of Islam, and put forth all of their effort to block people from it, and they do not want from us except for us to follow their religions. Give proof for the following: ... The mushrikeen hate of the spreading of Islam Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p217	This is an accusation leveled at all non-Muslims. These kinds of leading questions prejudice students toward hatred and fear of those who don't share their faith. There are, of course, profligate examples both historically and throughout the contemporary world that would directly undermine this characterization.
3	Avoid supporting a team against another for it may lead to conflicts and hate... and it may lead to what God has not authorized like loving a Kafer and hating a believer. Jurisprudence, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p173	This statement claims that if students are avid sports fans they may be in danger of breaking God's law. It also views feeling love for a non-Muslim as being a sin.
4	The conditions and regulations for fighting the Kuffar and the polytheists: 1. If they refuse the invitation to Islam and to pay the jizya. 2. Muslims have to be powerful enough and have the ability to fight. Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p13	This material portrays all Muslim relationships with non-Muslim as being governed by conflict, and gives the impression that Muslim must demand that non-Muslims convert.
5	Forbidden loyalty: Being loyal, loving and advocating for the Kuffar and disregarding Muslims. "Let not the believer take the nonbelievers as friends or helpers, if they do then they shall have no relation to Allah except by way of precaution, that you guard yourselves from them" It is forbidden by Allah for believers to be loyal to Kuffar. Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p105	This oversimplifies the interpretation of a Qur'anic reference, arguing that God does not allow Muslims to be friends with non-Muslims.
6	Permissible hostility: Islam permits hating whatever Allah hates of	This lesson promotes hatred and intolerance. This is an emblematic

	<p>corruption, kufr, and sins and whoever commits any of these, then a Muslim is ordered to disown and hate everything that Allah and His Messenger hate as He said: : “ Allah hates corruption” and “Allah does not permit kufr worship.”</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p113</p>	<p>example of how earlier material, such as tangential suggestions that certain practices draw the wrath of God, matures through the course of the curriculum to result in divine calls for exclusion, hatred and even violence.</p>
7	<p>The hatred and disowning of Kuffar, and hostility towards them because of their state of kufr and shirk...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p113</p>	<p>This is another statement directly encouraging youth to hate and be hostile to non-Muslims.</p>
8	<p>The reasons for hostility toward Kuffar:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Kuffar are enemies of Allah... 2. Being loyal to the Kuffar means one is satisfied with their state of kufr and this is contradictory with being satisfied with Allah as a God, Islam as a religion and Mohammed as a messenger. 3. Kuffar are the enemies of Islam and its people 4. Being loyal to Kuffar means one is willing to advocate for them, and this causes the discontent of Allah and His punishment is due. <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p105</p>	<p>This statement contradicts the Qur'an and pronounces all non-Muslims as enemies of Islam. As a twelfth grade text, this is the culmination of years of justifications put forward about unacceptable behavior, polytheism and external persecution. Ultimately it comes right out and claims that any cooperative relationship is justification for God's wrath.</p>
9	<p>The effects of imitating the Kuffar:</p> <p>There is great danger to Muslim doctrine, worship, interests and ethics</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imitating them is an act which goes against Allah and His Prophet 2. Imitating them might lead to loving them. 3. Imitating them shows a sign of admiration. 4. Imitating them leads to the deviation of Muslims away from their own religion by coming up with innovations and other superstitions. <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p118</p>	<p>Non-Muslims are portrayed as having no qualities or characteristics that Muslims can learn from.</p>
10	<p>“And they will not stop killing you until they return you from your religion if they can.” [Surat al-Baqara: 217]</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p43</p>	<p>Another statement in which the textbook authors imply that Muslims and non-Muslims are destined to fight and that any effort at peacemaking is futile.</p>

Table 6.6: Enemies of Islam

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	The Islamic world suffers from an ideological flaw that stems from a weakness in adhering to the values and teachings of Islam. This flaw [...] is due to the foreign attacks against it that aim at fighting Islam and its believers and weakening Islamic creed in the spirit of its youth. [...] So are you aware my student brother of the threat and plots that the enemies of the nation are aiming at you? National Studies, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p22-23	This passage perpetuates a xenophobic narrative attributing all of the problems in the Muslim world to non-Muslims.
2	Islamic poetry is a means to respond to the mushrik poets...and is a form of literature that will put terror in the souls of the mushrikeen. Arabic Literature, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p12	This statement asserts that the virtue of Islamic poetry is to 'terrorize polytheists.'

Table 6.7: Calls for Violence and Jihad

#	Translation and Textbook	Explanation
1	The Apostate will be punished in two ways: In this life: by killing if the apostate does not repent. The Prophet said: "Kill the person who changes his religion." In the afterlife: He will spend [eternity] in hell. Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p82	There is a wide range of views among Islamic scholars on the subject of punishment for apostasy in Islam. This statement ignores the complexity of the issue and presents students with only one view--the most extreme one.
2	This religion is forgiving for it gave the apostates time to repent and to evaluate their actions. The apostate will be jailed for three days for self-evaluation, if he/she continues with their thinking; they should be killed for walking away from their true religion, for there is no benefit in keeping them alive. Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p86	As above, there is a wide range of views among Islamic scholars on the subject of punishment for apostasy in Islam. This lesson makes the claim that a three-day waiting period prior to execution for embracing the freedom of religious worship is somehow a tolerant characteristic of the Salafi interpretation of Islam. It presents the extremism of that view as moderation, thereby preemptively undermining criticism.

3	It is permissible to kill a sorcerer as declared by three of the Prophet's companions... Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p89	This statement needs to be put in historical and theological context. As stated, it gives the impression that someone performing harmless magic tricks can be put to death.
4	The ruling against sorcery and sorcerers: - The first type [of sorcery]: The one that utilizes the devils by worshipping them and sacrificing to them [...] This is an act of polytheism, and its perpetrator should be killed for apostasy. - The second type [of sorcery]: The magic of sorcery and deceit with the use of potions, smoke, drugs and spells... the perpetrator should be punished in order to stop the evil from spreading, even if that means killing the perpetrator. The punishment should be executed by the perpetrators' guardians or their delegates. Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p41	This lesson is a direct call for violence based on individual perception.
5	Major shirk is a good enough reason to fight its people. Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p16	Here, students are told that they are free to fight anyone who does not practice monotheism in the way their textbooks define it. The texts spend the earlier years putting nearly everyone other than Salafis into that category.
6	The Prophet was asked, "Which acts/deeds does God love the most? And he answered: Praying on time, then honoring your parents and jihad for the sake of Allah". And the explanation of Jihad in this context is making an effort to obey Allah by fighting the infidels to elevate the words of Allah. Hadith, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p37	This passage interprets a teaching of the Prophet Muhammad in the most extreme manner possible, excluding a major portion of the quote and attributing the most violent interpretation of <i>jihad</i> to the Qur'an. It claims Allah has <i>ordered</i> Muslims to fight non-Muslims and that it is an act worthy of great praise. It is an egregious call for violence.
7	Jihad in the name of Allah is considered to be the pinnacle of Islam and is the reason for the glory of Islam. Hadith, Grade 7 (Term I), 2011-2012, p38	This statement is not incorrect, but the textbooks we examined only portray <i>jihad</i> as a militant action with the purpose of killing infidels. If this quote appears in a context explaining the full content of the idea of <i>jihad</i> as a personal and social struggle to create justice and peace, it would be more acceptable.

8	Who deserves our zakat? Mujahideen who have committed their lives for the sake of Allah. They should be given enough weapons, food and others to continue their jihad and sustain themselves. Jurisprudence, Grade 8 (Term I), 2011-2012, p40	This text encourages children to view the giving of weapons to mujahedeen as an act of charity. The danger is that the term "mujahedeen" has been misapplied to terrorists so often that children may think arming terrorists is an Islamic act.
9	Jihad for Allah's cause is one of the strongest reasons for the survival of the <i>ummah</i> , with a strong authority, with safety over its nations, and the spreading of its religion to defeat the enemies, and conquering countries and spreading the religion. Tafsir, Grade 8, 2011-2012, p220	This quote gives credence to prejudicial critics of Islam, who claim violence is the primary mechanism by which Islam is spread.
10	"Whoever fights so that the word of Allah could be the highest, has killed for the sake of Allah... And they will not stop fighting you until they return you from your religion if they can." Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p43	This message gives elevated praise for violence against non-Muslims.
11	Jihad for Allah's cause is a winning trade and form of salvation from painful suffering, and aims at spreading Islam and defending it and correcting people's beliefs and orientations towards the worship of God. It also aims at stopping darkness and corruption, and obliterating their roots from the earth. National Studies, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p26	This text suggests the need for militant action against non-Muslims to force them to accept Islam.
12	The Understanding of Jihad: there are two understandings of Jihad, the first [...] and a special meaning which is: putting effort and energy towards fighting for Allah's sake to spread Islam and defend it... National Studies, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p26	The language used to describe <i>jihad</i> in this statement once again focuses on militancy as a tool for spreading Islam.
13	(Definition of Jihad) Specific definition: putting effort into fighting the Kuffar... Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p39	In addition to ignoring the elements of <i>jihad</i> that address internal improvement through spiritual effort, this statement features imagery related to fighting non-Muslims as the appropriate response to their existence.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the clear progress to date in reforming the Saudi education system, as has been demonstrated above, it continues to create a climate that fosters exclusivity, intolerance, and calls to violence that put religious and ethnic minorities at risk. The stated goal of the Saudi government, as expressed by the Ministry of Education, is to remove intolerant content from the education curriculum at the primary, intermediate, and high school levels. Some reforms have shown a great deal of promise, but significant work remains to be done. In truth, transforming a climate of educational intolerance has to extend beyond the classroom, and should ultimately include the societal roots of intolerance as well. The following recommendations are meant to inform, encourage, and support that effort, while acknowledging the core values and identity of the Saudi state, especially in its role as custodian of the two holiest sites of Islam, which serve as the religious center of gravity for more than a billion adherents.

Some of these recommendations are of an immediate nature that can be facilitated by third-party actors who are familiar with the cultural and religious environment of Saudi Arabia and are able to interact with Islamic scholars. Others would require pressure from (and cooperation at) the governmental level. Finally, some recommendations may simply be a bridge too far in light of current Saudi realities. In this latter case, it is hoped that other cooperative initiatives with the Saudis might alter the climate sufficiently to open the way for a truly tolerant system of education.

7.1 Encourage the Kingdom to enhance the academic rigor of curriculum development

7.1a Require a higher degree of scholarship for teachers of Islamic studies

The kingdom should encourage the highest-ranking students from the public schools to pursue teaching careers in Islamic studies. Currently, a large number of students who demonstrate inadequate academic performance are channeled in this direction. If more academically capable students are given the proper incentives, such as scholarship and exchange opportunities, a better prepared demographic will be drawn into the vocation, creating a ripple effect among students as they experience a high level of intellectual rigor.

7.1b Base critiques of intolerance on Qur'anic principles

The spirit and intention of the holy Qur'an bears a message of tolerance and coexistence by which many Muslim societies maintain pluralistic peace. The textbooks analyzed for this study largely neglect this Qur'anic enjoinder, especially in the religious and history curriculums. The textbook writers frequently use dubious and non-empirical evidence, selective quotations, and non-Qur'anic references in an effort to depict other faiths and cultures as malevolent and untrustworthy. However, as has already been pointed out, there are increasing examples of reforms that point in the opposite direction. Accordingly, it is recommended that:

- The 8th grade Hadith textbook, which was revised for 2011 – 2012 year, be used as a model of positive reforms going forward;

- A robust program of professional development be initiated for textbook writers in their respective fields of expertise, especially writers of history and Islamic studies, to provide guidance on how to reduce bias and undue conjecture relating to other world cultures and religions;
- Remove the non-empirical and non-factual information highlighted in the baseline of this report.

Textbooks studied for this report include significant material that portrays other faiths as enemies, when the Qur'an itself provides numerous positive and celebratory verses. It is recommended that all discriminatory content be assessed for its consistency with the Qur'an and that religious scholars having higher education credentials (Doctorates in Theology, etc.) be appointed to oversee this process.

7.1c Develop functional partnerships with other Muslim countries on issues relating to religious education

Many countries with the greatest concern for the state of intolerance in the Kingdom's curriculum are the least qualified to engage the Saudi religious community. High-profile coordination between the Kingdom and selected Muslim countries on issues relating to religious education could prove helpful.

7.2 Continue to monitor the progress of textbook reform on a periodic basis

7.2a Include teaching methodology in future studies

While removing intolerance from textbooks is a positive development, teachers who themselves were subjected to an intolerant curriculum are more likely to maintain and transmit those same biases, even in the absence of overtly prejudicial material in the texts. An examination of teaching materials and classroom behavior should also be conducted, ideally in conjunction with reform-minded Ministry officials.

The study found that the student workbooks associated with the texts rely heavily on passages pulled directly from texts, asking only that students recite what they have read, inclusive of any discriminatory content. It is recommended that the Kingdom focus on creating workbook questions that require students to think critically about the content of what they have read.

7.2b Track the international distribution of the textbooks and ensure that the latest revised versions are being used

Saudi textbooks are used throughout the world. ICRD is currently conducting an analysis of the distribution of these texts, but much more should be done to analyze the local influence of this material in cultures that have broadly different norms and characteristics than those of the Kingdom. For example, some content in the texts advocates extra-judicial violence, bigotry and lawlessness, which could have a potentially destabilizing effect in countries outside the Kingdom that are using these materials, particularly in those with pluralistic societies.

It would be helpful to conduct a thorough evaluation of the context within which texts are being taught outside the Kingdom, which texts are used, where teachers are trained, how and when revised books reach remote countries and areas, and their local impact, particularly if social unrest is endemic.

7.3 Accommodate Saudi realities in providing recommendations

Concerned government actors, especially in the West, often fail to appreciate the Kingdom's domestic challenges to reform. Religious tolerance is not necessarily a popular concept in a country without religious freedom. Textbook reform is a sensitive subject that the monarchy is not always well-positioned to address.

7.3a Conduct a meeting of Western and Saudi scholars to discuss educational reform strategies

ICRD has already secured a degree of support from the Saudi government for this initiative. Such a meeting would involve scholars from the West and Saudi Arabia who are experts in education and well-informed on the religious and cultural context of Islam and the West. The goal would be to come together in an atmosphere of cooperative reform to find acceptable cultural and theological support for the drafting of new language to replace existing intolerant content in their respective texts. It is expected that this effort would require a series of meetings.

All education systems grapple with bias and struggle with identity, tolerance and critical thinking, as illustrated by the recent debate over the Texas Republican Party's 2012 platform, which states:

*"The party opposes the teaching of 'higher order thinking skills' because it believes the purpose is to challenge a student's 'fixed beliefs'."*⁸³

While this might seem tangential to public education, Texas school board members (with a disproportionately powerful religiously conservative religious membership) are chosen in a controversial and politically questionable manner, and the books that they approve have a lopsided influence on public educational nationally.⁸⁴

7.3b Present findings of curricular reviews privately

Public denouncements of Saudi religious education only empower the opponents of reform and provide them grounds for depicting textbook reform as an imperialistic effort to westernize the Kingdom. Reform-minded Saudi leaders need to be discreetly engaged in this effort.

There is a willingness at high levels within the Saudi government to engage in a quiet dialogue with the United States on these matters. The Kingdom is ready to modernize, including its textbooks, but needs to do so at a measured pace. A comment was made that every time there is

⁸³ Valerie Strauss. "Texas GOP rejects critical thinking skills." Washington Post online edition. (9 July 2012) http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/post/texas-gop-rejects-critical-thinking-skills-really/2012/07/08/gJQAHNpFXW_blog.html

⁸⁴ <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/jun/21/how-texas-inflicts-bad-textbooks-on-us/?pagination=false>

news of the United States conducting studies like this, the champions of modernizations get sidelined as the ultra conservatives dig in their heels.

In summary, as with any religion, many of the concerns in question are a matter of emphasis or context (or both), i.e. which passages of one's Holy Book are given greater credence, those that tend to promote conflict or those that tend to promote peace, and determining what a particular passage actually means when considered in its proper literary and historical context. The principal conclusion of this study is that a great deal of progress has been made. However, just as there is cause for celebration, so too is there continuing cause for concern.

GLOSSARY

Ahl al-Kitab: The “People of the Book;” Islamic term referring to followers of prophets identified as predecessors of Muhammad, such as Jews and Christians, but has also been applied to other religious groups like Zoroastrians. Denotes religious groups that are deserving of protection and certain rights under Islamic rule, provided they pay a special tax (See: *Jizya*). Contrast with polytheists (*ahl al-shirk*, see: *shirk*), atheists, and groups founded after the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad.

Al-Aqsa Mosque: The third holiest site in Sunni Islam and the central mosque in Jerusalem. It was built upon the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem.

Ahl ash-Sheik: The family of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab. The *Ahl ash-Sheik* remain pivotal players in the modern Saudi state’s religious establishment (See: *Ulema*).

Ahmadiyya/Qadianism: An Islamic reform movement begun in British India in the 19th century by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), whose followers take him to be the promised Redeemer (See: *Mahdi*) sent to restore pure Islam. This claim, among several others, is taken as heresy by many Muslims. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia labels the *Ahmadiyya* as heretical and terms them a creation of the British to pacify the Muslim subjects of British India. They are severely persecuted in several Islamic countries.

Al-Dar’iyah: The ancestral oasis town of the House of Saud, in Najd. (See: *Najd*)

Al-Shabaab: Militant Salafist group centered in Somalia. (See: *Salafi*)

Al-Walaa’ Wal Baraa: Literally “loyalty and disownment;” this Islamic term refers to the practice of drawing close to what God loves and distancing oneself from what God hates. In Saudi Arabia, this doctrine is invoked to justify the stance that non-Muslims should not be loved or taken as friends.

Awliya: The “friends of Allah.” Typically used to denote Islamic saints and holy figures. Venerating the *awliya* or worshipping at their graves is strongly condemned by the Saudi Arabian *Salafist ulema*.

Ayat: Arabic term meaning “sign.” A verse from the Qur’an (See: *Sura*).

Baraa: Enmity to that which God hates. (See: *Al-Walaa’ Wal Baraa*)

Bayah: An oath of allegiance that a Muslim subject swears to his ruler.

Bid’ah: Literally “innovation.” Religiously, it carries the connotation of heresy and involves inventing a new way of worshipping God that is not justified in the Qur’an or in the sayings and ways of the Prophet Muhammad. When something is condemned as “*bid’ah*” it means that that something is considered a heretical addition to Islamic belief, practice, or lifestyle. Many Islamic practices, especially those of Shia Muslims (See: *Shia*), are condemned as *bid’ah* by the Saudi *ulema* (See: *Ulema*).

Dhimmi: Islamic term referring to members of other religions that are recognized as possessing certain rights of autonomy when under Islamic rule (traditionally these included Judaism and Christianity, but the term has also been applied to other religions that pre-date Islam, see *Ahl al-Kitab*) provided they pay a tax (See: *Jizya*). *Dhimmi* may be either be classified as *musta'min*, in treaty with Muslims and therefore entitled to protection, or *harbi*, at war with Muslims and therefore unprotected.

Fedayeen: An Arabic word used to refer to armed struggle against tyranny and oppression.

Fitnah: An Arabic word connoting strife and chaos, *fitnah* has both a historical and contemporary meaning. Used historically, it refers to the civil wars that marked the early history of the Islamic Caliphate. Now, it can refer to the fragmentation of the Muslim community (See: *Ummah*), discord between Muslims, anarchy caused by the lack of strong Islamic rule, or even just causing problems between people. As such, *fitnah* has a very negative connotation. In certain instances, *fitnah* may also refer to a man being seduced by a woman.

Hadith: Reports of the statements, actions, and judgments of the Prophet Muhammad. They are classified according to the reliability of the chain of oral transmission (*Isnad*) that preceded them being written down and the compatibility of their content (*matn*) with Islamic tradition. *Hadith* form the basis of Islamic law (See: *Shari'a*). Sunni and Shia Muslims generally recognize competing canons of *hadith*.

Hanbali: One of the four major schools of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam, founded by Ahmad ibn Hanbal. Saudi Arabia's *ulema* are usually classified as *Hanbalis*. (See: *Math'hab*)

Hudud: Islamic legal term referring to the punishments (often corporal) for crimes that are spelled out in the Qur'an or the *Sunna* (See: *Sunna*).

Ijtihad: the act of interpreting Islamic law or doctrine through personal judgment rather than through adherence to a school of jurisprudence (See: *Math'hab*). Contrasted with *taqlid*, meaning obeying the judgments or examples of others without question.

Ikhwan: Arabic term meaning "Brotherhood," can refer to numerous Islamic associations throughout history, used in this paper to refer to the Bedouin warriors that made up Abdul Aziz al-Saud's army in the 1920s and eventually revolted against him in 1929.

Jahiliyyah: Originally a theological term referring to the "state of ignorance" that existed before the advent of Islam, *jahiliyyah* usually referred to the practices of the pagan Arab tribes pre-Muhammad. It became a political term in the 20th century in the writings of Muslim Brotherhood intellectual Sayyid Qutb. In this sense, it refers to present day communities of so-called Muslims who do not live by proper Islamic law, and is used to condemn secular or (supposedly) heretical regimes.

Jihad: This Islamic term literally means "struggle" and is a religious duty of all Muslims who are called to commit themselves to the path of God. Thusly, it can refer to the personal struggle of believers to live their faith, the communal struggle to build an Islamic society, or the defense of Islam through the use of force (if necessary). *Jihad* can either be considered a collective duty (*fard kifaya*), which can be satisfied if just some from the community undertake it, or a personal

obligation incumbent on all able Muslims (*fard ay'n*) depending on the circumstances. *Mujahid* (pl. *mujahedeen*) is the term used to refer to those who participate in a *jihad*.

Jizya: A special tax levied on certain members of particular non-Islamic communities under the rule of an Islamic state (See: *Dhimmi*). Paying the *jizya* guaranteed non-Muslims a measure of religious and communal autonomy, as well as the Islamic state's protection from aggression.

Ka'aba: A black cuboid building, traditionally held by Muslims to have been built by Adam, the first human and first Prophet, and rebuilt by Abraham and his son (and father of the Arabs) Ismail during a sojourn to Arabia. It is the most sacred site in Islam. Muslims are to face the *Ka'aba* when praying, and it is the focal point of the *hajj*. (See: *Masjid el Haram*)

Kufr/Kuffar: *Kufr* refers to disbelief in the truth of the one God and *Kuffar* (alt. sp. *Kafer*, *Kafir*) refers to the disbeliever. These terms can also reference the refusal to accept the dominion and authority of God. It is increasingly viewed as a derogatory term for acts, beliefs, or people outside of Islam.

Mahdi: In Islamic eschatology, the *Mahdi* is the awaited redeemer whose appearance and rule will usher in the end times.

Masjid: Arabic term for mosque.

Masjid el Haram: The Grand Mosque in Mecca, home of the *Ka'aba* (See: *Ka'aba*) and pilgrimage site for the *hajj*. (See: *hajj*)

Math'hab: Islamic school of legal thought (See: *Fiqh*). In Sunni Islam, it typically refers to one of the four main schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence: *Hanbali* (favored in Saudi Arabia), *Shafi'i*, *Maliki*, or *Hanafi*. Most Sunni Muslims follow one particular school, with different ones dominant in different geographical areas. All four schools typically accept each other.

Mushrik/Mushrikeen: One who commits *shirk* (idolatry or polytheism) is a *mushrik* (pl. *mushrikeen*), and *shirk* is widely considered to be an unforgivable crime in Islam. In Saudi Arabia, *Shia* veneration of saints is often condemned as *shirk*, just as other beliefs like the Christian Trinity or atheism are condemned.

Mustashriqin: This Arabic term denotes Western scholars of Islam, Arabic, and/or other Eastern religions, languages, and cultures. (See: *Orientalism/Isteshraq*)

Mutaween: The colloquial name given to the religious policemen associated with the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. Formed in 1926, they are charged with enforcing moral laws that deal with, among other things, the segregation of men and women, women's clothing, prayer, the illegal consumption of alcohol, etc.

Najd: This term literally means "highland," and today refers to the central region of the Arabian Peninsula, the ancestral homes of the *Ahl ash-Sheik* and the House of Saud.

Orientalism/Isteshraq: The study of Eastern religions, languages and cultures by scholars from Western countries. Condemned in Saudi textbooks and elsewhere as a tool of colonialism. *Isteshraq* is the Arabic term for Orientalism, and an Orientalist is termed a *mustashriqin*. (See: *Mustashriqin*)

Protocols of the Elders of Zion: An infamous 20th century forgery that first appeared in Russia, long used by anti-Semites to “prove” that Jews are conspiring to take over the world.

Quboriya: Possibly pejorative name for minority Islamic sect condemned as an innovator group (See: *bid'ah*) by Saudi Arabian school textbooks.

Sabeans: A religious group mentioned in the Qur'an along with the Jews and Christians as People of the Book (See: *Ahl al-Kitab*). There is still substantial scholarly debate over the identity of the Sabeans, and whether they still exist today.

Salaf: The *Salaf* (literally meaning “predecessor”) are those Muslims who lived within three generations of the Prophet Muhammad. Many Islamic scholars, including those of the modern Saudi religious *ulema*, see the *Salaf* as those who practiced the ideal Islam in its purest form (See: *Salafi*).

Salafi: An Islamic movement that seeks to respond to the challenges and sinfulness of the modern age by returning to the form of Islam most closely resembling that practiced by the Prophet Muhammad and the *Salaf*. *Salafism* condemns many Islamic practices as either heretical innovations or heretical holdovers from before Islam. Many regard Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab to be the foundational figure of the modern *Salafi* movement.

Saleheen: “The pious ones.” Typically used to refer to the “*salaf-e-saleheen*” or “pious predecessors.” (See: *Salaf*) The Saudi Arabian *ulema* warns against worshipping at the graves of the *saleheen* or the *awliya* (See: *Awliya*) in reference to certain *Shia* or *Sufi* practices.

Sahwah: This term refers to the recent (1970s) revival of Islamic piety and practice throughout the Muslim world: The Islamic Awakening. The *Sahwah* had a strong effect on Saudi Arabia, leading to the Saudi Arabian *ulema* gaining tremendous power in the social sphere. Much of the controversial content in Saudi textbooks came about as a result of the *Sahwah*.

Shari'a: Islamic law. The primary sources of *shari'a* are the Qur'an and the *Sunna* (See: *Sunna*). As divine law, it is distinct from human jurisprudence (See: *Fiqh*).

Shia: Shia Islam makes up between 10-15% of the Islamic world's population and is the second-largest Islamic sect after the Sunni. Shia Muslims make up around 10% of Saudi Arabia's population and face discrimination due to their distinct practices and beliefs.

Shirk: *Shirk* roughly translates to mean idolatry or polytheism, but more specifically refers to associating things with God that are not of God, or the worship of anything other than the one God.

Sufism: Islamic mysticism. *Sufis* typically are organized into loose, non-exclusive schools or brotherhoods. (See: *Tariqah*) *Sufism* describes a method of Islam rather than a sect of Islam.

Sunna: The practice and example of the Prophet Muhammad, as described in the Qur'an and *hadith*. The *Sunna* is the second source of Islamic law after the Qur'an.

Sunni: Sunni Islam is the dominant denomination in Islam and in Saudi Arabia. It takes its name from the *Sunna*. (See: *Sunna*)

Sura/Surat: A chapter in the Qur'an, of which there are 114. Each *sura* has a unique name, either referring to the theme, the first word, or some other special characteristic found within the *sura*. *Suras* are broken down into *ayat* (verses) and organized according to length. Reciting *suras* is seen as an inherently efficacious act by Islamic tradition.

Tafsir: An Arabic term meaning interpretation. Typically used in the context of the exegesis of the Qur'an. *Tafsir* (of the Qur'an) is one of the five core courses of the Saudi religious curriculum.

Takfir: *Takfir* (or *takfeer*) refers to a Muslim calling another Muslim an unbeliever (See: *Kufr*). It may only be made with extreme care, to avoid sowing unnecessary discord (See: *Fitna*) in the community.

Tariqah: Arabic term meaning "way" or "path." This term refers to an Islamic religious order, and was typically applied to the different Sufi (See: *Sufism*) schools or brotherhoods.

Tatweer: Arabic term meaning "reform."

Tawheed: Monotheism; the doctrine of Islam stressing the oneness and unity of God, and forbidding associating anything not of God with God (See: *Shirk*). It is one of the five core classes in the Saudi religious curriculum.

Ulema: The community of Islamic scholars qualified to rule on matters of Islamic law (See: *Shari'a*). In Saudi Arabia the *ulema* advise the King and guide social policy.

Ummah: The global Muslim community, it can also refer to specific Muslim communities under certain circumstances.

Wahhabism: The branch of Saudi *Salafist* Islam founded by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab. It stresses absolute adherence to monotheism (See: *Tawheed*) and forbids all thoughts or actions that could lead to the violation of that ideal. Followers of Sheikh Wahhab typically disavow this moniker, claiming that Sheikh Wahhab did not introduce any new sect into Islam but only sought to restore the original Islam of the *Salaf*.

Walaa: Loyalty to that which God loves. (See: *Al-Walaa' Wal-Baraa*)

Waseelah: Intercessor. Praying through an intercessor is common to *Sufism* and *Shia* Islam.

Zikr: Literally the "remembrance of God," *zikr* refers to the devotional practice of repeating the names of God, either aloud or silently. Sufi practices of *zikr* are often condemned as heretical innovations by the Saudi *ulema*.



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**ADDENDA:
THE STATE OF TOLERANCE IN THE
CURRICULUM OF THE KINGDOM OF
SAUDI ARABIA**

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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ADDENDUM A: BENCHMARKS FOR REFORM

1. INTRODUCTION

The Saudi Ministry of Education is in the midst of an ambitious revision of textbooks for grades 1-12. Six grades have been revised and new textbooks have been distributed. Textbooks for the remaining six grades are expected to be released by 2014. This addendum identifies more than 60 statements and lessons from current unrevised textbooks (2011-12) that should be used as benchmark indicators to evaluate the progress of the upcoming revisions of the curriculum.

While the most egregious examples of intolerance recommended for immediate removal, are presented in the body of the report, the following selections are intolerant textual elements that create a general climate of intolerance in the education system.

Every effort was made to identify and highlight content that supports religious or ethnic tolerance. While the intolerant messages clearly overwhelm the tolerant throughout the curriculum, there is some content that should be credited with promoting tolerance and used as positive examples of what is possible.

Statements such as the following are recognized as tolerant and might serve as a constructive model for addressing sensitive religious issues:

We must caution against imitating the kuffar in the way they host their dinner parties, for in that there is a loss of Islamic identity, and the risk of falling into practical imitation, including: mixing the two sexes in the dinner, hosting the dinners to music and singing, and photography. And this is similar to what some people do in introducing the husband and his peers to the women while they are fully adorned, as a result of which might occur something larger than what Sharia approves of.

Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p61

While this lesson clearly prohibits imitating non-Muslims, it is also intrinsically tolerant. The scenario is presented in a relatively accurate manner without making outlandish claims or disparaging non-Muslim culture or traditions. The message is one of condemning non-believers for their debauchery, but one of guiding Muslims away from a doctrinally problematic situation.

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The next lesson takes another, far less tolerant approach when cautioning students against imitating non-Muslim practices:

The effects of imitating the kuffar: There is great danger to Muslim doctrine, worship, interests and ethics.

1. *Imitating them is an act that goes against Allah and his Prophet;*
2. *Imitating them might lead to loving them;*
3. *Imitating them shows a sign of admiration;*
4. *Imitating them leads to the deviation of Muslims away from their own religion by coming up with innovations and other superstitions.*

Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p118

In this lesson there are several examples of overt intolerance. The first point takes a more dramatic tone about the threat supposedly posed by non-Muslims. The second and third points go beyond discussing doctrine and social norms, and directly discourage friendship and kindness, noting that the risk of these emotional bonds is legitimate grounds for avoidance. This suggests a grave moral danger in engaging in these positive attitudes. The final point invokes the oft-repeated argument against Islamic minorities that denigrates and dismisses the beliefs and practices of Shi'a and Sufis, condemning them as mere imitations of other religions.

As the difference in these lessons illustrates, there are ways to discourage the imitation of 'un-Islamic' practices without falling into overt prejudice. Ongoing textbook reforms would benefit from attention to these nuances, and need not transgress fundamental Islamic precepts to achieve a state of tolerance.

2. UNREVISED TEXTBOOKS (PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE)

Religious Curriculum in Unrevised Grades (Grades 3, 6 and 9)

Many of the unrevised textbooks from the primary and intermediate grades were difficult to obtain. For this reason the following evaluation does not include sixth grade religious textbooks. The third grade monotheism text was among the more tolerant of the textbooks that were studied, lending credence to the assertion that early grade revisions are an important, but unambitious undertaking. The following table outlines a benchmark for evaluating future progress in the upcoming revision of the ninth grade religious curriculum.

Table A1: Recommended for Removal in Grades 9 Textbooks (Benchmark for Evaluating 2012-2013 Revisions)		
1	<p><u>Pointing a gun at a Muslim is forbidden</u> because it shows a will to kill a Muslim or hurting him, even it is for fun or a joke it is also <u>forbidden for it scares a Muslim</u>. ...imagine the fate of someone who <u>kills innocent people, terrorizes/scares believers</u> and commits mischief, he has committed a great and horrible sin and this person is in grave danger.</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 9 (Term II), 2011-2012, p25</p>	Lesson is unnecessarily conditional
2	<p>Building mosques over graves, or burying the dead in mosques, or planning to visit the grave for the purpose of praying there for that is an act of Major Shirk and heresy, and shows the attachment to graves. The Prophet warned us against it and told us that it is the way of the past nations, which strayed away from the righteous path.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 9 (Term I), 2011-2012, p23</p>	Intolerant of Islamic minorities
3	<p>Belief in blessing oneself by touching a grave and circumambulating it: It is an innovation and a pathway to shirk, if a grave was visited for the purpose of sacrificing for Allah. It is a an act of Major Shirk if a grave was visited for the purpose of sacrificing to the person buried in it and glorifying this person or visiting for pilgrimage:</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 9 (Term I), 2011-2012, p24</p>	

4	<p>The Jews came to Palestine with Yusha ibn Nun after continually disobeying the Prophets from Moses to David. After prophet Solomon died, the Jews were divided and their disobedience was intensified so Allah sent them to neighboring Assyrian and Chaldean empires and others to target them and disperse them. After the Jews were gone, many empires occupied Palestine from the Persians to the Romans to the Greeks, each of whom made sure to kick out the Jews from the land and disperse them for their wrong-doings and maliciousness.</p> <p>History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p118</p>	Anti-Semitic
5	<p>All Jewish claims to Palestine are false. The truth is the Jews have always been without a homeland and they were hated and persecuted wherever they resided. They had no attachment to any society except for material gains and personal benefit through blackmail, bribes and conspiracies. Their interaction with Prophet Muhammad in Medina shows their maliciousness, even their Telmud book incites hatefulness towards anything non-Jewish. The Quran describes them as the most aggressive of all people, in the words of Allah: "You will find that the most hostile group to the believers are the Jews and the polytheists"</p> <p>History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p119</p>	
6	<p>There is no doubt that Zionism is a movement targeted against Islam, Arabs and Muslims in Palestine and the rest of the world.</p> <p>History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p119</p>	Conspiracy theory
7	<p>Palestine is part of the Islamic world and is itself a Holy land. Al Aqsa mosque is at a threat of being destroyed by the evil Zionists and there have been numerous Muslim conferences to show the real malicious intentions of the Zionists, the purpose of these conferences was to unite the Muslims against the Zionist threat that persistently targets Islam and Muslims.</p> <p>History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 9, 2011-2012, p128-129</p>	Promotes hostility against Jews and Israel

Positive Statements		
1	<p>Meaning of the tenet "believing in all the prophets": To believe in all of the prophets from Noah to Muhammad, believe that they were sent to convey God's words and completed their mission. The Quran told us their stories: "The Messenger believes in what has been revealed to him by Allah as do the men of faith who believe in Allah, his angels, His books, and His messengers. We make no distinctions between the messengers."</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 3 (Term II), 2011-2012, p20</p>	Mentions the equality of the Abrahamic prophets
2	<p>Righteousness and committing to good deeds requires personal jihad and battling the devil...</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 9 (Term I), 2011-2012, p52</p>	References personal jihad, as opposed to jihad against others
3	<p>When you visit a grave, pray to all the dead Muslims and Ask God to forgive them.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 9 (Term I), 2011-2012, p22</p>	Inclusive of Islamic minorities

3. HIGH SCHOOL RELIGIOUS TEXTBOOKS

The high school curriculum is still imbued with a climate of intolerance and outright hostility against the People of the Book (Jews in particular) and Islamic minorities – Shi'a are identified through practice, Sufi and Ahmadiyya by name.

Given that the Kingdom expects to have thoroughly revised editions of these books published in 2013; the following table contains suggestions for removal and examples of positive content found in the religious curriculum. While the current revision program process focuses primarily on the religious textbooks, the tables below are specifically inclusive of social science and liberal arts textbooks to demonstrate the need for complete curricular overhaul.

Table A2: Recommended for Removal in Grade 10 Textbooks (Benchmark for Evaluation of 2013 Revisions)		
1	<p>The Apostate will be punished in two ways: In this life: by killing if the apostate does not repent...</p> <p>...The apostate will be jailed for three days for self-evaluation, if he/she continues with their thinking; they should be killed for walking away from their true religion, for there is no benefit in keeping them alive.</p> <p>Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p86</p>	Direct calls to violence
2	<p>It is permissible to kill a sorcerer as declared by three of the Prophet's companions...</p> <p>Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p89</p>	
3	<p><u>The Goals of the Zionist Movement</u></p> <p>The Zionist is aiming for one main goal and that is Jewish world domination and the control of its events. They aim to reach this goal through various sub-goals, which are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stir the warring spirit of the Jews through religious and national extremism... 2. Instigating powers against each other, promoting feuds and wars between countries... <p>Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p115</p>	Conspiracy theory presented as fact

4	<p><u>The Protocols of the Elders of Zion</u> The protocols are a secret agreement, which aims to fulfill world domination by the Jews. It is speculated that it was made for the Basel conference and it was discovered in the 19th century. The Jews have tried to deny it, even though the evidence shows and proves that it was written by the Elders of Zion. Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p116</p>	Historic inaccuracy (The document was a hoax)
5	<p>Destructive movements used by Zionism to reach its goals: One of the tools used by the Zionists is the creation of organizations, which employs people of different nationalities, so that the Jews don't become the sole face of these organizations. These clubs work on charities and humane activities but the underlying goal is to achieve the goals of the Zionist movement. Some of the organizations are: 1. Masonism: a secretive Jewish organization working secretly to achieve the major Jewish interests. Masonism is a deceptive word, which means masonry, and its slogan is: freedom, fraternity and equality. 2. Bna'i... 3. Lions Clubs: Masonist clubs, centered in the United States, and has spies all over the world 4. Rotary Clubs Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p116</p>	Conspiracy theory presented as fact
6	<p>Show the dangers of Zionism through these strategies: - Dissemination of obscenity, immorality and usury - Stirring up sedition (fitnah) and plots throughout history - Encouraging and supporting deviant trends in literature and art Hadith and Islamic Civilization, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p118</p>	
7	<p>Allah blessed the World with Muhammad's presence and the Ummah witnessed the best of its times under him. But then in recent times, intrusions from other religions pushed shirk back into this Ummah due to the spread of the advocates of error and <i>ghulu</i> of the righteous, by building shrines on their graves and turning them into idols to be worshipped before Allah, praying to them, asking for help and offering sacrifices. Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p14</p>	Portrays Islamic minorities as enemies of Islam

8	<p>Reasons for deviation from the right doctrine: <i>Ghulu</i> [extremism] of all kinds: <i>ghulu</i> in the righteous and elevating their statuses whereby some people sanctify them or seek them for blessings, or believe that they possess abilities that only Allah himself enjoys: knowledge of the unknown, warding off harm, and bringing benefits. Others take them as intercessors, sometimes reaching the extremity of worshipping these people, blessing themselves with their shrines, getting close to them by offering sacrifices, praying to them and asking for help. Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p15</p>	Intolerant of Islamic minorities
9	<p>In the 16th century, heresies, disunity and Sufism were widespread. Infidel philosophers took over the lands of Muslims. Allah sent them Salahiddine Al-Ayoubi then Ibn Taymiyyah, who through his words and education fought the heretic acts of philosophers and Sufis and fought with his words and his sword the infidels of the Christian Crusaders. He refuted acts and doctrines of the heretic people. His writings are still used... against heretic people. Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p21</p>	
10	<p>Some people might deviate from monotheism because of bad upbringing and a pagan environment as the Prophet said: "All babies are born with the instinct <i>"fitrah"</i>; his parents turn him into a Jew, a Christian or a Magian (Zoroastrian)." Islam was not mentioned because Islam comes before deviation. Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p34</p>	Prejudicial against People of the Book
11	<p>Types of heresy: ...When Allah is given a name other than what he has named himself like calling Him Father by Christians. Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p57</p>	Describes Christianity as heresy
12	<p>Whoever draws similarities between the traits of God and his creations is not a true worshipper and is a worshipper of Idols which is similar to the Christians who worship Christ... Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p58</p>	Describes Christianity as heresy
13	<p>Many countries sought the formation of blocs to protect its interests. The enemies of the Islamic Ummah seek the disintegration of the Islamic world and the prevention of Islamic unity by trying to influence some of the Islamic countries to join their own blocs. National Studies, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p12</p>	Portrays multinational organizations as enemies of Islam

14	<p>The Islamic world suffers from an ideological flaw that stems from a weakness in adhering to the values and teachings of Islam. This flaw [...] is due to the foreign attacks against it that aim at fighting Islam and its believers and weakening Islamic creed in the spirit of its youth. [...] So are you aware my student brother of the threat and plots that the enemies of the nation are aiming at you? .</p> <p>National Studies, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p22-23</p>	Promotes narrative of conflict between the Islamic and Non-Islamic world
15	<p>Lessons learned from the story of Moses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Jews did not obey Allah's orders, neither did they accept His ways or thank Him for His blessings but they were always opposing all orders and all messengers. They denied Moses and his efforts. 2. <u>The Jews don't have deep faith</u> and have an inclination towards kufr (disbelief). 3. <u>The Jews are occupied by materialism</u>. The sole reason for the distortion of the Torah by the Jews was for the sake of getting material gains. 4. <u>The Jews are so eager about life, even if it means living under humiliation</u>, and they refuse to fight. 5. Feelings of arrogance and superiority inhabit the Jews. They claim they are the chosen people even though <u>God himself have denied that, humiliated them, misled them and made them of swine and apes.</u> 6. The Jews distorted the Torah read today. <p>History of the Prophets, Biographies and the Spread of Islam, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p31</p>	Religious justification of intolerance; extremely anti-Semitic
16	<p>The Christians were divided into numerous factions after Jesus, the most notable factions are:</p> <p>Jacobians: who believe Jesus was god</p> <p>Al-Nostouriya: who believe Jesus was the son of God</p> <p>Monotheists: who believe that Jesus was a worshipper of God and His Messenger. The two other infidel groups mentioned persecuted the Muslim one and were able to wipe them out. Only few monotheists remained to the day Mohammed was sent as a messenger.</p> <p>History of the Prophets, Biographies and the Spread of Islam, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p36</p>	Invalidates modern Christianity

17	<p>Give some of the lessons learned about the traits of the Jews, which require us to be careful and avoid dealing with them in present times.</p> <p>History of the Prophets, Biographies and the Spread of Islam, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p40</p>	Religious justification of intolerance
Positive Statements		
1	<p>Any type of aggression committed by individuals, groups or countries: by scaring, causing harm, threatening, unlawful killing, and any other act of violence, any individual or group crime aiming to scare or harm people, or to put their life or security in jeopardy, like: damaging the environment or any public spaces or private property, or any national or natural resources. All these are images of corruption that Allah himself have forbid us to for He said: "Do not seek mischief in the land for Allah loves not those who do mischief."</p> <p>And Allah has ordered a penalty against terrorism, aggression and corruption for He considers it an act of war against him and the Prophet. He said: "The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and commit mischief through the land is execution or crucifixion or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides or exile from the land". No human law exists which is harsher than this.</p> <p>Terrorism is a form of corruption that was forbidden by Allah. Corrupting the land is strictly forbidden regardless of who the perpetrator is. You should know that terrorism is not a form of Islamic Jihad.</p> <p>Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p142</p>	<p>This is a clear prohibition against terrorism.</p>

Table A3: Recommended for Removal in Grade 11 Textbooks (Benchmark for Evaluation of 2013 Revisions)		
1	Avoid supporting a team against another for it may lead to conflicts and hate... and it may lead to what God has not authorized like loving a Kafer and hating a believer. Jurisprudence, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p173	Promotes religious intolerance
2	In the end of time, Jesus will be sent down to earth, as has been revealed in the Quran and the Sunnah, and he will destroy the crosses and kill the pig, and he will refuse any religion other than Islam and will rule according to Mohammed's laws and not his own.... and Jesus's arrival will be a refutation against the Jews who claimed they killed him and a response to the Christians who have elevated his status. Monotheism, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p80	Intolerant towards People of the Book
3	"Other than those who you directed your wrath against" do not let us go on the path of those who have angered you, those who have known the truth but did not abide by it and they are the Jews, and those who have done similar things, "and those who had gone astray" those who have not been rightly guided and those who have strayed out, and they are the Christians and whoever followed their way. Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p12	Promotes religious intolerance
4	A believer searches for truth and teaches himself about its benefits and then works by it, as opposed to the Jews that have known the truth but did not abide by it, and as opposed to the Christians who worship Allah based on ignorance. Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p13	
5	Put a tick or cross in front of the following sentences and correct the wrong statements: a. Those who have angered Allah are: the Christians and all those who have wronged the true path, so they worshiped God but not on his own terms. () b. Those who have gone astray are: the Jews, and everyone who Allah has directed his anger against for they have corrupted and spread nonbelief (kufr) on the earth () Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p14	
6	Satisfaction of the Jews and Christians in the Muslims is impossible until they abandon Islam and follow their void religions. Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p37	Promotes religious hostility

7	<p>The Jewish and Christian scholars among the people of the Book know that the message of Islam is clearly the truth of what was found in their books. But they oppose it out of stubbornness and arrogance. God sees them, and will not forget actions for they will be punished.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p46</p>	Personal attack levied against an entire faith
8	<p>...God's law does not change. Jews and other Kuffar will beget what happened to the Pharaoh and his people and the reason is their kufr/disbelief... God promised defeat to the infidels and the victory of believers</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p93</p>	Promotes religious hostility
9	<p>[False callings against Islam] are of two types: religious and distorted like the Qadianis and the Baha'i, and the non-religious or secular like nationalism, socialism and others.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p103</p>	Intolerant of Islamic minorities
10	<p>Qadian today is one of the main strongholds for spreading aberration and deviation in the name of religion, and from within Islamic countries. This is how the Qadianism movement, in our current time has become a destructive and corruptive force in the Islamic world.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p105</p>	
11	<p>Christianization is a form of attack against the civilization of Muslim people, and the objectives of that being breaking the Muslims' will, and achieving control over them after the failure of the Crusades.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p139</p>	Promotes religious hostility
12	<p>(The harmful effects of medicine): [the doctors' true intentions of] using this profession for Christianization. The Christian Aid Harris said: the doctor must use the opportunity to reach the ears and hearts of the Muslims.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p141</p>	

13	<p>Most Christians agree on the fact that education is the best means of transforming the Muslims into followers of Christ. That is why many of the foreign schools in Arab countries were linked to Christian missions, and as the Jesuits say: the first missionary is the school and the schoolbooks that the Missionaries use to attack Islam, and forge the history of Muslims and accuse them of blind racism, and that Islam does not spread without the sword. And the girls' missionary schools are also very important to the missionaries, particularly the boarding schools, because they make prayers personal among the students and take them away from the religious effects of the Muslims homes.</p> <p>History of Islamic Civilization and Politics, Grade 11 (Term II), 2011-2012, p141</p>	Promotes religious conspiracy theories
Positive Statements		
1	<p>(199) "and certainly there are among the People of the Book those who believe in Allah" some groups from the People of the Book are prone to goodness and believe in Allah and worship Him only.</p> <p>"In the revelation to you" the Quran which was revealed to you.</p> <p>"And in the revelation to them" the Torah and the Bible which were revealed to them.</p> <p>"Bowing in humility to Allah" surrendering to Allah.</p> <p>"They will not sell the Signs of Allah for a miserable gain" They do not conceal what was revealed to them by Allah nor distort it like other People of the Book in exchange for material gains.</p> <p>"For them there is a reward from their Lord" Allah will reward these people on judgment day "God is swift in account" Allah is swift in judgment and will not get tired of judging and evaluating all your actions.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p117</p>	<p>This lesson challenges the blanket slanders, condemnations and attacks in the curriculum.</p> <p>While the bulk of contradictory material mutes this message, it is still tolerant.</p>

Table A4: Recommended for Removal in Grade 12 Textbooks (Benchmark for Evaluation of 2013 Revisions)		
1	The Islamic literature <u>instigates urges for the Jihad and will diminish the value of blasphemy.</u> Arabic Literature, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p11	Promotes literature as a weapon for religious conflict
2	Islamic literature is a means to respond to the mushrik poets, and is a form of <u>literature that will put terror in the souls of the mushrikeen.</u> Arabic Literature, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p12	
3	These were all factors that contributed to pushing Islamic literature to stand against what emerged from the <u>blasphemy and societal and ethical corrupting, such as the Sufi ways and what they had adopted from witchcraft and sorcery,</u> and what it had engrained in the spirit of the people in terms of a tendency towards dependence and a lack of motivation and other such aspects of weakness. <u>In addition to other concepts such as the belief in saints and the righteous, and the visiting of the graves and the call for intercession.</u> Arabic Literature, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p17	Intolerant of Islamic minorities
4	<u>Jihad for Allah's cause is a winning trade and form of salvation from painful suffering, and aims at spreading Islam and defending it and correcting people's beliefs and orientations towards the worship of God. It also aims at stopping darkness and corruption, and obliterating their roots from the earth.</u> National Studies, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p26	Promotes aggression
5	The Understanding of Jihad: there are two understandings of Jihad, the first [...] and a special meaning which is: putting effort and energy towards <u>fighting for Allah's sake to spread Islam</u> and defend it... National Studies, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p26	
6	[...] the danger of a Jewish presence in Palestine as a threat to the religion of Islam, for <u>Jews have been the enemies of Islam and our Prophet Mohammad since the dawn of Islam,</u> and still are the predominant combatants against it, and the danger of their control over Palestine and Jerusalem in particular which they have declared as their capital, is represented by their determination to destroy the Aqsa Mosque and build their alleged synagogue on its ruins, heaven forbid, for they have burnt it and repeatedly attacked it, but they will not, even if they don't stop, succeed in eliminating its features. Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), p98	This ignores significant periods of history during which Jews and Muslims co-existed peacefully

7	<p>Palestine is a Muslim land, owned by whoever has given himself to Allah, and the Jews have strayed from the true religion of Moses, and have distorted the Torah, and <u>they are the source of corruption.</u></p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), p105</p>	Religious justification for bias
8	<p>(Definition of Jihad) Specific definition: <u>putting effort into fighting the kuffar.</u></p> <p>Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p39</p>	Promotes violence
9	<p>"Whoever fights so that the word of Allah could be the highest, has killed for the sake of Allah... And they will not stop fighting you until they return you from your religion if they can."</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p43</p>	
10	<p>"Indeed, those who disbelieve in Our verses - We will drive them into a Fire. Every time their skins are roasted through We will replace them with other skins so they may taste the punishment. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted in Might and Wise."</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p11</p>	
11	<p>...and do not kill whom God has forbidden you from killing such as Muslims and infidels who have a pact with Muslims, except those whose killing is rightful such as apostates.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p44</p>	Direct call to violence
12	<p>Surat al-Anam Verse 165: "Indeed, those who have divided their religion and become sects." The text states: "these are the Jews and the Christians and other infidels who changed the upright creed of Abraham [...]"</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p49</p>	Promotes religious intolerance
13	<p>[...] Zionism does not seek to obtain the affection of others because it does not seek to draw them to Judaism, thus, the relations of Jews with the countries they have lived in have been tense and unstable which has led many peoples to act against them and turn aggressive against them and kick them out. For ever since the Jews were fragmented communities in different countries they have not known peace with any nation because of their tendency towards cunningness, deceit, and conspiracy, and there is no better example of this than the Muslim experience with them in the city that The Prophet kicked them out of, and called for their expulsion from the Arabian peninsula in the same way that occurred to them in other countries like Germany, Poland, Spain, and others.</p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p117-118</p>	Uses religion to justify intolerance

14	<p>Jews throughout their history have never given any attention to peace because they believe that it pertains to the Jewish nation only, as for other nations, building peace with them is impossible because they believe that the other nations must live in internal struggle that prevents them from obtaining stability so that it may not confront it, and maybe that explains the Jewish adamancy towards the spread of corruption and chaos through different means even with the countries that acknowledge its existence by signing a peace treaty with it.</p> <p>Islamic World Studies, Grade 12 (Term II), 2011-2012, p118</p>	<p>Promotes the perception of an eternal conflict between Islam and Jews</p> <p>Message does not allow for any embrace of a peaceful relationship</p>
15	<p>It was in these days that Abdul Aziz said his great and deep words: "America and Britain have to decide between an Arab land filled with peace, or a <u>Jewish land drowning in blood.</u>"</p> <p>Reading Comprehension, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p85</p>	Extremely hostile towards Israel
16	<p><u>Shirk is a reason to fight its people and commit Jihad against them (mujahadatihim).</u></p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p13</p>	Direct call to violence
17	<p>The conditions and regulations for fighting the Kuffar and the polytheists:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If they refuse the invitation to Islam and to pay the <i>jizya</i>. 2. Muslims have to be powerful enough to [...] fight <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p13</p>	
18	<p>The great shirk is a good enough reason to fight its people...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p16</p>	
19	<p>The human being either is an original kafir like the Jews, Christians, and the pagans, as in the words of Allah: "Those who disbelieve among the people of the Book and among the polytheists will dwell in hellfire. They are the worst of creatures." The act of "takfeer" against these people is a responsibility. And whoever doesn't is a kafir himself because the person is denying what was brought to us by Allah and His Prophet.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p30</p>	Dismissive of the concept of the People of the Book

20	<p>The ruling against sorcery and sorcerers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The first type [of sorcery]: The one that utilizes the devils by worshipping them and sacrificing to them [...] This is an act of polytheism, and its perpetrator should be killed for apostasy. - The second type [of sorcery]: The magic of sorcery and deceit with the use of potions, smoke, drugs and spells... the perpetrator should be punished in order to stop the evil from spreading, even if that means killing the perpetrator. The punishment should be executed by the perpetrators' guardians or their delegates. <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p41</p>	Direct call to violence
21	<p>The Prophet blocked all paths that lead to shirk:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He warned against venerating the righteous and saints because that will lead to their worship... 2. The Prophet also warned against building structures over graves.... 3. The Prophet also warned against praying at graves... <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p49</p>	Intolerant of Islamic minorities
22	<p>Forbidden loyalty:</p> <p>Being loyal, loving and advocating for kuffar and disregarding Muslims. "Let not the believer take the nonbelievers as friends or helpers, if they do then they shall have no relation to Allah except by way of precaution, that you guard yourselves from them" It is forbidden by Allah for believers to be loyal to kuffar.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p105</p>	Directly advocates for intolerance against non-Muslims
23	<p>The reasons for hostility towards kuffar:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The kuffars are enemies of Allah [...] 2. Being loyal to the kuffar means one is satisfied with their state of kufr [...] 3. Kuffar are the enemies of Islam and its people. 4. Being loyal to kuffar means one is willing to advocate for them, and this causes the discontent of Allah and His punishment is due. <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p105</p>	

24	<p>Permissible hostility: Islam authorized hating whatever Allah hates from corruption, kufr, and sins and whoever commits any of these, then a Muslim is ordered to disown and hate everything that Allah and His Messenger hate as He said: : “ Allah hates corruption” and “Allah does not permit the kufr worship...” ...The hatred and disowning of Kuffar, and hostility towards them because of their state of kufr and shirk...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p113</p>	Directly advocates for intolerance against non-Muslims
25	<p>The effects of imitating the kuffar... great danger to Islam 1. imitating them is an act which goes against Allah... 2. ...might lead to loving them 3. ...shows a sign of admiration 4. ...deviation of Muslims away from their own religion...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p118</p>	Promotes religious intolerance
26	<p>Innovation in worship: Includes the chants or zikr innovated by Sufists for they are contradictory to the authorized zikr Building on graves, building mosques, and visiting them for the purpose of seeking blessings or pleading the dead and other polytheist actions... Women visiting graves, for the Prophet cursed them.</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p133</p>	Promotes intolerance of Islamic minorities
Positive Statements		
1	<p>Humans enjoy an important standing in Islam for 14 centuries ago, human rights were legalized to organize humanity's relationship with God and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, to protect the dignity of humans, and to promote principles of social, economic and political rights and freedoms. The Prophet declared the principles of human rights in his farewell speech and last sermon in which he said “Oh people, your God is one, All mankind comes from Adam and Eve, therefore an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab”</p> <p>Library and Research, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p35</p>	Religious support for ethnic tolerance

2	The Qur'an commands to treat parents well and with respect, regardless of whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims. Tafsir, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p104	Religious support for religious tolerance
3	Military security is a part of national security, and Islamic teachings calls to Jihad for Allah's cause, to raise his word up high. However, Islam does not call for beginning the aggression, in fact it stresses peacefulness. Reading Comprehension, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p72	Restricts use of violence
4	We must caution against imitating non-Muslims in the way they host their dinner parties, for in that there is a loss of Islamic identity, and the risk of falling into practical imitation, including: mixing the two sexes in the dinner, hosting the dinners to music and singing, and photography. And this is similar to what some people do in introducing the husband and his peers to the women while they are fully adorned, as a result of which might occur something larger than what Sharia approves of. Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p61	Tolerant warning against violation of Islamic law
5	There is a difference between forbidden loyalty to kuffar and charity and goodness... treating a peaceful kuffar kindly... is not considered to be forbidden loyalty... Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p109	Conditions religious intolerance
6	Errors: ...To say that all kinds of loyalty to kuffar is forbidden is not true, but there are many provisions and conditions which were previously mentioned, and not all may lead to expulsion... To believe that a natural love for a kafer relative is forbidden. To love someone's parents, wife and children is natural but does not entail loving their religion or accepting it. Natural love should be accompanied with hate to their faith because of their kufr...supporting an unjust Muslim against a kafer. This is wrong because Allah forbade injustice even against enemies. Therefore, support the Muslim by stopping his injustice... Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p110	

ADDENDUM B: QUR'ANIC SOURCES RELATED TO PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

1. INTRODUCTION

This study found that the most biased, intolerant and inflammatory quotations in Saudi textbooks were in relation to statements made about Jews and Christians. This could lead many in the West to assume that biases against non-Muslims emanate directly from the Qur'an. An assessment by Muslim scholars for this report refutes that idea. A review of verses from the Qur'an and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad show that these biased and intolerant statements about Jews and Christians largely run counter to the fundamental teachings of Islam. The main problem is not that Saudi textbooks reflect an Islamic view of non-Muslims, but that they present a selective interpretation of the Islamic doctrine.

Muslims believe that the source of the Qur'an is the same God that sent prophets to other nations and peoples since the beginning of time. This is clearly reflected even in the early teachings in the Saudi education system, as seen in this passage from the newest edition of the Grade 3 Monotheism text:

What does the tenant "believing in the Holy books" mean? - It means believing in all the Holy books that God had sent upon the prophets to guide their people.

The books are:

- *Quran which was sent to Muhammad*
- *Torah which was sent to Moses*
- *The Bible which was sent to Jesus.*

The proof is in God's words: "The Messenger believes in what has been revealed to him by Allah as do the men of faith who believe in Allah, his angels, His books, and His messengers. We make no distinctions between the messengers"

The stories in the Qur'an about Jews, Christians, and other communities of faith, whether positive or negative, are essentially narratives that God uses to instruct Muslims (and at times admonish Jews and Christians about not following the path given by God through their prophets and scriptures) about what he expects from them in terms of belief and practice. Much of this material highlights cases related to these faith communities that are designed to help Muslims avoid repeating their mistakes while simultaneously finding inspiration in the good that they achieved.

Overwhelmingly, however, the agency for action against these communities for wrongdoing is reserved to God, and not given to the Muslim community. Take this verse from Sura Baqra 133 as an example:

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'The Jews said that the Christians follow nothing (i.e. are not on the right religion); and the Christians said that the Jews follow nothing (i.e. are not on the right religion); though they both recite the Scripture. Like unto their word, said (the pagans) who know not. Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection about that wherein they have been differing.'

The Saudi textbook writers, however, seem to take a different view. God's criticism of these non-Muslim faith communities is consistently interpreted as giving them broad license to attack Jews and Christian, through criticism, exclusion and violence. These attacks, it should be noted, are generally not based on verses from the Qur'an, but are typically political propaganda and historical anger based on perceived injustices. The logic behind them has often simply been lost and distilled down to direct racism. In fact, however, even in cases of polytheism, among the most egregious crimes in the world view of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab, the Qur'an explicitly reserves punishment to God:

Verily, those who believe (in Allah and in His Messenger Muhammad), and those who are Jews, and the Sabians, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who worship others besides Allah, truly, Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection. Verily! Allah is Witness over all things. (Al Hajj, Chapter 22, Verse 17)

In some instances the Qur'an, in fact, orders Muslims only to engage in constructive criticism or arguments with People of the Book:

And argue not with the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians), unless it be in (a way) that is better (with good words and in good manner, inviting them to Islamic Monotheism with His Verses), except with such of them as do wrong, and say (to them): "We believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you; our Ilah (God) and your Ilah (God) is One (i.e. Allah), and to Him we have submitted (as Muslims)." (Al-Ankaboot, Chapter 29, Verse 46)

The warning against conflict and inhospitable behavior toward non-Muslims is not one that only comes from God, however. The Prophet Muhammad issued his own severe warnings, such as:

"Whoever oppresses any Dhimmi (non-Muslim citizen of the Islamic state), I shall be his prosecutor on the Day of Judgment." (Ajlouni, Kashf al-Khafa' II, 218)

A selection of quotes from the Qur'an about the Ahl-e-Kitab, or People of the Book, follows. Both cooperative and critical quotes are included, in an effort to inspire reflection on the breadth of Qur'anic teaching with respect to these faith traditions, versus how it has been represented by Salafism, as demonstrated in the textbook review and analysis. These quotes demonstrate that, far from a sweeping indictment of the People of the Book in the Qur'an or the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, there exists a great deal of nuance. On balance, the supportive and cooperative material outweighs the negative, and undermines efforts to base extreme prejudice toward non-Muslims in Islamic doctrine.

Table B1: Verses about Ahl-e-Kitab, (Jews or Christians)		
	Original	English Translation
1.	<p>مَا يَوَدُّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ وَلَا الْمَشْرِكِينَ أَنْ يُنَزَّلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ خَيْرٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ يَخْتَصُّ بِرَحْمَتِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ Baqara V#105</p>	<p>It is never the wish of those without faith among the People of the Book nor the polytheists, that any good be sent down upon you from your Lord. But Allah with His mercy chooses whom He pleases, for Allah is the Possessor of great grace.</p>
2.	<p>وَدَّ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَوْ يَرُدُّونَكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيمَانِكُمْ كُفَّارًا خَسَدًا مِنْ عِنْدِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ فَاعْلَمُوا وَأَصْفَحُوا حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ Baqara 109</p>	<p>Many of the People of the Book wish if they could turn you back into unbelievers after you have believed, out of envy proceeding from their souls, even though the Truth has become clear to them. But forgive and overlook until Allah gives his command for He has power over all things</p>
3.	<p>وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ لَيْسَتِ النَّصَارَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَقَالَتِ النَّصَارَى لَيْسَتِ الْيَهُودُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَهُمْ يَتْلُونَ الْكِتَابَ كَذَلِكَ قَالَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ مِثْلَ قَوْلِهِمْ فَاللَّهُ يَحْكُمُ بَيْنَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فِيمَا كَانُوا فِيهِ يَخْتَلِفُونَ Baqara 113</p>	<p>The Jews say: "The Christians follow nothing (true), and the Christians say: "the Jews follow nothing (true); yet they both are readers of the scripture. Likewise those who know nothing make similar statements. Allah will judge between them on Judgment Day in that wherein they differ</p>
4.	<p>وَلَنْ تَرْضَى عَنْكَ الْيَهُودُ وَلَا النَّصَارَى حَتَّى تَتَّبِعَ مِلَّتَهُمْ قُلْ إِنَّ هَذِي سُبْحَى اللَّهِ هُوَ الْهَدَى وَلَئِنْ اتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ الَّذِي جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ مَا لَكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ وَلَا نَصِيرٍ Baqara 120</p>	<p>Never will the Jews or Christians be pleased with you (O Muhammed) until you follow their religion. Say: Surely, Allah's guidance is the (real) guidance. Were you to follow their desires after the knowledge which has come to you, then you shall have no protection nor any help from Allah</p>
5.	<p>قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى كَلِمَةٍ سَوَاءٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ أَلَّا نَعْبُدَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ وَلَا نُشْرِكَ بِهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُنَا آيَاتِنَا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُولُوا اشْهَدُوا بِأَنَّا مُسْلِمُونَ Al Imran 64</p>	<p>(O Mohammed) Say: "O people of the Book: Let us come to common terms between us, that we worship none but Allah and that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as Lords besides Allah. Then, if they turn away, say: "Bear witness that we are Muslims"</p>
6.	<p>يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تُخَاجِرُونَ فِي إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمَا أَنْزَلْنَا الْقُرْآنَ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ (65) هَا أَنْتُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ خَاجَجْتُمْ فِيمَا لَكُمْ بِهِ عِلْمٌ فَلِمَ تُخَاجِرُونَ فِيمَا لَيْسَ لَكُمْ بِهِ عِلْمٌ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ Al Imran 65</p>	<p>O People of the Book, why do you argue about Abraham while the Torah and the Gospel were not revealed until after him? Then will you not reason?</p>

7.	وَدَّتْ طَائِفَةٌ مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَوْ يُضِلُّوكُمْ وَمَا يُضِلُّوكُمْ إِلَّا أَنفُسُهُمْ وَمَا يَسْعَوْنَ Al Imran 69	A faction of the People of the Book wish they could mislead you. But they do not mislead except themselves, and they perceive it not.
8.	يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تُكَفِّرُونَ بآيَاتِ اللَّهِ وَأَنْتُمْ تَسْهَوْنَ Al Imran 70	O People of the Book, why do you disbelieve in the verses of Allah while you witness (to their truth)?
9.	يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تَلْبِسُونَ الْحَقَّ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَتَكْتُمُونَ الْحَقَّ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ Al Imran 71	O people of the Book, why do you confuse the truth with falsehood and conceal the truth while you know (it)?
10.	وَقَالَتْ طَائِفَةٌ مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ آمَنُوا بِالَّذِي أُنزِلَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَحَاجَّةِ الْفُتُورِ وَكَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِهِ فِي الْأَوَّلِ Al Imran 72	And a faction of the People of the Scripture say (to each other), "Believe in that which was revealed to the believers at the beginning of the day and reject it at its end then perhaps they will abandon their religion
11.	وَمِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مَنْ إِن تَأْمَنَهُ بَقِطَارٍ يُؤَدُّ إِلَيْكَ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِن تَأْمَنَهُ بدينارٍ لَا يُؤَدُّ إِلَيْكَ إِلَّا مَا دُمْتَ عَلَيْهِ قَائِمًا ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَالُوا لَيْسَ عَلَيْنَا فِي الْأُمِّيَّاتِ سَبِيلٌ وَيَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ Al Imran 75	And among the People of the Book is he who, if you entrust him with a great amount (of wealth), he will return it to you. And among them is he who, if you entrust him with a (single) silver coin, he will not return it to you unless you are constantly standing over him (demanding it). That is because they say, "there is no blame upon us concerning the unlearned." And they speak untruth about Allah while they know it.
12.	قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تُكَفِّرُونَ بآيَاتِ اللَّهِ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ Al Imran 98	Say: "O People of the Book, why do you disbelieve in the verses of Allah while Allah is Witness over what you do?"
13.	قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تُصَدِّدُونَ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ تَبْغُونَهَا عِوَجًا وَأَنْتُمْ شُهَدَاءُ وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَافِلٍ Al Imran 99	Say: O People of the Book, why do you avert from the way of Allah those who believe, seeking to make it seem deviant, while you are witnesses (to the truth). And Allah is not unaware of what you do."
14.	كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَوْ آمَنَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ لَكُنْ خَيْرًا لَهُمْ مِنْهُمْ وَكَثَرٌ مِّنَ الْفَاسِقِينَ Al Imran 110	You are the best nation produced (as an example) for mankind. You enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah. If only the People of the Book had believed, it would have been better for them. Among them are believers, but most of them are defiantly disobedient.

15.	<p>لَيْسُوا سَوَاءً مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ أُمَّةٌ قَانِئَةٌ يَتْلُونَ آيَاتِ اللَّهِ آنَاءَ اللَّيْلِ وَهُمْ يَسْجُدُونَ (113) يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ يُؤْتُونَ فِي الْخَيْرَاتِ وَأُولَئِكَ مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ Al Imran 113, 114</p>	<p>They are not all the same; among the People of the Book is a community standing (in obedience), reciting the verses of Allah during periods of the night and prostrating in prayer (113) They Believe in Allah and the Last day, and they enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and hasten to good deeds. And those are among the righteous.</p>
16.	<p>وَإِنْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَمَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْهِمْ خَاشِعِينَ لِلَّهِ لَا يَشْتَرُونَ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا أُولَئِكَ لَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ Al Imran 199</p>	<p>And indeed, among the People of the Book are those who believe in Allah and what was revealed to you and what was revealed to them, being humbly submissive to Allah. They do not exchange the verses of Allah for a small price. Those will have their reward with their Lord. Indeed, Allah is swift in account</p>
17.	<p>لَيْسَ بِأَمَانَتِكُمْ وَلَا أَمَانِي أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ مَنْ يَعْمَلْ سُوءًا يُجْزَ بِهِ وَلَا يَجِدْ لَهُ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَلِيًّا وَلَا نَصِيرًا Nisaa 123</p>	<p>Paradise is not obtained by your wishful thinking nor by that of the People of the Book. Whoever does a wrong will be recompensed for it, and he will not find besides Allah a protector or a helper.</p>
18.	<p>يَسْأَلُكَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ أَنْ تُنَزِّلَ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابًا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ فَقَدْ سَأَلُوا مُوسَى أَكْبَرَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَقَالُوا أَرِنَا اللَّهَ جَهْرَةً فَأَخَذَتْهُمُ الصَّاعِقَةُ بِظُلْمِهِمْ ثُمَّ اتَّخَذُوا الْبَعْلَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَتْهُمْ الْبَيِّنَاتُ فَعَفَوْنَا عَنْ ذَلِكَ وَإِنَّا مُوسَى سُلْطَانًا مُبِينًا Nisaa 153</p>	<p>The People of the Book ask you to bring down to them a book from the heaven. But they had asked of Moses even greater than that and said, "show us Allah outright", so the thunderbolt struck them for their wrongdoing. Then they took the calf (for worship) after clear evidences had come to them, and We pardoned that. And we gave Moses a clear authority.</p>
19.	<p>وَإِنْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ إِلَّا لِيُؤْمِنَنَّ بِهِ قَبْلَ مَوْتِهِ وَنِسَاء 159 وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَكُونُ عَلَيْهِمْ شَهِيدًا</p>	<p>And there is none of the people of the book, but must believe in Jesus before his death. And on the Day of Judgment, he will be a witness against them.</p>

20.	يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لَا تَغْلُوا فِي دِينِكُمْ وَلَا تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ إِلَّا الْحَقَّ إِنَّمَا الْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَكَلِمَتُهُ الْقَاهَا إِلَى مَرْيَمَ وَرُوحٌ مِنْهُ فَآمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَلَا تَقُولُوا ثَلَاثَةٌ انْتَهُوا خَيْرًا لَكُمْ إِنَّمَا اللَّهُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ سُبْحَانَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ وَكِيلًا Nisaa .171	O People of the Book, commit no excesses in your religion nor say of Allah aught but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, was no more than a Messenger of Allah and His Word ("BE!") and he was) which He directed to Mary and a soul/spirit (<i>Ruh</i>) created by Him. So believe in Allah and his Messengers. Say not: "Three" (trinity), Cease! (it is) better for you. For Allah is but one God, Glory be to Him (far Exalted is He) above having a son. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth. And Allah is All-Sufficient as a Disposer of affairs
21.	يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولُنَا يُبَيِّنُ لَكُمْ كَثِيرًا مِمَّا كُنْتُمْ تُخْفُونَ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَيَعْفُو عَنْ كَثِيرٍ قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ نُورٌ وَكِتَابٌ مُبِينٌ Maida 15	O People of the Book! Our Messenger has come to you, making clear to you much of what you concealed of the Book and passing over much. Indeed, there has come to you (a new) light and a clear book from Allah
22.	وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ وَالنَّصَارَى نَحْنُ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحِبَّاؤُهُ قُلْ فَلِمَ يُعَذِّبُكُمْ بِذُنُوبِكُمْ بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَّنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا إِلَهٌ مَعْبُودٌ Maida 18	And (both) the Jews and Christians say: We are the children of Allah and His loved ones", they say: "why then does He punish you for your sins? "Nay you are human beings from among those He has created. He forgives whom He wills, and He punishes whom He wills. And to Allah belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them, and to Him is the final destination.
23.	يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولُنَا يُبَيِّنُ لَكُمْ عَلَى فَتْرَةٍ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ أَنْ تَقُولُوا مَا جَاءَنَا مِنْ بَشِيرٍ وَلَا نَذِيرٍ فَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ بَشِيرٌ وَنَذِيرٌ وَاللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ Maida 19	O People of the Book! Our Messenger has come to you making (things) clear to you after a break in (the series of) Messengers, lest you say: "there came unto us no bringer of good tidings and no warner": So indeed there has come to you a bringer of glad tidings and a warner, and Allah has the power over all things.
24.	يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ Maida 51	O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as Auliya' (friends, protectors, helpers, etc.), they are but Auliya' to one another. And if any amongst you takes them as Auliya', then surely he is one of them. Verily, Allah guides the unjust and wrongdoing people.
25.	قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ هَلْ تَقْبَلُونَ مِنَّا إِلَّا أَنْ آمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَمَا أُنْزِلَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَأَنْ أَكْثَرُكُمْ فَاسِقُونَ Maida 59	Say: "O People of the Book! Do you disapprove of us for no other reason than that we believe in Allah, and the revelation that has come to us and that which came before us, and that most of you are <i>fasiqun</i> (rebellious and disobedient to Allah)?"

26.	<p>وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ يَدُ اللَّهِ مَغْلُولَةٌ غُلَّتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَلُعِنُوا بِمَا قَالُوا بَلْ يَدَاهُ مَبْسُوطَتَانِ يُنفِقُ كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ وَلَيَزِيدَنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا وَالْقَتْنَا بَيْنَهُمُ الْعَدَاوَةَ وَالْبَغْضَاءَ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ كُلَّمَا أَوْقَدُوا نَارًا لِلْحَرْبِ أَطْفَأَهَا اللَّهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ Maida 64</p>	<p>And the Jews say, "The Hands of Allah is chained (tied up)". Chained are their hands, and cursed are they for what they say. Rather, both His hands are extended. He spends (of His Bounty) as He wills. And that which has been revealed to you from your Lord will surely increase in many of them their rebellion and disbelief. And We have cast among them animosity and hatred until the Day of Resurrection. Every time they kindled the fire of war (against you), Allah extinguished it and they strive to do mischief on earth. And Allah does not like the Mufsidun (mischief-makers).</p>
27.	<p>وَلَوْ أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ آمَنُوا وَاتَّقَوْا لَكُنَّا لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ وَلَئِنْ كَانُوا لَا يُفْقَهُوا ذَلِكَ فَقُلْ أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ الْعَلِيمَ الْعَلِيمَ</p>	<p>And if only the People of the Book had believed and feared Allah, We would have removed their evil deeds and we would have admitted them to the Gardens of Paradise</p>
28.	<p>قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لَسْتُمْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ حَتَّى تُقِيمُوا الشُّرُوعَ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَلَيَزِيدَنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا فَلَا تَأْسَ عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ Maida 68</p>	<p>Say: "O People of the Book, you are standing on nothing until you act according to the Torah and the Gospel, and what has (now) been revealed to you from your Lord. It is the revelation which has come to you from your Lord that increases in most of them rebellion and disbelief. So do not grieve over the people who disbelieve</p>
29.	<p>قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لَا تَغْلُوا فِي دِينِكُمْ غَيْرَ الْحَقِّ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا أَهْوَاءَ قَوْمٍ قَدْ ضَلُّوا مِنْ قَبْلُ وَأَضَلُّوا كَثِيرًا وَضَلُّوا عَنْ سَوَاءِ السَّبِيلِ Maida 77</p>	<p>Say: "O People of the Book, do not exceed limits in your religion beyond the truth and do not follow the inclinations of a people who had gone astray before and who misled many and went astray from the Right Path"</p>
30.	<p>لَتَجِدَنَّ أَمْثَ النَّاسِ عَدَاوَةً لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا وَلَتَجِدَنَّ أَقْرَبَهُمْ مَوَدَّةً لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّا نَصَارَى ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسِيَّيْنِ وَرُهْبَانًا وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ Maida 82</p>	<p>You will find the most intense of people in animosity towards the believers are the Jews and those who associate others with Allah. And you will certainly find the nearest of them in affection to the believers those who say "we are Christians" That is because among them are priests and monks and because they are not arrogant.</p>

31.	<p>وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ عَزِيزُ ابْنِ اللَّهِ وَقَالَتِ النَّصَارَى الْمَسِيحُ ابْنُ اللَّهِ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ يُضَاهَوْنَ قَوْلَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ قَبْلُ قَاتِلْهُمْ اللَّهُ أَعْلَى يُؤَفِّكُوْنَ (30) اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَابَهُمْ وَرَهْبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَالْمَسِيحُ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ وَمَا أُمِرُوا إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ Tawba 30, 31</p>	<p>And they Jews say: Uzair is the son of Allah, and the Christians say: the Messiah is the son of Allah; these are the words of their mouths. They imitate the saying of those who disbelieved. May Allah destroy them, how they are deluded away from the Truth (30) They took their rabbis and their monks to be their lords besides Allah, and also Messiah, the son of Mary. And they were not commanded except to worship one God; there is no deity except Him. Exalted is He above whatever they associate with Him.</p>
32.	<p>وَلَا تُجَادِلُوا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ إِلَّا بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ وَقُولُوا آمَنَّا بِالَّذِي أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَأَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَالْهِنَا وَالْهِنَا وَاجِدْ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ Ankaboot 46</p>	<p>And do not dispute with the People of the Book except by what is best, except those of them who act unjustly, and say: "we believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you, and our Allah and your Allah is one, and to Him we submit."</p>
33.	<p>وَأَنْزَلَ الَّذِينَ ظَاهَرُوهُمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مِنْ صَيَاصِبِهِمْ وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرُّعْبَ فَرِيقًا تَقْتُلُونَ وَتَأْسِرُونَ فَرِيقًا Ahzaab 26</p>	<p>And those of the People of the Book who backed them (the disbelievers) Allah brought them down from their fortresses and cast terror into their hearts, so that a group (of them) you killed, and a group you made captives</p>
34.	<p>ثَلَا يَعْلَمُ أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ إِلَّا يَتَّقُونِ عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ وَأَنَّ الْفَضْلَ بِيَدِ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ Hadeed 29</p>	<p>So that the People of the Book may know that they have no power whatsoever over the Grace of Allah, and that His Grace is entirely in His Hand to bestow it on whomever He wills. And Allah is the Owner of Great Bounty.</p>

35.	هُوَ الَّذِي أَخْرَجَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ لِأَوَّلِ الْخَشْرِ مَا ظَنَنْتُمْ أَنْ يَخْرُجُوا وَظَنُّوا أَنَّهُمْ مَانِعَتُهُمْ حُصُونُهُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ فَأَتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَحْتَسِبُوا وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرُّعْبَ يُخْرِبُونَ بُيُوتَهُمْ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَيْدِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَاعْتَبِرُوا يَا أُولِيَ الْأَبْصَارِ Hashar 2	It is He who expelled the disbelievers among the People of the Book (i.e. the Jews of the tribe of Bani An-Nadir) from their homes at first gathering. You did not think that they would get out. And they thought that their fortresses would defend them from Allah. But Allah's torment reached them from a place whereof they expected it not, and He cast terror into their hearts, so that they destroyed their own dwellings with their own hands and the hands of the believers, therefore take warning, O people of vision.
36.	أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا يَقُولُونَ لِإِخْوَانِهِمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَئِنْ أَخْرَجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجُنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلَا نَطِيعُ فِيكُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِنْ قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنْصُرَنَّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ Hashar 11	Have you (o Mohammed) not observed the hypocrites who say to their friends who have disbelieved among the People of the Book: "If you are expelled, we too will go out with you, and we shall never obey any one against you, and if you are attacked, we shall indeed help you". But Allah is witness that they are indeed liars.
37.	مَنْ يَكُنِ الْيَدِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ وَالْمُشْرِكِينَ مُتَنَفِّئِينَ حَتَّى تَأْتِيَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَةُ Bayina 1	Those who disbelieve from among the People of the book and among the <i>mushrikeen</i> , were not going to leave (their disbelief) until there came to them clear evidence
38.	إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ وَالْمُشْرِكِينَ فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أُولَئِكَ هُمْ شَرُّ الْبَرِيَّةِ Bayina 6	Indeed, those who disbelieve from among the People of the Book and among the <i>mushrikeen</i> will be in the Hellfire, abiding there eternally. Those are the worst of people

ADDENDUM C: TOLERANT MATERIAL IN THE SAUDI CURRICULUM

1. INTRODUCTION

The intolerance found in the Saudi textbooks has been well documented, perhaps to the neglect of the many tolerant messages in the curriculum. Education in the Kingdom must be understood in its proper context as a vehicle for both moral and religious development, as well as academic learning. In nearly every case, religious education is based on material written hundreds of years ago, before the modern concepts of human rights and religious tolerance had been described, and could hardly be expected to adhere to contemporary standards. Islam is no exception.

The modern Saudi curriculum is based on a puritanical interpretation of Islam that emphasizes imitation of the behavior of the Prophet and early Muslims. Thus any effort to evaluate it against modern standards of tolerance will admittedly be imperfect. The very question of whether or not the Saudi curriculum promotes religious and ethnic tolerance in the modern era could itself be seen as intrinsically biased, as it does not consider the state of tolerance in the time of the Prophet, from which the material originated.

The Islamic doctrine abounds with lessons of tolerance that are in many ways as ground-breaking today as they were in the time of the Prophet. While the Saudi curriculum seems to emphasize the more pejorative aspects of Islam over the messages of peace and tolerance, it does not entirely ignore them. As the table below demonstrates, the Saudi curriculum is not exclusively focused on hatred and condemnation, but rather exists in a certain degree of tension within itself. The informed reader may note that the positive content found in the table is refuted elsewhere in the curriculum, but the Kingdom may argue that the reverse is true, that the lessons below actually prevent the student from developing an intolerant perspective.

This study and others clearly contend that such positive messages are drowned out by the prevalence and depth of prejudice in Saudi textbooks and must be dramatically amplified, but a condemnation of the curriculum that wholly ignores these positive aspects would be selective and incomplete. The lessons that follow are examples of Islamic tolerance and, if amplified and expanded, could form a basis of a generalized tolerance for the entire curriculum.

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Table C1: Tolerant Material in the Saudi Curriculum		
#	English Translation/Citation	Analysis
1	My religion teaches me to improve our treatment of the help (maids and workers). Jurisprudence, Grade 2 (Term II), 2011-2012, p14	Foreign workers are often the Saudi student's first exposure to a religious minority
2	The Prophet denies that a person has reached the necessary faith if he does not love his/her Muslim brethren... Hadith, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, p60	Challenges the messages of intolerance in other textbooks towards Islamic minorities
3	"People of the book, let us come to common terms between us that we worship no one other than Allah, that we associate no partners with Him, that we choose no one from among ourselves as patrons and lords, say that we bear witness that we are believers." Monotheism, Grade 5 (Term II), 2011-2012, p12	Strikes a conciliatory tone. Recognizes the commonalities between People of the Book and Muslims
4	The Prophet said: "Support your brother whether he is an oppressor or oppressed." So one of his companions asked him why should he support an oppressor even if he is a Muslim, the Prophet answered: "you support him by demanding him to stop the oppression." Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p42	Specifically prohibits Muslim oppression
5	Islam is the religion of love and brotherhood. It demanded a relationship among Muslims based on these principles. Islam warned against issues that might cause hatred and animosity between Muslims. Hadith, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p47	Challenges the messages of intolerance in other textbooks towards Islamic minorities
6	The reason behind the call for Monotheism: when the Prophet used to preach Islam, he did not use force or seek violence to show people the right path of guidance. The Prophet made sure they knew that this was for their own good that they were being guided to find this path... Monotheism, Grade 7 (Term II), 2011-2012, p36	Uses the Prophet as an example of religious tolerance. Forbids force or violence
7	Is justice during dealing with people for Muslims only? [being just] Explain this. Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p20	Reinforces Islamic prohibition on mistreating non-Muslims

8	<p>Oppression is a bad characteristic, and a big sin, that the Prophet warns you of, and tells you the punishment of the oppressor. Of his punishment is: He will be in hell on the day of Judgment. ...Be careful of oppressing your classmate, children, servants, and others. Because the prayers of the oppressed are answered... The prayer of the oppressed, be he Muslim or non-Muslim, is answered and not rejected.</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p39-40</p>	Specifically states that God will protect non-believers when they are oppressed by Muslims
9	<p>Clarify if this statement is wrong or right: It is permitted to oppress the non-believer.</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p56</p>	Reinforces the above lesson
10	<p>The true strength that a Muslim should be praised for: 1. His ability of self-control [referring to anger].</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 8 (Term II), 2011-2012, p57</p>	Highlights the virtue of restraint
11	<p>Any type of aggression committed by individuals, groups or countries: by scaring, causing harm, threatening, unlawful killing, and any other act of violence, any individual or group crime aiming to scare or harm people, or to put their life or security in jeopardy, like: damaging the environment or any public spaces or private property, or any national or natural resources. All these are images of corruption that Allah himself has forbid us to for He said: "Do not seek mischief in the land for Allah loves not those who do mischief."</p> <p>And Allah has ordered a penalty against terrorism, aggression and corruption for He considers it an act of war against him and the Prophet. He said: "The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and commit mischief through the land is execution or crucifixion or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides or exile from the land." No human law exists which is harsher than this.</p> <p>Terrorism is a form of corruption that was forbidden by Allah. Corrupting the land is strictly forbidden regardless of who the perpetrator is. You should know that terrorism is not a form of Islamic Jihad.</p> <p>Jurisprudence, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p142</p>	<p>Explicitly states that terrorism is both un-Islamic and illegitimate as a form of <i>jihad</i></p> <p>Designates all forms of aggression as corrupt and contrary to the teachings of Islam</p>

12	<p>(199) "...and certainly there are among the People of the Book those who believe in Allah" some groups from the People of the Book are prone to goodness and believe in Allah and worship Him only. "In the revelation to you" the Quran which was revealed to you. "And in the revelation to them" the Torah and the Bible which were revealed to them. "Bowing in humility to Allah" surrendering to Allah. "They will not sell the Signs of Allah for a miserable gain" They do not conceal what was revealed to them by Allah nor distort it like other People of the Book in exchange for material gains.</p> <p>"For them there is a reward from their Lord" Allah will reward these people on judgment day "God is swift in account" Allah is swift in judgment and will not get tired of judging and evaluating all your actions.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 11, 2011-2012, p117</p>	<p>Directly challenges the validity of blanket statements against People of the Book</p> <p>This statement is unequivocally tolerant of other religions</p>
13	<p>We must caution against imitating non-Muslims in the way they host their dinner parties, for in that there is a loss of Islamic identity, and the risk of falling into practical imitation, including: mixing the two sexes in the dinner, hosting the dinners to music and singing, and photography. And this is similar to what some people do in introducing the husband and his peers to the women while they are fully adorned, as a result of which might occur something larger than what Sharia approves of.</p> <p>Hadith, Grade 12 (Term I), 2011-2012, p61</p>	<p>This lesson warns against imitation of non-Muslim practices in a tolerant manner, without exaggeration or judgment</p>
14	<p>Humans enjoy an important standing in Islam, for 14 centuries ago, human rights were legalized to organize humanity's relationship with God and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, to protect the dignity of humans, and to promote principles of social, economic and political rights and freedoms. The Prophet declared the principles of human rights in his farewell speech and last sermon in which he said: "Oh people, your God is one, All mankind comes from Adam and Eve, therefore an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab."</p> <p>Library and Research, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p38</p>	<p>Lesson directly speaks to ethnic equality and human rights</p>

15	<p>Theorists of education in the Islamic world look to the Western philosophers of education, who set the theories, guidelines and rules for this science. Education in the West is a modern science which started in recent history, with the Renaissance and scientific advancement. We do not reject and we do not call Muslims to abandon what the West has provided in this science.</p> <p>Library and Research, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p35</p>	Promotes inclusive perspective towards Western thought
16	<p>There is a difference between forbidden loyalty to kuffar and charity and goodness... treating a peaceful kafer kindly... is not considered to be forbidden loyalty...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p109</p>	The message distinguishes between hostile and peaceful non-Muslim and advocates kindness to the latter
17	<p>Errors: ...To say that all kinds of loyalty to kuffar are forbidden is not true, but there are many provisions and conditions which were previously mentioned and not all may lead to expulsion... To believe that a natural love for a kafer relative is forbidden.</p> <p>To love someone's parents, wife and children is natural but does not entail loving their religion or accepting it. Natural love should be accompanied with hate to their faith because of their kufr...supporting an unjust Muslim against a kafer. This is wrong because Allah forbade injustice even against enemies. Therefore, support the Muslim by stopping his injustice...</p> <p>Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p110</p>	<p>This statement conditions the intolerance found elsewhere in the lesson</p> <p>While it derides the faith of the non-believer it also forbids the student from siding with an unjust Muslim over a non-believer</p>
18	<p>Military security is a part of national security, and Islamic teachings calls to Jihad for Allah's cause, to raise his word up high. However, Islam does not call for beginning the aggression, in fact it stresses peacefulness.</p> <p>Reading Comprehension, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p72</p>	Prohibits unwarranted aggression
19	<p>Pray to Allah and fear him, for Allah hates an aggressor. And do not corrupt the lands...</p> <p>Rhetoric and Criticism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p42</p>	Prohibits aggression
20	<p>The Qur'an commands us to treat parents well and with respect, regardless of whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims.</p> <p>Tafsir, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p104</p>	Encourages peaceful treatment of non-Muslim family members

ADDENDUM D: SALAFIST HERITAGE AND THE SAUDI CURRICULUM

1. INTRODUCTION

In the Salafism of Saudi Arabia, two figures – Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahhab and Sheikh Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah – are the recognized historical authorities on Salafism and *jihad*. These men are portrayed as true defenders of Islam.

Ibn Taymīyyah and Mohammed ibn Abdul Wahhab both responded to the innovator groups like the Quboriya ("gravers") and Sufis...

Monotheism, Grade 12, 2011-2012, p129

In the 16th century, heresies, disunity and sufism were widespread. Philosophy Infidels took over the lands of Muslims. Allah sent them Salahiddine Al-Ayoubi then Ibn Taymiyyah, who through his words and education fought the heretic acts of philosophers and sufists and fought with his words and his sword the infidels of the Christian Crusaders. He refuted acts and doctrines of the heretic people.

Monotheism, Grade 10, 2011-2012, p21

The weakness of the Ottoman Empire had a lot of negative effects on the Arab world in general and the Arab peninsula in specific; where ignorance of religion, heresies and polytheist acts were spreading until Sheikh Mohammed Abdul Wahhab was able to put an end to these acts, with the help of Allah.

History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 6, 2011-2012, p13

Upon the meeting between Sheikh Mohammad and Emir Mohammed bin Saud, they agreed on the support of Monotheism and jihad against its enemies.

History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 6, 2011-2012, p20

Sheikh Mohammad and his companions started to destroy all polytheist acts forbidden by Islam, among which they demolished the suspected grave of Zayd Ibn Khattab and the cutting down of trees, of which the ignorant of people used for begging.

History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Grade 6, 2011-2012, p20

The jihadist ideology of these Salafist heroes is presented in David Aaron's insightful compilation and analysis of the evolution of jihadism, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad*.¹ In this book, the author offers a rare glimpse their respective views. A closer examination reveals a distinct contrast between the definitions and prosecution strategies of *jihad* as proffered by these two scholars, versus that offered in the Qur'an. With respect to the latter, the following passages are representative of how the Qur'an portrays the concept of *jihad* as it relates to warfare:

And fight in the Way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits. Truly, Allah likes not the transgressors. (Qur'an 2:190)

To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid. (Qur'an 22:39)

But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth (all things). (Qur'an 8:61)

"If anyone killed a person - unless it was for murder or for spreading mischief in the land - it would be as if he killed the whole people." (Qur'an 5:32)

Before comparing the teachings of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab and Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah, however, it is important to understand the historical context with which each of these influential figures was dealing.

The jihadism of Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah and Sheikh Abdul Wahhab in the context of history is neither extreme nor unique. During the 13th century, contemporary with Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah, Christian armies launched six separate crusades (4th through the 9th), while the sons of Genghis Khan continued their unprecedented conquests into the heart of the Muslim world, culminating in the 1258 siege of Baghdad. The sacking of what was then the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate and the cultural and academic bastion of Islam is taken by many modern scholars to be the end of the Golden Age of Islam. The 18th century environment of Sheikh Wahhab was equally violent. Global colonization flourished and inspired brutal wars on every continent, including revolutions that altered the face of modern Europe and the Americas. The African slave trade was thriving and the foundations for the systematic decimation of Native Americans were being laid. In short, these were hard times.

The following table illustrates the respective opinions, as gathered by Aaron, of these two men.

¹ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad*, RAND Corporation, 2008 (pp. 46-53)

Table D1: Jihad According to Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah and Sheikh Abdul Wahhab	
Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah	Analysis
<p>“‘Jihad’ linguistically means to exert one’s utmost effort in word and action; in the Sharee’ah [shari’a] it is the fighting of the unbelievers and involves all possible efforts that are necessary to dismantle the power of the enemies of Islam including beating them, plundering their wealth, destroying their places of worship and smashing their idols. (ibn Taymiyyah, in al-Banna, undated(a))</p>	<p>Here Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah appears to take the concept well beyond what is permitted in the Qur’an in which self-defense is emphasized.</p>
<p>“Any group of people that rebels against any single prescript of the clear and reliably transmitted precepts of Islam has to be fought, according to the leading scholars of Islam, even if the members of this group pronounce the Islamic Confession of Faith {i.e., are Muslims}.” (ibn Taymiyyah, in Faraj, 1979, trans. 1986, p. 170)</p>	<p>This definition advocates <i>jihad</i> against any group of dissenters, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.</p>
<p>“Since lawful warfare is essentially jihad and since its aim is that religion is entirely for Allah and the word of Allah is uppermost, therefore, according to all Muslims, those who stand in the way of this aim must be fought.” (ibn Taymiyyah, undated)</p>	
<p>“Some of them (people before Islam) did not take up armed struggle at all, and those who did, such as the Jews, their struggle was generally for the purpose of driving their enemy from their land, or as any oppressed people struggles against their oppressor, and not for sake of calling the people of the world to guidance and right, nor to enjoin on them right and to prohibit to them wrong.” (ibn Taymiyyah, undated)</p>	<p>This opinion admonishes the Jews for confining warfare to the conditions set forth in the Qur’an and asserts that jihad is a lawful means of spreading Islamic law.</p>
<p>“If with the Kuffar there are pious people from the best of mankind (Muslims) and it is not possible to fight these Kuffar except by killing them, then they are to be killed as well.” (ibn Taymiyyah, in Azzam, undated(c))</p>	<p>This is yet another rationale for exceeding Qur’anic limits by permitting the intentional or accidental killing of Muslims in the prosecution of jihad.</p>

<p>“As for those who cannot offer resistance or cannot fight, such as women, children, monks, old people, the blind, handicapped and their likes, they shall not be killed, unless they actually fight with words [e.g., by propaganda] and acts [e.g., by spying or otherwise assisting in the warfare]. Some [jurists] are of the opinion that all of them may be killed, on the mere ground that they are unbelievers, but they make an exception for women and children since they constitute property for Muslims.” (ibn Taymiyyah, undated)</p>	<p>This statement directly advocates the slaughter of non-combatants who ‘fight with words’ against the warring Muslims. Importantly, Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah portrays himself here as a voice of compassion against other jurists who advocate the random murder of all but those non-believers who would become the property of Muslims.</p>
<p>Sheikh Abdul Wahhab</p>	<p>Analysis</p>
<p>“Those people who ask for intercession from Prophets and Angels and make du’a through their waseelah to become closer to Allah, are committing sins. Due to this crime it is permitted to kill them and to take their possessions.”</p>	<p>This echoes rejection of the defensive jihad, extending its legitimacy to include anyone who seeks intercession.</p>
<p>“...[one who is] seeking by that [invoking the name of a saint or prophet] to avert an evil or bring a good from anything that Allaah ta’aalaa alone is capable of doing, such as healing the sick, or granting victory over the enemy, or guarding from a misfortune, or the like: that he is a mushrik guilty of major shirk, whose blood may be shed and whose wealth is lawful, even if he believes that the ultimate controller of the universe is Allaah.” (Wahhab, Undated)</p>	

While the views of these early Salafist scholars were understandable in the environment of their times, it is difficult to reconcile them with the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam, which was endorsed by 45 Muslim countries in 1990, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Among other provisions it includes the following two articles:

Article 3(a) In the event of the use of force and in case of armed conflict, it is not permissible to kill non-belligerents such as old men, women and children.

Article 18(a) Everyone shall have the right to live in security for himself, his religion, his dependents, his honour and his property.

The Saudi curriculum clearly softens Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah’s definition of *jihad*, but cites him as an authority on the subject; and many related stipulations in the texts are far more consistent with his definition than that of the Qur’an. The curriculum’s treatment of apostasy, shirk and numerous other prohibitions is similarly harsh and could benefit from the adoption of Qur’anic standards.

ADDENDUM E: TEXTBOOKS REVIEWED

The scope of this study is reflected in the selection of the textbooks that were reviewed, which focused primarily on the core religious curriculum with a secondary priority given to the social sciences and language arts. The textbook evaluation occurred in two stages:

1. The first stage produced anecdotal data highlighting some of the worst content from selected 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 textbooks
2. The second stage involved a more thorough evaluation of the newly released 2011-2012 curriculum, with a smaller number of older books from the Religious and Social Sciences curriculums to develop comprehensive benchmarks for future reference.

1. TEXTBOOKS REVIEWED DURING STAGE ONE

In the first stage of the study, the following textbooks were reviewed for intolerant content. This initial review was not intended to produce a comprehensive evaluation of the textbooks, but rather to establish an overview of intolerant content in selected grade levels. A total of thirty books were reviewed in this process, some of which were also included in the second stage of analysis.

Table E1: Overview of Books Reviewed in Stage One						
	Total Books	Current Year (2011-12)	Previous Years	Religious Studies	Social Science	Lang. Arts
Primary (1-6)	2	0	2	1	1	0
Intermediate (7-9)	9	0	9	6	3	0
High School (10-12)	19	9	10	12	5	1
	30	9	21	20	9	1

The initial review included a total of eleven books from the primary and intermediate grade levels primarily from the religious curriculum, all published in 2009. One book from the primary and intermediate grades, ninth grade Hadith and Islamic Culture (2009), was also evaluated in greater depth in the second phase of the study.

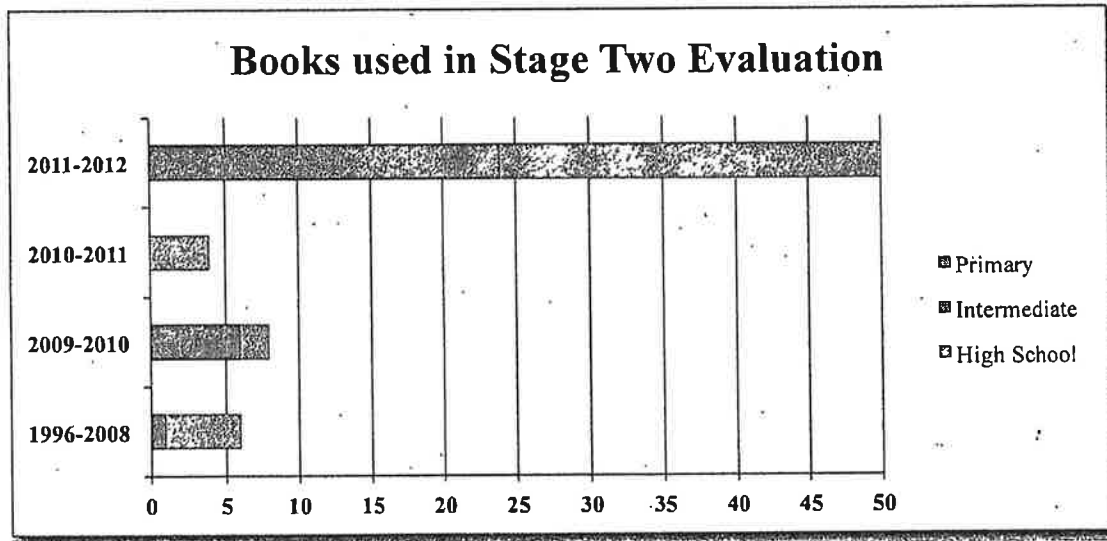
Table E2: Primary and Intermediate Level Textbooks Evaluated			
Textbook Title	Grade	Year Published	Included In Stage II
Monotheism	5	2009	No
History of the Islamic State	5	2009	No
Texts	7	2009	No
The Prophet's Life and the History of the Rashidun Caliphate	7	2009	No
Social and National Studies	7	2009	No
Hadith	8	2009	No
Monotheism	8	2009	No
Islamic History	8	2009	No
Geography of the Islamic World	8	2009	No
Hadith	9	2009	Yes
History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	9	2009	No

There were nineteen books from the high school curriculum were included in Stage I, with nine coming from the new 2011-2012 curriculum. All but one book from the 2011-2012 curriculum were also included in the second stage of the textbook evaluation.

Table E3: High School Textbooks Evaluated			
Textbook Title	Grade	Year Published	Included in Stage II
Jurisprudence	10	2009	No
Hadith	10	2011	Yes
Jurisprudence	10	2011	Yes
Monotheism	10	2011	Yes
Hadith	11	2009	No
Aspects of Muslim's Civilization and Political History	11	2009	No
Hadith	11	2011	No
Jurisprudence	11	2011	Yes
Reading Comprehension	12	2009	No
Tafsir	12	2009	No
National Upbringing	12	2009	No
Studies from the Islamic World	12	2009	No
Hadith	12	2011	Yes
Jurisprudence	12	2011	Yes
Monotheism	12	2011	Yes
History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	12	2011	Yes

2. TEXTBOOKS REVIEWED DURING STAGE TWO

Chart E1 - Textbooks Evaluated in Stage Two



The textbooks are disaggregated by primary (grade one – six), intermediate (grade seven – nine) and high school (grade ten – twelve) levels, in line with the Kingdom's six-three-three school model. Great emphasis was placed on including grades where the Ministry of Education (MOE) had made the greatest revisions. As of June, 2012, the curriculum for grades one, two, four, five, seven and eight had undergone extensive reform to purge intolerant content with the third, sixth and ninth grade curriculum to be completed next year.

Table E4: Overview of Books Reviewed in Stage Two						
	Total Books	Current Year (2011-12)	Previous Years	Religious Studies	Social Science	Lang. Arts
Primary (1-6)	15	13	2	12	2	1
Intermediate (7-9)	18	11	7	16	2	0
High School (10-12)	36	26	10	21	10	5
	69	50	19	49	14	6

Regarding nomenclature, the textbook titles on courses such as Jurisprudence and Hadith varied slightly as they progressed through the grade levels without significant shift in content. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, they are listed here according to primary focus. Thus, the first grade "Jurisprudence and Manners" textbook will be listed simply as "Jurisprudence," and "Hadith and Islamic Culture" as "Hadith." When referenced individually in the report, the books are listed by their actual title.

Primary Level Textbooks

The study design prioritized the higher grades over primary school, but still included fifteen textbooks from grades one through six, primarily from the religious curriculum.

The religious curriculum from grades one and two, which according to the Saudi MOE had undergone major revision, was revised in order to assess the age appropriateness of the content revision. Religious curriculum textbooks for grades three and six, which have not been thoroughly revised yet, were regrettably unobtainable.

As the lower grades were far less likely to contain pejorative content and earlier textbooks were difficult to acquire, the study was not able to identify historic trends in most of the primary school curriculum. An exception to this was the fourth grade textbooks from the 2011-2012 curriculum, which contained enough problematic material to build a comparison with textbooks from the 2009-2010 school year.

Table E5: Primary School Textbooks Evaluated							
Primary School Textbooks	Grade Level						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Monotheism (2011)	X	X	X	X	X		5
Jurisprudence (2011)	X	X		X	X		4
Dictation (2011)			X				1
Hadith (2011)				X			1
Geography of the Arab World (2011)						X	1
History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (2011)						X	1
Monotheism and Jurisprudence (2009)				X			1
History – The Biography of the Prophet (2009)				X			1
	2	2	2	5	2	1	15

Intermediate Level Textbooks

The evaluation of the intermediate level textbooks covered eighteen books. Throughout this study the full 2011-2012 religious curriculum for seventh and eighth grade, as well as Monotheism, Hadith, and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from the ninth grade curriculum were evaluated.

In light of claims to major revisions performed to the seventh and eighth grade curriculums, the study emphasized the extensive evaluation of the reform effort for the seventh grade religious curriculum. The same could unfortunately not be done for the eighth grade religious curriculum due to the unavailability of textbooks spanning previous years.

In the ninth grade textbooks, the team was able to evaluate the status of textbooks in 2011-2012 ahead of next year's scheduled revisions, as well as textbooks from 2009-2010 and 2000-2002².

Table E6: Intermediate Level Textbooks Evaluated				
Intermediate Level Textbooks	Grade Level			Total
	7	8	9	
Monotheism (2011)	X	X	X	3
Hadith (2011)	X	X	X	3
Jurisprudence (2011)	X	X		2
Tafsir (2011)	X	X		2
History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (2011)			X	1
Monotheism (2009)	X		X	2
Hadith (2009)	X		X	2
Tafsir (2009)	X			1
National Upbringing (2009)			X	1
Hadith (2000)			X	1
	7	4	7	18

High School Textbooks

In the three grades that comprise the Saudi high school system, the evaluation was expanded to include all four major religious courses – Monotheism, Hadith, Jurisprudence and Tafsir – with the sole exception of eleventh grade Hadith, which was still unavailable as of June, 2012. Despite the inability to examine the Hadith Textbook from the eleventh grade, a number of ancillary religious and history textbooks were examined from the same grade level including Readings of the Seven Imams, History of the Sunnah and Hadith, and History of Islamic Civilization and Politics. From the social studies curriculum, National Studies was reviewed for all three high school years and Arabic Literature was examined for both grades eleven and twelve.

A total of eleven textbooks from the 1996-1997 to 2010-2011 school years were evaluated in order to establish a historic benchmark. These were selected from the religious and social sciences curriculums.

² In 2000 many of the textbooks, including 9th grade Hadith covered two, rather than one year.

Table E7: High School Textbooks Evaluated				
High School Textbooks	Grade Level			Total
	10	11	12	
Monotheism (2011)	X	X	X	3
Hadith (2011)	X		X	2
Jurisprudence (2011)	X	X	X	3
Tafsir (2011)	X	X	X	3
National Studies (2011)	X	X	X	3
Arabic Literature (2011)		X	X	2
History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (2011)			X	1
History of the Prophets, Biographies and the Spread of Islam (2011)	X			1
Readings of the Seven Imams (2011)		X		1
History of the Sunnah and the Hadith (2011)		X		1
Library and Research (2011)			X	1
Studies from the Islamic World (2011)			X	1
Reading Comprehension (2011)			X	1
Rhetoric and Criticism (2011)			X	1
Sociology (2011)			X	1
History of Islamic Civilization and Politics (2011)		X		1
Hadith (2010)		X	X	2
National Studies (2010)		X		1
Monotheism (2010)		X		1
History of Islamic Civilization and Politics (2010)		X		1
Tafsir (2010)		X		1
Jurisprudence (2006)			X	1
Hadith (2002)		X		1
Jurisprudence (2000)		X		1
History of the Islamic State (2000)		X		1
Monotheism (1996)		X		1
	6	17	14	37

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Hadith, Grade 4, 2011-2012

Hadith, Grade 7 (Terms I&II), 2009-2010

Hadith, *(Girls)*, Grade 7 (Terms I & II), 2011-2012

Hadith, *Girls*, Grade 8 (Terms I & II), 2011-2012

Hadith, *Girls*, Grade 9 (Terms I & II), 2000-2001

Hadith, Grade 9, 2009-2010

Hadith, *Boys*, Grade 9 (Terms I & II), 2011-2012

Hadith and Islamic Civilization, *(Boys)*, Grade 10, 2011-2012

Hadith, *Girls*, Grade 11 (Terms I & II), 2002-2003

Hadith, Grade 11, 2010-2011

Hadith, Grade 12, 2010-2011

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National Upbringing, Grade 9, 2009

National Studies, Grade 11, 2010-2011

National Studies, *(Boys)*, Grade 10, 2011-2012

National Studies, Grade 11, 2011-2012

National Studies, *(Boys)*, Grade 12, 2011-2012

Reading Comprehension, *Literary (Girls)*, Grade 12, 2011-2012

Readings of the Seven Imams, Grade 11, 2011-2012

Rhetoric and Criticism, Grade 12, 2011-2012

Sociology, Grade 12, 2011-2012

Tafsir, Grade 7, 2009-2010

Tafsir, Grade 7, 2011-2012

Tafsir, *(Boys)*, Grade 8, 2011-2012

Tafsir, Grade 9, 2009

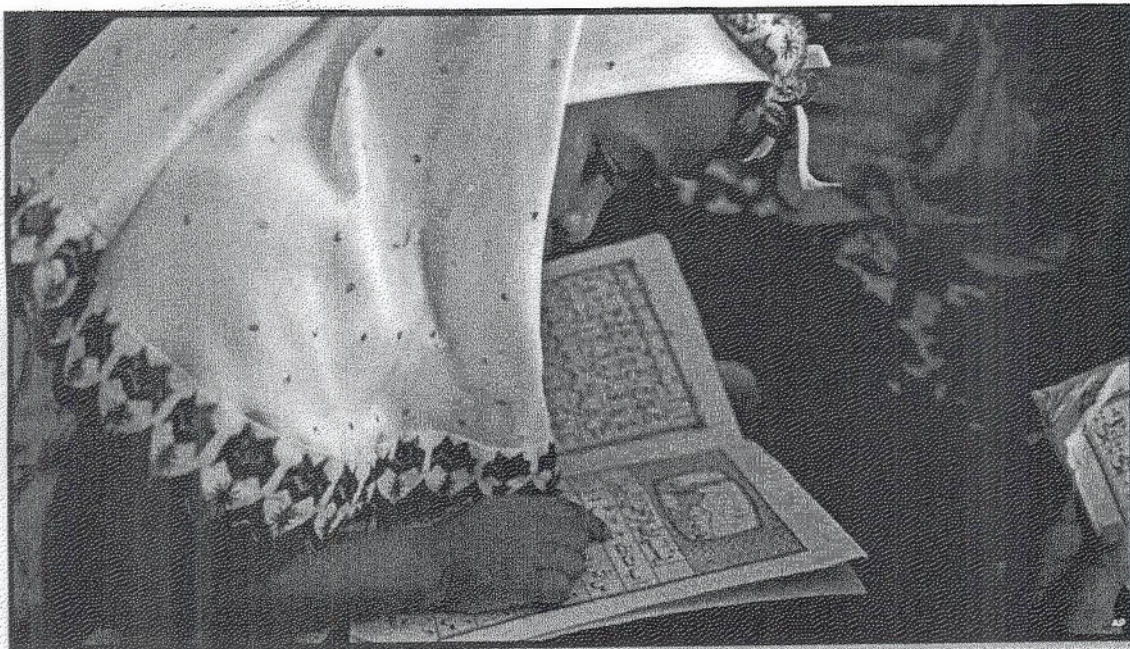
Tafsir, Grade 11, 2010-2011

Tafsir, Management, *Social, Natural, and Technological Sciences (Boys)*, Grade 11, 2011-2012

Geography of the Arab World, Grade 6, 2011-2012

RELEASE IN FULL

THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF SAUDI TEXTBOOKS



REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior Reviewer

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INTRODUCTION

This study documents the dispersion of the Saudi textbooks throughout the Muslim and developing world based on (1) field research in three countries; (2) desk research based on written reports, journal articles, and transcripts; and (3) extensive interviews and correspondence with experts from Africa, Eastern Europe, and Central and South Asia. The principal conduit through which most of these books have been distributed is Saudi Arabian humanitarian charities like the Muslim World League (MWL), the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Assembly (or Association) of Muslim Youth (WAMY), the UK-based Al-Muqtada Organization, and the now defunct Al-Haramain Fund (AHF). Most of the activity related to this distribution takes the form of the construction of new mosques, schools, and libraries throughout the developing world.

While this study focuses on the spread of Saudi textbooks, which clearly play a role in the advance of Wahhabist Salafism around the world, evidence suggests that it is actually a relatively minor role in comparison to the influence exerted by imams and teachers themselves and, by direct extension, the training that they receive. It is very important to note that, in a Saudi-funded school with a Wahhabist faculty (educated in a Saudi-funded Wahhabist University), attached to a mosque with a Wahhabist imam, and ultimately controlled by an international Wahhabist educational body, the role of the textbooks in influencing ideology is somewhat minimal.

The following country studies are meant to provide a brief survey of the prevalence of Saudi textbooks and educational influence around the world, and the methods by which it has spread.

AFRICA

ALGERIA

Saudi textbooks are being used in the Saudi Academy in Algiers, which serves around 400 students.¹ It is unclear if Algeria, which has a mature, home-grown Salafism movement, permits the use of Saudi textbooks in private schools.

BURKINA FASO

Saudi donors frequently provide textbooks from the Kingdom to schools that they fund in Burkina Faso. A partner with recent experience on the ground in Burkina Faso reported

¹ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic)
<<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

that Saudi funders are also involved in teacher selection.² According to a 2009 article from Arab News, Saudi Arabia built more than 150 schools in Burkina Faso.³

CAMEROON

A number of education institutions in Cameroon have been constructed by Saudi Arabia such as the Yaondi Mosque, which includes a school and a library. Saudi Arabia also funded the construction of the King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Islamic Center in Babenki which includes an elementary school for more than 130 students.⁴ Further evidence of Saudi activity in Cameroon was revealed in 2010 when it was uncovered that roughly \$2 million of Saudi funding intended for the construction of Islamic schools had been embezzled by government officials.⁵ The use of Saudi textbooks is highly likely in the school attached to the Yaondi mosque. In personal correspondence with ICRD, Dr. Leslie Moore of the College of Education and Human Ecology at Ohio State University, reported that during her work in Cameroon documenting the pedagogy of Islamic and public education, the younger, more-educated Muslims were using an edition of the Qur'an published by the King Fahd Complex in Medina.⁶ This translation, according to Wahhabism expert and journalist Stephen Schwartz, manipulates Qur'anic text to conform with Saudi textbooks, including content that is clearly intolerant. As an example of this, Schwartz cites this passage:

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.

Into this text:

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 of those who went astray (such as the Christians).⁷

By inserting this commentary into the translation, the text mirrors the intolerance found in the fourth grade Saudi Jurisprudence textbook, which was flagged in the 2012 ICRD textbook evaluation:

Guide us in the path of those who walked in your Grace, and they are the Prophets, martyrs, and the righteous and not those who have been shown the truth but abandoned

² Personal interview with an ICRD partner with direct, and recent, experience in the Burkinabe Islamic education sector (Mar 12, 2013).

³ M. Ghazanfar Ali Khan. *Kingdom funds Burkina Faso school projects*, Arab News (Aug 23, 2001). <<http://www.arabnews.com/node/214732>>

⁴ Saudi Press Agency, (May 6, 2012). <<http://www.spa.gov.sa/english/details.php?id=995453>>

⁵ Michael Ndi. *Cameroon: One Billion Saudi Arabian funding to Islamic schools embezzled*. (Mar 13, 2010). <http://africa-info.org/ang/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=170:cameroon-one-billion-saudi-arabian-funding-to-islamic-schools-embezzled&catid=40:interviews&Itemid=62>

⁶ Personal correspondence with Dr. Leslie Moore (Mar 2013).

⁷ Stephen Schwartz, *Rewriting Qur'an*, The Weekly Standard (Sep 27, 2004).

it, like the Jews, or those who substituted truth for ignorance and delusion like the Christians.⁸

Taking the above license in translating the Qur'an, as the King Fahd Complex does, only adds to the difficulty of promoting increased understanding in a context where religious legitimacy trumps all. Additional correspondence with Schwartz indicated that the King Fahd Complex may have corrected this translation of the Qur'an in recent years.⁹ Further investigation will be required to confirm this.

CHAD

According to the 2006 International Religious Freedom Report, Saudi Arabia is very active in funding "social and educational projects and extensive mosque construction" in Chad.¹⁰ One such project, the King Faisal Mosque in the Chadian capital of N'djamena, was entirely funded by Saudi Arabia. It contains two madrasas, a lecture hall and a library.¹¹

The extensive presence of Saudi-run NGOs in Chad would suggest that Saudi textbooks or educational materials of a similarly intolerant leaning are being widely used. As Islamic scholar Makye Kaag observed of the Islamic transnational organizations in Chad:

As Islamic NGOs—and not merely NGOs run by Muslims—the organizations studied also, have a missionary function: they are ultimately concerned with advancing Islam, be it by converting non-Muslims (Islamization) or by deepening current Muslims' understanding of Islamic principles and improving their religious practices (re-Islamization). This missionary urge comes most explicitly to the fore in their activities in the field of religious education and the promotion of Islam (sponsoring Qur'anic teachers, distributing educational materials, etc.)...¹²

Kaag also noted in her field research a distinct commonality amongst the religious message propagated by Wahhabi NGOs of different countries. For example, she observed World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) literature being used in the offices of the *Agence des Musulmans d'Afrique* (AMA) of Kuwait, which has financed and staffed fourteen schools, (seven traditional and seven Quranic), serving more than 3,200 students.¹³

⁸ Ministry of Education, *Jurisprudence*, Grade 4 (Term II), 2011-2012, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p37.

⁹ Correspondence with Stephen Schwartz (Mar 18, 2013).

¹⁰ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2011*, US Department of State (2006). <<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2006/71293.htm>>

¹¹ Steven Emerson, *Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror*, Prepared Testimony before the US Senate Judiciary Committee (Nov 8, 2005).

¹² Makye Kaag, *Aid, Umma, and Politics: Transnational Islamic NGOs in Chad*, in "Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa" edited by Benjamin Soares and Rene Otayek, Palgrave (2007) p92.

¹³ Kaag (2007) p93.

COMOROS

The total extent to which Saudi textbooks are being used in Comoros has not been determined, but at least one network of Islamic schools using the Saudi curriculum has been identified in the Hadoudja district of Moroni.¹⁴

DJIBOUTI

Saudi textbooks are being used by the Saudi Academy that was opened in 1992 in Djibouti City, which serves more than 500 students.¹⁵ Conversations with regional sources have suggested that a more extensive intrusion of Saudi texts might currently be taking place.¹⁶

KENYA

While government restrictions related to the 1998 embassy bombings appear to have slowed the growth Saudi influence in Islamic education, many analysts argue that it is once again increasing,^{17,18} especially in areas such as Garissa¹⁹ and more broadly in the Northeast and Coastal provinces.²⁰ In these areas, where the central Kenyan government exerts little control, the opportunities for informal Saudi influence over Islamic education are expansive.

MALI

Dr. Louis Brenner, a leading expert on Islamic education in Mali, revealed in correspondence with ICRD that the only locally-authored textbooks being used widely were written by Saada Oumar Toure on the subject of grammar. Most of the textbooks in the Wahhabiyya madrasas were imported and oriented around Salafist theology, although he could not specifically identify their origin. Dr. Brenner also mentioned that lesson plans and other supporting materials were produced locally, although most of what he had seen first-hand were products of a program by the Malian Ministry of Education to broaden the integration of a national curriculum into the madrasa community.²¹

Confirmation that the religious textbooks in Malian Wahhabi madrasas were imported, coupled with Dr. Brenner's observations that the curriculum focused on the subjects of

¹⁴ Harmony Project, *Al-Qaida's (Mis)adventures in the Horn of Africa* (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, 2006) p92.

¹⁵ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic) <<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

¹⁶ Based on conversations Dr. Douglas Johnston, President of ICRD, had with regional contacts.

¹⁷ Jeffrey Haynes, *Islam and democracy in East Africa*, *Democratization*, 13:3, (2006) 490-507

¹⁸ Bjorn Moller, *Political Islam in Kenya*, Danish Institute of International Studies, Working Paper No. 22 (2006) p13.

¹⁹ Education Development Center, *Garissa (G-Youth) Project – Project Assessment and Design USAID-Kenya*, (Jan 2009) p13.

<<http://kenya.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/Garissa%20Youth%20Assessment%20Report.pdf>>

²⁰ Deborah West, *Combatting Terrorism in the Horn of Africa and Yemen*, Harvard University (2005) p17-18.

²¹ Email correspondence with Louis Brenner (Feb 2013).

Tawhid, Fiqh, and Hadith, and the deep involvement of Saudi NGOs in Malian education all strongly suggest that Saudi textbooks are being widely used in Mali. The recent desecration of the tombs of Sufi saints in northern Mali provides further evidence of the direct influence of these texts in the region.

MOROCCO

Saudi textbooks are being used in Rabat, where a Saudi Academy was opened in 1994, serving approximately 260 students.²² Regarding the rise of Wahhabism in Africa, there is evidence to suggest that Morocco actually became a hub of Saudi ideology through the Kingdom's funding of education in that country. In a December 15, 2003 article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, journalist Ilhem Rachidi described the Saudi involvement in Morocco:

*Strengthened by the oil boom of the 1970s, Saudi Arabia sponsored Wahhabi religious schools and distributed scholarships and religious literature to hundreds of students. The schools attracted students from the rest of the Arab world, and hundreds of Wahhabi-trained preachers returned home to spread their theories.*²³

NIGERIA

In terms of development assistance, Saudi Arabia replaced Kuwait as the primary donor state to Nigeria after 1966. Egypt had made overtures in this direction, but was unable to compete with Saudi petro-dollars, especially after its unsuccessful engagements in Israel and Yemen in 1967. In the 1970s, Saudi Arabia became "the most important power in the financing of religious projects in Northern Nigeria."²⁴

The influence of Saudi Arabia penetrates the education sector of Nigeria through a number of formal and informal channels. One of the less formal channels of Saudi influence on education is the Hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca that was made by more than 1.6 million Nigerians between 1979 and 2006.²⁵ According to Alexander Thurston, a scholar of Islam and African politics, the influx of Saudi educational materials in the form of religious texts brought back to Nigeria by pilgrims returning from the Hajj has been significant.²⁶

²² Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic) <<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

²³ Ilhem Rachidi, *Morocco Struggles to tamp down radical Islam*, *Christian Science Monitor* (Dec 15, 2003). <<http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/1215/p07s01-woaf.html>>

²⁴ Roman Loimeier, *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria*, Northwest University Press, (1997) pp137-138.

²⁵ Jamiu Oluwatoki, *Hajj in Nigeria – Saudi Arabia Relations 1960-2007*, Thesis, University of Jos (Jun, 2010) p147, 149.

²⁶ Alexander Thurston, *Interactions between Northern Nigeria and the Arab World in the 20th Century*, Thesis. Georgetown University (Apr 2009) p77.

Another channel for Saudi educational materials involves the Yan Izala movement, which was established in 1976 in Jos, with financial support from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The movement is ideologically grounded in Wahhabism and represents the greatest indigenous challenge to Sufism in the history of Nigeria.²⁷ The English translation of the group's full Arabic name is "the community for the eradication of un-Islamic innovations and the establishment of the Sunna." Several regional experts, such as Roman Loimeier²⁸ and Muhammad Umar,²⁹ have reported that Islamic education is the primary focus of Yan Izala.

The Yan Izala movement split into two factions following the first U.S. invasion of Iraq, between those who supported Saddam Hussein and those who supported Saudi Arabia and President H.W. Bush.³⁰ In 2012, it was reported that the educational initiatives of the "Bush" faction of Yan Izala in Gombe included 640 Islamiyya schools, five secondary schools, 14 Islamic colleges, a teacher training college and a Sunnah Institute attached to the University of Maiduguri.³¹

The religious textbooks used in Izala-controlled schools are either of Saudi origin or would at least contain the same level of intolerant content. In his exhaustive 2003 field study of the Yan Izala Society, Ousmane Kane noted that Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab's treatise, the *Kitab al-Tawhid* (or Book of Tawhid), is the primary text used to teach theology to prospective members and Izala students. Wahhab's book forms the bulk of the content of the textbooks used to teach the subject of *Tawhid* (or oneness of God) in Saudi Arabia, which is taught at every grade level. According to ICRD's 2012 curriculum study, it was found that a significant number of KSA textbooks were word-for-word replications of the *Kitab al-Tawhid*.³²

Kane also noted that Wahhabi literature distributed by Saudi Arabia was even more widely used in the study centers of the Izala Society than the works of Shaykh Abubakar Gumi, the movement's founder. One reason for this practice, according to Kane, was that, "Saudi religious and cultural networks distributed free of charge copies of the Koran [sic] and other religious books produced in Saudi Arabia, which were therefore accessible to many."³³ A number of Islamic schools are associated with the Izala Society, including the Sheikh

²⁷ Conerly Casey, *Marginal Muslims: Politics and the Perceptual Bounds of Islamic Authenticity in Northern Nigeria*, *Africa Today*, Volume 54, Number 3, (2008) pp. 67-92, p76.

²⁸ Roman Loimeier, *Patterns and Peculiarities of Islamic Reform in Africa*, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol 33, No 3, (2003) pp237-262.

²⁹ Muhammad Umar, *Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s-1990s*, *Africa Today* (2001) p134.

³⁰ Muhammad Nur Alkali, Abubakar Kawa Monguno, Ballama Shettima Mustafa, *Overview of Islamic Actors in Northeastern Nigeria*, Nigeria Research Network, University of Oxford, NRN Background Paper No. 2, (Jan, 2012) p12.

³¹ Alkali, Monguno, and Mustafa (2012) p20.

³² Ousmane Kane, *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: a study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition*, (Brill, 2003) p123.

³³ Kane (2003) p127.

Abubakar Mahmud Gumi College, in Benue State,³⁴ and the JIBWIS Secondary School and Asasul Islam School, in Nasarawa State.³⁵

There is also a significant presence of Saudi educational NGOs in Nigeria, which further suggests the presence of Saudi textbooks. Correspondence between the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations revealed that WAMY built two schools (WAMY School in Kano and Asmaa School in Sokoto) in 2002 alone, and has since started construction on five new schools in north and central Nigeria.³⁶

The Al-Muntada organization is another charity that is active in Nigerian education, primarily in the northwest region. The organization's activities are described in a 2003 article documenting civic associations in northwest Nigeria as "da'awah (inviting people into Islam), building mosques, [and] Islamic schools."³⁷ The article also gives a report on the methods by which Al-Muntada runs their schools and mosques:

*Al-Muntada employs Nigerian scholars and teachers to run their mosques and schools and the organization has on its payroll some Islamic preachers... These preachers are made to fill in claim forms on a monthly basis showing areas and activities executed.*³⁸

This demonstrates that Al-Muntada manages the activities of their mosques and schools closely, at least in the Nigerian context. Africa expert, David McCormack of the Center for Security Policy, also identifies the Saudi-funded Al-Muntada Al-Islami charity as a major propagator of both Wahhabi education and religious tension in Nigeria:

*Al-Muntada has, incidentally, been particularly active in promoting Wahhabi style Islamism in Nigeria. As explained by a Sufi of Kano state, "before al-Muntada came to Kano there had been little or no inter-religious conflict...Now...we are almost on the verge of civil war." Al-Muntada, he explains, pays for Nigerian clerics to be "brainwashed" in Saudi universities and imposed on Nigerian Muslims through its well-funded network of mosques and schools.*³⁹

In addition to these activities, the Islamic Center in Abouja, Nigeria, which includes a school, lecture hall and housing, was funded by King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz,⁴⁰ and the Sultan Bello Mosque in Kaduna was also constructed with support from Saudi Arabia.⁴¹

³⁴ Ustaz Khalid Muhammad Ibrahim, *Muslims of Benue State: A Survey*, Nigeria Research Network, University of Oxford, NRN Background Paper No. 8, (Jan, 2012).

³⁵ Sa'adatu Hassan Liman and Abubakar S.I. Wakawa, *Muslims of Nasarawa State: A Survey*, Nigeria Research Network, University of Oxford, NRN Background Paper No. 7, (Jan 2012).

³⁶ See: http://csonet.org/ngocommittee/content/documents/ans_140403_001.pdf

³⁷ Tahir Haliru Gwarzo, *Activities of Islamic civic associations in the Northwest of Nigeria: with particular reference to Kano State*, Afrika Spectrum No.38, (2003) p289-318.

³⁸ Gwarzo (2003) pp310-311.

³⁹ McCormack (2005) p12.

⁴⁰ See: <http://www.kingfahdbinabdulaziz.com/main/m4102.htm>

The use of the Saudi-distributed, Kitaab at-Tawhid in Izala schools represents a clear indication that Islamic education in Nigeria is using Saudi educational materials containing the same intolerance that was found in ICRD's 2012 evaluation. In addition, the active management of Saudi-funded schools by the al-Muntada organization also suggests that Saudi textbooks are being distributed in the north.

SOMALIA

Islamic education in Somalia has been dominated by Islamic NGOs since the collapse of the public education sector, and most of the schools operated under the control of these NGOs, according to education experts Holger Daun and Geoffrey Walford, can be classified as Islamic (and Islamist).⁴² Some observers, such as journalist Abdul Ghellah, point to the dissemination of Wahhabi literature in Somalia as a direct cause of extremism.⁴³

Two Saudi NGOs, the Al-Haramain foundation and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), have been very active in Somali education development. Prior to the closure of the Al-Haramain organization in 2003, for established links to terrorism, the organization financed over 100 schools and eight orphanages in Somalia.⁴⁴ WAMY remains in operation in Somalia, where it is primarily focused on education.⁴⁵

In documenting the proselytization activities of Islamic NGOs in Somalia, authors Mohammad Kroessin and Abdulfatah Mohamed describe Wahhabi influence in education, "[i]t is clear that 'wahhabi' missionary objectives are focused on preaching the tenants [sic] of their theology and providing support to local Qur'anic schools and madrassahs."⁴⁶

The impact of Islamic charities on Somali education is difficult to overstate. Author Shaul Shay outlines the dimensions of the Islamic NGO presence in Mogadishu,

*"In Mogadishu alone, Islamic charities either manage or support three universities, a major training institute, two hospitals, and schools that furnish education for over 100,000 students."*⁴⁷

⁴¹ Roger Blench, et al. *The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Prevention and Mediation in Nigeria*, DFID-Nigeria (Nov 9, 2006) p82.

⁴² Holger Daun and Geoffrey Walford (ed), *Educational Strategies among Muslims in the Context of Globalization* (Brill, 2004) p3.

⁴³ Abdul Ghelleh. *Tackling the new Wahabi extremism*, Panbazuka News, Issue 605 (Nov 8, 2012). <<http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/85293>>

⁴⁴ *Al-Haramain's Closure to Hit Thousands in Somalia*, Arab News. (May 24, 2003). <<http://www.arabnews.com/node/232064>>

⁴⁵ McCormack. (2005) p6.

⁴⁶ Mohammad Kroessin and Abdulfatah Mohamed, *Saudi Arabian NGOs in Somalia: Wahabi Da'wah or Humanitarian Aid?*, in Gerald Clarke and Michael Jennings (ed) "Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations (Palgrave, 2008) p199.

⁴⁷ Shaul Shay, *Somalia between Jihad and Restoration* (Transaction Publishing, 2010) p51.

In a 2009 UNESCO report, it was found that more than 15% of the Qur'anic schools in Central and Southern Somalia were using curriculums from Saudi Arabia.⁴⁸ RAND Corporation analyst Angel Rabasa also reported, in 2009, that WAMY was involved in curriculum development in Somalia,⁴⁹ which included the use of textbooks from Saudi Arabia.⁵⁰

SOUTH AFRICA

A 2012 WAMY brochure documents WAMY activities in South Africa, including: preschools, teacher training, youth development programs, and a large Islamic Center in Durban called Umlaz-i-Islamic Centre. The Islamic center has a mosque and madrasa, and distributes WAMY literature.⁵¹

TANZANIA

While Wahhabism was introduced to Tanzania much earlier,⁵² it was the relaxation of government restrictions on religion under the administration of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985-1995) that opened the door wide to Saudi funding. This funding, according to scholar Simon Turner of the Danish Institute for International Studies, is driving a major revival of Wahhabism.⁵³ According to several sources, Saudi Arabia spends around \$1 million annually on mosques and madrasa construction in Tanzania.^{54,55,56,57}

Roman Loimeier, a research fellow at the Centre of Modern Oriental Studies in Berlin, has written extensively on Islamic reform movements in Zanzibar, Nigeria and Senegal. His research traces the introduction of Saudi textbooks to Zanzibar as far back as 1950, when they began to replace their Egyptian counterparts, especially in the study of *Fiqh*, *Tawhid* and *Hadith*.⁵⁸ According to Loimeier, writing in 2009:

⁴⁸ UNESCO, *Survey of Secondary Education in Central and Southern Somalia 2008*, (Apr 2009) p19.

<<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002177/217703e.pdf>>

⁴⁹ Angel Rabasa, *Radical Islam in East Africa*, Rand Corporation (2009) p45.

⁵⁰ Valeria Saggiomo, *From Charity to Governance: Islamic NGOs and Education in Somalia*, The Open Area Studies Journal, (2011), p58.

⁵¹ World Assembly of Muslim Youth South Africa 2012 (Brochure)

<<http://www.wamy.co.za/pdf/Wamy%20Brochure%202012.pdf>>

⁵² Roman Loimeier, *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th century Zanzibar*, (Brill, 2009) p201.

⁵³ Simon Turner, 'These Young Men Show No Respect for Local Customs' – *Globalisation and Islamic Revival in Zanzibar*, Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol 39 (2009) pp237-261.

⁵⁴ Samadia Sadouni, *New Religious Actors in South Africa*, in "Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa" (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) p106.

⁵⁵ Katrina Manson, *Extremism on the Rise in Zanzibar*, Financial Times (Dec 28, 2012).

<<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c85b0054-42c0-11e2-a4e4-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz2HsD27Nhf>>

⁵⁶ Jeffrey Haynes, *Islam and democracy in East Africa*, Democratization, 13:3, (2006) 490-507.

⁵⁷ Ioannis Gatsiounis, *After Al-Shabaab*, Current Trends in Islamist Ideology (5) (Dec 27, 2012).

⁵⁸ Roman Loimeier, *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th century Zanzibar*, (Brill, 2009) p201.

New textbooks from Saudi Arabia have been introduced, many classical texts or parts of such texts and a distinct disciplinary shift from fiqh to 'aqida, tawhid, Arab language teaching and hadith has taken place.⁵⁹

He describes the construction and development of the Madrasat al-Nur, the largest Islamic school in Zanzibar. Built in 1985 by a graduate of Medina University (at a time when the University was known to award stipends to foreign students for teaching in their home countries after graduation), this massive school complex combined four different education centers. According to Loimeier, *"probably a quarter of the children in Zanzibar Town (the capital) have passed through the Madrasat al-Nur."* The madrasa's teaching staff is currently increasing and the school appears to be undergoing even further expansion.⁶⁰ Loimeier documents the most recent curriculum of the Madrasat Al-Nur in some detail, which bases its core religious teachings on Saudi Arabian textbooks.⁶¹

Other schools that he mentions are the Chuo Cha Kiislamu, built by Saudi funding in 1972, which still uses Saudi Arabian textbooks,⁶² and the Madrasat Ba Kathir, also a Saudi-influenced school.⁶³

UGANDA

In Uganda, the Kingdom propagates ideology through its support for higher education. As reported by David McCormack of the Center for Security Policy:

The Kingdom has similarly participated, on a grand scale, in propagation through formal education. A donation of \$13.9 million, for instance, allowed the construction of the King Fahd Charity Complex Plaza that serves as an endowment for the Islamic University in Uganda.⁶⁴

Further study on the ground is required to determine if Saudi textbooks are being used in Uganda.

⁵⁹ Loimeier (2009) p213.

⁶⁰ Loimeier (2009) pp516-522.

⁶¹ Loimeier (2009) pp535-536.

⁶² Loimeier (2009) p457.

⁶³ Loimeier (2009) p117.

⁶⁴ David McCormack, *An African Vortex: Islamism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, The Center for Security Policy (Jan 2005), p5.

EAST ASIA

CAMBODIA

Paul Coulson of the Cato Institute reports the presence of Saudi-funded schools in Cambodia, one of which was shut down for suspected ties to terrorism.⁶⁵ In Robert Hefner's book, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*,⁶⁶ anthropologist Bjorn Blengslis describes the situation in Cambodia in greater detail:

*Cambodia's new Salafi movement has been sponsored by an organization known as the Revival of Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS). This is a Kuwait-based charity... The organization has focused on large-scale development projects and mosque building. It has also developed a network of boarding schools targeting, among others, orphans. The RIHS schools teach a version of Islam that is supposed to be uncontaminated by local culture... The RIHS arrived in Cambodia in the mid-1990s, and was soon followed by another Salafi organization financed by Saudi sources and emphasizing a similar interpretation of Islam... the Umm al-Qura Charitable Organization. Notwithstanding continuing tensions, the RIHS school network is still the most impressive in Cambodia.*⁶⁷

Following the 2003 closure of Umm al-Qara, the RIHS network is the only remaining Salafist education network in Cambodia and educates around 2,000 students per year.⁶⁸ The Cambodian Islamic Association is a new network of nine schools funded by the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), which probably uses a Saudi curriculum, since graduation from a Saudi University is a requirement for the teaching staff.⁶⁹

CHINA

Textbooks from Saudi Arabia are being used both in the Saudi Academy in Beijing, which serves around 300 students,⁷⁰ and, increasingly, in private Islamic schools. While conducting field research regarding the revival of Islam in modern China, Dr. Jackie Armijo, then with Zayed University in Abu Dhabi, records the use of Saudi textbooks in the Yunnan Province:

Across the province of Yunnan, for instance, there is currently a tremendous revival in Islamic education. Virtually every mosque offers Qur'anic classes for children, known as kuttub in the Muslim Middle East, as well [as] classes for older people who were denied the

⁶⁵ Andrew Coulson. *Education and Indoctrination in the Muslim World*, Policy Analysis Brief no. 511. Cato Institute. (Mar 11, 2004). p10. <<http://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa511.pdf>>

⁶⁶ Robert Hefner (ed.) *Making Modern Muslims. The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (2009).

⁶⁷ Hefner (ed.) (2009).

⁶⁸ Hefner (ed.) (2009) pp189-191.

⁶⁹ Hefner (ed.) (2009) pp195.

⁷⁰ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic) <<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

chance to study when they were younger. In Yunnan alone, at least 12 full-time independent Islamic colleges or madrasas have been established over the past ten years. These schools offer a full curriculum including classes on the Qur'an, hadith, tafsir, fiqh, Islamic history, Arabic grammar, and the Chinese language. At present, most of the textbooks used for the traditional Islamic sciences are from Saudi Arabia, [and] the Arabic language textbooks [are] from the Foreign Language Institute in Beijing...⁷¹

INDONESIA

Saudi Arabia has a long history of influence over the practice of Islam and Islamic education in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country. It is unknown how many of the country's 47,000 Islamic schools are using educational materials from the Kingdom, but there is overwhelming evidence of a broad dissemination of Saudi textbooks and literature.⁷²

In the Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, researcher Holger Warnk documents a Saudi influence on Indonesian education dating back more than 50 years:

When the Indonesian Islamic Mission Council (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia) was founded in 1967, it received substantial financial backing from Saudi Arabia to build mosques and establish madrasah[s] together with free copies of the Qur'an and Wahhabi text books for educational institutions or to train Indonesian preachers.⁷³

Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) has been the primary channel of Saudi influence and funding into Indonesia since its incarnation. Through this organization, Saudi Arabia has funded the construction of madrasas and mosques; as well as the establishment of a publishing house⁷⁴ for the production and distribution of Wahhabi literature and Qur'ans.⁷⁵ It was also through the DDII that Saudi Arabia was able to establish the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Studies (LIPIA) in Jakarta, a branch of the Imam Muhammad bin Saud University.⁷⁶

There are at least three major networks of what Robert Hefner calls "Saudi-Inspired Salafiyah" or Wahhabi-Salafi Schools. This population has grown from a handful in the

⁷¹ Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand, Martin Van Bruinessen (eds). *The Madrasa in Asia*, ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, (2008) p170.

⁷² Robert Hefner, *Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia*, in "Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia", Robert Hefner (ed), University of Hawai'i Press (2009) p55.

⁷³ Holger Warnk, *Alternative Education or Teaching Radicalism? New Literature on Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 28, 4, (2009) 111-132. p114.

⁷⁴ Hefner (2009) p88.

⁷⁵ Noorhadi Hasan, *The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia*, in "The Madrasa in Asia", Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand, Martin Van Bruinessen (eds) ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, (2008) p251.

⁷⁶ International Crisis Group, *Indonesia Backgrounder: Why Salafism and Terrorism Mostly Don't Mix*, Asia Report N°83, (Sep 13 2004) p7.

1980s to more than 200 today.⁷⁷ These schools use textbooks provided directly from the Saudi Arabian embassy as described by Noorhadi Hasan in 2008:

The main subject studied in the Salafi madrasas is not fiqh, which is the main fare in the traditional pesantren, but Islamic theology ('aqida), or more precisely Wahhabi doctrine. This entails reading such works as al-Qawl al-Mufid fi Adillat al-Tawhid by the Saudi scholar Muhammad bin Salih al-'Uthaymin, which is a summary of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's Kitab al-Tawhid. In some madrasas, students are obliged to memorize the entire text before they are allowed to study other books. Having completed this book, they are usually obliged to study the Kitab al-Tawhid itself or annotated commentaries of it, such as Al Qawl al-Shadid 'Ala Kitab al-Tawhid by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Su'udi. ...In addition to these, they make use of al-'Arabiyya li al-Nashi'in, a new, comprehensive Arabic textbook distributed free of charge to various Islamic educational institutions by Saudi Arabian embassies.⁷⁹

Among the Islamic schools in these networks are: the Madrasa Bin Baz, (Yogyakarta), the Imam al-Bukhari Madrasa (Surakarta), the Ihya al-Sunnah Madrasa, (Yogyakarta), the Minhaj al-Sunnah Madrasa (Magelang), the Al-Madinah Madrasa (Solo), the Madrasa As-Sunnah (Makassar), and the Al-Mukmin Pesantren (Ngruki)⁷⁹

The claim that Saudi government-sponsored educational materials are being distributed to Indonesian madrasas was also made by Andrew Coulson, current Director of the Center for Education Freedom at the Cato Institute, in a 2004 report titled "Education and Indoctrination in the Muslim World:

...the Saudi government is actively abetting the radicalization of Islamic education in Indonesia, annually distributing a million copies of Wahhabi texts to the nation's school libraries through its embassy's Office of Religious Affairs in Jakarta.⁸⁰

In addition to the Wahhabi-Salafi madrasas, the Haramain Islamic Academy in Jakarta, which has about 350 students, also uses the Saudi curriculum.⁸¹

MALAYSIA

Like many other Islamic countries, Malaysia has been a major recipient of Saudi assistance since the 1970s, both directly and through organizations such as the Islamic Welfare

⁷⁷ Hefner (2009) p87.

⁷⁸ Noorhadi Hasan (2008) p261-262.

⁷⁹ Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand, Martin Van Bruinessen (eds). *The Madrasa in Asia*, ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, (2008) p259.

⁸⁰ Andrew Coulson. *Education and Indoctrination in the Muslim World*, Cato Institute. (Mar 11, 2004) p12.

⁸¹ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic) <<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

Association of Malaysia (PERKIM).⁸² The International Islamic University of Malaysia is funded by Saudi Arabia.⁸³ In 1990 a Saudi academy was opened in Kuala Lumpur. It currently serves nearly 500 students.⁸⁴

PHILIPPINES

Since the introduction of Saudi funding for religious education in the Philippines in the late 1970s,⁸⁵ the government has struggled to regulate the curricula of independent Islamic schools. Only thirty-five of the more than 1,500 madrasas in the Philippines are controlled by the state, with the curricula of the overwhelming majority determined by the funder.⁸⁶ While most of these are not funded by the Saudis, there are reports of unaccredited madrasas that do receive Saudi funding.⁸⁷ According to authors Thomas McKenna and Esmael Abdula, however, funding is now sparse.

TAIWAN

There are also three mosques in Taipei, Tiegang and Kao-Hsiung that were listed as being Saudi-supported in a website commemorating the charity of King Fahd bin Abdulaziz.⁸⁸ The Taipei Mosque in Taiwan was jointly established by the Taiwanese and Saudi governments in 1950, and is currently financially supported by Saudi Arabia. The Center does not house a formal school, but contains a library and offers classes.⁸⁹

THAILAND

In "Islam, Education and Reform in Southern Thailand: Tradition & Transformation," Dr. Joseph Liow explores the considerable Saudi influence in Thai Islamic Education that occurs primarily through funds provided by Saudi charities and private interests. This funding, according to Liow, "often translates to active involvement in the schools' curricula through the provision of textbooks and training of teachers."⁹⁰ By one estimate, there are 20-40 madrasas using the Saudi curriculum and textbooks.⁹¹

⁸² Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, *The New Challenges of Political Islam in Malaysia*, Asia Research Centre, Working Paper No. 154 (Jun 2009) p7.

⁸³ Asmady Idris, *Malaysia's Relations with Saudi Arabia Under Tun Dr. Mahathir Era, 1981-2003*, Political Managements and Policies in Malaysia, (2004) pp143-158.

⁸⁴ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Saudi Schools Abroad. (Arabic) <<http://www.gdssa.gov.sa/>>

⁸⁵ Thomas McKenna and Esmael Abdula, *The Philippines: Political Separatism & Religious Pragmatism*, in Robert Hefner (ed.), "Making Modern Muslims. The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia", Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (2009) pp210-211.

⁸⁶ Zachary Abuza, *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia - Crucible of Terror*, (Lynne Rienner 2003) p13.

⁸⁷ Angel Rabasa, *Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, Current Trends in Islamist Ideology (2) (Sep 12, 2005).

⁸⁸ See: <http://www.kingfahdbinabdulaziz.com/main/m4102.htm>

⁸⁹ Zalina Mohd Som, *Flavourful Muslim Fare in Taiwan*, New Strait Times, (Mar 10, 2010).

⁹⁰ Joseph Liow, *Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand: Tradition and Transformation* (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011) p94.

⁹¹ Robert Hefner (ed.) *Making Modern Muslims. The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (2009) pp160.

School	Province
Islam Prachasongkroh	Yala
Islahiyah	Yala
Udom Sasana	Yala
Suksawad Wittaya	Yala
Asasuddin	Yala
Alawiyah	Yala
Thamma Wittya Mullanithi	Yala
Phatana Wittaya	Yala
Phatana Islam Wittaya	Yala
Muslim Phattana Sasana	Pattani
Bamrung Islam	Pattani
Triam Sueksa	Pattani
Mahad Darul-Maarif	Pattani
Azizsathan	Pattani
Sasanupatham	Pattani
Wattanatham Islam Phoming	Pattani
Al-Islamiyah Wittaya	Pattani
Sasana Samakki	Pattani
Ratprachanukroh	Pattani
Islam Burana Tokno	Narathiwat
Nuruddin	Narathiwat
Thamsetam Wittaya	Narathiwat
Darussalam	Narathiwat
Attarkiyah Islamiyah	Narathiwat
Sengtham Wittaya	Narathiwat
Suksan Sasana	Narathiwat
Samanmit Wittaya	Narathiwat
Source: Joseph Liow, "Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand: Tradition and Transformation" (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011)	

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Saudi Arabia has been an active supporter of the Islamic education development in Afghanistan following the US invasion. For example, it was reported in 2011 that Saudi Arabia had provided 100,000 textbooks to the Afghan Ministry of Education.⁹² Moreover, in

⁹² Fazl Rahman Muzhary, *Studying Religion is Tough in Afghanistan*, OnIslam.net (Feb 23, 2011).
<http://www.onislam.net/english/back-to-religion/covering-religion/451184-studying-religion-is-tough-in-afghanistan.html>

May 2012, the embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington announced the provision of additional textbooks to the Afghan Ministry of Education.⁹³

More recently, it was reported by multiple media outlets in November 2012 that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has finalized plans to build a \$100 million mosque and education center in Kabul to be completed in 2016. The school is expected to have dormitories for 5,000 students, and the mosque will hold up to 15,000 worshippers.⁹⁴

While data from Afghanistan is somewhat difficult to obtain, at least some of the Saudi-funded madrasas are teaching a mixture of secular and Islamic subjects.⁹⁵

BANGLADESH

There is a great deal of Saudi influence in Bangladeshi education and society. Bangladeshi political scientist Mahfuzul Chowdhury describes various channels of influence from Saudi Arabia:

The Saudi government, moreover, provides aid to Bangladesh, for instance by funding infrastructure projects... Finally, it is widely believed that the Saudis fund religious parties, non-governmental organisations and educational institutions – the madrasas – in Bangladesh. The madrasas teach thousands of students, most of whom do not have opportunities to attend normal schools.⁹⁶

In June 2006, Hampton University Professor Mumtaz Ahmad, in a study conducted for the National Bureau of Asian Research, found that 200 madrasas of the Ahl-e-Hadith (Wahhabi) sect in Bangladesh were constructed with direct financial support from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.⁹⁷ In a later report, Ahmad mentions that the largest madrasas in Bangladesh received books from the Saudi and Kuwaiti governments:

There are cases, however, when Quomi madrassas did receive funds from the Saudi government sponsored organizations, from certain Islamic NGOs based in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirate (UAE), and from individual philanthropists from the Gulf Sheikhdoms and South Africa. It is difficult to give any definitive figures of the total amount received by the madrassas in Bangladesh from these sources since most of these

⁹³ Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Afghan People supports Education Ministry, Embassy of Saudi Arabia, (May 18, 2012) <http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest_news/news05181201.aspx>

⁹⁴ Catriona Luke, *Kabul's \$100m mosque: a sign of a heavyweight battle for post-2014 Afghanistan*, The Guardian. (Dec 9, 2012). <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/dec/09/kabul-mosque-afghanistan>>

⁹⁵ Pia Karlsson and Amir Mansory, *Islamic and Western-Style Education in Afghanistan-Conflictual or Complementary?*, in Holger Daun and Geoffrey Walford. "Educational Strategies among Muslims in the Context of Globalization" (Brill, 2004) p97.

⁹⁶ Mahfuzul Chowdhury. *Muslim, but Religiously Liberal*, (Apr 14, 2011). <<http://www.dandc.eu/en/article/saudi-money-makes-difference-bangladesh-radical-islam-not-strong-political-force>>

⁹⁷ Mumtaz Ahmad. *Islamic Education in Bangladesh*. Hampton University (June, 2006).

funds were not transferred through official channels. We do know, however, that none of the largest madrassas in Bangladesh (for example, Hathhazari, Putia and Lal Bagh) received any cash funds from the Middle East, although many of them routinely receive free books published by the Saudi and Kuwaiti governments.⁹⁸

Even more recently, it has been reported that Saudi Arabia, through the Al-Rabita NGO, has built at least 800 mosques and 300 madrasas throughout the country.⁹⁹

PAKISTAN

Although the Ahle-Hadith and Deobandi madrasas in Pakistan receive significant funding from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf monarchies, most of the textbooks used in these religious schools are produced locally. This is due to the dominance of the Dars-i-Nazami¹⁰⁰ curriculum in South Asian Islamic education, which is used almost universally in the Pakistani madrasa network. However, the two Saudi academies operating in Karachi and Islamabad do, in fact, utilize the Saudi textbooks.

EASTERN EUROPE

ALBANIA

Similar to other communist countries, Albania experienced wanton destruction of Islamic institutions under communist rule in its pursuit of Enver Hoxha's vision of an 'atheist state.' As was the case in Central Asia, Muslims in Albania were granted the freedom to practice Islam, but had few mosques, madrasas, or trained clergy. Once the barriers began to come down, Saudi Arabia sought to fill the vacuum much like it did in Africa and Asia. If a religious structure was built or supported by Saudi funding, the ideology espoused was that of Wahhabism.¹⁰¹ As Research Fellow Kerem Öktem of Oxford University noted in a 2010 report, there was a surge of funding from Saudi Arabia in the 1990s following the end of communist rule:

In Albania, where the Islamic Union had been literally destroyed with the 1967 declaration of state atheism, religious foundations from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf almost exclusively funded the reconstitution of community life. The Islamic Union was re-established in 1990,

⁹⁸ Mumtaz Ahmad. *Islamic Education in Pakistan: Second Year Report (Preliminary)*, International Islamic University (ND).

⁹⁹ Mohshin Habib. *Ethnic Cleansing in Bangladesh*. Gatestone Institute (Oct 5, 2012).

¹⁰⁰ This curriculum was developed by Nizamuddin Sehavi in 18th century India and remains the most widely used education model for South Asian madrasas.

¹⁰¹ Arben Kullolli, *Proselytization in Albania by Middle Eastern Islamic Organizations*, Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School (Mar 2009) pp38-39.

and all medrese (religious secondary schools) that opened in the 1990s were financed with Gulf capital and employed teachers with a strict understanding of Islam.¹⁰²

The International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) set up operations in Albania in 1990, followed by the Al-Haramain Association in 1992.¹⁰³ The Al-Haramain organization was only active until June 2004, when its Albanian branch was designated as a financier of terrorism.¹⁰⁴ During this period, Al-Haramain focused its efforts on the construction of Wahhabi mosques and Islamic centers and sending orphans and poor children to study in Saudi Arabia.¹⁰⁵

Albania has since rejected Wahhabi ideology on a wide-scale; and while it is very likely that Saudi textbooks were used in the 1990s, that is no longer the case. This period of Saudi assistance was brought to an end when the connection between transnational Islamic networks and terrorism began to surface:

With the 9/11 attacks... and the ensuing 'war on terror', most actors with even the faintest connection to transnational Arab Islamic networks and Salafi forms of Islam were progressively squeezed out of the Balkans... In Albania, the situation was particularly pronounced as 'most of the foundations were closed down. Probably 90 percent of the members of Arab foundations were asked to leave the country.' This situation resulted in all educational institutions of the Islamic community in Albania being closed down due to a lack of funding.¹⁰⁶

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

In spite of the diligent efforts of Saudi Arabia to spread Wahhabism after the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, the movement did not gain much traction in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH).¹⁰⁷ There are at least two education institutions in BiH with direct links to Saudi Arabia, (1) Al-Risalah, a Saudi-run private school mentioned in a 2002 Arab News article¹⁰⁸ and (2) the Bihac Islamic College, a Saudi-established teacher training school mentioned on the King Fahd website.¹⁰⁹

At the University of Sarajevo, a library project was implemented by the Saudi Development Fund, with the direct involvement of the Saudi Minister of Higher Education, H.E. Dr.

¹⁰² Kerem Öktem, *New Islamic actors after the Wahhabi intermezzo: Turkey's return to the Muslim Balkans*, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford (Dec 2010), p19.

¹⁰³ Kullolli (2009) pp42-43.

¹⁰⁴ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *Al Haramain Case Study*, (Nov 12, 2008) p127.

¹⁰⁵ Kullolli (2009) p43.

¹⁰⁶ Öktem (Dec 2010), p21.

¹⁰⁷ Öktem (Dec 2010), p18.

¹⁰⁸ *Saudi-run school rated the best*, Arab News (Apr 11, 2002) <<http://www.arabnews.com/node/219865>>

¹⁰⁹ From the King Fahd Website <<http://www.kingfahdbinabdulaziz.com/main/m104.htm>>

Khaled Al-Angari.¹¹⁰ The project was delayed several years due to Bosnian fears of a growing Saudi influence.¹¹¹ Scholar Stepan Machacek reported that while one current of Islamic education in Bosnia is dominated by Western or Yugoslav universities, another, represented by colleges in Bilac and Zenica, are led by ulema who were almost exclusively educated in Saudi Arabia.¹¹²

Although Saudi textbooks may be used in the Al-Risalah school or Bihac Islamic college, it seems highly unlikely. The Islamic community has largely rejected Wahhabism and regulatory bodies exist to monitor the religious education of Muslims in BiH.¹¹³

Kosovo

The scale of Saudi involvement in Islamic education in the country and its remaining presence makes the use of Saudi textbooks likely in rural Kosovo.

Noted author and journalist Stephen Schwartz documents a determined effort by Saudi Arabia to spread Wahhabism throughout the Balkans under the auspices of the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo (SJRC) following the brutal conflicts of the 1990s. In 1999, the SJRC began training Kosovar imams in Arabic and Shariah, and *"was also busy distributing copies of the Qur'an and 'books on Islam.'"*¹¹⁴

Schwartz cites a press release by the Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo (SJRC) that describes the allocation of funding to Kosovo in 1999:

*[O]f four million Saudi Riyals¹¹⁵ spent in Kosovo, nearly half went to sponsor 388 religious 'propagators'... another 600,000 riyals went for the reconstruction of 37 mosques, and 200,000 riyals was spent on two Islamic schools.*¹¹⁶

Saudi NGOs arrived in Kosovo and spent lavishly to rebuild the repressed Islamic community. Researcher Gezim Krasniqi of the University of Edinburgh, describes the extent of Saudi assistance in Kosovo:

The arrival of foreign faith-based organisations and charity groups after 1999 marked the first 'face-to-face' meeting of Kosovo's Muslims with radically different forms of 'Islam'—

¹¹⁰ University of Sarajevo Website. *A Historic Event for the University of Sarajevo* (Jun 16, 2012) <http://unsaba.ba/s/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1359&lang=english>

¹¹¹ Dijala Hasanbegovic-Puric, *Fear of Wahhabi Impact Threatens Sarajevo's University Library*, Balkans Insight (Nov 28, 2011).

¹¹² Stepan Machacek, *Islamic Educational System in Bosnia and its Prospective Contribution to the Place of Islam in European Schools*, Akademie der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart, (Nov 22, 2009) p4.

¹¹³ International Crisis Group, *Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism*, ICG Policy Briefing, Europe Briefing No 70 (Feb 26, 2013) p11.

¹¹⁴ Stephen Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, Doubleday (2002) p190.

¹¹⁵ Roughly \$1.1m in 1999 dollars. (1 SAR = .267 USD)

¹¹⁶ Schwartz, (2002) pp190-191.

missionaries from the Gulf who preach a much more conservative and fundamentalist form of Islam, known also as 'Wahhabism'. With the permission of UNMIK, several Saudi-based humanitarian agencies such as the Saudi Red Crescent Society, the International Islamic Relief Organization, the Muslim World League, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth and numerous private Saudi charitable organizations, which were operating under the umbrella of the Saudi Joint Committee for the Relief of Kosovo and Chechnya (SJCRKC), arrived in post-war Kosovo to fill in the 'spiritual vacuum' and meet the material needs of Kosovo's Muslims. During the refugee crisis in Kosovo in 1999, the SJCRKC... set up and operated... 12 schools, and constructed 38 temporary mosques.¹¹⁷

In 2002, in the newsletter of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), it was reported that the Saudi Joint Committee for the Relief of Kosovo and Chechnya (SJCRKC) had assumed a dominant role in the provision of Islamic education for "over a hundred communities." The newsletter also described the educational atmosphere of the Saudi-funded schools and the local reaction:

The forced segregation of the sexes in schools, the focus on young male education based on the memorization of the Qur'an, and little if any emphasis on what many would deem essential survival skills have attracted the suspicion of Kosovo's indigenous Muslim and secular leaders. ...Despite their efforts, with little or no financial resources of their own... Kosovo's leaders are incapable of providing an alternative to the Salafi educational practices that are being propagated in many parts of rural Kosovo.¹¹⁸

The same author, Dr. Isa Blumi currently of the University of Georgia, wrote in 2005 that the SJCRKC had, "monopolised [sic] the provision of food, healthcare and education to rural Kosovo. This provides a captive audience for Saudi proselytizing." He reported that the Islamic Endowment Fund (operating under the umbrella of the SJCRKC) supports over 30 Qur'anic schools and 98 primary and secondary schools throughout rural Kosovo. These schools, according to Blumi, "are helping to create a generation of Albanian Muslims who are deeply intolerant of those whose opinions contradict their religious training."¹¹⁹

The presence of the SJCRKC was also confirmed in a 2006 World Bank study which arrived at much the same conclusion, finding that:

Lack of adequate secondary schooling and/or non-formal education in Kosovo has created a gap that has been filled with non-formal religious education, a development that has potentially negative consequences for social cohesion and inclusion in the area. The Islamic Endowment Foundation, for example, has established 30 specialized Koranic

¹¹⁷ Gëzim Krasniqi, *The 'forbidden fruit': Islam and politics of identity in Kosovo and Macedonia*, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford, (Dec 2010) p16.

¹¹⁸ Isa Blumi, *Indoctrinating Albanians: Dynamics of Islamic Aid*, International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) Newsletter, (2002).

¹¹⁹ Isa Blumi, *Political Islam Among the Albanians: Are the Taliban coming to the Balkans?*, Second Edition, Prishtina. (2005).

schools for young men in rural Kosovo. (The Foundation operates under the Saudi Joint Committee on the Relief of Kosovo and Chechnya, or SJCRKC.) Locals have complained that the schools do not address the needs of rural communities and some observers believe that the schools promote intolerance.¹²⁰

Saudi textbooks may be used in this network of schools, but further research will be required.

MACEDONIA

Many analysts have noted an increase in Wahhabism in Macedonia,¹²¹ but none could be found to suggest that religious education was being used to propagate the movement. There are indications that Saudi influence is occurring at the higher levels¹²² of the Macedonian Islamic Community Organization (IVZ),¹²³ and there are reports that new mosque construction is increasing dramatically. According to H.E. Zoran Jolevski, the Macedonian Ambassador to the United States, there are now more mosques in Macedonia than churches, despite the fact that Muslims remain a minority.¹²⁴

On May 1, 2008, a new law came into effect that removed the restrictions on places of worship and allowed religious instruction at mosques, but it is unclear how widespread this practice has become. Primary education cannot be offered at religious schools, but religious high schools do exist. The most famous of these appears to be connected to the Isa Beg Mosque.¹²⁵ This mosque was the scene of a conflict in 2010 between Wahhabis and the IVZ, but there is nothing to suggest that the curriculum of the school would have been Wahhabi in nature, as the Wahhabis seemed to have been guests.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Gloria La Cava, Paula Lytle, Alexadre Kolev, Zeynep Ozbil, Carine Clert, and Diana Marginean. *Young people in South-Eastern Europe: From risk to empowerment*, World Bank (2006) p22.

¹²¹ Kenneth Morrison, *Wahhabism in the Balkans*, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom (Feb, 2008) p9.

¹²² See: Atanas Panovski, *The Spread of Islamic Extremism in the Republic of Macedonia*, Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School (Dec 2011).

¹²³ Ioannis Kagioglidis, *Religious Education and the Prevention of Islamic Radicalization: Albania, Britain, France, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, Thesis (Sep 2009) Naval Postgraduate School pp57-58.

¹²⁴ Personal conversation between Dr. Johnston and the Ambassador.

¹²⁵ Kagioglidis (Sep 2009) pp57-63.

¹²⁶ Biliana Jovanovska, *Wahhabis are Multiplied in Mosques*, Utrinski Vesnik, (Aug 3, 2010).

<<http://www.utrinski.com.mk/?ItemID=5D52BCDAE37D7F41819A43711502881C>>

WESTERN EUROPE

FRANCE

The Saudi School in Paris uses textbooks produced by the Saudi Ministry of Education as documented in the school's photo album.¹²⁷ Although Saudi Arabia has been actively funding missionary activities and mosque construction projects in France aimed at spreading Wahhabism in the Muslim community,¹²⁸ that community remains small, estimated at only 5,000 according to French Intelligence Services.¹²⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that the dispersion of Saudi textbooks goes beyond the Saudi Academy in Paris.

The Great Mosque of Lyon was established with money from Saudi Arabia and houses both a library and primary school, but its curriculum is unknown.¹³⁰

UNITED KINGDOM

Saudi textbooks are being used at the King Fahd Academy in London, which serves around 600 students. After a public scandal regarding the anti-Semitic content of the textbooks in February 2007, the books were reviewed and objectionable content was excised.¹³¹ The BBC television program "Panorama" found that, in 2010, Saudi textbooks were freely distributed and used in more than 40 after-school and weekend programs catering to about 4,000 students in the United Kingdom.¹³²

CENTRAL AND WEST ASIA

AZERBAIJAN

In Azerbaijan the term Wahhabi is used by the government as a pejorative label to justify the persecution of Salafists or other conservative Muslims in the country.¹³³ In 2005, authorities in Azerbaijan identified a threat of "radical Wahhabist propaganda" flowing into the country's Islamic community from the Kuwaiti Asian Muslims Committee, prompting a government ban on Wahhabi literature as reported by Eurasianet:

¹²⁷ The official seal of the Ministry of Education is clearly shown in the upper right hand corner of the textbook being held by the student pictured, See:

<http://www.sapasch.com/index.php?mode=album&page=vi&pa_id=9&i=163>

¹²⁸ Clara Beyler, *The Jihadist Threat in France*, Current Trends in Islamist Ideology, 3 (Feb 16, 2006).

¹²⁹ Mohamed Ali Adraoui, *Purist Salafism in France*, ISIM Review 21, (2008) pp12-13.

¹³⁰ Ashley Patricia Arnold, *Mosques in France: The Visible Presence of Islam*, Thesis. University of North Texas (2011) p35.

¹³¹ *School edits controversial books*, BBC News (Feb 7, 2007) <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6337299.stm>>

¹³² *Panorama finds anti-Semitic texts in schools*, BBC News (Nov 22, 2010) <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11808658>>

¹³³ For a broader discussion on this issue see: Hema Kotecha, *Islamic and Ethnic Identities in Azerbaijan: Emerging Trends and Tensions*, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, (Jul 2006) pp13-21.

*The State Committee for Religious Affairs has also imposed a ban on the distribution of religious literature that promotes Wahhabism, the Turan news agency reported. The Azerbaijani Caucasus Muslims Board has already received 14 tons of religious books, containing 'radical Wahhabist propaganda'...*¹³⁴

The government of Azerbaijan has been cautious about assistance from Saudi Arabia. The Azerbaijan office of Al-Haramain was closed by authorities in 2000,¹³⁵ and although the IIRO has offices in Azerbaijan, its activities have been suspended since 2006.¹³⁶ Salafists and Wahhabists are treated with suspicion by authorities who often subject them to public humiliation and harassment.¹³⁷ The spread of Saudi textbooks in Azerbaijan now seems unlikely, owing to the overwhelming government restrictions on religious freedom.

KAZAKHSTAN

While there are few formal madrasas in Kazakhstan, the lack of government oversight in religious education, which is extremely rare for the region, has created an environment where Saudi textbooks could be used. In 2003, the International Crisis Group reported that informal Islamic education centers are being funded by "Arab foundations" with no government oversight. Describing these schools, ICG reports:

*Most teachers in these schools are from Arab countries but they are not considered missionaries. Officials are happy to allow such schools to operate, according to local observers, because they receive considerable financial benefit from connections to Arab foundations.*¹³⁸

The report does not mention Saudi Arabia by name, but does express concern about the lack of government oversight in Islamic education, "...there is an undoubted need for more coordination in the religious education field and more monitoring of educational institutions, particularly those financed from abroad."¹³⁹

KYRGYZSTAN

At the time of independence there were no religious education institutions in Kyrgyzstan, but more than 50 madrasas and Islamic institutes were established in the following decade, primarily through foreign funding.¹⁴⁰ Religious education and its curriculum in Kyrgyzstan are controlled by the Muftiyat. This office also controls religious publications and travel for

¹³⁴ Shahin Abbasov and Khadija Ismailova, *Watching for Wahhabis: The Religious Factor in Azerbaijan's Parliamentary Election Campaign*, Eurasianet.org (Aug 17, 2005).

¹³⁵ Dore Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports New Global Terrorism*, Regnery Publishing, (2004) p141.

¹³⁶ International Crisis Group, *Azerbaijan: Independent Islam and the State*, Crisis Group Europe Report N°191, (Mar 25, 2008) p6.

¹³⁷ International Crisis Group (Mar 25, 2008) p19.

¹³⁸ International Crisis Group, *Central Asia: Islam and the State*, ICG Asia Report No 59, (Jul 10, 2003) p33.

¹³⁹ International Crisis Group (Jul 10, 2003) p34.

¹⁴⁰ International Crisis Group (Jul 10, 2003) p29.

the Hajj. According to some observers, the office of the Muftiyat is influenced by foreign funding.¹⁴¹

A leading expert on Islam in South and Central Asia, Ahmed Rashid, reports the rapid expansion of Wahhabism in Kyrgyzstan that took place following the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991:

*In summer 1992, the building of a large Wahabi mosque and madrasah began in Osh with a Saudi grant of 1 million roubles. By the end of the year the Wahabis were also funding a new mosque in Beshkeh. Imams at these mosques explained that they had been forced to turn to the Wahabis because no government funds were available for their mosque's expansion.*¹⁴²

In response to the influx of Wahhabism, both from Saudi Arabia directly and through Uzbekistan, the Kyrgyz government established agencies specifically to monitor and address Islamic fundamentalism in 1997.¹⁴³

There appears to be sufficient regulation over Saudi assistance in Kyrgyzstan to prevent the spread of Saudi textbooks in the country. While the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) is active in the country, there is sufficient pressure to confine assistance to traditional expressions of Islam. An example of this occurred in 2011, when WAMY provided books for the library of the Islamic University in Kyrgyzstan. The books listed were not Wahhabist in nature and even included a reference copy of Hanafi Jurisprudence written by Mawdoud al-Mousli Hanafi. Encouragement of the Hanafi Fiqh runs completely counter to the principles of Wahhabism.¹⁴⁴

TAJIKISTAN

In 2003 there were 21 madrasas and one Islamic institute under state control in Tajikistan. The government has demonstrated great concern over the spread of Wahhabism and has worked to keep Tajik scholars from Saudi schools from positions of influence.¹⁴⁵

UZBEKISTAN

A leading expert on Islamic movements in Central and South Asia, Ahmed Rashid devoted an entire book in 1994 to Islam in Central Asia following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In

¹⁴¹ Noor Borbieva, *Islam and the International Sector: Negotiations of Faith in the Kyrgyz Republic*, Kellogg Institute. Working Paper #364 (Dec 2009).

¹⁴² Ahmed Rashid, *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism?*, (Oxford University Press, 1994) p152.

¹⁴³ Jamestown, *Kyrgyz Security Acts Against Foreign Agents and 'Wahhabis'*, Jamestown Monitor, Vol 4 Issue 26 (Feb 9, 1998).

¹⁴⁴ WAMY Supports Islamic University in Kyrgyzstan, Saudi Press Agency (Mar 21, 2011) <http://www.jamestown.org/single/no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=13482&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=212>

¹⁴⁵ International Crisis Group (Jul 10, 2003) p18.

The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism? Rashid identifies the Ferghana Valley, a strip of land stretched primarily across Uzbekistan, but also Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, as the major hub of Saudi-supported Wahhabi revival in Central Asia.¹⁴⁶ According to Rashid, Wahhabis in this area received "lavish funding from supporters in Saudi Arabia to build mosques and madrasahs," and the region was flooded with Qur'ans and Wahhabist literature from Saudi Arabia.¹⁴⁷ Rashid also describes frustration in Uzbekistan over the growing Wahhabi influence after the fall of communism:

*In the old quarter of Namangan the official government mosque is run by the increasingly frustrated Imam Bilal Khan. 'There were three mosques in the Namangan region during communist times, now there are 130, but everywhere the Wahabis are doing their propaganda. We do not have the funds like they do,' he said. 'People are pleased they can freely practice Islam now, but they do not want an Islamic revolution like the Wahabis say. We must go slowly and tackle other problems first like the economy...'*¹⁴⁸

Later in the book, Rashid documents the construction and development of the Namangan mosque and madrasa in 1992, which was funded with \$200,000 from the Ahle Sunnah movement in Saudi Arabia. In describing the opening of the madrasa, Rashid specifically mentions its role in the distribution of Islamic literature.¹⁴⁹ The Namangan project was part of the Ahle Sunnah's estimated \$2 million campaign in the Ferghana Valley and surrounding villages to establish a Wahhabi foothold in Central Asia through the construction of mosques and sufficient madrasahs to educate some 15,000 students.¹⁵⁰ It is extremely likely that Saudi textbooks and educational literature were being used in many of these schools as the popularity of Wahhabism in Uzbekistan appeared to be promoted in educational and literary circles.¹⁵¹

A study funded by USAID for its Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination in 2006 produced analysis supporting Rashid's earlier observations. In their report, they cited the issue of Saudi funding for religious schools in the Ferghana Valley specifically as a cause for the rise in Wahhabism in Uzbekistan.¹⁵² The report also states that in the three years following independence as many as 15,000 mosques and madrasahs were built in Uzbekistan by foreign Islamic funders.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Rashid (1994) p44-45.

¹⁴⁷ Rashid (1994) pp44-45.

¹⁴⁸ Rashid (1994) p79.

¹⁴⁹ Rashid (1994) p78.

¹⁵⁰ Rashid (1994) p100.

¹⁵¹ Jamshid Gaziev, *Islamic Revival in Post-Independence Uzbekistan*, The Fletcher Journal of Development Studies, Vol 16 (2000) p9.

¹⁵² USAID, *Strengthening Education in the Muslim World*, PPC Working Paper (Apr 2004) p6.

¹⁵³ USAID (2006) p6.

In late 1997, the Wahhabis began to clash violently with the Uzbek government, provoking a harsh crackdown by authorities.¹⁵⁴ In 1998, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) was formed with the goal of regime change; and in 1999, a series of explosions attributed to the IMU in the capital city of Tashkent designed to kill President Islam Karimov further deepened the hostility between the government and the Wahhabists.¹⁵⁵ It should be noted that the IMU is not specifically Wahhabist, but Karimov chose to blur the distinction between Islamic radicalism and Wahhabism.¹⁵⁶ This misapplication of the Wahhabi label is not a recent development; it has also been used in Uzbekistan since the first decade of the 20th century to describe opponents of the religious establishment.¹⁵⁷

The crackdown on Wahhabism, as well as restrictions on religious freedom and government control of the Islamic authority, makes it unlikely that textbooks are still being used in Uzbekistan. In late 1997, Uzbek authorities began arresting Muslims accused of fundamentalism and closing mosques and schools. This was followed in May 1998 with formal legislation to restrict the practice of Islam to the government-approved Hanafi sect, which was later buttressed through a series of amendments to the legal code that established harsh punishments for violations of the May 1998 law. The possession and distribution of Wahhabi literature of any kind and private religious education not approved by the government has been criminalized.¹⁵⁸ In a 2011 publication by USAID, the ban on religious education was attributed to the “*rise of Islamic fundamentalist Wahhabi schools*.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Gaziev (2000) pp9-10.

¹⁵⁵ Lopamudra Bandyopadhyay, *Islamic Revivalism in Central Asia and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan*, Global India Foundation (ND).

¹⁵⁶ For a broader analysis on this assertion see: Vitaly Naumkin, *Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan*, University of California – Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (2003) pp48-58.

¹⁵⁷ Martha Brill Olcott *The Roots of Radical Islam in Central Asia*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (Jan 17, 2007) p7.

¹⁵⁸ *Notes on Wahhabism, 'Wahhabis,' and Hizb ut-Tahrir*, Human Rights Watch (Mar 2004).

¹⁵⁹ USAID, *USAID/Uzbekistan – Education* (Aug, 2011)

<<http://gem2.org/sites/default/files/Uzbekistan%20Ed%20Profile%2010072011.pdf>>

APPENDIX A – OFFICIAL SAUDI ACADEMIES ABROAD

Country	City	Name of School
Algeria	Algiers	Saudi School
Austria	Vienna	Saudi School
China	Beijing	Saudi School
Djibouti	Djibouti (City)	Saudi School
France	Paris	Saudi School
Germany	Bonn	King Fahd Academy
Germany	Berlin	King Fahd Academy
India	New Delhi	Saudi School
Indonesia	Jakarta	Haramain Islamic Academy
Italy	Vienna	Saudi School
Italy	Rome	King Abdul Aziz School
Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur	Saudi School
Morocco	Rabat	Saudi School
Pakistan	Karachi	Saudi School
Pakistan	Islamabad	Saudi School
Russia	Moscow	Saudi School
Spain	Madrid	Saudi School
Turkey	Ankara	Saudi School
Turkey	Istanbul	Saudi School
United Kingdom	London	King Fahd Academy
United States	Washington	Saudi Islamic Academy