WAHHABISM: FROM NAJD TO NEW YORK

by

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(Under the Direction of Kenneth Honerkamp)

ABSTRACT

Wahhabism: From Najd to New York addresses the life and teachings of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, a religious reformer and theologian whose ideas have impacted the ideologies of many modern Muslims. This paper begins with a biography of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and an analysis of his book *Kitab al-tawhid*. Following this, the alliance between Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud is discussed. Next, the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is addressed in reference to the discovery of oil and the ensuing friendship between the Kingdom and America; which leads to a discussion about the Saudi Royal Family's political legitimacy and relations with its population. Finally, Saudi indoctrination and the exportation of Wahhabism to many countries, including America, are evaluated. Overall, *Wahhabism: From Najd to New York* strives to show how Wahhabism is an active religious and political movement impacting Muslim communities across the globe.

INDEX WORDS: Wahhabism, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Saudi Arabia, Muhammad
                 Ibn Sa'ud, Salafiyah, Kitab al-tawhid, Islamic Extremism, Islam in
                 America

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today we are faced with the global spread of Wahhabism, a little understood sect of

Islam that has influenced the ideologies of many modern-day Islamic terrorists and extremists.

In the post September eleventh world understanding Islamic extremism and fundamentalism has

become crucial. In the last few years numerous works have been produced to help the public

comprehend these movements within Islam, but what many of these efforts lack is an

appreciation of the centuries-old ideological roots that support current trends. *Wahhabism: From

Najd to New York* attempts to fill this void by uncovering the historical, social, economic,

theological, and political underpinnings of Wahhabism, one ideology out of many that has

influenced today's extremist movements. In this detailed study of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-

Wahhab, Saudi Arabia, and the global exportation of Wahhabism the reader will be exposed to

the history of Wahhabism, its current state, and the factors that have allowed it to migrate out of

the Arabian Peninsula and spread to numerous countries around the world, including America,

where millions of Muslims are being exposed to an ideology used by extremists to justify their

actions.

In order to contextualize Wahhabism and its ideological influence on Muslims around the

world, *Wahhabism: From Najd to New York* begins with an introduction to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd

al-Wahhab and his thought. In chapter two, "Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: His Homeland,

Life and Teachings," a comprehensive biography of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab is

provided. To fully address his life this chapter includes a history of his homeland, an evaluation of his intellectual influences, and an analysis of his best-known book, *Kitab al-tawhid*. From this the reader should gain insight into both the teachings of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and the ideologies from which he borrowed.

Chapter three, "The Initial Spread of Wahhabism," discusses the events that transformed Wahhabism from a controversial and powerless sect of religious society into the dominant belief system of the Arabian Peninsula. In doing so great attention is given to the partnership between Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud and the resulting coalition of religious belief and political determinism. Here the reader will learn how the Wahhab-Sa'ud alliance used military conquests and the propagation of Wahhabism to create the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Chapter four, "The Discovery of Oil and the Emergence of American-Saudi Relations," addresses the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia specifically highlighting the discovery of oil, the Saudi Royal Family's rise to a position of economic power in world politics, and the ensuing friendship between the Kingdom and America. In this chapter Saudi Arabia's oil concessions are addressed in reference to how they led to a unique alliance between Saudi Arabia and the United States that continues to this day. At this juncture the reader will see how Saudi Arabia's need for financial and military assistance and the United States' need for oil and an ally in the Middle East led to an arrangement in which both parties to do everything in their power to avoid the topic of Wahhabism, even if that means adjusting foreign policy.

Chapter five, "Ensuring Legitimacy," discusses Wahhabism's impact on the Saudi Royal Family's relations with its population. In the first part of this chapter the concerns many Saudis have about the Sa'ud family's legitimacy, claim to rule in accordance with Wahhabi principles,

close ties with America, and role in the modern Muslim world are addressed. As the reader will see, these issues combined with modernization efforts that conflict with Wahhabi ideals have resulted in widespread social unrest that continues to plague the Kingdom. The second part of this chapter looks at the various ways in which the Saudi Royal Family has tried to resolve this troubling situation. Here the Royal Family's attempts at ensuring their legitimacy and presenting the Kingdom as the ideal Islamic country by indoctrinating all Saudis in Wahhabism and becoming more involved in Islamic politics are discussed.

Chapter six, "Exporting Wahhabism," addresses the Saudi Royal Family's plan to use the spread Wahhabism as a means of pacifying their population. Here the attempts to implant Wahhabism in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo are discussed in reference to how they served as rehearsals for the Kingdom's largest undertaking: the spread of Wahhabi Islam to America. At this point the main ways in which Saudi Arabia has exported Wahhabism to the United States, such as through organizations, schools, and chaplains, are examined to show the influence Wahhabism has on American Muslims of all walks of life.

Ultimately, *Wahhabism: From Najd to New York* shows how Wahhabism is not just one man's ideology from two hundred years ago but is an active religious and political movement that continues to impact Muslims across the globe. As such, understanding the historical, intellectual, and religious contexts in which Wahhabism began and developed will help one better comprehend the current Wahhabi-inspired trends shaping Muslim communities around the world.

CHAPTER 2

MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB: HIS HOMELAND, LIFE, AND TEACHINGS

Najd, the birthplace of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1206/1791) and the land of his ancestral heritage, was a region that experienced much transformation during the twelve hundred years prior to the 18th century. During this period Najd evolved from a barren nomadic tribal territory into an area of well-developed cities and schools of religious learning that shaped the mind of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. This chapter begins by addressing the history of Najd in context with its role in the early years of Islam and its impact on the lives of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his family. Next, it follows Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab as he travels to Medina to study the ideologies of the Kharidijites, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), and Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah (d. 728/1328). When addressing the beliefs of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his influences a framework of five categories will be used to make comparisons. These categories include the following: epistemology (isolating valid sources of knowledge); ontology (identifying what is really real); anthropology (addressing divisions within humanity); teleology (asserting the purpose of human life); and methodology (establishing the process for realizing the purpose of life). By implementing this framework, the similarities and differences among the sects in reference to each of the aforementioned categories will become evident; resulting in the placement of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab in an intellectual and historical context that can then used to evaluate the teachings found in his most famous work, *Kitab al-tawhid*.

'Najd' is a geographical term describing the central plateau region of the Arabian Peninsula that lies between the Hijaz Mountains to the west and the low lands of the Arabian Gulf to the east. The two largest sand formations of Arabia, the Great Nufud and al-'Rub 'al-Khali, serve as Najd's natural boundaries to the north and south.[1] The plateau is located between the latitudes of 20° and 28° north, in the hot and dry tropical territory; this combined with its isolation from water resources, lack of predictable rainfall, and poor soil conditions classify the region as a desert environment suitable only for thorny desert scrubs.[2] Consequently, during the pre-Islamic era Najd was predominantly inhabited by nomadic tribes, the most powerful being the Banu Hanifah and Banu Tamim,[3] who traveled the land following the rain.[4]

In the early years of Islam Najd was seen as a troubled land of insurgencies because its nomadic tribes were not immediately receptive to Muhammad's message.[5] Although Najd was very close to Mecca and Medina the region did not enter Islam until nine years after Muhammad's emigration to Medina in 622 (*hijra).* This early resistance is partly responsible for Muhammad's criticism of Najd; which is seen in the hadith that records him praying aloud and asking:[6]

> "O God, give us blessings in our Syria, O God, give us blessings us in our Yemen." Someone called out, "And in our Najd?" But the Prophet

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[1] Uwaidah M. Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement: Social, Political and Religious Conditions During the Three Centuries preceding the Rise of the Saudi State* (United Kingdom: Ithaca Press, 2002), 23.

[2] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 35-7.

[3] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab is from the Banu Sinan branch of the Banu Tamim.

[4] A few small faming communities survived in the eastern section of Najd where water flow patterns make the soil more fertile.

[5] Another possible explanation for the hostility towards Najd is that Muhammad's uncle and enemy Abu Jahl was a descendent of the Banu Tamim tribe of Najd. His mother, Asma' Bint Mukharriba, was from Banu Tamim, and Abu Jahl named his own son Tamimi.

[6] Opponents of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab often cite this hadith and use it to discredit his ideas and imply that his sect should be viewed with caution as a "movement without pedigree." To avoid this criticism his followers tend to omit the fact that he was born in Najd in favor of the more general statement that he was born in al-'Uyaynah "to the north of Riyadh."

> ignored him. The Prophet repeated his request for blessings upon Syria and Yemen, and again the onlooker shouted, "And in our Najd?" Finally, the Prophet replied, "From that place will come only earthquakes, conflicts, and the horns of Satan."[7]

Furthermore, when the Najdi tribes did convert to Islam they interpreted it solely as an alliance with Muhammad, thus after his death they were among the first to rebel against Caliph Abu Bakr and refuse to pay the alms tax (*zakat*) to Medina. The hostilities between the Najdi tribes and the Muslims escalated when Musaylima (d. 12/633), a Najdi from the Banu Hanifah tribe, tried to defeat the caliphate by claiming to be a Prophet and sending troops to destroy the Muslim army in the year 12/633. During this fight, known as the Battle of al-Aqraba, the Najdi troops killed numerous Companions but were eventually defeated and forced to accept Median control.[8]

After this loss the tribes of Najd separated themselves from the Muslim community and returned to their traditional nomadic life. The large bands of nomadic tribes, like Banu Hanifah and Banu Tamim, controlled the plateau for nearly eight hundred years, but during the 9th/15th century new nomadic tribal groups entered the region from the west and southwest.[9] At the height of this migration Najd became saturated and its natural resources could not support the newly enlarged population. This condition worsened when severe droughts made water and the herbs and thorny scrubs animals grazed on scarce resulting in conflicts in which the smaller, weaker groups of nomads could not compete and either migrated to Syria and Iraq or lost their flocks and abandoned their itinerant life.[10] Over the next two hundred-fifty years a large portion of the nomadic tribes became sedentary and either established new villages or revived old towns.

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[7] Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari: Arabic-English*, vol. 2 (Al-Medina: Islamic University): 81. Translation by Stephen Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror* (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 72-3.

[8] Kerim Fenari, "Puncturing the Devil's Dream About the Hadiths of Najd and Tamim," Ntlworld, http://homepage.ntlworld.com/masud/ISLAM/misc/najd.htm (accessed February 5, 2004).

[9] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 56.

[10] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 75.

As these communities grew they continued to adhere to the traditional tribal structure in which

every major town was an independent political entity ruled by the tribal chief who collected

taxes for the laissez-faire Meccan rulers.[11] But as town life stabilized the larger communities, like

al-'Uyaynah and Ushayqir, grew weary of this way of life and experienced a revived interest in

Islam and a desire to live in accordance with its laws and social norms.[12] To expedite this process

centers of Islamic learning were developed and run by Najd's new scholars of law (*ulama*) who

had traveled to Syria and Egypt to study.[13] All of the original Najdi scholars had Hanbali Islamic

law (*fiqh*) as their primary field of study; very few were trained in hadith, theology, or Qur'anic

commentary (*tafsir*) considering these fields luxuries not pertinent to their society.[14] Among the

early *'ulama* Ahmad Ibn Musharraf (d. 1012/1603) was the most influential; he had as students

two of the most well respected Najdi scholars, Muhammad Ibn Isma'il (d. 1059/1649) and

Sulayman Ibn 'Ali Ibn Musharraf (d. 1079/1668), each of whom later began their own schools.

In al-'Uyaynah, the largest town in Najd, Sulayman Ibn 'Ali Ibn Musharraf established himself

as the religious judge (*qadi*), scholar who gave legal advice (*mufti*), leader of congregational

prayer (*imam*), and teacher during the rule of the Mu'ammar family. Among Sulayman Ibn 'Ali

Ibn Musharraf's many students was his son 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1153/1740), the father of

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab.[15] Following his father's death 'Abd al-Wahhab became a

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[11] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 97, 147.

[12] Many modern, internet-based critics of Wahhabism attack the movement because it emerged from a region that, prior to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, had never produced a major Islamic theologian. An example of this is seen in the article "A Warning to Muslims against the Bid'as Preached by Muhammad Ibn 'Abdi-l-Wahhab" by Shaykh Abdul Hadi Palazzi. This article can be found at http://www.amislam.com/warning.htm. However, one can see in Najd's history that as soon as the tribes settled into towns they turned their attention to the religion they had abandoned long ago. Thus it seems unfounded to attack Wahhabism on the basis that Najd's nomadic tribes were late to establish schools of Islamic learning capable of producing a scholar.

[13] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 129-30.

[14] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 136.

[15] Al Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement*, 132.

member of the Najdi 'ulama, replaced his father as qadi of al-'Uyaynah, and continued his family's tradition of passing knowledge down to their children.

As such, when Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was a child he was taught Hanbali *fiqh,* hadith literature, and *tafsir* by his father. According to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's followers, he surpassed other children in intelligence and physique and had committed the Qur'an to memory by the age of ten. Some even claim that his father was so impressed with his son's intellect that he allowed Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab to lead congregational prayers that same year.[16] If this is in fact true, it all came to an abrupt end when, while in his early twenties, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab began to disagree with the '*ulama* of his hometown for permitting practices he considered to be in violation of Islam.[17] These accusations, based only on what he had learned in Najd, were viewed as an act of defiance coming from an untrained rebel. Unwilling to abandon his beliefs, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab continued to oppose Nadj's traditions. Ultimately this resulted in his father losing his position as *qadi* and being forced to leave al-'Uyaynah for neighboring Huraymila.[18] Despite this incident Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab wanted to remain in his hometown, but once the '*ulama* defamed his reputation and instigated the people against him he left Najd for the Hejaz where he received his formal education in the theological colleges (*madrasas*) of Medina.

In Medina Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab took pleasure in studying with students and scholars from all regions of the Muslim world and was invited to study under Shaykh 'Abd Allah

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[16] Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sri Lanka, "Wahabism Exposed!," al-Islami.com, http://www.al-islami.com/islam/wahhabism_exposed.php (accessed December 4, 2003). [No author given]

[17] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab spoke out against all customs that had developed in Najd following the introduction of Islam, nearly all of which revolved around saints. Actions such as visiting trees, caves, and tombs associated with local saints greatly upset him because the worshiper sought blessings that would allow him or her to request intercession from the saint.

[18] Hamid Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay* (New York: Islamic Publications International, 2002), 6-7.

Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Sayf al-Nadjdi, Muhammad Ibn Sulayman al-Kurdi, and Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi, all of whom were well versed in Hanbali jurisprudence and the works of Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah (d. 728/1328).[19] According to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's followers, his passion for the subjects greatly impressed his teachers, who welcomed the eager student and granted him the privilege of narrating the traditions of Ibn Hanbal, al-Bukhari, and Muslim Ibn Hajjaj to other students.[20] Throughout his years in Medina Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab intensely studied Kharidijite ideology, Hanbali legal theory, and the works of Ibn Taymiyah, all of which he used to develop his own belief system. The subsequent sections will individually describe each of these influential ideologies and then demonstrate how they were combined by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab to create the intellectual foundation for Wahhabism.

Kharidijites

The Kharidijites became the earliest sect of Islam when they left the ranks of Ali Ibn Abi Talib (d. 40/661) at the battle of Siffin in 37/657.[21] Upon hearing the pronouncement that Ali and Mu'awiay (d. 54/684) had agreed to use arbitration to end the stalemated battle rather than continue fighting, members of Ali's forces from the tribe of Banu Tamim objected. These men wanted to remain on the battlefield until victory was won, arguing that "judgment belongs to God alone" and thus a tribunal was not fit to settle such an important matter.[22] Despite this protest Ali and Mu'awiay continued with their plans, causing the men from Banu Tamim to

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[19] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 7.

[20] Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sri Lanka, "Wahabism Exposed!"

[21] Siffin was a series of battles fought after the murder of Uthman to decide who would be the next Caliph; the dispute was between Ali and the Syrian governor Mu'awiay (d. 54/684). The battles, in general, did not result in much fighting since neither side wanted to kill their fellow Muslims, which in some cases were members of their own tribe or family.

[22] G. Levi Della Vida, "Kharidjites," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

dissolve their alliance with Ali and create their own sect, the Kharidijites. From its inception the

Kharidijites opposed Ali and refused to recognize him as the legitimate Caliph or assist him in

avenging the murder of Uthman, acts that made the Kharidijites the target of numerous raids,

including the one at al-Nahrawan where Ali's troops slaughtered countless Kharidijites.[23] As the

Kharidijites faced a string of battles and losses their leaders decided to unite their ranks with a

cohesive ideology, which they hoped would inspire them to victory.

As a sect that emerged out of conflict and existed in a constant state of warfare, the

Kharidijite belief system tended to be centered on this world and focused on survival. As such,

much of their ideology is concerned with anthropological, teleological, and methodological

issues. Beginning with anthropology, the Kharidijites claimed all humans could be placed into

one of two categories: those enforcing the law of God (i.e. the Kharidijites) and those violating

the law of God (i.e. all other people). Those who were specifically identified as members of the

latter category included Muslims who had committed a grave sin, those who believed in

justification by faith without works, and *imams* who had diverted from the straight path; all of

whom were labeled infidels (*kafirs*).[24] Within this category of faithlessness (*kufr*) race, ethnicity,

and sex were inconsequential because, according to the Kharidijites, any who opposed their

authority were either infidels or apostates, both of which were legitimate targets of a physical

war or struggle (*jihad*) whom it was their obligation to destroy. To expedite this process the

Kharidijites stated it was their teleological duty to encourage right and forbid wrong by

eliminating all *kafirs*. Their chosen methodology for achieving this purpose consisted of two

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[23] One Kharidijite in particular lost most of her family in the attack and had her husband avenge their deaths by assassinating Ali.

[24] The Kharidijites claim that Ali diverted from the straight path when he agreed to arbitration thereby making him both an illegitimate ruler and a *kafir* that could be killed. Furthermore, they argued that all *imams* and caliphs were *kafirs* except for those elected from within their own ranks, but even they could be accused of unbelief and overthrown.

parts, the first of which was the official declaration of a person or group of people as *kafir*

(*takfir*). This pronouncement was essential because it sanctioned the eventual murder and

prevented the murderers from being prosecuted under Islam's revealed law (*shari'a*). The

second element of the Kharidijites' methodology was the waging of *jihad* through guerilla

warfare or religious murder to eradicate all *kafirs*.[25] As time passed and battles against the *kafirs*

continued, the Kharidijite leaders found it necessary to amend their anthropological classification

system to include martyrs. Soon it was agreed that all Kharidijites who sacrificed their life for

the cause should be considered martyrs and their deaths avenged, thereby also adding another

element to the teleological duties of all Kharidijites.[26] Despite this ideological revision, the strain

of constant warfare became too much and led to the Kharidijites' eventual disbandment. In spite

of this dissolution, the Kharidijites' war-based belief system had a lasting impact on the Banu

Tamim and Banu Hanifah tribes of Najd who had supplied numerous Kharidijite sects with

leaders and supporters.[27] As such it is possible that Najd's role as a Kharidijite stronghold could

account for Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's interest in their ideology and his eventual

adoption of their teleology and methodology.[28]

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[25] Vida, "Kharidjites."

[26] The elevated status of martyrs was not incorporated into the original ideology of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab because it would constitute an act of *shirk*. However, it has recently re-emerged in some neo-Wahhabi sects.

[27] For example, the Azariqa sect was led by Najdis Nafi' Ibn al-Azaraq, Ubaydallah Ibn Ma'mun al-Tamimi and Amir al-Mu'minin. The Najdiyya were led by Najda Ibn Amir from the Banu Hanifah and the Ibadiyya sect was led by Abdallah Ibn Ibad of Banu Tamim.

[28] Theologies varied between the Kharidijite sects of Azarika, Ibadiyya, and Sufriyya, but some of the best known Kharidji theorists included Imran bin Hittan, Yazid bin Abi Anisa, and Abu 'Ubayda Ma'mar bin al-Muthanna. These men, and all Kharidijites in general, valued the pre-Islamic art of poetry and used it to eloquently express their ideologies and beliefs. As such, poems produced by Kharidji leaders were collected and published, meaning that Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab could have studied these collections during his travels. Today, only fragments of the poems remain. Vida, "Kharidjites."

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal

The Hanbali school of jurisprudence represents the legal opinions of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855). While still in his teens Ibn Hanbal began his formal education, first in his home country of Iraq, where he studied in Kufa and Basra, and then in Syria, Yemen, and the Hejaz. During this time he focused on gathering a large assortment of hadith (*Sunan*) and learning *fiqh* under such scholars as Sufyan Ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198/813-4), Waki Ibn al-Djarrah (d. 197/812-3), and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mahdi of Basra (d. 198/813-4).[29] While studying with scholars from all over the Muslim world, Ibn Hanbal came to embrace the ontological and epistemological beliefs that God is just as He is described in His uncreated Book, the Qur'an, and that the Qur'an should be taken literally.[30] As such, Ibn Hanbal vehemently rejected negative theology and all *tafsir* that employed allegorical and symbolic interpretations. For many years these beliefs were mainstream, however, when Caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 218/833) came to power he adopted the theology of the Mu'tazila as official doctrine and ordered the persecution of any who would not comply.[31] Consequently, when Ibn Hanbal refused to acknowledge the ontological claim that the Qur'an was created and the epistemological assertion that the anthropomorphic descriptions of God were metaphors, he became the target of abuse and was put in chains, imprisoned, and

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[29] H. Laoust, "Ahmad b. Hanbal," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

[30] Laoust, "Ahmad b. Hanbal."

[31] The Mu'tazila are a religious movement that began in Basra during the 2nd/8th century by Wasil Ibn 'Ata (d. 131/748). The great age of the Mu'tazila came during the reign of caliph al-Ma'mun and ended with caliph al-Mutawakkil in 234/848. However their theology remained popular in Baghdad for thirty more years. The principles adhered to by the Mu'tazila include: 1. The doctrine of the intermediate state in which a sinful Muslim is neither an unbeliever nor a believer, but is instead a malefactor; 2. Belief that God is the sole uncreated One who has neither place, form, body nor features thus the anthropomorphic descriptions of God are metaphors, and God's speech must be considered as separate from His being thereby making the Qur'an a created text; 3. Belief in the justice of God, that God only wills good acts; 4. Belief that non-repentant sinful Muslims will spend all eternity in Hell; 5. The obligation to command the good and forbid what is evil, including intervening in public affairs and upholding the law. D. Gimaret, "Mu'tazila," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill; Answering Islam, "Muslim Movements and Schisms: Other Important Sects in Muslim History," Answering Islam, http://www.answering-islam.org/Gilchrist/Vol1/9d.html (accessed February 24, 2004).

beaten.[32] This harassment continued until Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) came to power in

232/847 and abandoned the Mu'tazila doctrines in favor of traditional Sunni orthodoxy. To

assure the people of his commitment to orthodox theology Caliph al-Mutawakkil invited Ibn

Hanbal to stay at his court and give hadith lessons to his son, al-Mu'tazz (d. 255/869). When his

employment in the Caliph's court came to an end, Ibn Hanbal returned to his home in Baghdad

where he was recognized as a legal scholar and frequently asked to give his opinion on legal and

ethical matters.[33]

An adherent to the epistemological belief that one should primarily rely on the Qur'an

and customs from the life of Muhammad (*Sunna*) when making legal decisions, Ibn Hanbal

advised his followers not to record his responses to legal questions for fear that such a collection

would become a tempting shortcut that would eventually abrogate the sacred texts. As such he

never wrote on *fiqh*, instead he preferred to focus on the more than thirty thousand *Sunan* he had

gathered during his travels. For many years Ibn Hanbal worked on organizing his *Sunan* by

primary transmitter.[34] This method of classification expanded Ibn Hanbal's epistemology by

implying that humans could be relied upon to evaluate and agree on truth. Furthermore, the

inclusion of questionable hadith with suspect chains of transmission asserted the epistemological

belief that, for Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, even suspect hadith offered the possibility of being more

reliable than independent reasoning (*ijtihad*).[35] In its final form Ibn Hanbal's six-volume *Sunan*,

entitled *Musnad al-Imam Ahmad*, provided his followers with great insight into his belief system

and served as one of their most valued sources of legal theory.

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[32] This persecution continued under al-Ma'mun's successor al-Mu'tasim and his successor al-Wathik.

[33] Laoust, "Ahmad b. Hanbal."

[34] It is unclear whether this was in fact organized by Ibn Hanbal or his son 'Abd Allah who, we do know, made additions to the collection.

[35] Farhat J. Ziadeh, "Law: Sunni Schools of Law," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 461.

After the death of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal his students, including his sons Salih (d. 266/879)

and 'Abd Allah (d. 290/903), decided to codify their teacher's juristic principles and legal

opinions into a separate religious-legal school (*madhhab*).[36] In creating the Hanbali *madhhab* Ibn

Hanbal's followers composed numerous works ascribed to their teacher and collected the legal

rulings he had given throughout his life; both of which served as the foundation for the new

school of legal theory.[37] By relying on these sources the Hanbali *madhhab* became a reflection of

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's ontological and epistemological beliefs. Both Ibn Hanbal's absolute

adherence to the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and his declaration that the Qur'an and *Sunna*

are the most valid sources of knowledge are upheld as part of the Hanbali *madhhab's* doctrine.

Added to this foundation are the epistemological assertions of the superiority of the Qur'an and

Sunna over reason, the rejection of rational arguments/theology (*kalam*), and the restriction of

ijtihad.[38]

To ensure these epistemological principles were adhered to, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's

disciples created a methodology that clearly stated the appropriate process for arriving at legal

rulings. This Hanbali methodology was based on five sources of law: the Qur'an and *Sunna*, Ibn

Hanbal's *Sunan*, *fatwas*, hadith, and human reasoning by analogy (*qiyas*); which, if approached

in order, would fulfill the teleological aims of serving God, encouraging good and prohibiting

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[36] Other disciples that contributed to the works of Ibn Hanbal include: Ishak Ibn Mansur al-Kawsadj (d. 251/865), Abu Bakr al-Athram (d. 260/873), Hanbal Ibn Ishak (d. 273/886), 'Abd al-Malik al-Maymuni (d. 274/888), Abu Bakr al-Marwazi (d. 275/889), Abu Dawud al-Sidjistani (d.275/889), Abu Hatim al-Razi (d.277/891), Abu Bakr al-Khallal (d. 311/924), 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Dja'far (d.363/973), Abu Bakr al-Sidjistani (d. 316/928), Abu Muhammad al-Razi (d. 327/939), Abu Bakr al-Katii (d. 368/979). H. Laoust, "Hanabila," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

[37] The works ascribed to Ibn Hanbal include: *Refutation of the Jahmite Madhhhab and the Heretics* (*Radd 'ala'l-djahmiyya wa'l-zanadika*), *Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's Collection of Hadith* (*Kitab al-sunna*), and *Book of Prayer* (*Kitab al-salat*). Laoust, "Ahmad b. Hanbal."

[38] Emad Eldin Shahin, "Salafiyah," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 463-4.

evil, and avoiding religious innovation (*bid'a*) in the realm of jurisprudence.[39] For those following the Hanbali method of jurisprudence the first sources at their disposal were the Qur'an, *Sunna*, and the hadith found in *Musnad al-Imam Ahmad*. After this came the *fatwas* agreed upon by all the Companions (*ijma*) followed by the opinions of single Companions (*ahad*), but only if they were in agreement with the Qur'an and *Sunna*. Next, the use of hadith not found in *Musnad al-Imam Ahmad*, including those whose chains of transmission were missing a link, were permitted because Ibn Hanbal valued even questionable hadith over contemporary legal reasoning. The last source open to Hanbali jurists was *qiyas*. However, because Ibn Hanbal greatly distrusted reason and insisted that the Qur'an or hadith support all legal rulings, his disciples established strict regulations for when and how *qiyas* could to be used.[40] After the Hanbali *madhhab* was codified it experienced over four hundred years of growth and expansion during which its ontological, epistemological, teleological, and methodological doctrines spread throughout the Middle East taking root in many countries, including Syria, where Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah studied the works assembled by Ibn Hanbal's students.

Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah

Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah (d. 728/1328) was a controversial Hanbali theologian, jurisconsult, and scholar who spent most of his adult life facing persecution and prison sentences all over the Middle East. Ibn Taymiyah was born into a family of Hanbali scholars in Harran in 661/1263; soon after, at the age of five, he and his family were forced to take refuge in

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[39] Laoust, "Hanabila."
[40] Shahin, "Salafiyah," 463-4.

Damascus from the encroaching Mongols.[41] While in Damascus Ibn Taymiyah's father, 'Abd al-Halim (d. 682/1284), became the head of the Sukkariya *madrasa* where Ibn Taymiyah studied religious sciences and Hanbali law under Sahms al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Makdisi (d. 682/1284).[42] After his father's death Ibn Taymiyah began his own professional career. He succeeded his father as director of the Sukkariya *madrasa,* and also taught at both the Hanbaliyya, the oldest Hanbali *madrasa* in Damascus, and the Umayyad Mosque, where he lectured on Qur'anic exegesis.[43] Within a few years Ibn Taymiyah began to develop and spread his own ideology, which was heavily influenced by the epistemology and ontology of the Hanbali *madhhab* and the anthropology, teleology, and methodology of the Kharidijites.

Like his Hanbali forefathers, Ibn Taymiyah's epistemology asserted that the Qur'an, *Sunna*, and legal opinions of the first three generations of Muslims (*Salaf*) were the most authoritative sources of Islamic teaching. He also agreed with Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's ontological claims that these sacred texts should be taken literally and that anthropomorphic descriptions of God were accurate in the sense that, by citing the texts, one was "describing God only as He has described Himself in His Book and as the Prophet has described Him in the *Sunna*."[44] What distinguished Ibn Taymiyah from his Hanbali contemporaries were his understandings of *bid'a* and *tawhid*, both of which were fiercely debated issues during this time. According to Ibn Taymiyah, *bid'a* was anything not established in the Qur'an, *Sunna*, or *fatwas* of the *Salaf*; while *tawhid* was comprised of two components, first the acknowledgement that God is the Creator of all things and, second, the affirmation that God is the only deity and is, therefore, the only object

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[41] Both his uncle Fakhr al-Din (d.622/1225) and his grandfather Madjd al-Din (d.653/1255) made significant contributions to the Hanbali *madhhab*. Harran is located near the current border between Turkey and Syria

[42] Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

[43] Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya."

[44] Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya."

worthy of worship.[45] Based on these assertions, Ibn Taymiyah developed a comprehensive teleology and methodology that aimed to reaffirm *tawhid* by prohibiting *bid'a*. Essential to the success of this objective was Ibn Taymiyah's identification of both the customs he considered harmful religious innovations and the acts he felt associated partners with God (*shirk*). These included, among other things, associating intermediaries with God, seeking intercession from anything other than God, visiting the tombs saints, interpreting the Qur'an metaphorically, venerating any being other than God, replacing religious institutions with secular ones, and denying God's attributes.[46]

It was these strict beliefs that led to Ibn Taymiyah's Kharidijite-like criticism of his fellow Muslims, some of whom, after careful consideration, he labeled *kafirs*. According to Ibn Taymiyah, this anthropological grouping included the Ash'ariyya for their rejection of free will, the Mu'tazila for their denial of the eternal attributes of God and the Qur'an, and the Shi'a for claiming special status for themselves through the belief that their leader from the line of Ali (*imam*) possesses a divine substance and has esoteric insight into the faith.[47] Ibn Taymiyah then further expanded the *kufr* category to include Sufis; who he accused of relying on emotion, professing a belief in emanation, and blurring what he believed was an absolute distinction

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[45] G.F. Haddad, "Ibn Taymiyya," Sunnah.org, http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_taymiyya.htm (accessed December 1, 2003).

[46] Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya."

[47] The Ash'ariyya school of theology was founded by Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 324/935-6), who was a follower of Mu'tazila theology until 300/912-3. As such Ash'ari's beliefs were setup to refute the claims of the Mu'tazila point by point. The general Ash'ariyya doctrines are as follows: (1) The assertion that God's attributes are eternal and to be accepted without asking how (*bila kayfa*), (2) The Qur'an is uncreated, (3) Declaration that everything, including evil, is willed by God and that God is in control of human action, and (4) That a sinful Muslim is still a believer, but can expect to be reprimanded in Hell. W. Montgomery Watt, "Al-Ash'ari, Abu'l-Hasan, 'Ali b. Isma'il," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

between the Creator and created beings.[48] Furthermore, he accused all Muslims who venerated

saints or went on pilgrimages to the tombs of saints of associating intermediaries with God.[49]

Finally, the charge of disbelief was applied to the Mongols and their ruler for publicly claiming

to be Muslims yet adhering to Genghis Khan's Yasa code of law rather than *shari'a*.[50] Following

the methodological example of the Kharidijites, Ibn Taymiyah formalized his *takfir* accusations

in official *fatwas*; which created an anthropological dualism in which all people were either

wagers of *jihad* or legitimate targets of *jihad*.[51] This ruling served to expand Ibn Taymiyah's

preexisting teleology to include the task of prohibiting the spread of *bid'a* and *shirk* while also

adding the methodological command to fight those found guilty of committing either

abomination. But unlike the Kharidijites, Ibn Taymiyah's methodology went beyond physical

violence as he believed challenging those who supported *bid'a* and *shirk* by speaking or writing

out against them was just as effective as engaging them on the battlefield.

As a result of his epistemological, ontological, anthropological, teleological, and

methodological beliefs Ibn Taymiyah had numerous conflicts with both the political and

religious authorities. The first battle erupted in 698/1298 after Ibn Taymiyah issued *Fatwa*

Hamawiyya in which he asserted his ontology by presenting a literal, and therefore

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[48] Ibn Taymiyah's refutation of Sufism led the prominent Egyptian Sufi, Ibn 'Ata Allah (d. 710/1309), to respond to Ibn Taymiyah's attacks. In an impromptu debate at al-Azhar mosque, the two men exchanged ideas. Ibn Taymiyah explained his dislike of Sufism, stemming from what he perceived to be saint worship and seeking intercession from other than God; while Ibn 'Ata Allah criticized Ibn Taymiyah for his literal, and therefore superficial, approach to the sacred texts. In the end both parties gained a fuller understanding of the other's point of view, but the tensions remained. Islamica Community Forums, "A Debate Between Two Greats!," http://www.islamicaweb.com/archive/read/t-14680.html (accessed September 30, 2004). James Pavlin, "Ibn Taymiyya, Taqi al-Din (1263-1328)," http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ ip/rep/H039.htm (accessed January 8, 2004).

[49] Ronald L. Nettler, "Ibn Taymiyah, Tariq Al-Din Ahmad," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 165.

[50] John Esposito, "Ten Things Everyone Needs to Know about Islam," NITLE Arab World Project, http://www.nitle.org/arabworld/texts.php?module_id=2&reading_id=62&sequence=1 (accessed January 10, 2004).

[51] Esposito, "Ten Things Everyone Needs to Know about Islam."

anthropomorphic, reading of the Qur'an. Because this went against the beliefs of the Damascus *'ulama*, Ibn Taymiyah was banned from teaching in the city, but not imprisoned. Next, in 705/1305, he wrote *Doctrine of Intercession* (*'Aqida al-wasitiyya*) and like his previous writings, it too relied on a literal interpretation of the Qur'an that again upset the authorities.[52] After several appearances in the Maliki court, where he was asked to explain his latest writing, Ibn Taymiyah was imprisoned at Khazanat al-Bunud in Egypt for nearly two years. During this time the Sultan of Damascus attempted to undermine Ibn Taymiyah's increasing grasp on the public by issuing a decree that stated, "whoever follows the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyah, his life and property are licit for seizure."[53] However, his students continued to meet with him in jail and many others still lived by his rulings despite the fact that they were often counter to the official pronouncements issued by the recognized *'ulama*.[54] This problem came to the forefront once again in 719/1319 when Ibn Taymiyah was imprisoned for going against a direct order from the Sultan of Damascus not to issue judgments or oppose scholarly consensus, which he did by arguing that divorces performed in a non-traditional fashion were a form of *bid'a* and thus invalid. Less than four years later Ibn Taymiyah was again incarcerated, this time for issuing a controversial edict stating that it was prohibited to travel for the sole purpose of visiting the tombs of Prophets or the righteous. This would be Ibn Taymiyah's last stand against what he considered *bid'a*, as he died in the citadel of Damascus in 728/1328 while serving his sentence.[55]

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[52] These books include: *Criticism of Ibn Tumart* (*Murshid Ibn Tumart*), *Refutation of Logicians* (*Radd 'ala'l-mantikiyyin*), *Islamic Legal Policies* (*Kitab al-siyasa al-shar'iyya*), *Methodology of Prophetic Tradition* (*Minhadj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*), *Book of Knowledge of Attaining Goals* (*Kitab ma'arif al-wusul*), *Relieving Blame* (*Raf al-malam*), and *Refutation of 'ala'l-Ikhna'* (*Kitab al-radd 'ala'l-ikhna'i*).

[53] Haddad, "Ibn Taymiyya."

[54] His disciples include: Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Wasiti (d. 711/1311), Umm Zaynab (d. 711/1311), Al-Mizzi (d. 743/1342), Al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1347), Ibn Kathir (d. 774/1372), and Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1393).

[55] Haddad "Ibn Taymiyya."

The Ideology of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab

After four years of studying the beliefs of the Kharidijites, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab left Medina and took with him the foundation for his own ideology. This belief system, which later became known as Wahhabism, began by borrowing heavily from the aforementioned sources but later became distinct when, after surveying the state of Islam, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab made minor modifications to the preexisting elements so they fit the religious and cultural practices of the 18th century Arabian Peninsula.

From its inception, the cornerstone of the Wahhabi ideology has been its combination teleology and methodology, which is built upon the ontological, epistemological, and anthropological foundation laid by the Kharidijites, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and Ibn Taymiyah. The ontology of Wahhabism began with Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's beliefs that God is just as He is described in the Qur'an and that the Qur'an is the uncreated word of God. To this Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab added his own ideas about the nature of *tawhid*. *Tawhid*, according to the Wahhabis, consisted of three-parts: the unity of God's sovereignty over all things (*tawhid al-rububiyah*), the unity of divine names and attributes (*tawhid al-asma' wa-al-sifat*), and the absolute unity of the Godhead (*tawhid al-'Ilahiyah*).[56] To support these doctrines, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab made the epistemological declarations that the Qur'an should be taken literally and that any symbolic or metaphoric interpretations were sins against God. In addition to the Qur'an, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab also based his beliefs on the *Sunna* and the actions and rulings of the *Salaf*, as he believed these records provided insight into the pure, uncorrupted Islam of Muhammad. Consequently, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was

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[56] Ayman al-Yassini, "Wahhabiyah," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 307.

suspicious of "all interpretations offered by the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence- including [his] own Hanbali school" because he feared their opinions were dangerous forms of *bid'a* and *shirk* that violated *tawhid*.[57] Due to this extremely limited epistemological framework Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's anthropology, teleology, and methodology tend to be dualistic, resulting in the marginalization of the Wahhabis from other sects of Sunni Muslims.

For his anthropological beliefs Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab turned to the Kharidijites and Ibn Taymiyah and followed their example of creating a duality between those who adhered to his doctrine and those who did not. Like his predecessors, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab specifically categorized all those who opposed him as unbelievers by describing them as *kafirs*, infidels, or *mushrikin* (Muslims guilty of committing *shirk*). The sects delegated to this category were numerous and included the Shi'a for their beliefs concerning the *imam*, the Sufis for their devotion to saints (a*wliya*), and all Muslims who violated *tawhid* by participating in customs or rituals that Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab deemed *bid'a* or *shirk*.[58] Muslims were guilty of this if they visited trees, caves, and tombs associated with *awliya* or Companions to seek blessings (*baraka*) that would allow them to request intercession from the *wali*.[59] Those who participated in the annual feasts and festivals honoring *awliya* were also considered *kafirs* as these celebrations were thought to be dangerous forms of religious innovation in violation of monotheism.[60] Likewise, all who celebrated the birthday of Muhammad or excessively praised prophets or saints were placed in the *mushrikin* category for associating partners with God.

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[57] Al-Yassini, "Wahhabiyah" 308.
[58] The term "saint" describes people considered friends of God who possess esoteric insight into Islam and the abilities to perform miracles, heal, and intercede with God even after they die. The saints associated with natural objects, such as trees, rivers, and waterfalls, often originated during pre-Islamic times.
[59] Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sri Lanka, "Wahabism Exposed!"
[60] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's distaste for the entire concept of sainthood comes from 3:68, 2:107, 2:120, 9:116, and 18:26 which state that God is the only *wali*. His opinion that seeking

These anthropological categories continued to expand as Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab traveled the Arabian Peninsula surveying the existing state of Islam. During this time he lived in Basra and Huraymila where he continued to apply what he had studied in Medina to his current situation, taking note of practices and beliefs he had come to consider *bid'a* and *shirk*.[61] The prevalent nature of these acts convinced him that the entire Islamic world was reverting to the polytheistic customs common during the 'time of ignorance' prior to the emergence of Islam (*jahiliyya*). The situation is described by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's supporters as follows:

> The Islamic world had reached its extreme decline, degradation and utter fall. The atmosphere was very gloomy and darkness had covered all its regions. Moral degradation and corruption [were] rampant everywhere. As for the religion it was [as] decadent as everything else. The pure and austere monotheism of the Prophet had become corrupted with the burgeoning growth of superstition and mysticism. The Mosques stood empty, unfrequented and even deserted. The ignorant multitude decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries listened to and blindly followed squalid faqeers and ecstatic dervishes…As for the moral precepts ordained by the Qur'an they too were ignored as well as defied…In all certainty the life had been bulldozed out of Islam, leaving behind naught but a dry husk of meaningless ritual and degrading superstition.[62]

Working from the perspective that the world was trapped in a new *jahiliyya* Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab spent the next period of his life developing a teleology and methodology aimed

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intercession from a *wali* was an act of *shirk* comes from 2:48, 74:48, and 6:51 which state that intercession should only be sought from God. Lynda Clarke, "Sainthood," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 460-462.

[61] From Medina Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab traveled to Basra where he settled in the village of al-Majmu'a. Because the region was and still is predominately Shi'a it is likely that this would have been his first extended exposure to the religion; and upon observing the customs described in the works of Ibn Taymiyah, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab declared the Shi'as *kafirs* and assailed the *'ulama* of Basra. After being thrown out of the city he went to Huraymila where he rejoined his father. It seems Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab intended to travel to Damascus to continue his studies, but somehow lost the provisions for his trip. Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay*, 11.

[62] While the actual condition of the Islamic world was not as dire as described above, history does inform us that the caliphate suffered a great decline during this period of Turkish domination. This exact quote appears on numerous websites, however none cite its original author. Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sri Lanka, "Wahabism Exposed!"

at eradicating "ignorance, *shirk*, and innovation."[63] The foundation for his teleology came from Ibn Taymiyah's assertions about *tawhid*, *bid'a*, and *shirk*; to which Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab added the belief that the world was entering a new *jahiliyya*. The resulting Wahhabi teleology proclaimed that the purpose of life was to eliminate *bid'a* and *shirk* and reassert the pure Islam of Muhammad and the Companions. To accomplish these goals Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab adopted the methodology of the Kharidijites and implemented the practices of *takfir*, waging *jihad* against the *kafirs*, and encouraging the right by prohibiting the wrong. The practical application of this methodology took many forms including the destruction of tombs, the cutting down of trees associated with Sufi practices (*maqam*), the outlawing of individual supplementary prayers (*du'a*), the prohibition of prayer beads, and the removal of all decorations from mosques.[64] Outlawing these traditions was an essential aspect of the overall *jihad* against *kafirs* because these strict regulations were expected to eliminate all forms of *bid'a* and *shirk*.

To clearly identify all acts he considered violations of *tawhid*, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab wrote *Kitab al-tawhid*. The most comprehensive account of his methodology, *Kitab al-tawhid* explains the necessary steps to attain Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's pure and authentic Islam. Consequently, many of *Kitab al-tawhid's* chapters are refutations of acts considered *bid'a* and *shirk*, such as the "polytheistic and heretical rituals" of erecting structures on graves and seeking refuge and assistance from saints.[65] To replace these practices and encourage a revival of the *Salaf's* pure Islam Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab focused most of *Kitab al-tawhid's* remaining chapters on his three-part understanding of *tawhid*, which he believed, if adhered to strictly, could reform Islam. To support his beliefs and methodology

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[63] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay*, 13.
[64] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 69-71.
[65] Sheikh-ul-Islam Muhammad Bin Abdul-Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tauhid*, trans. Compilation and Research Department Dar-us-Salam (Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam Publications, 1996), 10-11.

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab relied on the two epistemological resources he considered most valid, Qur'anic verses (*ayas*) and *Sunna*, both of which he interpreted literally to authenticate his definition of *tawhid* and vision of Islam.[66] To present a comprehensive summary of *Kitab al-tawhid* each of its sixty-six chapters have been placed into four methodological categories: forbidden ancient customs from the *jahiliyya*, actions outlawed as *bid'a*, easily avoidable forms of *shirk*, and righteous actions; each of which will be addressed below.[67]

The first group of forbidden practices includes those that Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab considered un-Islamic because they were representative of the time of ignorance and superstition before Islam. Believing in the power of magic, sorcery, or amulets and wearing threads or rings for protection are included in this category. These actions are considered *shirk* because one is placing their trust in something besides God on the assumption that it has the power to grant protection and blessings. Trying to predict the future through fortune telling,

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[66] According to Hamid Algar, *Kitab al-tawhid* contains very little original thought; rather it has "the appearance of a student's notes" because it consists of hadith and Qur'anic verses arranged by theme with neither commentary nor explanation to accompany the text. Over the last two hundred years Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's supporters have made many additions to his writings that further expound the topics and themes. In many cases it is hard to tell where the original text ends and the commentary begins. For the purpose of this study it was most beneficial to use an easily accessible modern version of *Kitab al-tawhid* in its English translation because it provides insight into the modifications and appends made over time. This is not just the case for *Kitab al-tawhid*, but also for his seven other works including: *Kash al-shubuhat (The Clearing of Doubts), Thalabat al-usul (Enquiries About the Fundamentals), Mukhtasar al-sal-nabawiyyah (Summary of the Prophetic Prayer), Mukhtasar al-insaaf (Summary of al-insaaf), Sharh al-kabir fi'l fiqh (Explanation of al-kabir in Jurisprudence), Nasihat al-muslimin bi-ahadite khatam al-nabiyyin (Advice to Muslims with the Sayings of the Last Prophet), Kitab al-kabair (The Book of Major Sins)*, and *Ahadith al-fitn (The Hadith Concerning Trials and Tribulations)*. (Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sir Lanka). This lack of writing is explained by his supporters, who assert that "he applied himself [to rectifying the alleged misunderstandings of *tawhid* by virtually all Muslims] with a mental vigor too great for his pen." Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 14.

[67] I have categorized the chapters of *Kitab al-tawhid* into the four aforementioned categories to help the reader grasp the main themes without being overwhelmed by sixty-six separate sections. I feel it is best to look at the main points Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab sets out to make by using the categories rather than go chapter by chapter for two reasons, 1. The number of items/rules/practices contained in each chapter can be numerous, thus many chapters repeat acts and information already described in previous ones and; 2. The arrangement of the sixty-six chapters does not seem to follow any particular order thus the four categories offer a way to organize and evaluate the information presented. For a full list of the contents of each chapter please refer to APPENDIX A.

astrology, or omens is also outlawed as *shirk* because the practitioner is assigning knowledge of the unseen and the future to something other than God. Lastly, seeking blessings from trees, stones, and caves is considered *shirk* since one is honoring objects of creation rather than the Creator.[68] To support his claims that these were all futile acts of *shirk* Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab quotes the following from the Qur'an:

> "Say: 'Tell me then, the things that you invoke besides God- if God intended some harm to me, could they remove His harm, or if He intended some mercy for me, could they withhold His Mercy?' Say: 'Sufficient for me is God; in Him those who trust [the true believers] must put their trust.'" (Qur'an 39:38)[69]

> "Will they associate [with Me] those that do not create, but are [themselves] created- those that can bring them no victory?" (Qur'an 7:191-192)[70]

> "And when good came to them, they said: 'This is due to us.' But when evil befell them, they ascribed it to omens connected with Moses and those with him! Verily, in truth the omens of evil are theirs in God's sight, but most of them understand not!" (Qur'an 7:131)[71]

All the customs Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab considered *bid'a*, or religious innovation, are contained in the second category of forbidden actions. Like Ibn Taymiyah, he defined *bid'a* as any doctrine or action not based on the Qur'an, *Sunna*, or *Salaf*; in other words any religious practice or concept that arrived after the third century of the Islamic era.[72] Included in this category are all acts that Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab believed would transform Muhammad, or any other person, into a deity. Thus exaggerated praise of the righteous, including all prophets, saints, and angles is strictly forbidden. Seeking refuge, intercession, or blessings from these beings is also prohibited on the basis that they cannot do anything unless

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[68] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, trans. Sameh Strauch (Saudi Arabia: International Islamic Publishing House, 2000), Chapters: 5-9, 22-28.

[69] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 49.

[70] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 93.

[71] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 173.

[72] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 35.

God wills it; thus it is better to direct all praise and worship to God. To help eliminate these

potentially dangerous customs Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab outlawed the celebration of

Muhammad's birthday and destroyed many of the sacred sites associated with his life. He also

forbid the building of structures over burial places in an effort to abolish what he considered

graveside worship during which, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab believed, people transformed

prayers for the dead into prayers to the dead resulting in a slippery slope that would lead back to

the idol worship of the past. [73] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab justified the prohibition of such

acts as forms of *bid'a* by citing the following verses of the Qur'an:

> "God will not forgive those who serve other gods besides Him; but He
> will forgive whom He will for other sins. He that serves other gods
> besides Him is guilty of a heinous sin." (Qur'an 4:48)[74]

> "Nor call on any besides God, such can neither profit you, nor hurt you. If
> you do, then you will surely be one of the *zalimun* [polytheists]." (Qur'an
> 10:106)[75]

> "No intercession can avail with Him, except for those whom He allows so
> [much so] that, when terror is removed from their hearts, they will say:
> 'What is it that you Lord has said?' They will say: 'The Truth; and He is
> the Most High, the Most Great.'" (Qur'an 34:23)[76]

> "And warn by it, those who fear to be gathered to their Lord: Besides Him
> they will have no protector nor intercessor: That they may become pious,
> God-fearing." (Qur'an 6:51)[77]

The third category describes forms of *shirk* that a Muslim might accidentally or

unknowingly commit. Examples of such acts include questioning or doubting God's plan, taking

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[73] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapters: 11, 12, 14, 17-19, 21, 29.

[74] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 29. Translation by: N.J. Dawood, *The Koran*, (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 66.

[75] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 85.

[76] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 101.

[77] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 106.

an oath on God's behalf, naming people improperly,[78] making pictures, uttering incorrect phrases,[79] breaking promises, cursing time,[80] making excessive oaths, and mocking God, Muhammad, or the Qur'an.[81] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab also warns against denying the names or attributes of God; which one is guilty of if he interprets them metaphorically rather than literally.[82] Lastly, he addresses the inherent *shirk* that comes from living under a non-Islamic government; including seeking judgment in secular rather than religious laws and believing that a ruler can guide you when in fact only God has that ability.[83] While most of the actions in this category are not grave sins they are considered disrespectful and potentially harmful. Thus by avoiding these actions one is setting a good example for the community by promoting obedience and purity of faith, a teleological teaching reminiscent of the Kharidijite doctrinization of the command to forbid the wrong and encourage the right. Again turning to the Qur'an to substantiate his prohibition of *shirk*, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab cites the following verses to prove the legitimacy of his methodology:

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[78] Examples of improper names include: taking as your name one of God's names like *Al-Hakam* (the judge) or calling yourself Malik al-Amlak (King of kings) or anything similar to it like Judge of judges. If one has a name like these he is obliged to change the name. Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapters: 44-45.

[79] Examples of incorrect phrases include: "Peace be upon God," "Oh, God! Forgive me if You will," "My slave," "My master," and "As God wills and you will." Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapters: 42, 50-52.

[80] Cursing time is a general statement that encompasses many actions such as: thinking negatively about one's current situation and attributing things such as old age and death to time rather than God. Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapter 45.

[81] Mocking God, Muhammad, or the Qur'an occurs when one makes fun of or makes a joke about or at the expense of any of these. This is considered *shirk* because it is seen as a sign of disbelief. Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapter 48.

[82] An example of this used by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab refers to Qur'an 39:67, which states: "No just estimate have they made of Allah, such as is due to Him: On the Day of Resurrection, the whole earth will be in His Grasp and the heavens will be rolled up in His right Hand…" According to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab it would be an act of *shirk* to say that God having a hand is a metaphor not to be taken literally. Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapter: 64.

[83] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapters: 10-12, 34-38, 41, 43-46, 50-52, 55, 56, 58-61.

 "And they say: 'There is nothing but our life in this world: We die and we live and nothing destroys us except time.' And they have no knowledge of it, they only conjecture. (Qur'an 45:24)[84]

"And if you question them, they declare emphatically: 'We were only talking idly and joking.' Say: 'Was it at God, His *ayat* and His Messenger you were mocking?' Make no excuses! You have rejected faith after you had accepted it, if We pardon some of you, We will punish others amongst you because they were sinners." (Qur'an 9:65-66)[85]

"The most beautiful Names are for God, so call on Him by them, but shun those who deny His Names." (Qur'an 7:180)[86]

"Keep faith in God when you make a pledge. You shall not break your oaths after you have sworn them: for by swearing in His name you make God your surety. God has knowledge of all your actions." (Qur'an 16:91)[87]

The fourth category in *Kitab al-tawhid* contains noble actions one should perform. In essence these chapters reiterate the well-known tenets of Islam including: monotheism, fully submitting to the will of God, preparing for the final judgment, and having sincerity and purity in faith. But rather than assign equal importance to each of these components, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab strongly believes that monotheism is the most crucial. He supports this by stating that *tawhid* is the basis of the profession of faith (*shahada*) and is, therefore, the essence of Islam and the means to paradise.[88] This final assertion reiterates the overall message of *Kitab al-tawhid* and serves as a reminder to the reader that unless they live in accordance with the methodological rules and regulations contained in Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's handbook, they are *kafirs* and the target of *jihad*. The summarizing Qur'anic verses used to reinforce the

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[84] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 269.

[85] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 275.

[86] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 289.

[87] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 331. Translation from: Dawood, *The Koran*, 194.

[88] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, Chapters: 1-4, 13-16, 20, 29-33, 40, 47, 54, 57, 62-64.

teleology and methodology developed by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab in *Kitab al-tawhid*

include the following:

> "The mosques of God shall be maintained only by those who believe in God and the Last Day, offer prayers perfectly, give *zakat*, and fear none but God: It is they who are most likely to be on true guidance." (Qur'an 9:18)[89]

> "And amongst mankind are those who take [for worship] others besides God, as equals [with God]: They love them as they should love God. And those who believe love God more [than anything else]. If only the wrongdoers could see, behold, they would see the punishment: That to God belongs all power, and God is Stern in punishment." (Qur'an 2:165)[90]

> "Say: 'If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, and the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than God and His Messenger, and striving hard, and fighting in His Cause, then wait until God brings about His Decision- and God guides not the rebellious." (Qur'an 9:24)[91]

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[89] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 198.
[90] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 44.
[91] Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab At-Tawheed Explained*, 192.

CHAPTER 3

THE INITIAL SPREAD OF WAHHABISM

Upon the completion of his book Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab circulated *Kitab al-tawhid* throughout Huraymila and its surrounding areas. Most readers reacted critically to his interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith; however, some identified with the work and chose to align themselves with its author. This chapter will address these early alliances to illustrate how, with the help of the rulers of al-'Uyaynah and Dir'iyya, Wahhabism was transformed from a minor, controversial, and powerless sect of religious society into the dominant belief system of the Arabian Peninsula.

With the support and encouragement of his original followers, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab made his first attempts at disseminating Wahhabism in 1146/1733. The initial targets of Wahhabi propagation were the pilgrims in Mecca performing the *hajj*, to whom a thirty-man delegation was sent to spread the belief system. The Sharif of Mecca, Mas'ud Ibn Sa'id (d. 1165/1752), realized Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's motive and organized a debate between the Wahhabis and the *'ulama* of Mecca and Medina.[92] In a crushing defeat the Wahhabis were proclaimed unbelievers by the *qadi* of Mecca, a ruling based on the hadith that states: "whoever without good reason denounces a fellow Muslim as an unbeliever himself enters that category."[93] Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab did not let the loss halt his plans and continued to spread his

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[92] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 23.
[93] Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari: Arabic-English*, vol. 8 (Al-Medina: Islamic University): 79-80. Translation by Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 23.

teachings and speak out against the *'ulama* of Huraymila for allowing practices he considered *shirk* and *bid'a*. This resolute attitude was unacceptable to his father and after "words were exchanged between them" they departed from one another's company.[94] Soon after this falling-out Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's brother Sulayman (d. 1208/1793-4), a jurist of the Hanbali *madhhab*, wrote a refutation of Wahhabism entitled *The Divine Thunderbolts Concerning the Wahhabi School* (*al-Sawa'iq al-ilahiyya fi madhhab al-wahhabiyya*) in which he claimed his brother was guilty of "trying to add a 'sixth pillar' to Islam: the infallibility of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab."[95] With family ties severed, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab no longer felt accountable to anyone and became even more vocal about his beliefs.[96]

One man who was intrigued by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings was 'Uthman Ibn Mu'ammar, the new ruler of al-'Uyaynah. After some discussion Mu'ammar swore his loyalty to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, and it was agreed that he and his supporters would leave Huraymila and reside in al-'Uyaynah where they would be the religious authorities. This contract was solidified by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's marriage to Mu'ammar's aunt, al-Jauhara. Through the joining of families Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was promised protection, legitimacy, and the opportunity to turn his ideas into practice.[97] His first acts as a religious authority were to call the people of al-'Uyaynah to Wahhabi Islam and formally declare war on all who, "by word or act," defied *tawhid*.[98] To show the community they

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[94] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 13.

[95] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 71.

[96] Displeased with the way their leader is portrayed in these stories, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's supporters allege that Sulayman and his father had been led astray by false teachings and were unable to recognize the truth of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's message. They continue by asserting that after numerous discussions and lectures both men converted and leant their support to the movement. Hidaayah Islamic Foundation of Sri Lanka, "Wahabism Exposed!"

[97] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 17-18.

[98] Ayman Al-Yassini, "Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab, Muhammad," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 159.

were serious, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his followers destroyed the tombs of

venerated Companions, like Zayd Ibn al-Khattab, cut down a tree venerated by the local Sufis,

and implemented *shari'a* law. The *'ulama* of al-'Uyaynah were outraged at these actions and

persuaded Mu'ammar to dissolve his alliance with Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and banish

him and his followers from the region.[99]

Wahhab-Sa'ud Alliance

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's expulsion from al-'Uyaynah worked to his advantage

as it led him to Dir'iyya. An oasis in Najd about forty miles from al-'Uyaynah, Dir'iyya was

first settled in 850/1446-7 by an emigrant from the East named Mani Ibn Rabia al-Muraydi.

While the genealogy is unclear, popular opinion attaches al-Muraydi to the Banu Wa'il sect of

the 'Anaza tribe of Northern Arabia, meaning he had no ties to the prominent tribes of Najd.[100]

Despite this obstacle al-Muraydi was able to establish his family as the rulers of Dir'iyya and

nearly three hundred years after his death a direct descendant of al-Muraydi, Muhammad Ibn

Sa'ud (d. 1180/1766), came to power and continued his family's tradition of collecting tributes

from the farmers, merchants, and slaves under his authority.[101]

Due to their proximity to al-'Uyaynah many in Dir'iyya had heard about Muhammad Ibn

'Abd al-Wahhab, including Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud's wife and two of his brothers, all of whom

became followers of the now infamous religious reformer.[102] Consequently, when news that

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was being forced to relocate reached Dir'iyya Muhammad Ibn

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[99] Al-Yassini, "Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab, Muhammad" 160.

[100] G. Rentz, "Al-Dir'iyya," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

[101] Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15.

[102] Elizabeth M. Sirriyeh, "Muhammad B. Su'ud," Encyclopedia of Islam. CD-ROM, version 1.1. Brill.

Sa'ud was persuaded by his family to propose an alliance. The al-Sa'ud family convinced Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud that Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's religious influence and tribal lineage would bring them the legitimacy necessary to expand their control beyond Dir'iyya. Thus when the alliance was agreed to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab married into the al-Sa'ud family and was made the religious authority of their territory. Utilizing his position of power, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab requested a mosque be built so he could teach the men and children of Dir'iyya his form of Islam. Eager to oblige his new ally, Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud went a step further and made the classes mandatory; any who were not in attendance were either fined or forced to shave their beard.[103] As the new religious beliefs took root, Dir'iyya became unified in a way it never before had been. The entire community now shared the same ideology and responded to its call to wage *jihad* against all non-Wahhabis. Under the religious leadership of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and the political authority of Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud the *jihad* against *kafirs* was formally proclaimed in 1159/1746. Over the next fifteen years the Wahhab-Sa'ud coalition and its ever-growing military force, made up of young men from Dir'iyya and the newly subjugated territories, conquered large areas of the Arabian Peninsula including Najd, the tribes of Central Arabia, 'Asir, and parts of Yemen.

With the support of the al-Sa'ud military, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was able to enforce his Wahhabi doctrine as the new religion of these conquered territories. All those under Wahhab-Sa'ud rule were ordered to repeat the profession of faith implying that, prior to their acceptance of Wahhabi Islam, they were not truly Muslims. Once his subjects were forced into submission, he changed the way they performed prayer by outlawing individual supplementary prayers, prayers praising Muhammad, the recitation of blessings on Muhammad before

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[103] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 18.

congregational prayer, and the use of prayer beads. Furthermore, he made attendance at public prayer obligatory and demanded that all mosques be free from decoration, including the name of Muhammad, which was often inscribed on the building.[104] Under his authority smoking tobacco, using abusive language, and shaving one's beard were also prohibited and carried the punishment of up to forty lashes.[105] In addition, those living in a Wahhab-Sa'ud controlled region were forced to pay *zakat* on undisclosed profits, such as those from trade; were not allowed to partake in the celebration of Muhammad's birthday or visit his tomb while on the *hajj*; and had all their local religious customs, like holding festivals in remembrance of *awliya* and visiting caves, mountains, and trees associated with *awliya*, outlawed. Finally, all those under Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's authority were ordered to join his *jihad* against all *kafirs*, including Sufi and Shi'a Muslims.[106]

Nearly twenty years after the war against *kafirs* began Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud died and was succeeded by his son, 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 1218/1803), who shared the vigor and determination of his father and went on to capture Riyadh and the Hejaz.[107] Soon after, in 1206/1791, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab died. While this could have marked the end of the Wahhab-Sa'ud alliance, 'Abd al-'Aziz chose to work with 'Abd Allah (d. 1234/1819), Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's son, thereby transforming the partnership between two now deceased men into a dynasty[108] that continued to wage *jihad* and enforce Wahhabism for over a century.[109]

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[104] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 69-71.

[105] D.S. Margoliouth, "Wahhabiya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. IV (London: Luzac and Company, 1934): 1086.

[106] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 69-71.

[107] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 22-23.

[108] Members of the Sa'ud family continuously married members of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's family, now known as the Al Shaykh family, long after the originators of the alliance had died. Intermarriage was still occurring over one hundred years after Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's death, as is seen in the genealogy of Ibn Sa'ud (d. 1372/1953) whose grandfather was a direct descendant of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. Even today the two families continue to intermarry resulting in the

<u>Formation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia</u>

The vast amount of time and energy spent on indoctrination during the century of

Wahhab-Sa'ud rule paid off in the turbulent period of the 19th century when, as the Wahhab-

Sa'ud military forces were defeated and forced to withdraw from the region, the social and

religious ideology of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab remained ingrained in the population.[110]

As such, when 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud (d. 1372/1953) initiated the task of piecing his family's

former empire back together in 1902 after nearly a decade of exile in Kuwait, he was aided by

the people's memory of Wahhabism and the strong Wahhab-Sa'ud alliance. Ibn Sa'ud's re-

conquest of the Arabian Peninsula began with a decisive victory in Riyad that inspired its

Wahhabi *'ulama* to swear their allegiance to what they hoped would become a new Wahhab-

Sa'ud empire. Following the capture of Riyad the next twenty-two years were spent subjugating

'Asir, Qasim, Hasa, and the Hejaz and initiating a full-scale Wahhabi revival.[111]

With many of his family's former territories under his control Ibn Sa'ud recognized that

he would be unable to complete the task unless he presented himself as the legitimate ruler of the

region. Learning from Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud knew that this could only

be achieved by incorporating religion into his politics. Thus he presented himself as a just

Islamic ruler governing in consultation with the Wahhabi *'ulama*. While this helped to

encourage loyalty, Ibn Sa'ud wanted the type of unwavering allegiance that only a collective

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current royal family of Saudi Arabia being a dual family power genetically tied to both Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 116.

[109] Rather than give a detailed account of the events of the next century, a task not appropriate for this work, I have instead chosen to include a chronology of significant events in APPENDIX C.

[110] Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "Saudi Arabia," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 5.

[111] During the conquests nearly 400,000 were killed or wounded including the more than 40,000 who were publicly executed and 350,000 who had limbs amputated. Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 42.

ideology could provide. As such Ibn Sa'ud revived Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud's practice of indoctrination by enforcing Wahhabi Islam in all the recaptured territories. This task was made possible with the aid of the *mutawwa'a* (religious ritual specialists), who provided "Qur'anic education, mosque preaching, and missionary teaching in remote villages and among the Bedouin," and the *Ikhwan* (brotherhood), who were "inspired to conquer by religious faith."[112]

The *mutawwa'a* began as a confederation of religiously educated men from Najd. While the majority of these men had been raised on the ideology of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and had studied with his descendants, their specialties tended to lay in *fiqh* and *'ibada* (Islamic rituals) rather than theological matters. When Ibn Sa'ud took Riyad the *mutawwa'a* chose to recognize him as their *imam* and aid his expansion efforts by using their influence among the tribal confederations to spread the message that the new Wahhab-Sa'ud dynasty was the legitimate authority. Between 1902 and the formal declaration of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 the Wahhabi loyal *mutawwa'a* were sent to all regions of the Arabian Peninsula where they gave lessons in Qur'an, *tawhid*, and Islamic law while also teaching proper performance of prayer, identification and avoidance of innovation and *shirk*, and the construction of graves level to the ground without domes, inscriptions, or illumination. Most significantly though was the *mutawwa'a's* message that loyalty to the *imam* was to be shown through the willingness to pay him *zakat* and join his *jihad*.[113]

In order for the *jihad* aimed at recapturing the Arabian Peninsula to be successful Ibn Sa'ud needed a reliable and loyal military force. Out of this need the *Ikhwan*, a "brotherhood of fighters" who formed the backbone of Ibn Sa'ud's army was born.[114] However, the *Ikhwan* was more than just a military force, it was a way of life for the soldiers and their families. With the

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[112] Doumato, "Saudi Arabia," 5.
[113] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 49-58.
[114] Doumato, "Saudi Arabia," 5.

assistance of the *mutawwa'a* many families from the re-captured territories were persuaded,

pressured, or forced to abandon their nomadic life and move to an agricultural settlement of

1,500 people (*hujjar*) where they were indoctrinated and trained. At the *hujjar* families were

taught Wahhabi Islam by notable scholars, convinced that Ibn Sa'ud was the legitimate political

authority, and educated in warfare.[115] Once fully indoctrinated the men of the *hujjar* joined the

Ikhwan military force, conquered cities, and enforced Wahhabi Islam until Ibn Sa'ud controlled

as much of the Arabian Peninsula as possible.[116] The success of the *Ikhwan* and the *mutawwa'a's*

Wahhabi revival was so far-reaching that by the 1920s the Arabian Peninsula was a place where:

> Qur'anic schools flourished and scholarly achievement was rewarded in
> official public ceremonies. Attendance was taken at public prayer, and
> corporal punishment was meted out to those who were absent. Smoking
> was prohibited, music condemned, and loud laughter taken as a sign of
> impiety. Life…was characterized by a high degree of conformity in
> public behavior stemming from the desire of believers and subjects of the
> new Wahhabi polity to meet Islamic standards as interpreted by the
> scholars of Najd. The conformity in behavior demanded during the
> revival era of the 1920s was self-perpetuating. Because conduct was
> considered a visible expression of inward faith, the Muslim community
> could judge the quality of faith of others by observing their outward
> actions. In this sense, public opinion in Najd became…a constant
> regulator of individual behavior.[117]

But in the wake of this religious revival 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud faced severe economic

troubles that threatened to destroy the Wahhabi empire. In an effort to preserve the Kingdom Ibn

Sa'ud turned to the British for assistance, but when they refused to supply the Kingdom with the

aid needed for financial stability Ibn Sa'ud was forced to rely on *hajj* revenues.[118] While these

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[115] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 59-7.

[116] After this point the *Ikhwan* became an unpredictable liability that Ibn Sa'ud had to dismantle.

[117] Doumato, "Saudi Arabia," 5-6.

[118] While the *Ikhwan* had no problem with their leader accepting foreign aid, they were growing increasingly nervous about the use of telephones, telegraphs, radios, and automobiles all of which they feared were forms of "sorcery" that constituted an act of *shirk* as described by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. To settle the matter the *mutawwa'a* met and came to the conclusion that, like rifles and other

provided temporary economic relief, the recession of the 1920s and 1930s resulted in a drastic

drop in the number of pilgrims and Ibn Sa'ud's financial resources were quickly cut in half.[119]

Consequently, the future of the new Wahhabi state hung in the balance. After two centuries of

conquests and indoctrination that had begun with Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, *Kitab al-*

tawhid, and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud the goal of a united Wahhabi Kingdom had come to fruition,

yet economic instability threatened to destroy all that had been built.

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new military equipment, these technological advances were not in violation of the Qur'an or *Sunna*. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 68.
    [119] United States Library of Congress, "Country Studies: Saudi Arabia,"
    http://countrystudies.us/ saudi-arabia/10.htm (accessed June 17, 2004).

CHAPTER 4

THE DISCOVERY OF OIL AND THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN-SAUDI RELATIONS

In the mid-1930s economic stability and progress finally arrived when oil reserves were uncovered in Saudi Arabia. Immediately, oil companies and Western nations looking for an inexpensive and reliable oil supply began courting Ibn Sa'ud; offering him the opportunity to rise to a position of economic power in world politics. In this chapter Saudi Arabia's oil concessions will be addressed in reference to how they led to a unique alliance between Saudi Arabia and the United States. Of particular interest will be how the partnership, which continues to this day, requires both parties to do everything in their power to avoid the topic of Wahhabism, even if that means adjusting foreign policy.

Oil was first discovered in the Middle East by German experts in Iraq in 1871. After this success neighboring countries, such as Iran, were drilled in hopes if uncovering more reserves. Not long after, in 1923, Major Frank Holmes approached Ibn Sa'ud about conducting explorations for oil in the Kingdom. After a series of meetings, the two reached an agreement, and Ibn Sa'ud signed Saudi Arabia's first oil concession, which granted the British-run Eastern and General Syndicate the right to explore thirty thousand square miles of land in the country's eastern region. However, the company was unable gain the financial support needed to carry out the research and pay Ibn Sa'ud's fees, so in 1928 the concession was terminated. Three years later, Ibn Sa'ud entertained Charles Crane, a wealthy American businessman who persuaded Ibn Sa'ud to allow his team of mining engineers to survey Saudi Arabia's water, mineral, and oil

resources. That same year Crane sent Karl Twitchell to explore the eastern region surrounding

Dhahran and Dammam, which were found to have strong oil potential. As Twitchell's survey

was in progress, Lloyd Hamilton, a representative of the Standard Oil Company of California

(Socal), approached Ibn Sa'ud at the urging of Harry St. John Philby.[120] After fierce negotiations,

Socal was rewarded a thirty-year concession granting them exclusive rights to the oil in the

eastern region. When oil extraction began in 1938 at the rate of half a million barrels per year, it

became clear that the Kingdom contained enough reserves for commercial exportation. Pleased

by these initial results, Socal signed a supplementary agreement extending the original

concession for an additional six years and adding nearly eighty thousand more square miles to

their territory.[121]

More than just a business arrangement, these events were monumental because they

broke the British monopoly over oil reserves in the Arab world and paved the way for Saudi

[120] Harry St. John Philby, an Englishman and former colonial official in India, first met Ibn Sa'ud when he was sent to Riyad in 1917 to persuade him to cooperate in the attack against Sharif Husayn. A few years later Philby attempted to use British funds to help Ibn Sa'ud's expansion into northern Najd and, although the plan was halted, Philby became a trusted friend and advisor to Ibn Sa'ud, even becoming a Wahhabi Muslim. (Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 99-100.). Philby took part in Ibn Sa'ud's oil negotiations for his own reasons: 1. he was being paid a monthly salary by Socal which would increase if they won the contract, and 2. Ibn Sa'ud owed Philby's company Sharqiyyah more than 50,000 British pounds, a debt that would be paid off if Ibn Sa'ud were successful in the oil contracts. Thus Philby began playing the American Socal against the British Eastern and General the result of which was the most lucrative contract in the region. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 92.

[121] During negotiations Socal and its subsidiary, the Californian Arabian Standard Oil Company (Casco), sold one-half of its contract to Texas Oil Company. Nearly a decade later, in 1948 the rights to Saudi Arabian oil were as follows: Aramco 30%; Texas Oil Company (Texaco) 30%; Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon) 30%; and Socony Vacuum (Mobil Oil) 10%. As the importance of oil to the economy of Saudi Arabia increased resentment and frustration among the Saudis began to rise over the fact that foreign companies owned their oil. Thus in1973 the Saudi Arabian Government began purchasing Aramco's assets from its shareholders until 1980 when they acquired one hundred percent of Aramco's shares. Despite the transfer of ownership Aramco partners continued to operate and manage Saudi Arabia's oil fields until the government order that the Saudi Arabian Oil Company (Saudi Aramco) had to take over the management and operations of Saudi Arabia's oil and gas fields in 1988. Saudi Arabia Information Resource, "Oil: Historical Background & Aramco," http://www.saudinf.com/main/d11.htm (accessed June 17, 2004).

Arabia to become the first independent Arab state to develop significant relations with America.[122] The first opportunity for this arrived when the Kingdom faced another financial crisis during World War II brought on by a reduction in *hajj* revenues and the decreased availability of the work force, machinery, and materials needed for oil exploration. But what made this economic crisis different from past struggles was that Ibn Sa'ud's financial worries were now also of concern to the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco, a subsidy of Socal). As such Aramco used its influence in Washington to convince government officials that by supporting Saudi Arabia they would formalize the "[exclusion of] Britain from the exploitation of Arabian oil" while also securing a "more plentiful, cheaper, and easier to process" oil supply.[123] President Roosevelt agreed with this argument and approved millions of dollars in lend-lease aid for Saudi Arabia.[124] After this initial venture, arranged by American oil companies, the United States' relation with Saudi Arabia grew stronger, and, in 1945, Roosevelt met with Ibn Sa'ud on the *USS Quincy* where the two nations made their first official alliance.[125]

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[122] Ibn Sa'ud's concern over how close ties with America would be perceived by his people resulted in the following popular oral narrative: "The day was Friday, the time for noon prayers at Riyadh's main mosque. Shaykh Ibn Nimr, the *imam* of the mosque in Riyadh, was delivering his usual sermon (*khutba*) to a large audience. Ibn Sa'ud was listening. The shaykh recited several Qur'anic verses including 'And incline not to those who do wrong, or the fire will seize you; and ye have no protectors other than Allah, nor shall ye be helped' [Qur'an, *sura* 11, verse 113]. Ibn Sa'ud was furious. He asked Shaykh Ibn Nimr to step down. Ibn Sa'ud began to recite *sura al-kafirun*: 'Say: O ye that reject faith. I worship not that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye have been wont to worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your way and to me mine' [Qur'an, sura 109, verse 1-6]." "With the oil negotiations in the background, a Qur'anic verse defending relationships between Muslims and 'infidels'…seemed more appropriate than the *sura* recited by Ibn Nimr." Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 91.

[123] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 114.

[124] Despite the financial aid and oil revenues King Ibn Sa'ud left behind a debt estimated to have been $200 million. Under King Sa'ud, who continued spending vast amounts on construction projects, the Kingdom's deficit reached $480 million in 1958. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 107.

[125] As part of this alliance it was agreed that American military ships would be allowed to access Saudi ports, a U.S. Air Force base would be built in Dhahran, and Saudi Arabia would declare war on the Axis powers. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 114.

Friendly relations with the United States continued after Ibn Sa'ud's death in 1953 when his son Sa'ud (d. 1388/1969) became king. During his tumultuous eleven-year reign King Sa'ud oversaw the building of a strong alliance between the Kingdom and the United States, a task made possible by the aftermath of the Second World War. During this time, America came to view Middle Eastern oil and Saudi oil in particular as a crucial factor for both the economic recovery of Europe and the United States' retention of its position as a super power. Thus King Sa'ud was invited to the United Sates on numerous occasions and given the opportunity to share his opinion on world affairs with the President.

The revolution taking place in Egypt was often the topic of discussion at these meetings because the situation was challenging for King Sa'ud. After the Egyptian revolution in 1952 Sa'ud was forced to decide if he would support Nasir, which he did in 1955 by signing the mutual-defense treaty.[126] While the partnership between the two was peculiar, Sa'ud justified it as gaining an ally who would assist him in opposing the Hashemites of Iraq and Jordan, who were Saudi Arabia's enemies.[127] However, their differences in opinion over pan-Arabism, detested by Sa'ud, and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, which Sa'ud supported, caused a

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[126] Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir (d. 1970) was an Egyptian solider, supporter of Arab nationalism, and leader of the Free Officers. In 1952 Nasir and his Free Officers succeeded in dethroning King Farouk; after which Nasir was elected president of the Egyptian Republic. Under his leadership Egypt moved to the center of Arab politics and Arab Nationalism became a prevailing ideology. Nasir's version of Arab Nationalism, Nasserism, was built on a foundation of socialism and Marxism to which some, more progressive, religious principles were added. It was only after the defeat in the Arab-Israeli war that Nasir incorporated more Islamic values and ideas into his nationalist movement. Derek Hopwood, "Nasser, Gamal Abdel," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 231.

[127] The Hashemids were the royal family of the Hejaz during the 1908-1925 exile of the House of Sa'ud by the Ottomans. Under Ottoman rule the Hashemid Husayn Ibn 'Ali (d. 1935) was appointed *sharif* of Mecca and later claimed for himself the titles King of the Arabs and Caliph. During this time Husayn Ibn 'Ali fought to limit the authority and power of the Sa'ud dynasty in hopes of creating a power vacuum he could fill. Faysal, of the Hashemid family, later became the King of Iraq and began two Hashemid dynasties, in Iraq and Jordan, with the help of the British. Under the family's rule the Pan-Arab ideology, despised by the House of Sa'ud, was embraced and spread. Thus both belief and history made the Hashemids bitter enemies of the House of Sa'ud. C.E. Dawn, "Hashimids," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition*, vol. III (London: Luzac and Company, 1971): 263-264.

breakdown in their relations.[128] Hoping to capitalize on these disagreements, manipulate the

situation, and test Sa'ud's loyalty to the United States, the President offered Sa'ud military

assistance, aircraft, naval equipment, technicians, and $180 million in economic support if he

withdrew all aid from Nasir and Egypt.[129] In the end, Sa'ud accepted this offer, and the Untied

States was convinced that Saudi Arabia was a loyal and valuable ally who needed to remain in

their sphere of influence. Thus the course was set for building a strong alliance; the only road

block that remained was the Saudi government's close relationship with the Wahhabi *'ulama*.

<u>Wahhabism and American-Saudi Relations</u>

As Saudi Arabia's relations with the United States flourished the Kingdom was forced to

deal with a touchy subject: Wahhabism. While the British had accepted the notion that

Wahhabism was as an ideology akin to their own Puritan past, the Saudis were doubtful that

America's government officials would believe the same story. Therefore, from the time the first

oil concession with Socal was signed, the American oil industry became Saudi Arabia's

unofficial ambassador to the United States. In this guise, they took on the task of creating a

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[128] The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood was founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1928 with the goals of promoting Islamic morals and Islamism, establishing *shari'a* law, and trying to limit the spread of secular and nationalistic ideas. The Brotherhood worked to build hospitals, mosques, separate schools for boys and girls, and clubs in Egypt where the more than one million members and sympathizers could share their ideology. The group also partook in fundraising to support Palestine and sent members to fight alongside the Palestinians. Many of the Islamic organizations operating today are descendants of the Brotherhood; most identify with the goals of the Brotherhood but often advocate violence rather than patiently working within the system. These groups include: al-Jihad, Allah's Troops, Islamic Liberation Army, Society of Islamic Propagation, and Jama'at al-Islamiyah. Denis J. Sullivan, "Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 187-190; Nazih N. Ayubi, "Muslim Brotherhood: An Overview," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 183-187.
[129] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 118.

sanitized version of Wahhabism and the Wahhab-Sa'ud connection that would be acceptable to

the American public. On this matter it has been stated that:

> Aramco constituted itself the interpreter of Saudi Arabia--its people, its history, its culture, and above all its ruling house--to the United States at large, and because there were no other sources of information about the country open to the American public, Aramco could put across its version of recent Arabian history and politics with almost insolent ease…Naturally, little prominence was accorded in Aramco's publicity to the fanatical nature of Wahhabism, or to its dark and bloody past.[130]

This situation has not changed as today Saudi Aramco continues to reveal very little information

on the topic. For example, they describe Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab as a "great religious

reformer" and "a far-sighted religious thinker, [who] had joined forces with the House of Sa'ud

in a movement to reform Islam."[131] Further more, when describing the ideology of Muhammad

Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Saudi Aramco simply states that it is "a sort of Islamic puritanism," and

offers no more insight into its doctrines.[132]

Along with relying on oil companies to present a benign image of the Kingdom to

America, the Saudi government has also embarked on their own public relations campaign aimed

at preserving their reputation as a friend of America, which then allows them to either present

their own version of Wahhabism to the West or have the subject completely ignored. This

practice was intensified after the events of September 11, 2001 when public opinion polls

showed "nearly 90 percent of Americans did not identify Saudi Arabia as an ally" and 64 percent

held "an unfavorable opinion of Saudi Arabia."[133] Fearing their relationship with America would

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[130] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 115.
[131] Saudi Aramco World, "Faisal: Monarch, Statesman and Patriarch," http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/197504/faisal-monarch.statesman.and.patriarch.1905-1975.htm (accesses, July 19, 2004).
[132] Saudi Aramco World, "Birth of a Bureaucracy," http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/ issue/197001/birth.of.a.bureaucracy.htm (accessed July 19, 2004).
[133] American.edu, "Saudi Arabia: Friends of America," http://eagle3.american.edu/~ja4905a/ jihanesite/case_study.html (accessed September 29, 2004).

suffer, Saudi Arabia paid the Washington, D.C. based public relations firm, Patton Boggs, nearly

$200,000 to convince those working on Capitol Hill that the Kingdom "does not support or

contribute to terrorism…[and] is committed to stable supplies and reasonably priced oil."[134] To

reach a wider American audience, the Kingdom paid Burson-Marsteller $2.7 million to print

newspaper ads presenting Saudi Arabia as "a staunch U.S. ally" while the Royal Embassy in

Washington, DC "produced a number of radio press releases aimed at improving understanding

of Saudi Arabia within the United States."[135] Nearly three years after September eleventh, the

public relations campaign continues as radio ads touting Saudi Arabia as America's ally in the

war on terror are still being played.

These efforts to portray the Kingdom positively have been matched by the United States

government with the help of ambassadors and special treatment. Because America still needs oil

and an ally in the region as much as Saudi Arabia needs protection and assistance, neither side

wants anything to jeopardize the relationship. As such, the United States followed Saudi

Arabia's subtle hints and adopted "a 'hands off' policy towards Saudi internal and ideological

matters" and will not tolerate criticism of the Kingdom or its religion.[136] While this policy was

initiated by Roosevelt, it is likely that as long as Saudi Arabia continues to be America's main

source of oil, providing over half a billion barrels per year and accounting for twenty to thirty

percent of its total oil supply, nothing will change.[137] To ensure this situation continues the

subsequent sections will provide examples of presidents assigning questionable candidates, most

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[134] Bill Berkowitz, "Spinning for Saudi Arabia," Working for Change, http://www.workingforchange.com/printitem.cfm?itemid=14088 (accessed July, 21, 2004).

[135] Appendices F-I are transcribed radio ads and Appendices J and K are copies of ads published September 19 and 21, 2001; all of which attempt to smooth relations between Americans and Saudi Arabia. Berkiwitz, "Spinning for Saudi Arabia;" Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, "Radio Releases," http://saudiembassy.net/Media/Radio-Releases.asp (accessed December 10, 2004).

[136] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 114.

[137] Peter Edward David Clymer, "Saudi Arabia: The Future of Stability" (master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1998), 40.

of whom know very little about Saudi Arabia, its religion, and its language, to the post of

ambassador while also allowing the Kingdom to operate under a special set of rules reserved for

America's closest friends.

Looking at the American ambassadors appointed to Saudi Arabia by the last two

presidents shows the contrived nature of the situation. Under President Clinton two ambassadors

held the post; the first was Raymond Mabus, former governor of Mississippi and Clinton

supporter. Previously Mabus had worked as a consultant to Mobil Telecommunications

Technology and as the manager of his family's timber company. Besides a lack of diplomatic

experience, Mabus also had little knowledge about the culture of Saudi Arabia, a problem that

became clear when he twice had to "extricate his wife, Julie, from trouble with the law because

she broke Islamic regulations."[138] Two years later Wyche Fowler Jr., a former senator from

Georgia, replaced Mabus. Fowler, who had no training in Arabic, was a better match because of

his willingness to do and say what both governments wanted. For example, after a meeting with

the Saudi Grand *Mufti* 'Abd 'Al-Aziz Ibn Baz,[139] carried out by a translator, Fowler gave a

glowing review of the Kingdom stating that the Saudi Royal Family was "a pillar of Islamic

wisdom."[140] Not wanting to loose this proponent of Saudi integrity after George W. Bush was

elected President, the Kingdom asked Fowler to join the ranks of the many unofficial Saudi

ambassadors to America. Thus Fowler is employed by the Kingdom, through Saudi-funded

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[138] Jeannette Walls, "Koran, Shmoran…," *Esquire*, September, 1996, 32.

[139] Born and raised in Saudi Arabia Ibn Baz received his education from three prominent relatives of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab including Shaykh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Lateef al-Shaykh, Shaykh Saalih Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Shaykh and Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Shaykh. Ibn Baz was a professor at the college of *shari'a* in Riyad for nine years. Following this he was appointed Chancellor of the Islamic University of Medina and soon after became the Grand *Mufti* of Saudi Arabia, a position he retained until his death in 1999.

[140] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 118.

think tanks, to continue presenting a positive view of Saudi Arabia to the West and ensure that Wahhabism is largely ignored.[141]

In choosing his ambassadors to Saudi Arabia President George W. Bush left no doubt that oil, not politics or ideology, was of utmost concern by selecting ambassadors who were not only his friends, but also had experience in the oil industry. Bush's first ambassador was Robert W. Jordan, a leading Texas oil attorney and major corporate donor to Bush's campaign. Jordan served for two years until he was asked to step down after making comments about who the Kingdom's future leader should be, a topic off-limits for an American ambassador to Saudi Arabia. Currently filling his position is James Oberwetter. Like his predecessor, Oberwetter has no diplomatic experience but is a friend of the President and is involved in the oil industry. As the vice president of Hunt Oil Company, which is active in the Middle East, Oberwetter spent twenty-eight years serving on the "general committee of the American Petroleum Institute, the main oil industry lobby in Washington" where he learned the value of Saudi oil reserves.[142] Based on comments made at a reception in Jeddah in which Oberwetter stated that "there is much that we [America and Saudi Arabia] have in common as societies that value religious faith, family values, and the pursuit of peace," it seems that he fully understands the role the Ambassador to Saudi Arabia is expected to play.[143]

The ambassadorial situation is just one illustration of the many forms of special treatment Saudi Arabia receives to help ensure smooth relations with America. After September 11, 2001,

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[141] An example of such think thanks is The Middle East Institute. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 120.

[142] Saudi-American Forum, "President Bush Nominated James Oberwetter to Serve as the New Ambassador to Saudi Arabia," Saudi-American Forum, http://www.saudi-american-forum.org/Newsletters/SAF_Item_Of_Interest_2003_11_18.htm (accessed June 29, 2004).

[143] Consulate General of the United States Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, "National Day Reception, Jeddah, February 22, 2004," Consulate General of the United States Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, http://usembassy.state.gov/jeddah/022204amb_nationalday.html (accessed June 29, 2004).

it seemed as though relations between America and Saudi Arabia were destined to change; however, this has not been the case. Despite the facts that Osama Bin Laden had been identified as the mastermind of the attacks and fifteen out of the nineteen hijackers were from Saudi Arabia, two days after September eleventh when the Federal Aviation Administration had grounded all flights one plane containing one hundred-forty Saudi nationals, members of the Royal Family, and relatives of Osama Bin Laden was allowed to fly out of America.[144] Another example of oil being placed before national security occurred when a direct order was given to CIA operatives in Saudi Arabia not to collect information about the Kingdom's links to terrorism lest they be harmful to America's relationship with the country.[145] Furthermore, after the May 12, 2003 bombing of a housing complex in Riyad in which seven Americans were killed, the Saudi government's non-cooperation with American investigators was tolerated, insolence that would have been unacceptable coming from any other country. One final example of this continuing special treatment took place in July of 2003 when twenty-eight pages of the 9-11 Committee's report were classified because they contained information showing Saudi links to charities supporting terrorist activities which would have damaged relations between the nations.

It is largely due to situations such as these that the American public has remained unaware and unconcerned with Wahhabism and its recent roles as both a cornerstone of Saudi politics and a stabilizing force during troubled times. Consequently, the United States has ignored the current Wahhabi revival, which, while based in the Kingdom, is taking place all over the world. As the next chapters will show, by turning a blind eye to the internal religious matters

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[144] Discovery Communications Inc. *Saudi Arabia: Desert Mirage*. Aired on Discovery Times Channel March 23, 2005.

[145] Sherrie Gossett, "Islam In America: Part Two," WorldNetDaily.com, http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=36441 (accessed July10, 2004).

of the Kingdom for the sake of appeasing an ally and securing access to oil America has become

the latest in a long list of countries targeted for the exportation of Wahhabism.

CHAPTER 5

ENSURING LEGITIMACY

Beginning with the original Wahhab-Sa'ud alliance of the 18ᵗʰ century and continuing

into the present, the rulers of Saudi Arabia have maintained their legitimacy by presenting

themselves as just Islamic leaders and convincing the public of Saudi Arabia's status as an ideal

Islamic state. In the past these tasks were easily completed by incorporating religion into politics

and governing in consultation with the Wahhabi scholars of religious law and theology (*'ulama*),

but within the last century fulfilling these requirements has become more difficult as they

conflict with the Kingdom's new need for modernization. Discrepancies between Wahhabi

piety, opposed to any form of *bid'a* and relations with infidels, and modernization, necessitating

innovations and Western assistance, have posed serious problems that plague the Kingdom to

this day. In an effort to try to balance their contradictory needs of legitimacy and modernization,

the contemporary Saudi kings have embarked on an effort to deceive Saudi citizens, a task made

possible first through a puppet *'ulama* and an education system based on indoctrination, and later

by playing an active role in Arab politics and spending billions of petrodollars on Islamic causes

and missionary activities.

While Wahhabism has been inseparable from Saudi Arabia and the house of Sa'ud since

the alliance between Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud, it was not

until King Faysal (d. 1394/1975) came to power in 1964 that the Wahhabi *'ulama* formally

became an official branch of the Kingdom's government as the Ministry of Justice and Council

of Higher 'Ulama.[146] However, it was also under King Faysal that the government began to move away from Wahhabi doctrines in internal matters in favor of policies that supported modernization. Recognizing the enormous task of convincing the Wahhabi-loyal public that his reforms were legitimate, Faysal staffed the Ministry of Justice and the Council of Higher 'Ulama with more moderate Wahhabis who could easily be brought under his control, all the while denying the most uncompromising Wahhabis access to employment in the public sector.[147] In return for lucrative government posts, the moderate *'ulama* provided the King with *fatwas* granting authenticity to his seemingly un-Wahhabi social, military, economic, and technological reforms. On occasion the *'ulama* protested proposed reforms, such as permitting television and providing education for girls, but in the end the King was always victorious.[148] During King Faysal's reign the public accepted the *'ulama's* decisions as authoritative, however, as time went on an increasing number of Saudis became suspicious of the arrangement. While the King

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[146] King Sa'ud's rule came to an abrupt end when, while out of the Kingdom seeking medical treatment, his brother Faysal established a cabinet filled with his allies and half-brothers. Upon return King Sa'ud threatened the use of military action which Faysal matched resulting in a standoff that had to be settled by the *'ulama*, who convinced Sa'ud to abdicate on March 28, 1964. Faysal was driven to take these extreme measures by outrage over what he perceived to be the plundering of government finances and Sa'uds decision to make the King the *de facto* prime minister. Faysal preferred the structure in which the Crown Prince would serve as deputy prime minister, thereby incorporating more of the royal family into the monarchy. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 114.

[147] The term "moderate" is subjective. Faysal sought out religious experts who were liberal enough to permit technological innovations and economic reforms, but that did not entail them abandoning their Wahhabi roots. For example, the new *'ulama* continued to oppose Shi'a Muslims as Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab had. Under the reign of King Khalid they issued numerous *fatwas* condemning the Shi'a and prohibiting them from joining the army, teaching, performing mourning rituals in public, building their own mosques, and selling meat killed by a Shi'a butcher, which was seen by the *'ulama* as being improperly sacrificed, to a Muslim. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 146-7.

[148] The *'ulama* was finally convinced to support the education of girls after they were promised control of the curriculum. However, the Wahhabi control came to a disastrous end in March of 2002 when a fire broke out at an intermediate school in Mecca. When the *mutawwa'a* arrived on the scene they forced the escaping girls to go back into the fire to fully cover themselves and fought with citizens trying to help the girls escape. In the end fourteen girls died and dozens more were burned. After public outcry over the scandal the Wahhabi clerics were removed from their position as overseers of female education. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 265; Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 124-5.

attempted to preserve the pretense of ruling an Islamic state in accordance with the Wahhabi *'ulama*, despite questionable actions that seemed to prove otherwise, further precautions were taken to ensure the public's acceptance of the Sa'ud family as the legitimate rulers of Saudi Arabia.

Their next effort to guarantee legitimacy required the kings of the 20th century to go to great lengths to indoctrinate the entire Saudi population in Wahhabism, much like Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud and 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud had done. Realizing the risks involved in educating the masses in Wahhabi doctrines not necessarily followed by the state, the kings also recognized that Wahhabism could increase loyalty to the Kingdom and reinforce its legitimacy; thus, they chose to take their chances and spend much of their oil revenues on education. The economic stability that began under King Faysal presented the first opportunity to increase spending on defense, education, utilities, construction, and social services.[149] But of these creating more schools where, from kindergarten to college, Saudis could receive a free Wahhabi-based education supporting the legitimacy of the Sa'ud family was of top priority. Accordingly, under King Faysal's supervision more than one hundred twenty-five elementary and secondary schools were built along with vocational schools, schools for girls, The University of Petroleum and Minerals, King Faysal University, The Islamic University in Medina, and The Imam Ibn Sa'ud Islamic University in Riyad.

At these government funded schools students receive lessons, approved by the *'ulama*, on numerous topics with the overall goals of promoting "loyalty to [Wahhabi] Islam by denouncing

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[149] Most construction undertaken during this period was supervised by Muhammad Bin Laden, a Yemeni and former ARAMCO worker who became the "personal construction boss of the monarchs." Bin Laden's construction business, The Bin Laden Group, is valued at over five billion dollars; much of which went to his son Osama Bin Laden. Born and raised in Saudi Arabia Osama Bin Laden received his entire education at the Wahhabi loyal Saudi schools, including the King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Jeddah. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 117.

any system or theory that conflicts with Islamic law" and helping students understand Wahhabi Islam so they can "plant and spread Islam throughout the world" and "fight spiritually and physically" for the sake of God.[150] To ensure all schools support these aims, the government publishes and distributes textbooks that are "consistent with [Wahhabi] Islam and devoid of anything conflicting with its principles."[151] Likewise the government also controls the curriculum of the Kingdom's schools and requires that they teach history and religion in a manner that reinforces loyalty to the Kingdom and the legitimacy of its rulers. As such, students are taught that "the rise of Islam marks the beginning of historical time," and communism, Western influence, Arab nationalism, tribal solidarity, and secularism are in contradiction with the spirit of Islam.[152] Furthermore, when studying the history of Saudi Arabia students learn that before the Wahhab-Sa'ud alliance the Arabian Peninsula was in the throws of the second *jahiliyya* due to widespread *bid'a* and *shirk*. Given this platform, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud are presented as the bringers of salvation who single-handedly saved Islam. This teaching then gives way to another uniquely Saudi teaching, that oil is *ni'ma*, a God-given gift rewarding the Kingdom for its pious leadership.[153]

[150] The context in which the term "Islam" is being used supports the idea that "Islam" means Wahhabism. Quotes in this and subsequent paragraphs are taken from Steven Stalinsky's "Saudi Arabia's Education System." This is a report that was sponsored by the Middle East Media Research Institute, a non-profit organization that translates news resources from the Middle East and offers analysis of their content. Stalinsky's report is one of many archives found on MEMRI's website dealing with the need for reform in Saudi Arabia's public school curriculum. I selected Stalinsky's report as my main source of information because it includes numerous direct quotes translated from textbooks used in Saudi schools. Steven Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System," MEMRI.org, http:www.frontpagemag.com/articles/Printable.asp?ID=5243 (accessed December 4, 2003).
[151] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."
[152] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 189-191.
[153] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 196.

In addition to these lessons, all Saudi schools must formally introduce traditional Wahhabi doctrines as the only acceptable truth beginning in elementary school.[154] This position results in the ideologies of the Shi'as and Sufis being largely ignored or written off as heretical and sinful conspiracies against the Muslim community, which is the same treatment given to the world's other major faiths.[155] For example, the textbooks used by fifth-grade students teach that "the religions which people follow on this earth are many, but the only true religion is Islam."[156] Intolerance for other belief systems is further reinforced in the ninth-grade curriculum, which contains lessons on how "the Jews and Christians are the enemies of the believers" stating that "they will not be favorably disposed towards Muslims and it is necessary to be cautious in dealing with them."[157] Once all non-Wahhabis have been identified as unbelievers Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's writings on the duty to wage *jihad* against *kafirs* are presented to the students. As such, in the eight-grade texts students learn that "the most important activity is *jihad* for the sake of God" and that the *mujahidin* (strugglers, those partaking in *jihad*) hold an elevated status in the eyes of God.[158]

Besides controlling the curriculum and textbooks, the government and *'ulama* also regulate all texts entering and leaving the Kingdom. Consequently, Shi'a and non-Wahhabi texts are often confiscated and their possession can be considered a criminal offence. The government justifies this by stating that all books in the Kingdom must be "consistent with Islam, the intellectual trends, and educational aims of the Kingdom."[159] Recently the Wahhabi *'ulama* attempted to expand this control to the internet when the Grand *Mufti*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Azziz al-

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[154] It should be noted that Saudi Arabia's school curriculum also includes memorization of the Qur'an and *hadith* and the study of Arabic.

[155] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 265.

[156] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."

[157] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."

[158] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."

[159] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."

Shaykh, issued a *fatwa* "authorizing a 'cyberjihad' that encouraged [Wahhabis] to hack into and disable Shi'a and non-Wahhabi websites…and establish websites promoting hatred of non-Wahhabi Islam."[160] These actions serve to further reinforce the *'ulama's* overall message that "propagating Islam in all areas of our globe…is the duty of the state and its citizens," a concept that would soon be adopted as a tool of the government to reassure the public of its legitimacy and commitment to the Islamic world.[161]

Internal Strife and Saudi Foreign Policy

The first signs of unrest resulting from the Wahhabi-based education and the puppet *'ulama* appeared during the reign of King Faysal. As numerous young adults graduated from Saudi funded institutions many began to notice the contradictions between ideals and realities in Saudi Arabia, which resulted in discussions about the Sa'ud family's loyalties and legitimacy. Those leading the discussions emphasized the fact that the King's modernization efforts were resulting in developments that were in opposition to their understanding of Wahhabi Islamic piety.[162] Traditional institutions such as Islamic banking and *shari'a* were replaced with secularized establishments and new forms of technology that flooded the Kingdom with American cultural influences. As if these developments were not enough, the fact that they were made possible by subsidies and labor forces from the West further fueled resentment. This

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[160] These websites are supposed to expose acts of *bid'a* and *shirk* performed by non-Wahhabis and present non-Wahhabis as violators of *tawhid*. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 266.

[161] Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia's Education System."

[162] The public's anger about King Fasal's reforms eventually led to his assassination. When King Faysal announced in 1965 that a television broadcasting station would open in Saudi Arabia many protested. To pacify the demonstrators police were called in and the crowds' leaders were killed, including King Faysal's nephew Prince Khalid Ibn Musa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz. Ten years later King Faysal was killed by his nephew's brother, Prince Faysal Ibn Musa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, in what many call an act of revenge for his brother's death. As punishment Prince Faysal was publicly beheaded after the Friday noon prayer in Riyadh. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 124, 142-143.

resulted in many young Saudis questioning their government's loyalty to other Muslim countries

and whether its relations with America were shaping its policy in favor of the West rather than

the Islamic world. As these concerns became more widespread King Faysal made the

Kingdom's first attempts at diverting attention from the increasing number of problematic

policies. To do so he and his successors became more involved in Arab politics, gained

influence and power in the Muslim world, and spent millions of dollars promoting Wahhabi

Islam to all Muslims by establishing numerous Islamic organizations.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s King Faysal took advantage of the vacuum left by the

fall of Nasir and used Saudi Arabia's oil resources, Islamic heritage, and role as protector of

Mecca and Medina to claim a leadership position in the Arab world. King Faysal envisioned

using this new power to establish a pan-Islamic ideology[163] based on Wahhabism that would

support his and Saudi Arabia's legitimacy and replace what remained of Nasserism in Egypt[164]

and the newly emerging Ba'thist Arab nationalism in Syria and Iraq,[165] both of which he deemed

un-Islamic due to their establishment of unity based on "secular culture, history and

civilization."[166] To reach this goal King Faysal hosted a conference in 1962 to determine "ways

[163] Pan-Islamism is the idea that all Muslims belong to a single religious community no matter where they live. Modern Pan-Islamism began with Sultan Abdul Hamid II of the Ottoman Empire, it was later re-launched in the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood and finally by King Faysal. According to King Faysal, uniting the community under the banner of Islam would allow him to assert his authority as guardian of Mecca and Medina and allow him to influence the ideologies of Muslims worldwide. Through this movement, which he promoted as an alternative to socialism and Pan-Arabism, he hoped to spread Wahhabi ideas. Frank A. Clemets, "Pan-Islamism," *Historical Dictionary of Arab and Islamic Organizations* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001): 214-215.
[164] See footnote 126 on Nasir.
[165] The Ba'th party was founded in the 1940s in Syria and quickly spread to Iraq, and by the 1960s the party had come to power in both countries. The goal of the party was to create a single socialist Arab nation that united its people based on their shared history, culture, and language. Originally the Ba'th party stressed religious freedom and went as far as to reject the idea of Islam as a religion, preferring to view it as a cultural and spiritual occurrence unique to Arabs. Elizabeth Picard, "Ba'th Parties," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 203-205.
[166] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 130.

to fight radicalism and secularism in the Arab and Muslim worlds," the result of which was the

establishment of the Muslim World League headquartered in Mecca.[167] In 1970 Saudi Arabia

again took center stage when it became the main patron of the Organization of the Islamic

Conference (OIC) whose goals were to "promote co-operation among the Islamic states and

establish institutional bases for pan-Islamism."[168] Further opportunities to prove his solidarity

with the Muslim world were provided by the ongoing situation between Israel and Palestine,

which King Faysal first took a stand on by joining the 1973 oil embargo against countries

supporting Israel. Following this, he recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as

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[167] The Muslim World League (*Rabitat al-'Alam al-Islami*) developed out of a meeting of Muslim scholars and politicians who discussed the problems of communism and what they viewed to be an irreligious Egyptian president, Nasir. The MWL is run by a Constituent Council composed of sixty-two scholars from the Muslim World under the authority of the executive branch's Secretariat-General who implements the rulings made by the council. In its first years the MWL was headed by the Grand *Mufti* of Saudi Arabia, Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Shaykh, a descendent of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. The other main participants represented the ideologies of Wahhabi, Salafiyah, neo-Wahhabi, and neo-Salafiyah. According to MWL rules, after the Grand *Mufti* died he had to be succeeded by a Saudi, thus 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Baz, a Wahhabi scholar, came to power. The original goals of the MWL were to promote Islam and fight conspiracies against Islam; thus, its main mission was to fight pro-Nasserist and Ba'thish regimes. However, in 1967 the MWL changed its focus; now it strives to advance Islamic unity and solidarity through the promotion of Islamic education and relief work throughout the world. More than a single entity the MWL includes the World Supreme Council for Mosques, coordinating missionary (*da'wah*) activities; the Islamic Jurisprudence Council, setting standards of Islamic Law and opening the Islamic Fiqh Academy both promoting the Wahhabi ideology; the International Islamic Relief Organization, handling social welfare and training centers for missionaries; and the Commission on Scientific Signs in the Holy Qur'an and *Sunna*. The MWL also holds observer status at the Organization of the Islamic Conference, United Nations, and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Reinhard Schulze, "Muslim World League," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 208-210; Frank A. Clemets, "Muslim World League (MWL)," *Historical Dictionary of Arab and Islamic Organizations* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001): 189; Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 132.

[168] The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) was established in 1971 following a meeting of twenty-four Muslim countries in Rabat, Morocco after the attack on the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Today the OIC is headquartered in Jeddah, is funded by Saudi Arabia, and has forty-nine members, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization. According to its charter, the OIC's goals are to "promote Islamic solidarity, coordinate efforts to protect Islamic holy places, support the Palestinian struggle for national rights, [and] increase social, cultural and economic cooperation among members." However an unofficial goal is also to present Saudi Arabia as a leader of the Islamic world. Frank A. Clemets, "Organization Of The Islamic Conference (OIC)," *Historical Dictionary of Arab and Islamic Organizations* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001): 203; Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 132.

the legitimate representative of Palestinians, and transferred large sums of money from Saudi

Arabia to PLO training camps in Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon.[169] King Faysal hoped these actions

would make it clear that Saudi Arabia supported its Muslim brothers.

Despite these efforts to show solidarity with the Muslim world King Faysal continued to

have troubled relations with his population, and when King Khalid (d. 1402/1982) came to

power in 1975, he inherited the increasingly difficult task of pacifying this demanding public.

As the government further distanced itself from hard-line Wahhabi principles, King Khalid was

forced to keep the pretence of being a just Islamic ruler, resulting in an inescapable dichotomy

from which the Royal Family continually attempted to divert attention. However, during the

reign of King Khalid the contradictions between Islamic virtues and material excess became

clearly evident and problematic. The enormity of wealth flowing into the country had led to

corruption and impious behavior amongst the Saudi Royal Family that even the loyal *'ulama*

found hard to ignore.[170] Furthermore, Saudi Arabia was becoming increasingly friendly with the

United States, which upset the younger generations of Saudis who had been taught that Western

[169] The PLO was established in 1964 as the "institutional structure of the Palestinian national movement and the political representative of six million Palestinians." An Executive Committee headed by a chairman, the first being Ahmed Shuqayri, runs the PLO. In its charter the PLO states its goal as being the elimination of Israel and the restoration of Palestine. Following the Arab-Israeli war Yasser Araft was elected chairman and he transformed the organization into an umbrella group for various political and military organizations aimed at liberating Palestine. Of these new members, the group al-Fath was the most influential and used its sway to advocate an armed struggle against Israel initiated by the Palestinians, not a unified group of Arab countries. However, overtime the PLO came to embrace a two-state solution to the Palestine-Israel conflict. This upset some of the groups of the PLO and resulted in many splinter organizations such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Rashid Khalidi, "Palestine Liberation Organization," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 297-299; Frank A. Clemets, "Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)," *Historical Dictionary of Arab and Islamic Organizations* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001): 210-212; Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 131.
[170] The actions of 'airport Wahhabis' or 'Saudi oil princes' became legendary during this time of excess. Many stories circulated about alcohol consumption, unveiled women, gambling, sex, and lavish spending on cars, boats, private jets, and jewelry that further brought into question the royal family's devotion to the Wahhabi cause. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 116.

and secular influences were a threat to the Islamic world. In an attempt to justify the Kingdom's

relations with America King Khalid argued that the alliance was necessary for stability,

protection, and Saudi Arabia's economic and military development. However, when it became

clear that Israel was America's most important ally in the region, King Khalid became the target

of violent hostility from both his own people and Muslims from other countries who accused him

of being tied to a regime sponsoring "Zionist expansion at the expense of the Arab world."[171] In

an ironic twist, this threat of violence resulted in Saudi Arabia having to increase its reliance on

the United States for protection and weapons.[172]

Although King Khalid tired to downplay his alliance with America by promoting a

foreign policy that would help the Muslim world, just as King Faysal had, his efforts were

constantly undermined. As a new generation of Wahhabi-indoctrinated Saudis was coming of

age, they became hostile towards their government, which they accused of ignoring the religious

principles that had built their empire. By the end of the decade this growing frustration came to

fruition when, in November of 1979, the Grand Mosque in Mecca was seized by Juhayman Ibn

Muhammad al-Utaybi (d. 1399/1979) and a number of young Saudis. These protesters were

strongly opposed to the materialism and corruption plaguing the Kingdom and the relationship

between an alleged "just Muslim ruler," King Khalid, and "infidel powers," the United States.[173]

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[171] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 140-141.

[172] Saudi Arabia purchased $270 million worth of missiles from the United States in 1974 alone. By the late 1970s Saudi Arabia had become the seventh largest importer of American goods spending $4.4 billion, while also investing $59 billion in the United States. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 141-142.

[173] This allegation and criticism is still prominent today, as the December 2004 Osama bin Laden tape accuses the Saudi Royal Family of "mismanaging the country, abandoning Islam, and allying itself with the United States." It continues stating: "The [Saudi] regime has gone far beyond all that to contradicting the venerable Islam, safeguarding the blaspheming America, and supporting [America] against Muslims." Further criticism attacks the Saudi government for "[forging] an alliance with the world of infidelity led by Bush." In relation to the Saudi school curricula, bin Laden opposes any reforms to it as an American-inspired attempt to "erase the character of the community by westernizing its

This event was significant because it demonstrated the link between a Wahhabi education and civil unrest, as the leaders of the movement, al-Utaybi and Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Qahtani (d. 1400/1980), had both been educated at the Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud Islamic University in Riyad. Further support for this link can be found in the fact that most of al-Utaybi's followers had also been students at the pro-Wahhabi Islamic Universities established by King Faysal. In the end this uprising was resolved with the help of the government's loyal Wahhabi *'ulama*, who granted King Khalid a *fatwa* permitting soldiers to bear weapons and spill blood inside the mosque, both of which were in violation of Islamic law. However, the government's victory did little to quell the feelings of hostility towards the King for acting against Wahhabi principles.

The social unrest of the 1970s carried over into the next decade as the reign of King Fahd brought with it economic hardship, a rise in unemployment rates, and ongoing friendly relations with America. King Fahd's problems began when oil prices fell from $36 to $8 a barrel and the economy became incapable of absorbing the increasing number of well-educated Saudis graduating from state-funded universities.[174] This situation was further aggravated by fact that 71% of those employed in Saudi Arabia were non-nationals.[175] Moreover, Saudis began to notice that the degrees they received from Islamic universities did not open the same doors as degrees from Western universities, thereby causing the Saudi-educated youth to miss out on lucrative and prestigious jobs. As the public's resentment towards the West grew, the government's relationship with and reliance on the United States increased causing many Saudis to doubt the

sons…" Habib Trabelsi, "Bin Laden Tape Calls for Attacks on Oil Sites in Gulf, Iraq," Middle East Online, http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/saudi/?id=12168=12168&format=0 (accessed December 29, 2004); SITE Institute, "New Bin Laden Audiotape Blames Saudi Monarchy For Current Unrest in the Arabian Peninsula," SITE Institute, http://siteinstitute.org/bin/articles.cgi?ID= publications13304&Category=publications&Subcategory=0 (accessed December 29, 2004). Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 144.
[174] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 149.
[175] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 151.

Kingdom's legitimacy as an Islamic country. This skepticism was confirmed after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait when King Fahd deemed American military assistance necessary. Outraged and convinced that Islamic principles had been violated, many Saudis supported the prominent *imams* who were questioning whether it was acceptable that non-Muslims were called upon to fight Muslims and if the government that permitted this was legitimate.[176] Even though the Kingdom's most notable government appointed religious authority, Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Baz, had issued a *fatwa* authorizing the *jihad* against Iraq and the use of non-Muslim troops, many Saudis were not convinced. Rather they began to recognize that the *'ulama* had become apologists for the government and that the real enemy was the West, not Saddam Hussein.

This combination of economic, social, and political factors resulted in the development of a new, well-educated, and articulate *mutawwa'a* that was growing more disenfranchised by the day. These young Saudis responded to *imams* calling for the end of Western influences, consumerism, corruption, and modernization and a return to authentic Islam. This authentic Islam is what many today refer to as neo-Wahhabi, Salafi, or neo-Salafi due to its emphasis on the Wahhabi doctrines of strict literalism, harsh moral codes, *shari'a* rule, encouraging virtue and prohibiting vice, *takfir*, *jihad*, and a disdain for *bid'a*. What separates this movement from traditional Wahhabism are the added features of denouncing the West, glorifying martyrdom, and an "any means necessary" attitude. Consequently, the frustrated Saudis with a neo-Wahhabi inclination united and petitioned the government for an "Islamisation" of Saudi politics.[177] Among their requests were calls for increasing the propagation of Islamic principles instead of Western pop culture through the media, building a strong Islamic army inspired by the call for *jihad*, turning only to Muslim armies for assistance, encouraging Islamic banking, implementing

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[176] These imams include Dr. Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-'Awdah. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 165.

[177] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 169,

shari'a law, committing more solidly to Islamic causes worldwide, and increasing the role of a legitimate *'ulama* in political decisions.[178] After making some of the requested reforms, the government decided to increase its commitment to Muslim causes, hoping this would reassert their credentials as an Islamic country and also divert attention from what they had not changed, such as their alliance with the West. As strategies were being discussed, King Fahd decided that embarking on missionary activities and the occasional *jihad* would be the best way to keep the thousands of unruly, dejected, and unemployed young Saudis occupied while also spreading the belief system that legitimized his role as leader of the Muslim community.

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[178] Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 170-171.

CHAPTER 6

EXPORTING WAHHABISM

Looking beyond the Arabian Peninsula to the rest of the world King Fahd identified

numerous countries where Muslims were under attack. In Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Indian

frontier, Bosnia, and Kosovo Fahd found war-torn countries in need of fighters and aid, both of

which the Kingdom could supply. It was with this realization that the global exportation of

Wahhabism began. While successful in keeping the new *mutawwa'a* distracted with the neo-

Wahhabi promise of martyrdom by *jihad*, the efforts to implant Wahhabism were generally

ineffective. The then unknown flaw in these attempts was the target. Because these countries

were home to Muslim populations who had spent centuries developing their own cultural and

religious practices, they shared a history that made influence from outside groups difficult, but

not impossible. After many years of trial and error, the Saudis finally achieved success when

they began exporting Wahhabism to America, where the Muslim community was open to new

ideas.

One of King Fahd's first attempts at exporting Wahhabism took place soon after the

Soviet army invaded Afghanistan in 1979. As Afghan refugees flooded the boarders of Pakistan,

King Fahd declared communism an enemy of Islam and began supporting the Afghan resistance

by sending large sums of oil money and thousands of unemployed Saudi citizens to the region to

aid the *jihad* and preach Wahhabism. For most of the traditional Afghans the Wahhabi ideology

appeared in conflict with their traditional beliefs, which were pluralist and accepting of religious

diversity. However, many of the *mujahidin* fighters who had come to Pakistan and Afghanistan from all over the Muslim world identified with the doctrines. Among this group it was Abdullah Yusuf Azzam (d. 1410/1989), a Palestinian who had been introduced to neo-Wahhabism in the Muslim Brotherhood and again while teaching in Saudi Arabia, who assumed the roles of mentor and leader and encouraged the young fighters to seek the neo-Wahhabi goal of martyrdom. In return for his services Saudi Arabia provided Azzam with the resources necessary to establish the Pakistan-based *Mujahidin* Service Bureau (*Bayt al-Ansar*), which recruited and trained a large number of volunteers from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates.[179] Besides funding these training camps King Fahd also sponsored the building of Islamic schools, similar to those in Saudi Arabia, in the more Wahhabi-friendly regions of Pakistan. These efforts to implement Wahhabism continued long after the Soviet army's retreat in 1989, and as of 2002 Pakistan was home to nearly two thousand neo-Wahhabi loyal schools, over three hundred of which are directly linked to Saudi Arabia.[180]

As the *mujahidin* began to return from Pakistan and Afghanistan, they were faced with the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. As stated earlier, during this situation Saudi Arabia relied on the United States military for protection and allowed over 230,000 American troops to be based inside the Kingdom.[181] The sheer quantity of American soldiers and the permanent and obtrusive bases they built quickly reignited anger in many Saudis, especially those who had joined the

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[179] Those associated with Azzam and the Bureau include Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. It was during this fight that Osama Bin Laden established the Advice and Reform Committee (ARC), which can be characterized as neo-Wahhabi. Bin Laden used his family's wealth, acquired through the construction projects in Saudi Arabia, to sponsor Saudis who wanted to join the *mujahidin* forces and to build training camps like al-Qaeda where his religious and political ideologies were taught. Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 183.

[180] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 184.

[181] Discovery Communications Inc. *Saudi Arabia: Desert Mirage.*

ranks of the *mujahidin* and fought in Afghanistan.[182] These well-trained fighters appealed to King Fahd and tried to convince him to rely on the out of work *mujahidin* rather than foreign troops. However, this idea was rejected resulting in more social unrest. Realizing the gravity of the situation King Fahd again tried to divert attention from the issue by spending millions of dollars on the spread Wahhabism, this time to countries where Muslims were the minority. This effort led to the construction of 384 Saudi-funded Islamic schools in India, 195 in Nepal, 208 in Bangladesh, and 269 in West Bengal. Along with educating children in Wahhabism, the Saudis also paid for the building of new mosques and then staffed them with *imams* who had been trained by the Kingdom's Wahhabism experts. Free *hajj* trips and an abundance of free pro-Wahhabi literature were also made available to these populations.[183] While this convinced some Saudis of the King's solidarity with Muslims worldwide, there were many among the population who remained unsatisfied and hostile towards their own government. To pacify this group, mainly consisting of *mujahidin*, the King set his sights on Bosnia, which offered renewed opportunities for *jihad* and the spread of Wahhabism.

With the help of Azzam's associates thousands of Saudis went to wage *jihad* in Bosnia, but, in contrast to Afghanistan, this time the *mujahidin* did not have a great impact on the battles, and by the time the war ended in 1995, they had not recruited the indigenous fighters to their ranks. However, the situation was not a total loss as the destruction left from the war created new opportunities to spread Wahhabism that King Fahd took advantage of when he created the Saudi High Commission for Relief to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Using this organization as a means to implement Wahhabi Islam, Fahd sent Saudi volunteers to teach Wahhabi doctrines to the orphans, widows, and refugees of the region. At the same time Fahd gave the Commission over

[182] Included in this group was Osama Bin Laden.
[183] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 184.

$33 million to spend on the construction of pro-Wahhabi Islamic institutes and the restoration of 160 mosques.[184] To the Saudi's surprise, the Bosnians were much like the Afghans in that they were not fully supportive of Wahhabism. Rather than replace what remained of their cultural and religious identity with Wahhabism, the Bosnian Muslims wanted to restore their heritage. Thus when the Saudis decided to ignore Bosnia's architectural heritage and replace the Ottoman style mosques with new ones built according to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's specifications, the Bosnians became hostile. This resentment increased when the Wahhabis defaced the few Ottoman mosques still standing by whitewashing over their wall decorations.[185] While the battle between the Bosnian Muslims and the Wahhabis continued with no resolution in sight, the Saudis prepared to leave by opening the numerous pro-Wahhabi schools they had built and flooding Bosnia's cities with Wahhabi *imams* who would continue to spread the Wahhabi message in their absence.[186]

As the failed mission in Bosnia concluded, King Fahd was once again faced with the threat of unemployed and hostile Saudis returning to the Kingdom. In another attempt to keep the restless youth occupied King Fahd turned his attention to the plight of Albanian Muslims in Kosovo. Just as in Bosnia and Afghanistan, the King sent young Saudis abroad with food, blankets, tents, and Wahhabi propaganda. With the Kingdom's funds at their disposal, three hundred eighty-eight Wahhabi missionaries and many other Saudi volunteers constructed thirty-seven mosques, built Islamic schools, and gave away free *hajj* tickets. The Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo also distributed pro-Wahhabi literature amongst the refugees and offered twenty-day training sessions in *shari'a* for *imams* and *muftis* who were encouraged to share their new Wahhabi beliefs with their communities. However, the implementation of Wahhabi

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[184] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 187.
[185] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay*, 55.
[186] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 186-7.

doctrines quickly caused unrest. Being a region devoted to both *mawlid an-nabi* (the celebration of Muhammad's birthday) and Shi'a-oriented Sufism, Kosovo's Muslims were not enthusiastic about the Wahhabi ideology. This anger intensified when the Wahhabis went about rebuilding the war-torn cities and took it upon themselves to vandalize and destroy numerous graveyards, tombstones, and funerary monuments dating back to the 17th century. As it became clear that the Kosovars had no interest in abandoning their cultural heritage for Wahhabism, the Saudis recognized that the situation would turn out just as it had in Bosnia and thus quickly terminated their efforts.[187]

While these attempts to implement Wahhabism were proving unsuccessful due to strong cultural and historic identities that united Muslim populations against foreign infiltration, the Saudis were finding success in another part of the world, America. Using the tactics perfected over the last few decades of trial and error, the Saudis began focusing their resources on exporting Wahhabism to America where the absence of a cohesive Muslim community presented a fertile breeding ground that yielded immediate and widespread success.

Wahhabism in America

As part of its continuing efforts to promote itself as the legitimate leader of the modern Muslim world and pacify its population, Saudi Arabia has spearheaded the implementation of Wahhabism in North America. Besides simply disseminating the belief system that supports its legitimacy, spreading Wahhabism to America has also provided a justification for the Kingdom's relations with the United Sates. By claiming that its dealings with America result in opportunities to share Wahhabism with Western Muslims, the Saudi Royal Family has been able

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[187] Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, 190-195.

to increase its population's acceptance of the partnership and the foreign policy it necessitates. As the last section illustrated, past attempts at exportation failed largely because the target countries had unified Muslim populations. However, in the United States the Muslim population is diverse, geographically dispersed, multi-ethnic, and fairly new to America.[188] Thus American Muslims have not developed the shared history or strong sense of unity that impeded the spread of Wahhabism in other countries. This factor paired with religious freedom and the political arrangement between the United States and Saudi Arabia has made America a hospitable home for Wahhabism. The success of the movement is such that Saudi Arabia has spent over $87 billion on the exportation of Wahhabism to North America and Europe since 1973. This money has funded 210 large mosques and Islamic centers; 1,500 smaller mosques; 202 colleges; 2,000 Islamic schools; 100 million copies of the Qur'an; millions of audio cassettes of the Qur'an; and numerous scholarships for Muslims in the West to study in Mecca and Medina.[189] Due to this large-scale promotion of Wahhabism, it is estimated that eighty percent of the 1,200 officially recognized mosques in America are run according to the Wahhabi ideology.[190] As these statistics

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[188] Current estimates in Mohamed Nimer's *The North American Muslim Resource Guide: Muslim Community Life in The United States and Canada* place the Muslim population in America between 2.1 and 3.6 million people from America, the Arab world, Africa, South Asia, the Balkans, and Europe. However, 2001's *The Mosque in America: A National Portrait* estimates the American Muslim population to be between 6 and 7 million, with only 2 million associated with a mosque. No matter what the exact figure may be, both parties agree that these millions of Muslims are spread out across all the states with larger communities tending to be in the North East, West coast, and mid-West. This population can be categorized as new or young because it was not until 1965, when Congress removed race restrictions in immigration laws, that the rate of immigration became significant. Mohamed Nimer, *The North American Muslim Resource Guide: Muslim Community Life in The United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 21-35; Ihsan Bagby, Paul M. Perl, and Bryan T. Froehle, *The Mosque in America: A National Portrait: a report from the Mosque Study Project* (Washington, DC: Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2001), 3-4. Available on the Internet at http://www.cairnet.org/ mosquereport/Masjid_Study_Project_2000_Report.pdf

[189] The Barnabas Fund, "Global Islamic Funding: A Challenge to the Church," The Barnabas Fund, http://www.drbchurch.contactbox.co.uk/messnger/2002/augsept/funding.html (accessed July 30, 2004).

[190] Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, "Islamic Extremism: A Visible Threat to National Security, An Open Forum at the U.S. Department of State, January 7, 1999," The Islamic Supreme

show, Wahhabism has invaded America, and to answer the questions of how it occurred and what the situation is currently like, this chapter will examine the most common ways Wahhabism has been brought to America, such as through organizations, Islamic schools and universities, and Wahhabi-indoctrinated chaplains, each of which will be addressed with specific examples.

Organizations: Muslim Student Association (MSA)

The attempts to introduce Wahhabism to Americans through organizations have been extremely successful. Beginning in the early 1960s and continuing to the present, the Saudi government and wealthy Saudi families have spent billions of dollars funding organizations that promote the Wahhabi ideology, the most influential being the Muslim Student Association, the Islamic Society of North America, the North American Islamic Trust, and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.[191]

Created in 1963 by the Saudi government and affiliated with both the Muslim World League and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), the Muslim Student Association (MSA) is one of the oldest Islamic organizations in America. Although its official goals are to expose students to Islam and unite the Muslim populations at the 175 North American universities with MSA chapters, the MSA has also been active in spreading Wahhabism. Because of its Saudi heritage, the MSA spent nearly twenty years prohibiting criticism of Saudi Arabia and officially supporting King Faysal as "a fearless champion of Islam."[192] This

Council of America, http://www.islamicsupremecouncil.org/bin/site/wrappers/default.asp ?pane_2=content-extremism_inamerica_unveiling010799 (accessed July 21, 2004).

[191] One should note that the following discussions on the MSA, ISNA, NAIT, and WAMY are meant to demonstrate the link between Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism, and Islam in America; thus I only mention specific examples that achieve this goal. However, I feel it is important to point out that not all branches of these organizations ascribe to the Wahhabi ideology; rather there is great diversity among the chapters that ranges from conservative to liberal, Wahhabi to non-Wahhabi.

[192] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 51.

relationship resulted in the MSA spreading Wahhabism among its members, a task aided by

Ismail al-Faruqi (d. 1406/1986) who was one of the main supporters of Wahhabism in America.

Known for his "heroic efforts to elevate the intellectual status of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-

Wahhab," al-Faruqi translated three of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's works into English.[193]

The MSA in turn published and distributed al-Faruqi's translations along with other pro-

Wahhabi propaganda donated by the Muslim World League. While the MSA has diversified in

its last twenty years of existence, it is still tied to Saudi Arabia and Wahhabism. Currently pro-

Wahhabi speakers from WAMY address members of the MSA at meetings and conferences

while funds from Saudi Arabia continue to support the organization.

Although MSA's official materials claim it does not receive any funding from overseas

governments, this is not the case.[194] Much of the organization's funds come from Saudi Arabia

through government-backed charities and individual Saudi families. Until recently the MSA had

been successful at hiding the sources of its funds; however, since September eleventh the Federal

Bureau of Investigation has uncovered MSA's money trail. Among the ties to Saudi Arabia, the

most incriminating is the channeling of MSA's funds through a series of Saudi charity fronts,

such as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and the Global Relief Fund.[195]

Further Saudi support has also come in the form of government stipends, in the amount of $2,700

per month, paid to MSA leaders.[196] The final link between Saudi Arabia and the MSA comes

together at 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia. 555 Grove Street is the home of a web of

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[193] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 51.

[194] Muslim Student Association of the US and Canada, "MSA News," Muslim Student Association, http://www.msa-natl.org/ (accessed July 30, 2004).

[195] Both of these organizations have recently been shut down by the United States government for supporting terrorist activities. Erick Stakelbeck, "Islamic Radicals On Campus," FrontPageMagazinfe.com, http://frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=7395 (accessed July 30, 2004).

[196] Paul Barrett, "MSA Figure Seized By FBI," FrontPageMagazinfe.com, http://frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=8088 (accessed July 30, 2004).

over one hundred Islamic charity and non-profit fronts all run by SAAR, which stands for

Sulaiman/Saleh Abdul Aziz al-Rajhi.[197] The brothers Sulaiman and Saleh are members of one of

Saudi Arabia's wealthiest families, the al-Rajhi, who use the web of organizations to channel

millions of dollars from Saudi Arabia and pay groups such as the MSA, the World Assembly of

Muslim Youth, and the North American Islamic Trust to propagate Wahhabi Islam.

Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)

The great success of the MSA at both attracting members and spreading Wahhabism

resulted in the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which was established out of the

Muslim Student Association in 1982 to be the umbrella organization for MSA's numerous

offshoots. As the largest Muslim organization in America, with over 400,000 members, ISNA is

a powerful influence on American Muslims. And while ISNA claims to use this pull to support

imam training, outreach programs, mosques, and Islamic schools,[198] the ISNA is also linked to

Wahhabism and has been described as "one of the chief conduits through which the radical Saudi

form of Islam [Wahhabism] passes into the United States."[199] One way in which the ISNA

spreads the Wahhabi message is through its monthly magazine, *Islamic Horizons*, which often

contains articles supporting the Wahhabi ideology.[200] Wahhabism is also propagated at ISNA's

[197] Among the one hundred groups listing their address as 555 Grove Street are: American Muslim Council (AMC), International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), Safa Trust, African Muslim Agency, Child Development Fund, The Holy Mecca, Heritage Education Trust, World and Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE), and the Muslim World League (MWL). What makes this more suspicious is that all these groups are run by just a dozen men and 555 marks the location of a small three story building, not a large complex capable of housing a hundred offices.
[198] Sulayman S. Nyang, "Islamic Society of North America," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 317.
[199] Sherrie Gossett, "Islam In America: Part Two," WorldNetDaily.com, http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=36441 (accessed July10, 2004).
[200] Steven Emerson, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 216-220.

yearly conferences, which invite pro-Wahhabi speakers to discuss its tenets with the more than

25,000 American Muslims in attendance. Like the MSA, the ISNA funds these ventures with

donations from Saudi Arabia and the web of charities operating out of 555 Grove Street.[201] But

despite these links to Saudi Arabia and Wahhabism, ISNA has succeeded in presenting itself as

the spokesmen for all American Muslims thereby allowing it to portray Wahhabism as a

mainstream Islamic ideology. This benign façade led George W. Bush to ask ISNA's former

president, Muzammil Siddiqui, to represent the Muslim community at the President's National

Day of Prayer held after September eleventh.[202] Exposure at this event secured ISNA's position

as the voice of American Muslims in the eyes of the media and the government while also

providing ISNA with a larger audience to indoctrinate with Wahhabism.

North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)

Of all Saudi Arabia's attempts to spread Wahhabism through Islamic organizations, its

affiliation with American mosques has proved most successful. This relationship has been

carried out through both the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) and the Saudi funding of

mosques. Associated with MSA and ISNA, NAIT was established with the help of Saudi Arabia

in 1971 to handle the real estate belonging to both organizations, which to date accounts for

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[201] The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, funded by Saudi Arabia, transferred money to ISNA.

[202] Before heading ISNA, Siddiqi was a high-ranking member of the Muslim World League and the MSA. And because ISNA had been so successful at convincing the public that Wahhabi ideology they supported was nothing to be concerned about, the United States government overlooked the fact that just a year before this loyal Wahhabi had sent a warning that "the wrath of God will come [to America]" at a neo-Wahhabi rally. Steven Schwartz, "An Activist's Guide to Arab and Muslim Campus and Community Organizations in North America," FrontPageMagazine.com, http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=7991 (accessed July 30, 2004).

twenty-seven percent of the 1,200 mosques in America.[203] While NAIT is the legal owner of these properties, its partnership with ISNA dictates that all mosques owned by NAIT are under the authority of the ISNA, who controls "property, buildings, appointment of *imams*, training of *imams*, content of preaching- including faxing of Friday sermons from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia… the literature distributed in mosques and mosque bookstores, notices on bulletin boards, and organizational solicitation."[204] NAIT's alliance with ISNA and MSA and their ties to Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia have resulted in the Wahhabization of all the mosques owned by NAIT; and to ensure that these mosques continue to teach Wahhabism Saudi Arabia's government pays NAIT employed Wahhabi *imams* between $2,000 and $4,000 a month.[205]

Not satisfied with the over three hundred American mosques under Wahhabi control, Saudi Arabia has accelerated its efforts to spread Wahhabism by funding many of the mosques NAIT has been unable to acquire. For example, the Saudi-run Islamic Development Bank donated $4 million for the construction of the Ibn Taymiyah mosque complex in Los Angeles and $6 million for a mosque in Cincinnati. Saudi funds have also built the Omer Bin al-Khattab Mosque in West Los Angeles, the Fresno Mosque, and the Islamic Centers in Denver, New York, Los Angeles, and Northern Virginia. In total, some estimate that Saudi Arabia has spent over $340 million on nearly 600 mosques and Islamic centers in the United States all of which are required to employ Wahhabi *imams* and follow and spread Wahhabi teachings.[206] The far-reaching success of these efforts has resulted in Wahhabis running eighty percent of mosques in

[203] The North American Islamic Trust, "The North American Islamic Trust," The North American Islamic Trust, http://www.nait.net/nait.html (accessed July 30, 2004).
[204] Stephen Schwartz, "Wahhabism & Islam in the U.S.," National Review Online, http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/comment-schwartz063003.asp (accessed July 30, 2004).
[205] Steven Schwartz, "An Activist's Guide to Arab and Muslim Campus and Community Organizations in North America," FrontPageMagazine.com, http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=7991 (accessed July 30, 2004).
[206] Schwartz, "Wahhabism & Islam in the U.S."

the United States.[207] While this in no way implies that eighty percent of American Muslims are Wahhabis, it does illustrate that most have been exposed to the teachings.

World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY)

Established in 1972 as an outgrowth of the Muslim Student Association, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) is headquartered in Riyad and maintains close ties to Saudi Arabia and the Muslim World League. Like MSA, ISNA, and NAIT, WAMY is funded directly by Saudi Arabia and through the 555 Grove Street web of charity fronts. Further ties between WAMY and Saudi Arabia come through the Bin Laden family, as Osama's brother Abdullah Bin Laden is listed as the president and treasurer of WAMY's American branch. But unlike the other organizations presented in this chapter, WAMY does not try to hide its connections to Wahhabism. In fact one of its official aims is to spread Islam "in its purist form," i.e. Wahhabism.[208] As such WAMY is committed to *da'wah* activities and devotes much of its efforts to publishing and distributing books and brochures about Wahhabism. For example, WAMY brochures have claimed that Muslims are unbelievers unless they conform to the Wahhabi ideology; and the WAMY published booklet *The Difference Between The Shiites and the Majority of Muslim Scholars* argues that Shi'a Islam is a conspiracy against the Muslim community.[209] While efforts such as these have exposed many to the tenets of Wahhabism, Saudi Arabia has diversified its exportation efforts beyond WAMY, MSA, ISNA, and NAIT in hopes

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[207] Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, "Islamic Extremism: A Visible Threat to National Security, An Open Forum at the U.S. Department of State, January 7, 1999."

[208] WAMY, "World Assembly of Muslim Youth," WAMY, http://www.wamy.co.uk/index.htm (accessed July 30, 2004).

[209] Schwartz, "An Activist's Guide to Arab and Muslim Campus and Community Organizations in North America."

of sharing Wahhabism with the American academia and students, young and old, interested in a Saudi-style formal education.

<u>Education and Chaplains</u>

Like King Faysal did decades ago, today's supporters of the exportation of Wahhabism are focusing on indoctrination through education. In academic institutions across America, from major universities to private Islamic schools, Wahhabism is being spread with the help of Saudi funds. For example, the Saudi government has spent millions of dollars financing Chairs, funds, and research institutes at such major American universities as Harvard, University of California at Berkeley, Rice University, Duke University, and Johns Hopkins.[210] While these institutions are not under Saudi control, the relationships established through the donations have fostered goodwill towards the Kingdom and its ideology. Other measures employed by King Fahd to present the Kingdom and Wahhabism as benign and "raise the banner of Islam all over the globe" were created through scholarships.[211] Currently, the Saudi government is paying for the education of over 3,500 students in America and annually offers hundreds of scholarships allowing American students the opportunity to study in Mecca and Medina.[212] While these efforts are successful at fostering good relations between Americans and the Kingdom, which leads to a more favorable impression of Wahhabism, only the scholarships to study in Mecca and Medina are actually spreading Wahhabism. To make up for this deficiency, the Kingdom has funded its own schools in America that introduce Wahhabism to a larger audience.

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[210] These include: The King 'Abd al-Aziz Chair for Islamic Studies at UCLA Santa Barbra, The King Fahd Chair for Islamic and Sahriah Studies at Harvard, The Sultan Bin 'Abd al-Aziz al-Saud Program in Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, and The Bakr M. Bin Laden Visiting Scholar Fund at Harvard. Ben Shapiro, "King Fahd's Plan to Conquer America," TownHall.com, http://www.campus-watch.org/pf.php?id=408 (accessed July 30, 2004).

[211] Shapiro, "King Fahd's Plan to Conquer America."

[212] Barrett, "MSA Figure Seized By FBI."

Among the 200-600 Islamic schools in the United Sates, many are owned and operated by the Kingdom. The most well known of these include the King Fahd Islamic Academy in Washington, the Washington Islamic Academy, and the Islamic Saudi Academy, all of which are "subject to the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."[213] At schools such as these, where enrollment can exceed one thousand students, classes aim to foster a sense of "Islamic culture, tradition, heritage, and identity" in students.[214] The Islamic Saudi Academy, for example, accomplishes this by using the same textbooks and following the same curriculum as the schools of Saudi Arabia.[215] As such, students are required to take classes on Wahhabism while courses on United States history and government are optional. Furthermore, in an effort to ensure that this type of education is made available to a large number of students, the Saudi-owned institutes waive tuition costs for nearly half their student body resulting in the indoctrination of tens-of-thousands of Muslim Americans who go on to share their ideology with others when they attend American universities.

Not limiting itself to children, Saudi Arabia also teaches Wahhabism to American Muslim adults attending the many Saudi-funded universities, such as the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences (GSISS). Located in Leesburg, Virginia GSISS receives most of its funding from the web of charities located at 555 Grove Street.[216] Because of this connection to Saudi Arabia and the fact that GSISS's president, Taha Alalwani, taught at a Saudi university for eleven years, GSISS is a staunch supporter of Wahhabism and has the goal of "renewing the link

[213] Susan Katz Keating, "The Wahhabi Fifth Column," FrontPageMagazine.com, http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=5270 (accessed July 30, 2004).

[214] Islamic Saudi Academy, "Curriculum/Program," Islamic Saudi Academy, http://www.saudiacademy.net/html/Curriculum.html (accessed July 30, 2004).

[215] Islamic Saudi Academy, "Curriculum/Program."

[216] The majority of its funds come through the Heritage Islamic Trust.

between knowledge and the higher human values of *tawhid*…and purification."[217] To fulfill this

mission GSISS provides an education in Wahhabism and encourages its students to become

imams and hospital, military, and prison chaplains so they can spread their knowledge of

Wahhabism and *tawhid* to American Muslims of all walks of life. While this might sound like a

far-off goal, it is currently becoming a reality, as today GSISS is the only institute permitted by

the Department of Defense to certify Muslim chaplains for the military. Consequently, this

allows GSISS to secure jobs for its graduates while also ensuring the 4,000 to 12,000 Muslims in

the armed forces are exposed to Wahhabism.[218]

Along with its relationship with GSISS, the Department of Defense has also made

arrangements with the Islamic Society of North America, whom it entrusted with the recruitment

and training of 75-100 "Islamic lay leaders" for the military.[219] To fulfill this order the ISNA has

sent American soldiers and civilians to pro-Wahhabi, Saudi-funded schools, like the Institute of

Islamic and Arab Sciences, where they are taught how to offer Wahhabi-inspired spiritual

guidance to soldiers in the absence of a certified chaplain. Besides propagating Wahhabism

among American soldiers, ISNA has also been involved in indoctrinating inmates at prisons

across America. The United States Bureau of Prisons has made this possible by turning to ISNA

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[217] Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, "Vision, " Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, http://www.siss.edu/mission/mission.htm (accessed July 30, 2004).

[218] It has only been in the last year that suspicions about this arrangement have been raised due to the controversy surrounding the Muslim chaplain Captain Yousef Yee. Following the events of September eleventh Yee was accused of mishandling classified information and sharing the neo-Wahhabi ideology of the prisoners he attended to at Guantanamo Bay. Although Yee did not study at GSISS, the school's president Taha Alawani certified him and ensured the Defense Department that his education was equivalent to the course work at GSISS, meaning Yee had been indoctrinated in Wahhabism. This most likely occurred when the Saudi government awarded Yee, and a hundred other service personal, with a free trip to Mecca to study and perform *hajj*. Eunice Moscoso, "Islamic School Under Scrutiny," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, sec. B, November 21, 2003; Frank J. Gaffney Jr., "A Troubling Influence," FrontPageMagazine.com, http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=11209 (accessed July 30, 2004).

[219] Gaffney, "A Troubling Influence."

for referrals when Muslim chaplains are needed. And because of ISNA's connections with Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia, they recommend *imams* who have been trained in the Wahhabi tradition, specifically those who recently graduated from The Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences. As such, many of America's prisons only employ clerics of the Wahhabi ideology. Again, this situation went unnoticed for years and has just recently been brought to the public's attention thanks to a lawsuit filed by four Shi'a prisoners in New York. These inmates claim their rights were violated because the prisons only employed Wahhabi *imams* who denied the Shi'a population access to "literature and teachings in line with their beliefs."[220] In many other prisons across the country the situation is the same. Wahhabi clerics have come to "dominate Islam in the prisons" and strive to continue indoctrinating inmates by filling prison libraries with pro-Wahhabi literature, tapes, and videos.[221] If the lawsuit in New York is successful, the spread of Wahhabism in American prisons might slow; however, this would take many years, and in the meantime Wahhabi *imams* continue to propagate Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings.

In conclusion, the spread of Wahhabism in America has been extensive and rapid. Because of America's hands-off policy towards Saudi Arabia's ideological preferences and internal instability, the Kingdom has been able export Wahhabism to America for forty years without attracting attention. Through organizations, education, and chaplains Wahhabism has been introduced to American Muslims from all walks of life. From children to inmates, Saudi Arabia has spent billions of dollars promoting its ideology to any who will listen. And due to the

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[220] Amy Menefee, "Islamic Religious Groups Jockey for Prison Access As Concerns Over Inmate Terrorism Grow," Congressional Quarterly, http://www.defenddemocracy.org/in_the_media_show. htm?doc_id=179485 (accessed July 30, 2004).

[221] Laura Sullivan, "U.S. Fears al-Qaida Recruiting Prisoners," The Baltimore Sun, http://www.religionnewsblog.com/1291-_U.S._fears_al-Qaida_recruiting_prisoners.html (accessed July 30, 2004).

loose affiliation of the Muslim community in America, relatively little has been done to impede Wahhabism's spread. Since it has only been since the events of September eleventh that the reality of the situation has become clear, it will likely take years for the government to decide what, if anything, could or should be done about Wahhabism in America. In the meantime the Saudi Royal Family continues to face criticism from its Wahhabi-loyal population, and, as in the past, it still handles the situation by spending billions of dollars funding organizations, charities, mosques, and schools that propagate Wahhabism. Consequently, because America has proved to be a welcome home for Wahhabism, it will likely remain a prime target for this exportation well into the future.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: THE CURRENT STATE OF WAHHABISM AND SAUDI ARABIA- LINKS

BETWEEN PRO-WAHHABI, SAUDI-SUPPORTED CHARITIES AND TERRORISM

Throughout *Wahhabism: From Najd to New York* the historic, religious, political, social,

and economic factors resulting in the present-day Wahhabi Islam and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

have been traced. Because much of this information has concentrated on the past two hundred

years, this work will conclude by evaluating the present states of Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia

and speculating about their futures. As such, the following pages are devoted to Saudi Arabia's

role in the current exportation of Wahhabism to the tsunami-ravaged regions of Indonesia and

the war-torn Sunni triangle of Iraq. While demonstrating the ongoing efforts to propagate the

religion across the Muslim world, these examples will also expose the undeniable links between

Saudi-sponsored charities and modern-day Islamic terrorist organizations.

Throughout 2004 and 2005, Saudi Arabia has made a deliberate effort to attach itself to

Islamic causes worldwide for the expressed purpose of spreading Wahhabism to regions where

the ideology has yet to take root. Of these efforts, the two most controversial include the

indoctrination of displaced and desperate Indonesians left homeless after the December 2004

tsunami in Southeast Asia and the funding and recruitment of insurgent fighters in Iraq. What

makes these current situations significant is that they are guaranteed some degree of success

because they are being modeled on past ventures carried out by the Saudi Royal Family. For

example, the recent funding of insurgent attacks and the shipment of well-educated but

unemployed Saudi men to Iraq to seek martyrdom by waging *jihad* against *kafirs* is reminiscent of Saudi actions in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia. Additionally, the use of Saudi-sponsored charities and organizations to spread Wahhabi ideals has long been a favorite legitimacy-ensuring activity of the Saudi Royal Family. Throughout this work, numerous cases of this have been addressed. In America, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia, the success of disguising indoctrination as relief, aid, and charity for Muslims facing hardship has been documented. As such, the Saudi Royal Family and their loyal *'ulama* recognized the exportation potential in the devastated region of Banda Aceh, Indonesia where the need for relief and assistance has created a hospitable breeding ground for Wahhabi ideals.

While Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country, has long been home to moderate branches of Islam there is growing concern that the Wahhabis will gain influence in its weakened and desperate regions that are unable to protect themselves from foreign manipulation. Immediately following the disaster, Saudi Arabia was reluctant to make relief donations and pledged only ten million dollars; however, as the media publicized this alleged stinginess the Saudi Royal Family increased its contributions. Along with personal donations from the Royal Family, including $5.3 million from King Fahd and $1.3 million from Crown Prince Abdullah, the government-controlled television station hosted a twelve-hour telethon that raised $82 million.[222] While these actions earned Saudi Arabia praise from the foreign community, one issue was left unresolved: how to distribute the money. Because Saudi Arabia has recently taken steps to dismantle international charities operating in the Kingdom, the donations were placed under the control of the Saudi-run International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO).

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[222] Abdullah al-Shihri, "Saudi Arabia Holds Telethon for Tsunami," Associated Press, www.twincities.com/mld/twincities/news/breaking_news/10581331.htm?1c (accessed February 20, 2005).

The IIRO was established by the Muslim World League and endorsed by the Saudi government in 1978 as a humanitarian organization based in Riyadh. Although it officially claims to be a private non-governmental organization the IIRO is actually funded by the Saudi government, controlled by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, incorporated as a branch of the Muslim World League, and run out of offices located in Saudi embassies around the world.[223] While its official purposes are to serve the victims of natural disasters and wars by sponsoring the construction of mosques, health care centers, and schools, IIRO's involvement in the propagation of Wahhabism in Kosovo concern many in Banda Aceh who suspect the Saudi-backed group is assisting them for the "fundamental purpose [of] spreading [Wahhabism]."[224]

More alarming than its endorsement of Wahhabism is IIRO's long history of sponsoring terrorist activities.[225] According to CIA reports, during the 1994 situation in Bosnia, Saudi Arabia gave the IIRO $150 million to "facilitate the activities of Islamic groups that engage in terrorism including…Hamas, Hezbollah, Algerian extremists, and Egypt's Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya."[226] Throughout the 1990s, the IIRO also constructed and funded dozens of militant training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan that were used by Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda.[227] Even as so-called relief efforts are underway in Banda Aceh, the links between IIRO and the Southeast Asian terror network associated with Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya are being investigated. Allegations abound that

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[223] David Kaplan, Monica Ekman, Aamir Latif, "The Saudi Connection," *U.S. News & World Report*, vol.135 issue 21 (2003), EBSCOhost.

[224] Associated Press, "Saudi Charity in Tsunami Region Raises Concerns," Khaleej Times Online, www.khaleejtimes.com/Display/Article.asp?xfile=data/middleeast/2005/February/middleeast_February16 7.xml&section=middleeast&col= (accessed February 20, 2005); Ar-Riyadh City, "International Islamic Relief Organization," Ar-Riyadh City, http://www.arriyadh.com/English/organizations/charity_org/islamic_relief_org.htm (accessed February 21, 2005).

[225] Associated Press, "Saudi Charity in Tsunami Region Raises Concerns About Islamic Extremism," SITE Institute, www.siteinstitute.com (accessed February 11, 2005).

[226] Kaplan, "The Saudi Connection."

[227] Kaplan, "The Saudi Connection."

the IIRO helped fund the organizations responsible for the Bali nightclub attack in 2002 and the Jakarta Marriot Hotel bombing of 2003, which together killed over two hundred people.[228] Because of the charges facing IIRO, Indonesia's religious leaders are carefully monitoring their relief work in an effort to prevent any potentially dangerous activities. Unfortunately, because the Saudi organization has decades of practice disguising Wahhabi indoctrination and terrorist financing as benevolent assistance, this task is proving to be difficult. As such, it is likely that the schools, orphanages, and mosques built by IIRO will soon become centers for the proliferation of Wahhabism and possibly even a support network for the various terrorist organizations already operating throughout Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

Another region currently in need of support from its Muslim brothers is Iraq. Throughout 2004 and 2005, numerous Wahhabi indoctrinated Saudi *mutawwa'a* have been instructed that it is their religious duty to aid the Iraqi insurgents in their battle against foreign forces by waging *jihad*. The fact that this is the same message that was preached during the conflicts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo is proof that the situation inside Saudi Arabia has not changed in the past twenty-five years. Wahhabi-indoctrinated youth graduating from the Kingdom's universities still face unemployment and lingering doubts about the legitimacy of the Sa'ud family. Consequently, the Saudi Royal Family has resurrected the practice of sending its unruly youth overseas in an effort to save the Kingdom from civil unrest and potential anarchy. However, because Saudi Arabia has aligned itself with the United States' War on Terror, the Royal Family cannot publicly support the insurgents. Instead, they funnel money and fighters through countries like Syria. This fact was alluded to in Minister of Interior Prince Naif bin Abdulaziz's press conference in January 2005. Rather than inciting strong condemnation of

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[228] Associated Press, "Saudi Charity in Tsunami Region Raises Concerns."

Saudis joining the ranks of insurgents in Iraq, the Prince instead stated that Saudi Arabia intended to officially forbid its citizens from going to Iraq, but twice reiterated that Saudis could bypass this proposed rule by entering Iraq indirectly.[229]

The exact number of Saudis fighting in Iraq is still unknown, but recent reports claim that at least fourteen have been detained and dozens killed.[230] In an effort to increase the number of Wahhabis in Iraq, the *jihadist* recruitment efforts have spread to cyberspace where Wahhabi *imams* post sermons "urging young Muslims [from around the world] to go to Iraq."[231] Furthermore, it is believed that "the same network that was recruiting fighters for Afghanistan" is backing the current effort and using the same enticements, such as martyrdom and fame.[232] Upon arrival in Iraq, this message continues to be spread. For example, Sheikh Adnan Abdul Wahab, *imam* of the Al-Hassanein mosque in Iraq, currently gives sermons calling for *jihad* against "tyranny and occupation" saying "all must fight…and if someone dies fighting for his country or his religion, he will be rewarded in a second life."[233] Consequently, the parents of the Saudi insurgents "martyred" during the February 10, 2005 battle in Salman Pak, Iraq expressed pride and honor in their children's sacrifice.[234]

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[229] Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, "Kingdom to Prevent its Citizens from Undermining Iraq's Security," Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, www.saudiembassy.net/2005News/News/TerDetail.asp?cIndex=4977 (accessed February 20, 2005).

[230] Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, "Kingdom to Prevent its Citizens from Undermining Iraq's Security."

[231] Lisa Myers, "Terror Recruitment on the Rise in Europe: What do Recent Arrests Say About Al-Qaida and Europe?" MSNBC.com, www.msnbc.msn.com/id/686787/ (accessed February 11, 2005).

[232] Myers, "Terror Recruitment on the Rise in Europe: What do Recent Arrests Say About Al-Qaida and Europe?"

[233] Cameron W. Barr, "Iraq in Transition," Christian Science Monitor, http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0829/p07s01-woiq.html (accessed February 20, 2005).

[234] Reuters, "At Least 10 Iraqi Police Killed South of Baghdad" MSNBC.com, www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6947003 (accessed February 10, 2005); Lisa Myers, "Foreigners Enter Iraq for 'Martyr' Missions: Bombers' Families Praise Their Loved Ones' Actions," MSNBC.com, www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6661500/print/1/displaymode/1098/ (accessed February 11, 2005).

For those who are unable or unwilling to give their life for the *jihad*, there is the option of making large financial donations to support the Iraqis. As with the tsunami-relief fundraising, the opportunity for all Saudis to contribute to the Iraqi cause came in the form of a telethon that raised tens of millions of dollars by calling upon wealthy families to sympathize with their Muslim brothers.[235] To show their support for Islamic causes the Saudi Royal Family also participated and donated over 24 million riyals.[236] Again the Saudi Royal Family handed this money over to its own government-controlled charity, the Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Iraqi People. Prince Naif Ibn Abdul Aziz, the General Supervisor of the Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Iraqi People, stated that the relief efforts would be just like those for "Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Chechnya, Afghanistan and other countries which had been hit by circumstances and situations that necessitated aid."[237] While this statement was intended to reassure Saudis that their money was being given as "a religious duty to satisfy Almighty Allah," it causes alarm for many in the international community who understand how the funds in the aforementioned countries were actually spent.[238] As such, there is growing concern that the Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Iraqi People will fund the propagation of Wahhabi Islam and the Iraqi insurgency just as similar organizations supported the spread of Wahhabism and aided the native fighters in Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, and Afghanistan. These fears were recently authenticated by a Defense Intelligence Agency report that claimed "senior Iraqi Baathists operating in Syria are collecting money from private sources in Saudi Arabia and Europe and are

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[235] Al-Shihri, "Saudi Arabia Holds Telethon for Tsunami."
[236] "King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 10 million riyals… Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 5 million riyals… Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 3 million riyals…Prince Turki Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 2 million riyals… Prince Ahmed Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 1 million riyals…Prince Salman Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 1 million riyals…Prince Naif Ibn Abdul Aziz donated 2 million riyals to help the brotherly Iraqi people." Ain al-Yaqeen, "May 2, 2003 Report," Ain al-Yaqeen, http://www.ain-al-yaqeen.com/issues/20030502/feat3en.htm (accessed February 22, 2005).
[237] Ain al-Yaqeen, "May 2, 2003 Report."
[238] Ain al-Yaqeen, "May 2, 2003 Report."

channeling it to insurgent groups."[239] The Central Intelligence Agency confirmed the Defense Intelligence Agency's accusations against Saudi Arabia in early 2005 after they uncovered more information proving Saudi Arabia is the "leading financier of the Sunni insurgency claiming American lives in Iraq daily."[240] Given the controversial nature of this situation and its implications on American-Saudi relations, the details of both reports, such as which charities, organizations, and high-ranking individuals are involved, are being kept secret.

Throughout this work, the negative impact Wahhabism is having on Muslims all over the world has been well documented. The links between Wahhabism and social unrest, intolerance, violence, and anti-American sentiment cannot be denied. As such, it is crucial that the United States Government do everything possible to prevent the further spread of Saudi-backed Wahhabi institutions in America and throughout the world. While this will not be an easy task, and will most certainly have negative implications for America's relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it is time for national and global security to be placed ahead of political, military, and economic needs. If this does not take place and Saudi Arabia's activities continue to be unrestricted, the Muslim populations in America and throughout the world could fall victim to one of the world's most extremist religious sects.

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[239] Alfred B. Prados, Christopher M. Blanchard, "CRS Report for Congress: Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," Congressional Research Service The Library of Congress, http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32499.pdf (accessed February 22, 2005).

[240] WorldNetDaily, "CIA: Saudi Arabia Funds Sunni Insurgency," WorldNetDaily.com, www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=34283 (accessed February 20, 2005);

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APPENDIX A

KITAB AL-TAWHID

Chapter	Theme	Qur'an Citation
Introduction	Shirk and Tawhid	51:56, 16:36, 17:23-4, 4:36, 6:151
Introduction	Virtue of Tawhid and the Sins it Removes	6:82
1	Whoever Fulfilled the Requirements of Tawhid Will Enter Paradise	16:120, 23:57-60
2	Beware of the Dangers of Shirk	4:48, 13:35
3	The Call to Testify That None is Worthy of Worship Except God	12:108
4	Explanation of the Meaning of Tawhid in the Shahada	57:17, 43:26-7, 9:31, 2:165
5	It is an Act of Shirk to Wear Rings or Threads as a Means of Prevention or Lifting of Afflictions	39:38, 12:106
6	Do Not Use Ar-Ruqi (incantations) and At-Tamaa'im (amulets)	Hadith Only
7	Whoever Seeks Blessing From a Tree, Stone, or Any Such Thing is Committing Shirk	53:19-22
8	Do Not Dedicate a Slaughter to Other Than God	6:162-3, 8:102
9	Do Not Slaughter in the Name of God in a Place Where Animals Are Slaughtered in the Name of Others Beside Him	9:108
10	Making a Vow to Other Than God is Shirk	76:7, 2:270
11	Seeking Refuge in Other Than God is Shirk	72:6
12	Seeking Aid From Other Than God is Shirk	10:106-7, 29:17, 46:5-6, 27:62
13	Only God Has the Power to Create	7:191-2, 35:13-4, 3:128
14	Only God Grants Intercession	34:23
15	Intercession is Only for Believers	6:51, 39:44, 2:255, 53:26, 34:22-3
16	Affirmation of Divine Will	28:56, 9:113
17	Avoid Exaggerated Praise of the Righteous	4:171, 71:23-4
18	The Condemnation of One Who Worships God at the Grave of a Righteous Man Because He is Worshiping its	Hadith Only

	Inhabitant	
19	Do Not Build Structures Over Graves Lest They Become Idols Worshiped Besides God	Hadith Only
20	What Has Been Said Concerning Muhammad's Protection of Tawhid and His Blocking of Every Path Leading to Shirk	9:128
21	Forbiddance of Idol Worship	4:51, 5:60, 18:21
22	Forbiddance of Sorcery	2:102, 4:51
23	Descriptions of the Types of Sorcery	Hadith Only
24	Forbiddance of Fortune-telling	Hadith Only
25	Forbiddance of An-Nushrah (countering magic with magic)	Hadith Only
26	Forbiddance of At-Tatayyur (belief in omens)	7:131, 36:19
27	Forbiddance of At-Tanjeem (astrology)	Hadith Only
28	Forbiddance of Al-Anwaa' (nature worship) and Attributing Blessings to Other Than God	56:75-82
29	Love Only God, Do Not Associate Partners with God	2:165, 9:24
30	Fear Only God	3:175, 9:18, 29:10
31	Trust Only in God	5:23, 8:2, 8:64, 65:3, 3:173
32	Trust in and Depend on God and God's Will Alone	7:99, 15:56
33	Be Patient in the Face of All That God Has Ordained for Us	64:11
34	Forbiddance of Ar-Riyaa' (doing deeds to showoff)	18:11
35	It is a Form of Shirk to Perform a Good Deed for Worldly Reasons	11:15-6
36	Whoever Obeys a Scholar or a Ruler by Prohibiting What God Has Permitted or Permitting What God Has Prohibited Has Taken Them as Partners Beside God	24:63, 9:31
37	Reject Manmade Laws that Contradict the Qur'an and Sunna	4:60, 7:56, 2:11-2, 5:50
38	Do Not Deny Any of the Names and Attributes of God	13:30
39	Do Not Attribute God's Gifts to Idols	16:83
40	Do Not Ascribe Partners to God When You Are a Believer	2:21-2
41	Rules for Swearing Oaths in God's Name	Hadith Only
42	Do Not Say: "As God Wills and you will"	Hadith Only
43	Do Not Curse Time	45:24
44	Do Not Call People "Judge of Judges" or Similar Names	Hadith Only
45	Honor the Names of God and Follow the Rules for Naming Humans	Hadith Only
46	Do Not Make Fun of Anything in Which God, the Qur'an, or Muhammad Are Mentioned	9:65-6
47	Do Not Attribute Blessings to Other than God	41:50
48	God Blesses People With Children, Do Not Name One's Child 'Slave' to Any Other than God	7:189-190

49	Forbiddance of Denying God's Divine Names and Attributes	7:180
50	Do Not Say: "Peace Be Upon God"	Hadith Only
51	Do Not Say: "...if You will," When Supplicating God	2:185
52	Do Not Say: "My Slave," or: "My Slave-girl"	Hadith Only
53	Whoever Asks in the Name of God Should Not Be Refused	Hadith Only
54	Warning Against Hypocrisy	3:154, 3:168
55	Forbiddance of Criticizing the Wind	Hadith Only
56	Forbiddance of Thinking Ill of God	3:154, 48:6
57	All Who Deny God's Will are disbelievers	Hadith Only
58	Do Not Make Pictures of Living Things	Hadith Only
59	Do Not Take Excessive Oaths	5:89
60	Keep All Oaths as a Covenant with God	16:91
61	Do Not Swear on God's behalf	Hadith Only
62	God May Not Be Asked to Intercede With His Creatures	Hadith Only
63	What Has Been Said About Muhammad's Safeguarding of Tawhid and His Blocking All Paths to Shirk II	Hadith Only
64	Glorify God and Abstain from Attributing to Him that which Does Not Befit His Majesty	39:67

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APPENDIX B

RELIGIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WAHHABISM

RELIGIOLOGICAL CATEGORY	QUESTIONS RAISED	WAHHABI RESPONSE
EPISTEMOLOGY	What are valid sources of knowledge? How is knowledge gained?	The Qur'an is a valid source of knowledge when approached literally and without interpretation The *Sunna* are valid sources of knowledge, especially those collected by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, although others are accepted when they support Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings The actions and rulings of the *Salafiyah* are legitimate sources of knowledge *Ijma* is only allowed as a last resort and must be in line with the Qur'an and *Sunna* Other sources of knowledge such as *kalam*, reason, intuition, gnosis, and some *tafsir* are rejected as innovations One can gain knowledge through proper forms of education like: studying with a shaykh and attending Quranic schools or mosques The foci of study should be Qur'an, *Sunna*, and Islamic law
ONTOLOGY	What is Really Real?	God is the Really Real God and all His qualities described in the Qur'an are truly Real and to be accepted without interpretation Other beings, like angels and jinn, and higher humans, like saints and prophets, are real but they cannot intercede on behalf of humanity
ANTHROPOLOGY	Who are we as humans?	We are the creation of God and the servants of God

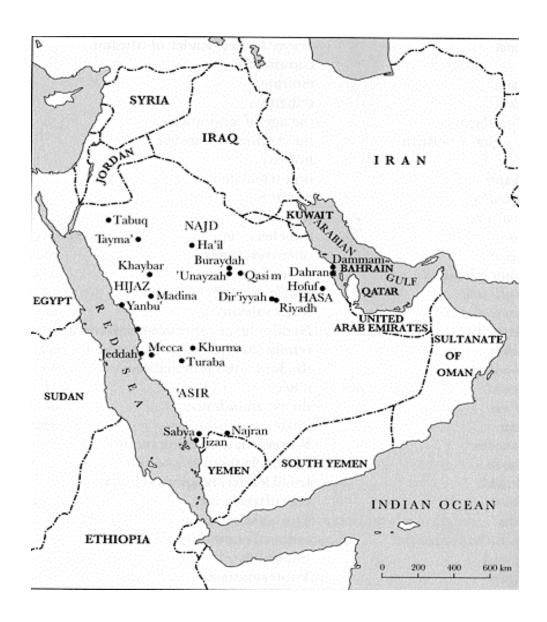|		Within humanity there are numerous divisions including:
		    o Believers/Muslims – Those living in accordance with the teachings of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab
		    o *Kufr* – Those who claim to be Muslims but violate *tawhid* (Sufis and Shias)
		    o *Mushrikin* – All non-Wahhabi Muslims who are, by default, committing *shirk*
		    o Infidels – All those who adhere to any other religion
		    o Prophets and saints – Superior humans who cannot grant intercession and are not to be worshiped

TELEOLOGY	What is the purpose of life?	Adhere to the pure Islam of the *Salafiyah* Become the incarnation of God's laws on earth Encourage right and forbid wrong Enforce the proper practice of Islam Worship properly (in the manner described by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab) Wage *jihad* against those violating *tawhid* and committing *shirk*
METHODOLOGY	How is our purpose achieved?	Adhere to the three-part *tawhid* of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Live in accordance with *Kitab al-tawhid* Avoid all forms of *bid'a* Wage *jihad* against the *mushrikin* Live in a theocratic state and be obedient to a just Islamic ruler Adhere to the *shari'a*, but do not feel tied to the rulings of any particular Sunni *madhhab* Memorize the Qur'an Participate in missionary activities

APPENDIX C

HISTORY OF SAUDI ARABIA FROM 1180/1766-1350/1932

Year	Events[241]
1180/1766	Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud dies
1193/1780	The Wahhab-Sa'ud empire under the leadership of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud expands in Qasim
1206/1791	Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab dies
1206/1792	The Wahhab-Sa'ud empire expands in southern Najd
1211/1797	Qatar and Bahrain acknowledge Sa'udi authority
1217/1802	Wahhab-Sa'ud forces raid and plunder Karbala
1217/1803	Wahhab-Sa'ud forces raid Ta'if First Wahhab-Sa'ud occupation of Mecca
1218/1803	Assassination of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Muhammad al-Sa'ud comes to power
1220/1805	Wahhab-Sa'ud forces take Medina
1220/1806	Second Wahhab-Sa'ud occupation of Mecca
1229-30/1813-4	Liberation of Mecca and Medina by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Muhammad al-Sa'ud dies 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'ud comes to power
1234/1819	Dir'iyya conquered by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'ud executed Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, the grandson of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, sentenced to death by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha
1239/1824	Turki Ibn 'Abdullah, cousin of Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Muhammad al-Sa'ud, re-establishes Sa'ud authority in Riyadh
1249/1834	Turki Ibn 'Abdullah killed His son Faysal Ibn Turki al-Sa'ud comes to power
1251/1836	The Rashidis take control of Ha'il
1252/1837	Faysal Ibn Turki al-Sa'ud captured by Egyptian troops and taken to Cairo
1258/1843	Faysal Ibn Turki al-Sa'ud returns to Riyadh
1281/1865	Faysal Ibn Turki al-Sa'ud dies His son 'Abdul Rahman Ibn Faysal al-Sa'ud comes to power
1287/1871	Ottomans occupy Hasa and 'Asir
1308/1891	Sa'ud rule in Riyad overturned by the Rashidis

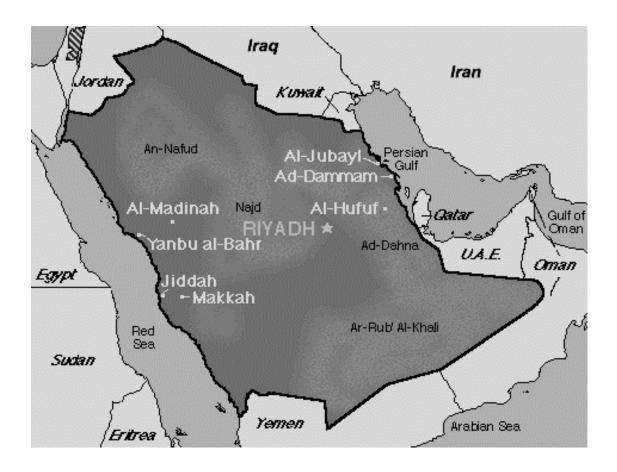[241] Algar, *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay,* 84-5; Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, xi-xii.

1310/1893	'Abdul Rahman Ibn Faysal al-Sa'ud and his family, including son 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud, exiled to Kuwait
1319/1902	'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud re-captures Riyad and the Riyad *'ualma* swear allegiance to Ibn Sa'ud
1320/1903	Ibn Sa'ud takes the title 'Sultan of Najd'
1321/1904	Abha in 'Asir controlled by Ibn Sa'ud
1323/1906	Ibn Sa'ud conquers Qasim
1325/1908	Ottomans appoint Husayn Ibn 'Ali Sharif of Mecca
1330/1912	Ibn Sa'ud establishes first *Ikhwan* settlement
1331/1913	Ibn Sa'ud conquers Hasa
1333/1915	Anglo-Saudi Treaty Britain acknowledges Ibn Sa'ud as ruler of Najd and Hasa
1334/1916	Sharif Husayn declares himself 'King of the Arabs'
1342-3/1924-5	Ibn Sa'ud conquests the Hejaz Sharif Husayn replaced by his son Sharif 'Ali
1343/1925	Jeddah taken by Ibn Sa'ud Jannat al-Baqi or the 'heavenly orchard' cemetery in Medina is destroyed including the graves of Muhammad's son Ibrahim, Ali's son Hassan, and thousands of Companions. In Mecca the graves of Muhammad's grandparents were destroyed along with many sites associated with his life
1344/1926	Ibn Sa'ud declares himself 'King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Najd'
1345/1927	*Ikhwan* rebel against Ibn Sa'ud Treaty of Jiddah made with Britain
1347/1929	Suppression of the *Ikhwan*
1350/1932	Formal proclamation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

APPENDIX D

SAUDI ARABIA: MAIN REGIONS AND CITIES

From: http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~fisher/HST451/maps/SaudiArabia.html

APPENDIX E

SAUDI ARABIA: POLITICAL MAP

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIBED RADIO SPOT PAID FOR BY SAUDI ARABIA AND AIRED IN

AMERICA: WAR ON TERRORISM

War on Terrorism (November 2003)

One man is reading this speech in Arabic in the background, while another man says it in

English in the foreground

"The war on terrorism targets an enemy who hides behind many flags, including my own.

These faceless cowards may speak my language; they do not speak for me. Saudi Arabia has

clearly denounced terrorism at every turn. In the last six months alone we have killed more al-

Qaeda militants than any other nation. In the process weapons, explosives, and cash have been

stripped from terrorist hands. We have toughened banking laws, shutdown suspect charities,

arrested or dismissed 2,000 preachers of incitement or intolerance. America's most senior

leaders continue to praise our cooperation. But we know Saudi Arabia will be judged not by

their words, but by our deeds. My country is committed to ending terrorism.

Justice, it sounds right in every language.

A message from the people of Saudi Arabia, allies against terrorism."

APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIBED RADIO SPOT PAID FOR BY SAUDI ARABIA AND AIRED IN

AMERICA: REFORM AND CHANGES

<u>Reform and Changes (November 2003)</u>

One woman is reading this speech in Arabic in the background, while another woman says it in

English in the foreground

"People fear what they don't understand, my customs for example; my language.

Perhaps that is why Americans have trouble believing Saudi Arabia is committed to reform. Just

this year we passed legislation to create more jobs and opportunities. Economic success makes it

harder for terrorism to take root. Our textbooks have been updated to remove references to

intolerance. We are modernizing our laws, holding open elections, opening our country and our

minds to keep pace with the changing world. Before you say it is only talk, please stop and

remember there was no space program when Kennedy declared man would walk on the Moon,

no racial equality when Martin Luther King voiced his dream. Saudi Arabia speaks of change

because we are committed.

Progress, it sounds right in every language.

A message from the people of Saudi Arabia: strong allies, committed friends."

Radio spots downloaded from http://saudiembassy.net/Media/Spots/Reform.mpg
Transcribed by Maura Nelson

APPENDIX H

TRANSCRIBED RADIO SPOT PAID FOR BY SAUDI ARABIA AND AIRED IN

AMERICA: WAR ON TERRORISM (AUGUST 2003)

War on Terrorism (August 2003)

Man speaks while dramatic music plays in the background: "On May 12 [2003] al-Qaeda terrorists struck deep into the heart of Saudi Arabia. Why? The terrorists understand that Saudi Arabia is one of America's largest trading partners and strongest supporters in the Middle East. Both countries are working closely to bring peace and prosperity to this region. In both countries terrorists have tried to tear apart our friendship, but the terrorists will not be allowed to win."

Woman speaks: "Saudi authorities have arrested over five hundred suspected terrorists and sent almost one hundred of them to the courts to stand trial. To ensure that no funds go to potential terrorists the Saudi government has put in place one of the toughest financial control mechanisms in the world."

Man speaks: "Working together both countries are winning the battle against terrorism. A lot is at stake: a better future for our families, a safer world in which to raise our children. This message is brought to you by the people of Saudi Arabia, allies against terrorism."

Radio spots downloaded from http://saudiembassy.net/Media/Spots/Terrorism.mp3
Transcribed by Maura Nelson

APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIBED RADIO SPOT PAID FOR BY SAUDI ARABIA AND AIRED IN

AMERICA: SHARED GOALS

Shared Goals (August 2003)

Man speaks while uplifting music plays in the background: "In just thirty years Saudi Arabia has changed from a desert nation into a modern country with a diversified economy."

Woman speaks: "Yet in a world of change Saudi's remain people of faith: law abiding and family-oriented. And like much of the world they are rapidly growing to become part of the global economy."

Woman speaks with the sound of schoolchildren in the background: "To prepare their children for the modern world the Saudis are improving their educational system and opening up their economy to create more jobs and a more prosperous future for their people."

Man speaks: "Our cultures may be different, but our goals are the same- striving for a better, safer world for all of us; a world open to new ideas and free from prejudice and intolerance. This message is brought to you by the people of Saudi Arabia, allies against terrorism."

Radio spots downloaded from http://saudiembassy.net/Media/Spots/SharedGoals.mp3
Transcribed by Maura Nelson

APPENDIX J

AMERICA, WE GRIEVE WITH YOU

<u>AMERICA, WE GRIEVE WITH YOU</u>

Saudi Arabia is shocked and devastated by the events of September 11th.
We share with you the devotedly held values that those unspeakable acts are reprehensible and must be condemned.

We grieve with those who lost loved ones, friends and colleagues as well as for all the injured.
We grieve with America whose homeland was attacked by these shameless terrorists.
We grieve together with you because our two countries will always work tirelessly in the battle against global terrorism and in the search for peace and justice.

As Crown Prince Abdullah pledged to President Bush on September 13th:
"We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are fully prepared to cooperate with you in every matter conducive to reveal the identity of the perpetrators of this criminal act and bring them to justice"

Let us vow together that such terrorism will never happen again to any nation.
America, we stand with you.

[Crest of Saudi Arabia]

Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia
Washington, DC

This full-page ad appeared in both the New York Times and the Washington Post on September 19, 2001.
Because the printed copy of this ad from microfilm was not high quality, I re-typed the ad using the same style and format as the original.

APPENDIX K

WE STAND WITH YOU, AMERICA

In light of the recent tragic events in the United States, Saudi Arabia has canceled all of our National Day celebrations scheduled around the world for September 23.

We have done this in sympathy for the victims, out of hope for the injured and out of respect for all the people of the United States of America.

As we grieve with you, Saudi Arabia would like every American to know that we condemn these terrorist attacks and seek to bring those responsible to justice.

In addition to the support expressed by Crown Prince Abdullah to President Bush last week, the senior religious and legal scholars of Saudi Arabia have also denounced the barbaric events of September 11th.

"The recent developments in the United States constitute a form of injustice that is not tolerated by Islam, which views them as gross crimes and sinful acts."
(Chairman of the Senior Ulema Shaikh Abdulaziz Al-Shaikh, 9/15/01)

"As a human community we must be vigilant and careful to oppose these pernicious and shameless evils, which are not justified by any sane logic, nor by the religion of Islam."
(Chairman of the Supreme Judicial Council Shaikh Salih Al-Luheidan, 9/14/01)

America, we stand with you in the battle against global terrorism and in the search for peace and justice.

[Crest of Saudi Arabia]

Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia
Washington, DC

This full-page ad appeared in both the New York Times and the Washington Post on September 21, 2001.
Because the printed copy of this ad from microfilm was not high quality, I re-typed the ad using the same style and format as the original.

APPENDIX L

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

NAMES OF PEOPLE, SECTS
AND TRIBES AFFECTED
BY TRANSLITERATION:

TERMS AFFECTED BY TRANSLITERATION:

Abū Bakr
Ash'arī
Banū Hanīfah
Banū Tamīm
Ḥanbalīya
Ḥanbalī
Hasan al-Bannā'
Muhammad al-Utaybī
Muhammad Hayat al-Sindī
Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Qahtanī
Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb
Muhammad Ibn Sa'ūd
Muhammad Ibn Sulayman al-
Kurdī
Mūsaylīma
Najdī
Shī'a
Shī'īs
Shī'ite
Sunnī
Taqī al-dīn Ahmad Ibn Taymīyah

Anwa'ā'
Awliyā
Bayt al-Ansār
Du'ā'
Ḥadīth
Hujjār
'Ibāda
Ijmā'
Ijtihād
Imām
Jāhilīya
Jihād
Kāfirs
Kāfirūn
Kalām
Khuṭba
Kitāb
Kitāb al-sunna
Kitāb al- salāt
Kitāb al-tawḥīd
Kūfr

Mawlid an-nabī
Muftī
Mujahidīn
Mushrikīn
Mutawwa'ā'
Riya'ā'
Ruqī
Qāḍī
Qiyās
Qur'ān
Salāt
Shahāda
Sharī'a
Sūra
Tafsīr
Takfīr
Tanjīm
Tawḥīd
'Ulamā'
Wahhābīya
Walī
Zakāt

As of the time of publication, typing in a proper Arabic transliteration font using Microsoft's Word X for OS X is not possible. After many long hours of trial and error I decided the best way to work around this problem would be to include a list of the terms and names that occur in my thesis that would have been affected by transliteration. While this is not an ideal solution, it is the best that could be done and is hopefully sufficient to help the reader with pronunciation.
- Maura Nelson