

SAUDI ARABIA: FRIEND OR FOE IN THE WAR ON TERROR?

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 8, 2005

Serial No. J-109-49

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

34-114 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2007

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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SAUDI ARABIA: FRIEND OR FOE IN THE WAR ON TERROR?

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2005

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m., in Room 226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Arlen Specter (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Specter, Kyl, Brownback, Leahy, and Schumer.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ARLEN SPECTER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Chairman SPECTER. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is 9:30. The Judiciary Committee will now proceed with its hearing on the issue of Saudi Arabia and the efforts by Saudi Arabia, or to what extent Saudi Arabia is making efforts to combat terrorism with respect to the dissemination of information and propaganda to Saudis, school children, and people within the area of their influence.

On July 25, Mr. Adel Al-Jubeir came to see me to discuss the Saudi Accountability Act, which I had introduced with some 12 cosponsors, calling on the Saudis to implement their efforts to fight terrorism and to take active stands to stop the dissemination of anti-American, anti-Semitic, anti-Christian literature, and as a result of that meeting and certain representations made by Mr. Al-Jubeir, the hearing was scheduled by this Committee for October 25 and was postponed because of the imminence of hearings on Ms. Harriet Miers for the Supreme Court of the United States. Those hearings had been scheduled to start yesterday, and with a little time, collaboration with scheduling by the Ranking Member, we have put this item on our agenda.

The seriousness of the issue of terrorism is one which need not be expounded upon at any time. Our relations with Saudi Arabia, the United States' relations with Saudi Arabia, are obviously of great importance to both countries for many, many reasons, but it is critical that we confront squarely the issues of the fight against terrorism and confront squarely the problems created by the dissemination of anti-U.S., anti-Christian, anti-Semitic, anti-Western propaganda which is disseminated with the consent and apparent promotion of the Saudi government.

My concerns go back to Khobar Towers and beyond. In the 104th Congress, I chaired the Intelligence Committee and made a trip to Saudi Arabia to witness what had happened at Khobar Towers,

talked to the Crown Prince, now the King of Saudi Arabia, and expressed concern about the refusal of the Saudis at that time to permit FBI agents investigating the terrorism which led to the death of 19 Americans and the wounding of hundreds, and the Saudis declined to permit the United States to conduct that investigation. There have been recurrent issues, and the one which we are looking at today, we believe is to be one of really very great importance.

With only 2 minutes left, I am going to yield at this point to my distinguished Ranking Member, Senator Leahy.

STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK LEAHY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT

Senator LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I may not be quite as brief, but I do believe these are extremely important hearings.

As a nation, we cannot defeat al Qaeda or Islamic extremists without the assistance of all our allies in the Middle East. We do recall, most of us do recall, that the Saudis were less than cooperative when the FBI sought to interview Saudi nationals as part of the Khobar Towers bombing which you referred to. The attacks of September 11, 2001, further strained our relationships with Saudi Arabia and they raised some very troubling questions about the Saudi government's commitment to fighting terrorism.

There has been some progress, but I believe there is still considerable room for improvement in the Saudi government's current terrorism efforts. The 9/11 Commission noted in its final report that the problems in the U.S.-Saudi relationship must be confronted openly, but we have done little to openly confront the problems in that relationship.

Critical information about the role of the government in Saudi Arabia before and after September 11 and its level of cooperation with U.S. law enforcement agencies before and after has been not revealed to the public. Democratic and Republican Senators have asked for it. The administration has denied the public its right to know these crucial facts. Even the former Ambassador from Saudi Arabia to the U.S. asked they be declassified.

I must say, Mr. Glaser, I think the administration refuses to confront the Saudi government's role in promoting Islamic extremism. Particularly troubling has been the Saudi government's lavish funding of religious schools and madrasses throughout the region. They promulgate extreme forms of Islam and advocate hatred and violence. They are threatening the existence of more moderate beliefs and practices in the Muslim world. They foster anti-Western, anti-Semitic sentiments.

More troubling is the strong link between madrasses and terrorist financing. It is widely known that the Saudi government has permitted and even encouraged fundraising by charitable Islamic groups and foundations that have been linked to known terrorist organizations. Even though they have announced restrictions to private charity organizations and relief groups sending funds overseas, the strict regulation of these restrictions remains to be seen.

The President condemns many of the repressive policies of Arab nations. I agree with him, but he seems to have a blind spot when it comes to Saudi Arabia. Last month, he said, quote, "The United

States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them because they are equally guilty of murder.” Strong rhetoric. But then President Bush and Secretary Rumsfeld praised Saudi Arabia, a monarchy that has done more to promote Islamic extremism and discourage the emergence of moderate Muslim leaders than any other nation.

The President defends Saudi Arabia’s record on civil liberties and religious freedoms, saying earlier this year that, quote, “The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognizes the principle of freedom upon which the United States was founded, including the freedoms enshrined under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.” That is so outrageously off the mark that at first when I saw that, I thought somebody had rewritten something, one of the things we might see on a satirical website. After all, the State Department has designated Saudi Arabia as a country of particular concern for its violations of religious freedoms. To suggest they follow the principles that founded this country, especially our First Amendment, is not only laughable, it is discouraging that anybody—anybody in government, not the least of which the President, would say that.

The 2004 Country Report on Human Rights Practices of the State Department wrote that in Saudi Arabia, citizens do not have the right to change their government. The government reportedly infringed on individuals’ privacy right. They may recognize the freedom enshrined in our First amendment, but they don’t allow their citizens to enjoy it.

I might say, it is important to understand the extremist ideology promoted in the kind of publications we are going to talk about and broadcast does not reflect the teachings of Islam or the beliefs of the vast majority of Muslims. It forces a distortion of the teachings of Islam.

It is also noteworthy to mention the broadcasts of extremist ideology is not limited to the Muslim faith or Saudi television. Several of America’s best-known Christian evangelists have made deplorable statements about Islam. These people are seen as speaking for the President and the Vice President. The Reverend Franklin Graham, who gave the invocation at George W. Bush’s inauguration, said to NBC News, “We are not attacking Islam, but Islam has attacked us. I believe Islam is a very evil and wicked religion.” Now, that is extremely offensive to those Muslims who practice their religion with the best tenets of it.

The Reverend Jerry Falwell called the Prophet Muhammed a terrorist. The Reverend Pat Robertson has likened those who practice Islam, including a very large number of very loyal Americans, as our enemy. Just as the majority of Christians or Jews reject these statements, a majority of Muslims reject the publications and broadcasts that will be discussed here.

So I commend the Chairman for his efforts to openly address the role of Saudi Arabia in our efforts to fight terrorism. I think this is an extremely important hearing, and I apologize for going almost a minute over.

[The prepared statement of Senator Leahy appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Leahy.

We had expected to have a witness from the State Department. When this hearing was scheduled originally for October 25, we had a State Department witness and we were notified late yesterday afternoon that the State Department would not be sending a witness. It is anticipated that the Secretary of State will be visiting Saudi Arabia soon and the indications are that the State Department thought from their point of view it was not advisable to have testimony presented at this Senate hearing.

I regret that that decision was made. I believe that it is very important to shed light on these important subjects. The Syrian Accountability Act has become law, many features similar to the Saudi Accountability Act, and the Syrian Accountability Act grew cosponsors slowly but is an important piece of legislation. It is the Saudi Accountability Act which has attracted the attention and concern of the Saudi government and I think that is a very healthy thing and I think it is important to be very candid with our friends, the Saudis. If we are to maintain a good relationship, it ought to be in a context where we both speak frankly about what the facts are.

The Committee does appreciate the Treasury Department sending Mr. Daniel Glaser here today. He is the Treasury Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes and is the primary Treasury official for the development and coordination of international anti-money laundering and counterterrorism financing policy. He has a Bachelor's degree from Michigan, a law degree from Columbia, a very distinguished record in public service.

Mr. Glaser, thank you for your appearance here today and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL L. GLASER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, OFFICE OF TERRORIST FINANCING AND FINANCIAL CRIMES, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. GLASER. Chairman Specter, Ranking Member Leahy, and other distinguished members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify today before you on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is an important topic that touches at the very heart of our efforts as a government to combat terrorism throughout the world.

We have learned over the last year—the last 4 years that the war on terror requires the collective efforts of every country working to combat terrorism both within its own borders and in every corner of the globe. In this collective fight, we depend on the wisdom, vigilance, and support of both our allies and those whom we traditionally hold at arm's length.

Saudi Arabia is, by all measures, one of the countries most central to our global counterterrorism efforts. I would characterize the quality of this relationship as one of active partnership. The successes of global anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing efforts relies in good measure on ensuring that this partnership is real, focused, and lasting.

Today, Saudi Arabia is actively countering the threat of terrorism. This is a key success, unfortunately catalyzed in the May 2003 terrorist attacks in Riyadh, which alerted the Kingdom that

terrorism is not a theoretical global problem, but very much a local one. Having now suffered multiple attacks on the Kingdom itself, Saudi Arabia has come to understand the clear and present danger that terrorism and its vast support structures pose to its citizens and the very fabric of everyday life. The United States experienced the same shock on September 11, 2001, and the difficult months and years that have followed.

The time has now come for Saudi Arabia to take an active leadership role in all aspects of the war on terrorism. Saudi Arabia is aggressively tackling the scourge of extremism and terrorism it faces within its Kingdom, but those efforts must now translate into action against a broader range of terrorist support activities wherever they are found.

In some respects, Saudi Arabia has gone further than many countries in its region to build serious systems aimed at combatting illicit finance. For example, recently, Saudi Arabia has taken measures, such as enhancing measures to target cash couriers, establishing its stringent financial regulatory regime regarding charities, developing a financial intelligence unit. Anecdotal information suggests that these measures have made it more difficult for sponsors of terrorism to fund their causes. We also must acknowledge the extraordinary effort of Saudi Arabia's internal security forces, which have been waging an ongoing battle on the ground with al Qaeda and have themselves sustained casualties. Any assessment of Saudi Arabia's efforts should be understood against that backdrop.

While we support and welcome these efforts, resolute leadership against all aspects of terrorist financing is absolutely crucial and Saudi Arabia needs to take its efforts in this area to the next level. For example, abuse of certain charities and NGO's has been an ongoing concern. Saudi Arabia has taken impressive steps with respect to the oversight of its charitable sector as a whole, but it is not clear to us, though, that these restrictions are having true effect on the global operations of certain Saudi-based international NGO's, such as the International Islamic Relief Organization, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, and the Muslim World League.

Saudi officials must concern themselves beyond the limits of restrictions within the Kingdom. They must recognize that organizations so closely associated with Saudi Arabia anywhere in the world are de facto Saudi responsibility. These organizations must become an integral part of Saudi focus and policy. I am not suggesting that Saudi Arabia go it alone. This type of comprehensive strategy will require the coordination of many regional and global counterparts. But Saudi Arabia itself must be actively engaged in ensuring that these organizations are responsive to Saudi oversight. The Saudis must care not only what happens in IIRO-Riyadh, but must also be concerned with what transpires in every other IIRO office around the world.

Moreover, formal NGO's are not the only mechanism for raising and transmitting funds to terrorists. Beyond charities, we are concerned about the pocketbooks of private donors who are not currently scrutinized by these stringent regulations. We have raised this issue on numerous occasions with our Saudi counterparts. Especially as charities and NGO's are held under closer scrutiny, it

will become increasingly important to focus on the ways in which private giving has and is being abused.

Finally, the fight against terrorist financing cannot be limited to al Qaeda funding alone. Just as Saudi Arabia is working to ensure that Saudi funds do not support al Qaeda, it must work equally diligently to thwart the funding of Palestinian terrorist groups that undermine peace and stability in the Middle East.

Leadership requires a comprehensive, proactive, and zero-tolerant approach to terrorism that includes widespread vigilance over global charities and wealthy private donors as well as total intolerance for support to all terrorist organizations. We hope that Saudi Arabia accepts this challenge of leadership and the greater responsibilities that come along with it. As Saudi Arabia does so, we will be able to say that we have entered into a new stage of our partnership in the war against terrorism. Thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Glaser.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Glaser appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. We have been joined by Senator Kyl. Senator Kyl, would you care to make an opening statement?

Senator KYL. Mr. Chairman, no, I think it is more important for us to hear from the witnesses. Thank you for holding this hearing. It is just critical and it does followup on some hearings we have had in the Terrorism Subcommittee which early on pointed out the fact that the great bulk of funding for terrorism was coming out of Saudi Arabia. In fact, David Aufhauser, then the General Counsel of Department of Treasury, testified in this room before our Subcommittee that Saudi Arabia was the epicenter of funding for terrorism, and I don't believe that that circumstance has been significantly altered. So it is important that you hold this hearing and I thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Senator Kyl. You have been a leader in this field for a long time. My recollection is that we served on the Intelligence Committee together back in the 104th Congress and have been engaged in these issues. You Chaired the Subcommittee for the Judiciary Committee and have done excellent leadership work.

Mr. Glaser, we are going to show a video which reflects the monitoring by the Middle East Media Research Institute on Saudi television channels and it will depict leading Saudi religious leaders, professors, government leaders, and intellectuals this year and last year where they call for the annihilation of Christians and Jews, rampant anti-American and anti-Semitism, support for jihad, incitement against U.S. troops in Iraq, and the coming Islamic conquest of the United States, very, very graphic evidence as to a very intense problem.

On May 23 of this year, just a few months ago, the Under Secretary of the Department of the Treasury, Stuart Levey, made this statement, quote, "In addition to the export of terrorist funds, we are extremely concerned about the export of terror ideologies. These teachings are as indispensable to terrorists as money and possibly even more dangerous. We must do all we can to ensure that extremists' violent ideologies are not disseminated under the cover of religious organizations, charities, or schools."

The September 2005 GAO report says that Treasury, quote, “does not identify, monitor, or counter the support and funding of the global propagation of Islamic extremism as it relates to ideology.”

My question is, in light of the explicit Treasury Department policy as articulated by the Under Secretary, how do you account for the fact that the GAO reports that the Treasury Department has done nothing to formalize a program to counter this propaganda?

Mr. GLASER. Thank you, Senator. I think that the reference in the GAO report that you are referring to is a legalistic point that it is making, saying that the specific authorities that we have at the Treasury Department to target terrorism, in particular, are Executive Orders, Executive Order 13224, which gives us the authority to impose targeted financial sanctions on supporters of terrorism, focuses on the activities of individuals. It doesn't focus on the ideology of an individual. And I think that is the point that the GAO is trying to make in that.

Of course, we can use this authority, though, to undermine the underlying support networks that do promote the propagation of extremist ideology and we have done so. The GAO report mentions our targeting of Al-Haramain Foundation. We have targeted with our authorities Al-Faqih last year. We designated him. The websites that he and his organization were running were propagating extremist ideology.

So I think it is important to understand that that quote in the GAO report is speaking to the legal foundation upon which we operate, not to the overall policies that we have at the Treasury Department. Certainly at the Treasury Department, we are very concerned about the propagation of extremist ideology and use the authorities that we have to undermine that as best we can.

Chairman SPECTER. Mr. Glaser, in September of last year, the Bush administration designated the Saudi Al-Haramain charity as a group suspected of supporting terrorism through its main location in Ashland, Oregon, and a mosque in Springfield, Missouri. Assets of both have been frozen since February of 2004. How can it be explained why the Saudis have not shut down all worldwide branches of Al-Haramain as they said they would, according to the State Department? In May of this year, a Treasury official told GAO that it was unclear whether the Saudi government had made any efforts to shut down other branches.

What has the Department of the Treasury done to insist on compliance by the Saudis with their commitments? What can the Treasury Department do, or what will the Treasury Department do? I asked you three questions because my time just expired.

Mr. GLASER. OK. I will try to answer all of them, Senator.

With respect to Al-Haramain Foundation, obviously, it has been a long concern of the Treasury Department and of the entire U.S. Government, and frankly, of the Saudi government, as well. I believe in 2002, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia jointly designated two branches of Al-Haramain Foundation, in Bosnia and in Somalia. Subsequent to that, we jointly designated an additional four or five, and then after that, designated more after that, all in conjunction with Saudi Arabia. In addition to that, the Treasury Department designated the leader of Al-Haramain Foundation.

I think at this point, it is safe to say that Al-Haramain Foundation as we have known it is not functioning in the world. The network—the Al-Haramain Foundation that we were concerned about in 2002, 2003, 2004 is no longer in existence.

Now, with that said, there is always concerns with respect to any designation, be it Al-Haramain Foundation or any designation that we do, that the individuals who run these networks find other means of moving their money throughout the world. That is why this has to be a constant, vigilant attack. We need to make sure that the individuals who were involved in Al-Haramain Foundation are not finding alternate means of moving their money. They certainly haven't changed their views of the United States or of Israel or of Western civilization as a whole.

And I think this gets to the point I was trying to make in my testimony, both in my written and oral testimony, is that this is precisely the sort of issue that Saudi Arabia does need to be concerned about and is to make sure that organizations which have been so closely associated with Saudi Arabia in the past are—that it is absolutely clear where Saudi Arabia stands with respect to those organizations, that it is absolutely clear that those organizations can find no comfort with the government of Saudi Arabia.

I think in the case of Al-Haramain, Saudi Arabia has made that clear, but we need to constantly be vigilant. We need to constantly be monitoring. We need to be constantly looking around the world to make sure that any entity we designate doesn't reconstitute itself through other mechanisms, and that is something that the U.S. Government is quite aware of and is always trying to followup on.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Glaser.
Senator Leahy?

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Glaser, if the Saudi government or its proxies, which sometimes can be just as important, were to provide direct funding to terrorist activities, we could, of course, prosecute those actions. Funding in these schools, as you suggest, is a lot more complicated. In some cases, they may simply provide education to people who wouldn't have had it otherwise. Others, we know they are doing a lot more than that.

What steps, if any, are available to the Department of Treasury to address the Saudi's lavish fundings of madrasses when those schools directly advocate extremist interpretations of Islam, including hatred and violence? Or do we have any steps?

Mr. GLASER. Thank you, Senator. I think that is an important question. The Treasury Department, I think, has a range of authorities that we could deploy against extremist ideology, against terrorist ideology worldwide. The first and most obvious tool is the one that Senator Specter and I were discussing, and that is designations, especially under Executive Order 13224, and we have and do aggressively use our authority in that area to try to undermine the networks that support global jihad, that support global extremism, and we do that whenever we feel appropriate.

You have designated—you mentioned madrasses and charities. We have designated 41 charities under Executive Order 13224. I fully agree with you. Simply because a charity is engaged in beneficial social programs doesn't give it the right to also engage in ter-

rorism, and if it is 99 percent social programs and 1 percent terrorism, that is 1 percent too much and we have to take very aggressive action.

Senator LEAHY. The 1 percent would—you would move under these various laws if there was even that 1 percent?

Mr. GLASER. Absolutely. If we think a charity is involved in terrorism, we will take whatever steps we can to shut the charity down.

Senator LEAHY. Now, Account 98 has been described as a Saudi government account that funds Palestinian terrorist groups. The Saudis say that Account 98 no longer exists. Is Treasury convinced it no longer exists? How would you verify such a statement?

Mr. GLASER. Account 98 has been an issue that we have raised with the Saudis many times over the years. I have personally raised it with the Saudis many times over the years. The Treasury Department has raised it with the Saudis many times over the years, as recently as just last month. Every time we raise Account 98 with the Saudis, we are assured that Account 98 no longer exists.

Senator LEAHY. Does it exist?

Mr. GLASER. We have been assured that Account 98 doesn't exist. Now, I understand—

Senator LEAHY. Are you convinced that it doesn't, then?

Mr. GLASER. Well—

Senator LEAHY. I mean, if you keep raising it, obviously, these assurances from the Saudis are not convincing the Treasury Department. How do you feel? Is it there or isn't it?

Mr. GLASER. As the Senator pointed out, there was a recent broadcast that was broadcast through Saudi Arabia which made reference to Account 98. It is very troubling. As I said, we have raised that with the Saudis—

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Glaser, you are troubled, I am troubled, a lot of people watching this are troubled. Are the Saudis telling the truth? Does Account 98 exist, in your opinion?

Mr. GLASER. Well, my opinion is that we need to look into this and verify that Account 98 does not exist and we are doing so.

Senator LEAHY. OK. So you are not prepared to say—is it fair to say, in your opinion, it does exist and it hasn't been proven not to exist?

Mr. GLASER. It has not been proven not to exist. It is something that—

Senator LEAHY. Let us move away from the double negatives. Does it exist?

Mr. GLASER. Senator Leahy, I am not trying to evade your question. I am sorry if I appear to be. We are concerned with respect to the existence of Account 98. We are looking into the existence of Account 98. We have asked the Saudis to look into it, as well. We have been assured that it doesn't, but we need to look into it.

Senator LEAHY. Is it fair to say you have not been satisfied by the statements of the Saudis that Account 98 does not exist?

Mr. GLASER. We think the Saudis and the United States need to look into this to ensure that it does not exist.

Senator LEAHY. In your testimony, you discuss the problem of international NGO's based in Saudi Arabia. The Saudis say these

charities are de facto prohibited from sending funds abroad. Do you have confidence in that de facto prohibition, or is there a role for Treasury to play? Like the Chairman, I made sure I ended that just as the clock ran out.

Mr. GLASER. Let me just quickly back up for 1 second and explain how the Saudi regulations work with respect to charities and where the loopholes are in that regulatory structure. The Saudis do have a very, very aggressive, comprehensive regulatory structure with respect to the financial activities of charities, and I go into that in some detail in my testimony and it is quite strict.

Senator LEAHY. That is why I asked the question.

Mr. GLASER. There is an exception within that regulatory structure for certain charities that the Saudis regard as international or multilateral organizations. Those are the charities that I named, IIRO, WAMY, and Muslim World League. The Saudis have assured us that, nevertheless, those charities are being treated as if they were under the regulations, and I can say that, again, this is something else that the U.S. and the Saudi government need to look into more, to ensure that these organizations are not, in fact, continuing to fund activities worldwide.

In addition, and this is, I think, is a crucial point and a point that I tried to make in my oral statement, is it is not just about these organizations' operations in Riyadh or their operations in Saudi Arabia. Equally of concern is their operations worldwide, which Saudi Arabia has asserted it has very little control over. That is, I think, one of the key issues that we need to continue to engage with the Saudis on, to emphasize to them that, in our view, these institutions, these entities are so closely associated with the Saudi government that they need to accept ownership of them and they need to do everything they can to exert influence in every way that they can, and that is the type of leadership internationally that I think Saudi Arabia is capable of doing and that I certainly hope and expect it will do in the future.

Senator LEAHY. That is what I was driving at. Thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Senator Leahy.

Senator Kyl?

Senator KYL. Thank you. What was their response when you pointed out that the television advertising as late as late August, August 29 of this year, specifically referred to Account 98?

Mr. GLASER. They were as puzzled as we were. They asserted again that Account 98 does not exist.

Senator KYL. One of the purposes of this hearing, I think, is to send a message of how disappointed we are in the Saudis. They are not going to change what is a very difficult situation to change, I am sure, until they appreciate fully that most of the policymakers in the U.S. Government are very, very disappointed in their lack of complete cooperation here. Your testimony verifies that we remain disappointed and we remain committed to working with them to close a lot of these so-called loopholes, but obviously, something stronger is going to be needed.

I think perhaps since this is above your pay grade, and I wouldn't hold you accountable to telling us what those policies should be, we can at least suggest that if changes are not more forthcoming than they have been, that they can fully expect policies

to come from the U.S. Congress and then the administration will have to determine how to deal with those policies. If the President signs legislation, it will be up to people like you to implement it. But we can't continue with this sort of cat-and-mouse game that has characterized the relationship.

It is also, I think, important to note that even if there were an absolute commitment by the Saudi government and a sincere desire on the part of the Saudi government to cooperate fully, it would still be a very difficult proposition because of the ingrained traditions in Saudi Arabia and the contributions of a lot of very wealthy individuals through a variety of means that find their way to support terrorism around the world and to support the propagation of the virulent Wahhabi version of Islam.

So I don't discount the difficulty of dealing with this, but when you don't see the commitment of the government itself that is 100 percent and you know that even with that, it would be very, very difficult, it is disappointing and I think we have to be pretty clear about our intention to act in a stronger way.

Given the fact that, as I said, this is above your pay grade, although I would, frankly, like to see a little stronger—I would expect it out of the State Department more than Treasury. Treasury, I think, could be a little tougher in this regard, but you are not the person to pick on here. We should deal directly with the people who can express the views on behalf of the United States of America directly to the Saudis.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kyl.

Thank you, Mr. Glaser. As you hear from the panel, it is an issue of great concern and we really think more has to be done. We appreciate the interest which the Treasury Department has undertaken. We appreciate your efforts, but would encourage you and your colleagues in Treasury to do much, much more.

We are now going to have a brief video presentation on monitoring which was done by the Middle East Media Research Institute's TV Monitor Program on Saudi government controlled-television channels, TV1, TV2, as well as the Saudi satellite channel Iqraa. They are continually monitored and we have a short excerpt.

[A videotape was shown.]

Chairman SPECTER. Mr. Glaser, would you care to comment about the advocacy in favor of the jihad and the comments on retaliation against the Christians and the Jews?

Mr. GLASER. Senator, I think that I probably have the same reaction that you have and that everybody in this room has. It is horrifying to see that sort of thing broadcast. It is what I and my colleagues throughout the U.S. Government spend our entire days and our careers trying to fight against. It is very troubling to see that type of hateful speech broadcast anywhere, and it is certainly troubling to see it broadcast in a place like Saudi Arabia. It is something that we need to all work very closely together to put an end to. It is absolutely unacceptable.

Chairman SPECTER. What is the response of the Saudi government when confronted with this unassailable evidence? They can't deny these words. They can't deny the means of disseminating this

virulent, hateful propaganda, and they can't deny that they have the power to stop it. So what do they say?

Mr. GLASER. And this is the great challenge for the Saudi government. I truly believe this is the great challenge for them. I think they have come to understand that this type of speech, that this type of ideology is poisonous. It is poisonous in Saudi Arabia. It is poisonous in that region, and it is poisonous throughout the world. They are taking steps, as I pointed out in my testimony, to try to turn some of this around.

Now, as has been pointed out already, this is a very difficult challenge for them and it is something that goes to the very heart of their role in the Arab world and in the Islamic world and in the international community. We are calling upon Saudi Arabia to take the steps that it needs to take to put this to an end.

When we at the Treasury Department see opportunities to undermine the financial networks that support this type of activity, we take advantage of that, and we do that and we have done so in the past and we will continue to do so.

Chairman SPECTER. One of the items that I discussed specifically with Mr. Al-Jubeir when he came to see me was the issue of what is in the schoolbooks. There have been representations by the Saudis, and this is a recurrent problem throughout the entire Middle East, that they are taking care, at least for the next generation, to eliminate that kind of insidious propaganda. We are going to be having a witness later in the hearing today who will be testifying that that kind of propaganda is continuing. Have you heard any explanation or effort by the Saudi government to explain away that kind of insidious propaganda directed to children?

Mr. GLASER. I think—I apologize. I am not trying to duck any questions, Senator, but I do think that is a question better put to the State Department. At the Treasury Department, we are trying to work to undermine the financial networks that support these types of activities. As I said before, we have raised these activities with the Saudis in the context of some of the broadcasts which have referenced Account 98 and we, of course, are continuing to push the Saudis to take as aggressive of action as possible.

Chairman SPECTER. When the State Department—excuse me for interrupting you, but the time is close to expiring, less than a minute now. When the State Department has confronted the Saudis, and I am sorry the State Department representative is not here to answer this question directly, but you are the best we have, Mr. Glaser, so I am going to ask you. When the State Department has confronted the Saudis, what have the Saudis said?

Mr. GLASER. I haven't been present for the discussions at our embassy and that State Department officials have had with the Saudis. I do think the Saudis are beginning to understand the threat that this type of ideology poses not just to the Kingdom, but to the world at large, and I think they are beginning to take steps to counter it. They are not—

Chairman SPECTER. They are beginning to take steps?

Mr. GLASER. Yes, I think they are beginning to take steps.

Chairman SPECTER. When you say "beginning," why just now beginning?

Mr. GLASER. Well—

Chairman SPECTER. When did they begin? And two questions—time is almost up—when did they begin and what steps are they taking?

Mr. GLASER. I think that the attacks in Riyadh in May 2003 were a wake-up call for Saudi Arabia that terrorism and an extremist ideology that supports terrorism is a local problem for Saudi Arabia, that it is not just a theoretical, global problem, but that it is a local problem for Saudi Arabia, and I think that we saw a significant change in the cooperation that we received from the Saudi government from May 2003 on.

Now, I think the important thing for—what I would like to see more of is not simply focusing on Islamic extremism as it implicates the Kingdom itself, but the exportation of Islamic extremism. That is some of the very same points that you made yourself, Senator.

With respect to some of these NGO's, some of these non-governmental organizations that I mentioned in my testimony, that you yourself have mentioned, it is important that Saudi Arabia take ownership of the problem of the ideology that is put forth by those organizations and take every action it can to make sure that those organizations, which were purportedly set up for charitable purposes, are not being abused and put to hateful and to terrorist ends.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Glaser.

I am advised that these clips are available for viewing in the United States via satellite TV.

Senator Leahy, further questions?

Senator LEAHY. No. I just share your concern that the State Department would not send somebody up here. Mr. Glaser has done a great job. It is unfortunate he has to be the one to answer these, because ultimately, the State Department has to take strong steps. One of the things I would have asked Secretary Rice or her representative, is she willing to speak out strongly when she goes to Saudi Arabia?

It is not speaking out strongly to have the top official of our country say that the Saudis have the same or similar commitment to democracy that we saw in our Constitution. I would point out that we have the First Amendment, which guarantees the right to practice any religion you want or none if you want and guarantees your freedom of speech. There are no guarantees in Saudi Arabia or anything like that.

I must admit to a concern, I have never had adequate answers about why we flew a planeload of Saudis out of this country right after 9/11, even though most of the hijackers were Saudis. When the FBI testified here, they said, well, we had FBI agents go in and talk to them before they took off. I asked if any FBI agents spoke Arabic. Of course, none did. We are far too cozy with the country that has provided the terrorists who have hit us here.

When Under Secretary Levey, according to your testimony, said that wealthy Saudi individuals were still funding violent extremists around the world, is there anything specifically we can do to stop that funding, I mean, other than say we hope that they will stay true to their commitments to democracy, which is carefully hidden?

Mr. GLASER. Thank you, Senator Leahy. To address one of the previous points you make, and then I will certainly give you a direct answer to your question, I do think that we have spoken out forcefully with respect to Saudi Arabia. I think it is important that we be balanced in what we say, but I was in Saudi Arabia earlier this year with Homeland Security Advisor Fran Townsend and I can tell you that she was quite unambiguous in the U.S. commitment to support democracy in the region and support democracy within Saudi Arabia. So I think that we have spoken out quite clearly and directly to the Saudis on that issue.

With respect to what we can do with respect to donors, private donors within Saudi Arabia, as we locate these donors, there are a number of tools that we have at our disposal. We do have designations at the Treasury, designations under Executive Order 13224, and we have used those. We have used those against wealthy Saudi donors in Saudi Arabia, Batterji, Jalaluddin. These are examples of wealthy Saudi donors that we have designated.

Now, there are other options that we have. We have a joint task force on the ground with the IRS Criminal Investigative Division and the FBI working very closely with Saudi police to pursue law enforcement in those types of actions with respect to these donors as we come up with them. But what is vital is that we have the information that we need to pursue these. This is not something, obviously, that we could do at the Treasury Department. As we get the information, we act upon it.

But we do—at the end of the day, if an individual is in a particular country, we need to work very closely with that country in order to have success with respect to responding to that individual, and that is why the relationship with Saudi Arabia is so important, because there are wealthy donors in Saudi Arabia, as Under Secretary Levey said, and we need as much cooperation as we can get to make sure that we crack down on them.

Senator LEAHY. I couldn't agree with you more. I couldn't agree with you more. Thank you, Mr. Glaser. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Senator Leahy.

Senator Kyl will be rejoining us, but does not have any further questions, so we thank you for coming in, Mr. Glaser. Thank you very much.

Mr. GLASER. Thank you, Senator.

Chairman SPECTER. I now call our second panel, Mr. Anthony Cordesman, Mr. Steve Emerson, Ms. Nina Shea, and Mr. Gulam Bakali.

We had requested or invited the Saudi government to send a representative to these hearings in our policy of being balanced and asking people on all sides to testify. The Saudi government declined, but did recommend Mr. Anthony Cordesman as a prospective witness and he will lead our second panel.

Professor Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy, Co-Director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is a military analyst for ABC, served in senior positions in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, State, Energy, and the Defense Advanced Research Projects. He has written extensively on security developments in North Africa and Arab-Israeli States.

Thank you for agreeing to come in, Mr. Cordesman. Our practice is to have 5-minute statements and then 5-minute rounds of questioning by members of the panel. The floor, Professor Cordesman, is yours.

**STATEMENT OF ANTHONY H. CORDESMAN, ARLEIGH A. BURKE
CHAIR IN STRATEGY, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTER-
NATIONAL STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. CORDESMAN. Thank you very much, Senator. This is an extraordinarily complex set of issues and I do have a formal statement for the record, which I request—that it will be made a part of the record in full.

Chairman SPECTER. Your formal statement will be made a part of the record in full, as will all other statements which have been submitted to the Committee.

Mr. CORDESMAN. Let me just make a few quick points of introduction. The first point is, if you pick the worst, you get the worst, and there are organizations which make almost a full-time effort to find the worst possible rhetoric in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, other Arab states, and Islamic countries, just, as unfortunately, as there are other organizations which are equally indiscriminate in finding the worst rhetoric from nations like Israel.

Much of what has been said is very real, and Saudi Arabia is going to take time, at best, to make the changes that it should make.

What bothers me about the approach that you are taking is, frankly, that I do not believe singling out Saudi Arabia or “Wahhabi” practices focuses on the real problem. I think extremist neo-Salafi movements are not derived from Saudi practices. They have their origin in ideologies coming from Egypt, which indeed is where bin Laden and Zarqawi derived their ideology.

There are some very good analyses of what the broader issues are in Islamic extremism by the Crisis Group, which I think would be described as one of the most balanced looks by any organization at the problems and tensions in this region, and I would commend that to the Committee. There is one called “Understanding Islamism,” which is a report they issued in March of this year.

I think the great problem we face here is also understanding just how serious anger is against us in the Islamic and Arab world and the reasons for which that anger occurs. It is, unfortunately, our alliance with Israel. It is our presence in Iraq. These are not policies that I in any way oppose, but they do have a very powerful cost, and if you look at polls of popular reactions in Jordan, Morocco, Turkey, other Islamic countries, or countries with strong Islamic movements, you find broad-based support for extremism, violence, and sometimes bin Laden. These countries do not have strong Wahhabi presence, practices and beliefs. “Wahhabism” in itself is not the problem.

The second point I would make is that I do see real progress in Saudi Arabia. I don’t think you are going to get instant progress. I have never seen instant progress in any aspect of that country and I have been pushing for reforms in the kingdom for several decades, long before 9/11. But they have cooperated with us in Iraq, in spite of the fact they did not support the Iraq war. They

have had an increasing cooperation in counterterrorism, and in my visits there, I find the U.S. embassy and people in the U.S. security community praising the enhanced cooperation. Is it complete? No. But in areas like education, in areas like religion, I think you do see movements toward reform.

I do have to say that, frankly, I think some of the discussion here this morning on the financing of terrorism is ridiculous. I would love to see somebody stop talking in generic terms and tell me what the financing streams are by terrorist organization, because I don't believe that Saudi Arabia is the cause. I think most of these organizations have ample sources of other funding. And if it had not been for 9/11, I think we would be focusing on the fact that Qatar, Egypt, and many other countries have a powerful flow of private money. And given the fact that there is nearly, at this point, a trillion dollars worth of private capital in private facilities in Europe, your chances of controlling this are about as good as your chances of winning the war on drugs.

Quoting or having excerpts from a satellite program that isn't based in Saudi Arabia doesn't really tell you very much about Saudi television coverage or culture. Picking out the worst of what is said in Saudi Arabia doesn't tell you much about the overall thinking in Saudi Arabia, or the attitudes of the Saudi government. I think we need to be very careful this morning and in the future to focus on Saudi Arabia's very real problems and the pace of reform that can occur and not to ignore the nature of what is happening in the Middle East as a whole.

I do believe that we have many tools, and I will be happy to discuss them with the Committee, if you are interested. We could do a much better job as a government, not only in dealing with Saudi Arabia, but with dealing with all of the countries in this region. The fact that 9/11 had 15 Saudis is not the issue here. They could as easily have come from Egypt or Morocco or many of the other countries where these movements occur. They are not Wahhabi and that is not their source of origin. They are extreme neo-Salafists movements and not derived from Saudi religious practices.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Professor Cordesman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cordesman appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. Our next witness is Mr. Steven Emerson, Executive Director of the Investigative Project on Terrorism, one of the world's largest data and intelligence centers on Islamic and Mid-East terrorist groups. He is an internationally recognized expert who frequently testifies before Congressional Committees on the operational networks of al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and the other terrorist organizations.

We appreciate your being here, Mr. Emerson, and look forward to your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF STEVEN EMERSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT ON TERRORISM, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. EMERSON. Thank you, Senator Specter, and thank you, Senator Leahy, for having this hearing, which I believe resulted in the State Department yesterday releasing its report on violations of religious freedoms—

Senator LEAHY. You don't think that was a coincidence?

[Laughter.]

Mr. EMERSON. The State Department acts in strange and mysterious ways.

Chairman SPECTER. Let me interrupt you for just a minute on that, Mr. Emerson, and we will start your clock back at 5 minutes, but I think it is informative and significant. Why do you think this hearing motivated the release of the report?

Mr. EMERSON. I think the fact that the hearing was supposed to be held 2 weeks ago and that it was delayed and that it was held now without the participation of the State Department meant that they were seen as almost obstructing the hearing or impeding it—

Chairman SPECTER. Almost obstructing?

Mr. EMERSON. All right, obstructing. I will take out the qualification. I think—

Chairman SPECTER [continuing]. Instant modification.

Mr. EMERSON [continuing]. And I think the opportunity for them to basically try to deflect some of the culpability for obstructing the hearing was manifested in the presentation of that report, which I think is a good report. It should have been presented last month pursuant to the Act that was passed by Congress.

Chairman SPECTER. Your 5 minutes begins now.

Mr. EMERSON. All right. Thank you.

Twenty years ago, I wrote a book called *The American House of Saud: The Secret Petrodollar Connection*. It was written in 1985 and it talked about the political strings attached to Saudi Arabian investments and donations and funding to academic centers in the United States and how it essentially acquired legitimacy by purchasing it through registered agents and donations. I find myself now 20 years later returning over and over to the same problem.

In the years prior to 9/11, the U.S. Government and most everybody else paid little attention to the flow of money and propaganda coming from Saudi Arabia, promoting the Wahhabist agenda, and there is no doubt, as my co-panelist, Dr. Cordesman, has stated, that Saudi Arabia is not the only exporter or shouldn't be targeted as the exclusive exporter of militant Islam, because the Muslim Brotherhood has done that for years. But Saudi Arabia's petrodollars have been absolute vehicles and their legitimacy as the custodian of Islam, as they have represented themselves, have given them the ability to project their views of Islam, which I do not believe represent mainstream Islam, but it unfortunately has had a domino chain reaction in influencing the views of organizations and madrassats and other institutions around the world. Because of its vast petrodollar riches, it has been able to pursue its puritanical interpretation, described in shorthand as Wahhabism, in indoctrinating young Muslims, controlling the direction of major Islamic religious institutions, and extending the Wahhabist doctrine around the four corners of the globe.

The question now we face in 2005 is whether, in fact, Saudi Arabia has changed or the representations that they need post-9/11, that they are actually redirecting the activities of the NGO's, that they are exercising controls over the organizations, that they are trying to stop the export of extremism. How true is this? Have they actually changed the textbooks? Have they actually reigned in

those NGO's? Those are the metrics that we need to be specifically focusing on.

I can't pretend that I have all the answers, but I can tell you that pursuing an investigation as I have for the last 10 years, and over the course of the last year in particular, looking at Saudi Arabia websites, publications, broadcasts, textbooks, and the institutional recipients here in the United States, I can say that there are certain conclusions that I would come to.

One, Saudi organizations and leaders operating with the permission or acquiescence of the Saudi regime continue to promote a virulent anti-Western propaganda and raise serious questions of whether the regime itself is trying to comprehensively crack down on the sources and support for Islamic terrorism. While there have been efforts to sanitize Saudi websites and publications, the fact of the matter is, there are still significant websites, including those officially attached to the Saudi government, that call for jihad and that disseminate anti-Christian or anti-Jewish theology.

There have been some constraints imposed by the Saudi government on NGOs, but, in fact, the primary perpetrators and disseminators of radical Islamic theology, the Muslim World League, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, have not been reigned in under the official governance and package announced by the Saudi government.

Saudi funding of Hamas continues. There was a courier arrested in Israel in September and apparently he was a courier transferring funds between Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian territories.

Saudi government officials, in response to questions about whether, in fact, they are involved in stopping the flow of extremism, have vehemently claimed that they are, but they have made outrageous anti-Semitic allegations and claiming somehow that the al Qaeda attacks in Saudi Arabia that have occurred since 2003 are part of a Zionist conspiracy.

Saudi religious figures continue to call for jihad against the United States. Saudi officials in the United States and American recipients of Saudi funds here continue to detract attention from the extremists by alleging there is a campaign against Saudi extremism that is racist. In fact, it is the Saudi campaign that is racist.

Senior Islamic terrorists, Yasin Al-Kadi and others designated by the United States as al Qaeda supporters, have never been sanctioned.

So in the end, the question is what are the metrics? How are we going to verify their representations to us? I believe the record shows that the campaign of quiet diplomacy, of trying to nudge them along and push them without publicly criticizing them, has not paid the dividends that we need to see, and therefore, I believe your act that you have supported is something that would be vitally important in putting them on record and demanding a set of metrics and standards that they have to adhere to. Thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Emerson.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Emerson appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. Our next witness is Ms. Nina Shea, Director of the Center for Religious Freedom. She serves on the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and represented the

United States as a public delegate to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in 1993 and again in 2001. Her organization recently published the report, "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques" in January of this year.

We appreciate your coming in, Ms. Shea, and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. SHEA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee.

Two years ago, a Muslim American friend and colleague of mine handed me this little pamphlet and told me to read it. It was in Arabic, and so we had it translated, and it says—it gives detailed instructions on how to build a wall of resentment between the Muslim and the infidel. Never greet the Christian or Jew first. Never congratulate the infidel on his holiday. Never befriend an infidel unless it is to convert him. Never imitate the infidel. Never work for the infidel. Do not wear a graduation gown, because this imitates the infidel, and so on. The cover of this book giving this particular instruction states, "Greetings from the Cultural Attache, Washington, D.C.," this from the Embassy of Saudi Arabia here in Washington.

So Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom decided to go forward and take on a study addressing the question, is Saudi Arabia, our purported ally in the war on terror, responsible for having planted extremist propaganda within our borders? In order to document the Saudi influence, the material for this report was gathered from a selection of more than a dozen prominent sites in large American cities, and these materials cover—have publication dates spanning four decades, including dates after 9/11.

The study did not attempt any general survey of American mosques or American Muslims. In fact, we believe American Muslims overwhelmingly reject these directives.

The various Saudi publications gathered for the study state that it is a religious obligation for Muslims to hate Christians and Jews and warn against imitating or helping them in any way. They instill contempt for America because the U.S. is ruled by legislated civil law rather than by totalitarian Wahhabi-style Islamic law. Some of the publications direct Muslims not to take American citizenship as long as the country is ruled by infidels.

The textbooks and documents our researchers, who themselves were Muslim, collected preach a Nazi-like hatred for Jews and treat the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as historical fact, and Mr. Chairman, as you know, this was a document—this protocols was a document used by Hitler to indoctrinate Nazi use, now being exported by Saudi Arabia, by the government of Saudi Arabia to the United States. These documents show a particular vicious hatred toward other Muslims, especially those who advocate tolerance. These Muslims are condemned as infidels.

The opening fatwa in one embassy-distributed booklet responds to a question by a Muslim preacher in Europe who taught that it is not right to condemn Christians and Jews and infidels, and the Saudi state cleric's reply rebukes the Muslim cleric. "He who casts

doubt upon their infidelity leaves no doubt about his,” and that is basically a death threat, because in Saudi Arabia it is a crime, a capital offense to be an apostate.

Sufian Shiite Muslims are also viciously condemned in these documents. Others in our collection declare that Muslims who engage in interfaith dialog are also unbelievers. Regarding those who fail to uphold Wahhabi sexual mores through homosexual activity or heterosexual activity outside of marriage, the edicts found here advise, quote, “it would be lawful for Muslims to spill his blood and take his money.” Regarding those who convert out of Islam, it is explicitly asserted in some of these documents, they should be killed.

They show an ideology that embraces a dualistic world view in which there exists two antagonistic realms that can never be reconciled, and that when Muslims are in the land of the infidel, they must behave as if on a mission behind enemy lines. So this is an ideology whose message is that Muslims should live in ghettoized enclaves with enmity and hostility against others.

An insidious aspect of this propaganda is its attempt to replace traditional and moderate interpretations of Islam with Wahhabi extremism. These replies in the fatwa collections distributed by the embassy and by other agencies of the government, whether it is the Education Ministry or Cultural Ministry, are given an authoritative pronouncements that the introduction should be official guides for preachers, mosque imams, and students living far from the Kingdom. So this is a hate-filled ideology, not just speech, and it is educational and authoritative.

Mr. Chairman, my time is out. I just want to say, we have not attempted to measure, again, the impact of this here. We know that King Fahd states the cost for spreading the stuff has been astronomical on the King Fahd website, which is still up even though he is gone.

We haven’t measured the effect. I know that most Muslims here are law-abiding citizens. Mr. Aliami, who is here today, saw firsthand in Saudi Arabia—he is a Saudi dissident living here now—he doesn’t want to see this stuff here. His son served honorably in Iraq with the American military as an officer, so this is not a comment on American Muslims. It is a comment on Saudi Arabian government responsibility.

Thank you very much.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Ms. Shea.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Shea appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. Our next witness is Mr. Gulam Bakali, who serves on the Board of Trustees of the Islamic Association of North Texas. He was formerly its Chairman. Mr. Bakali’s mosque was one of the mosques surveyed in the Freedom House report. He is Project Manager for Lockwood Green, a major global engineering construction firm.

Thank you very much for coming to Washington today, Mr. Bakali, and we are very much interested in your testimony. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF GULAM BAKALI, SECRETARY, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION OF NORTH TEXAS, RICHARDSON, TEXAS

Mr. BAKALI. Good morning and thank you, Senator Specter and the rest of the members of the Committee. I appreciate the opportunity to come and talk about this report.

Our basic focus is to talk about who we are, as referenced in the report, organizations referenced in the literature that was picked up, and it is incumbent upon me this morning, on behalf of my community, to help explain what we are rather than being extrapolated otherwise.

At the very beginning, our mosque has neither been filled nor invaded by the literature alluded to in the report. The majority of the congregation do not understand Arabic as a language to even read, absorb, and propagate the line of thinking alleged to be advanced by such documents. Furthermore, the total number of books and literature, we have thousands. IANT, being the largest organization in the area, provides the library as a service to not only Muslims, but all faith-based groups for research and special projects.

Our records indicate that the books referenced in the Freedom House report as collected from the Richardson mosque were not found in the library, were not ordered or purchased by IANT, were not distributed to the congregation, were not read from to the IANT congregation, were not promoted for purchase to the congregation, and were definitely not used to develop or author any position paper to promote a point of view. In fact, the majority of members do not access the library unless there is a dire need for academic research or something similar. The library operations amount to a small portion of what we currently do.

We certainly feel that we have been wronged by this report that initially was published this year. We certainly have no knowledge of such documents being present, nor have we ever endorsed these materials.

We invite you and the Committee to visit our facility and see our community firsthand. We have submitted for the record all our activities, and I urge you to indulge in those. You may join us at any of our Friday prayers, any classes, and any interfaith events. In the past several years, hundreds of government officials and candidates have observed our Friday prayers. Our U.S. Senators, along with several U.S. Congress Representatives, have been to our community gatherings. city of Richardson officials, FBI officials both past and present know many of our leaders personally and have been to many interfaith and community gatherings.

We would love to host any of you who seek to understand us further and ask questions. Only by asking and listening to each other can we initiate and establish a better understanding about who we are as Americans.

I have been with this organization 25 years continuously and can say with conviction some of the defining attributes as to who we are. A place of worship for Muslims, yes. A place for advanced Islamic studies, those who want to do more soul-searching. A private school teaching Islamic and public school curriculum 6 days a week throughout the year, very rigorous, more so than any private school. A free medical clinic for the underprivileged. A place where

other faith-based organizations can collaborate. Home for the youth to learn leadership skills, Scouts, and Habitat for Humanity. All this data has been submitted to you. A place where women can do their own programs. A welcoming center for new arrivals on the American shores. We have a refugee center. An adult retraining center for those who have been affected by the economy, computer classes and what not. A banquet hall, gymnasium for parties, events, basketball games. A humanity and civics group indulging in soup kitchen, Adopt-a-Highway, Katrina relief, and so on. And most recently, the last 5 years or so, we have been a very prominent member for the State Department's International Visitor Leadership Program and have hosted visitors from at least 12 to 15 countries.

This certainly does not paint a picture of an indoctrinated community, secluded to themselves and full of hate for America. We are very proud of our 30-year heritage in the North Texas region as a place of worship, and more importantly, a center for sharing information about Islam in America, in particular. We plan to continue our open-door policy wherein every segment, group, race, or faith-based organization of our society is welcome to join us, understand who we are, and share the concerns and beliefs to help and reach our society.

Our partners and patrons are many and they can further attest about our organization and what we stand for. Not to single a few out, but Thanksgiving Square, city of Richardson, Habitat for Humanity, Carter Blood Center, Arapaho United Methodist Church, North Texas Food Bank, and the list goes on.

Thank you very much for this opportunity, Senator.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Bakali, for your testimony. We acknowledge at the outset that the Muslim community in the United States has contributed a great deal to our country and to our culture and we welcome the Muslim community as a nation welcomes the very diverse representations which we have in our country.

When we express concern about what some extremists do, it does not reflect in any way upon the Muslims in America. We regard you as first-class American citizens, and I think it is important to keep that in perspective and the experience you have had on the Board of Trustees and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Islamic Association of North Texas is very important to bring before the Committee, so we thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bakali appears as a submission for the record.]

Chairman SPECTER. Ms. Shea, you have quoted from some of the documents from the Saudi embassy. Is there anything specific in those documents which relates to the information given to children in textbooks?

Ms. SHEA. Well, we have collected from various sites textbooks, as well. For example, this one has the Saudi seal on it and it is published by—these are published by the Education Ministry or the Girls' Teaching. Some of these textbooks are—

Chairman SPECTER. What do the textbooks contain relevant to the issue of how Christians are characterized, how Americans are characterized, how Jews are characterized?

Ms. SHEA. Absolutely. A third-year high school textbook, for example, talks about don't help or imitate the infidel Christians or Jews in any way. An 11th grade textbook in our collection is very anti-Semitic, saying Jews lured women to go to work, that kind of thing.

Chairman SPECTER. Well, never mind that kind of thing. Let us hear it. Can you read it?

While you are taking a look at it, Mr. Emerson, you refer to textbooks in the course of your testimony. Do you have anything specific to put into the record as to what the textbooks contain with respect to how Americans are characterized or Christians are characterized or Jews are characterized?

Mr. EMERSON. A few years ago, we collected a series of textbooks that were published by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and disseminated by the embassy here in Washington. Now, I can't represent that they are still being circulated today, those particular textbooks, but I did speak to several people in the Middle East in the last 2 weeks as we were preparing for this testimony in terms of having them try to acquire current textbooks. We spoke to several people actually in Saudi Arabia who are involved right now in securing some of the current textbooks.

But I can tell you that textbooks that continue to be in circulation in the U.S. as well as in Europe, published by the Kingdom, have called specifically—

Chairman SPECTER. Can you give us a date when they were published by the Kingdom?

Mr. EMERSON. Yes, we can give you—

Chairman SPECTER. What is the date?

Mr. EMERSON. The dates that we have of some of those publications go back to the 1990's and early 2000 period.

Chairman SPECTER. And do you have any evidence that they are currently in use?

Mr. EMERSON. We have evidence that some of them are still in use in the United States and some of them are still being used in Europe. I can't represent that at this date, November, that those books are still being used in Saudi Arabia, and to a certain extent, they can't necessarily be blamed if books that they have now stopped publishing, and if they disavowed, which would be great, are being used by others.

Chairman SPECTER. Have they been disavowed?

Mr. EMERSON. Not as far as I know. They claim that they have sanitized some of the textbooks. They have claimed that, and this has been a big issue—

Chairman SPECTER. Have you asked them for evidence on that?

Mr. EMERSON. I have not asked them directly for evidence. We have tried to acquire the textbooks directly from Saudi educational institutions and we are in the process of acquiring them now.

Chairman SPECTER. Professor Cordesman, you testified that there have been improvements, as you characterized it, reform in education and religion. Could you be more specific? As a sub-part of the question, do you know, firsthand knowledge, whether there has been a change in the Saudi textbooks testified to by Ms. Shea and Mr. Emerson?

Mr. CORDESMAN. There has been a change in the textbooks. The problem is that nobody knows how quickly they are being disseminated. You are talking about a relatively large country—

Chairman SPECTER. But you have seen specific changes in the textbooks?

Mr. CORDESMAN. Yes. I have seen copies of the changes. I don't sit around and collect the textbooks, Senator, and I have to have them translated, as others do. Changing the textbooks is part of a 3-year program, and it is not going to be quick or instant. It is a political struggle for the Saudi government against not only a conservative Saudi public, but unfortunately, a significant number of Jordanian, Egyptian, and very conservative teachers. It is not, however, something that is going to be quick or easy.

The textbooks are being changed, and I would ask the Committee to ask the Saudis to provide the demonstrations, because for anybody on the outside, you are asking us to count the impossible.

On the side of the clergy, I have seen more obvious signs because there are protests when I visit Saudi Arabia and some of the imams have been disciplined. Now, part of the problem is, Since there are no madrassas in the Kingdom, every imam in Saudi Arabia is a government employee. You have a long legacy of people who, at the extremes, were allowed to preach and say almost anything as long as it didn't have internal political impact. It is not going to be easy to change that clergy, but the fact that they are complaining about the government's interference is at least a reassuring sign.

Chairman SPECTER. My time expired in the middle of your answer, but I will make just one comment with respect to what you have requested the Committee to do. We have asked the Saudi government for the texts and have not received them. The textbooks are said to be in the process of being translated. This follows a recurrent pattern of seeking information and being delayed and not getting it, but it is something the Committee is pursuing.

Senator Kyl?

Senator KYL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me just begin, Tony, with you. You say we can't demand instant change, and nobody is suggesting that things have to change instantly, but we are looking for demonstrated efforts in the right direction. There are simply a lot of folks who, while acknowledging efforts that have been made, don't see them as enough.

Second, you know that others are radical, too, and they promote it, noting people from Egypt and so on, and that is true. But the big bucks have come from Saudi Arabia.

Let me ask you this question. I alluded to it before. The former General Counsel of the Department of Treasury testified before my Subcommittee that Saudi Arabia was the epicenter for terrorist financing around the world, and that was just a couple of years ago. You note that Saudi Arabia began to try to control funding in the 1990's and that governmental efforts to control terrorist financing have sharp limits and have probably reached the point of diminishing returns.

Do you disagree with the Treasury Department's earlier statement, or are you saying that the situation has been corrected since then?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I disagree with it. I have seen this approach used in many other cases by government officials and by the intelligence community. If you want to know where the financing is, you look at the individual movements and you try to figure out whether you have real evidence. You do not go with generalizations.

If I say that there are Mennonite terrorists in Pennsylvania and they get \$13 billion a year from Germany and I repeat it often enough, somebody may actually believe it. When I want to know where in bin Laden's organization the money actually is going, I don't ask about generic money. I want to know where that financing is coming from. The same is true for Zarqawi inside Iraq.

It would be true in other cases that the financing probably was Saudi. Certainly, it was in the Pakistani madrasses that this Committee has focused on. But one needs to be careful about the content of those madrasses because it was President Zia of Pakistan who was encouraging those madrasses as a counterbalance to the secular movements inside Pakistan and that was perfectly all right for us as long as it was part of getting the Soviets out of Afghanistan.

Senator KYL. Tony, could I—we are getting kind of far afield, and I don't agree with that policy any more than I gather you do. I am primarily interested just in your view about this terrorist financing. The people from the Treasury Department have gotten very specific about specific bank accounts and specific countries and specific charities and so on and—

Mr. CORDESMAN. Senator, there is a vast amount of Saudi money out there that shouldn't have gone where it has gone. The recipients of this money and their ties to terrorists, however, are what matter. The idea that somehow Saudi Arabia is the source of the money on which these groups depend, is not true. As I think you know, there is a member of the Qatari royal family who contributes significant amounts of money to these groups. I could go down case after case.

Senator KYL. There are others, but would you disagree with the statement that of all of the places where funding for terrorist-related activity has come from, that the largest single country from which it comes is Saudi Arabia? Would you disagree with that statement?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I think if you talk about moving money out of the country to extremist organizations, it would be Saudi Arabia. If you talked about what dominates terrorist financing, which is what you began with, it would not be Saudi Arabia.

Senator KYL. Steve Emerson, let me ask you, since your original testimony was cut short a little bit, to comment on this exchange right now, please.

Mr. EMERSON. Well, I think I would make several points. One is I don't think we can make this clear distinction between, quote, "terrorist financing"—you can make a clear distinction legally between terrorist financing versus financing of extremism, but I think it should be very clear that the massive billions of dollars the Saudi Arabian government has pumped into radical Islam and the Wahhabist views of Islam, in terms of their publications or websites, NGO's that are quasi-official representatives of the government have promoted a view of the world in which it is legiti-

mate to attack infidels or Jews or Christians and you can carry out 9/11-style attacks. So the extremist funding coming from Saudi Arabia has created the environment and the virus in which terrorism occurs.

Now, the issue is trying to get a handle on this. I believe that the Saudi abilities have—the Saudi willingness to curtail the financing of Islamic extremist movements, they have not been willing to publicly declare and followup—emphasis on the followup—in terms of restricting the flow of money.

WAMY, MWL, those are two NGO's that are fundamentally anti-Semitic and anti-Christian. Let me just read you one quote here. It was from a New York Times story in 2004. I read you the quote. Quote, "Saying that the Jews and the Christians are infidels is part of our religious dogma," said Saleh S. al-Wohaibi, the American-educated Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. "Any changes in the way it is taught should be decided by the Saudis," he said, adding, "it doesn't mean we try to incite hatred against others, but my religion has its own principles that should not be violated or changed."

In other words, his dogma is hatred of Jews and Christians, and unfortunately, you can see that represented today even on official Saudi government websites. Look, they could take down these sites. Al-islam.com, which is part of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Islamic Affairs Endowments and Guidance, continues to call for killing Jews. MWL's website in Canada calls Jews a racist religion. I could list over and over in specifics.

I know Dr. Cordesman said, we want specifics. I don't deal in generalities. I deal in specifics. And the specifics are that the regime itself is wrapped up and continues to promote an ideological virus that, unfortunately, ends up legitimizing terrorist attacks, because in the end, terrorism can only flow from the decision by someone who says it is acceptable to kill somebody else who is not my religion.

Senator KYL. And I would note, Mr. Chairman, that we have focused not just on the funding of cells of terrorists conducting violent operations, but also on the whole question of the winning of the hearts and minds, the incitement to terror which precedes the action itself. So I think both of the points are legitimate.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you very much, Senator Kyl.

Senator SCHUMER?

Senator SCHUMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the hearing and the efforts of all of our witnesses here.

You know, I would say this to Mr. Cordesman. You can point out other bad examples, but what has gone on in Saudi Arabia is as plain as the nose on your face, on any of our faces, and that is that there has been a link to Wahhabism all along. I don't know if it is called the official Saudi religion, but it is, and Wahhabism believes in many, many extreme things such as Mr. Emerson outlined.

Here is what I think happened. Well, I want to ask you, I mean, do you disagree with any of the specifics that he cited? Are any of them wrong? Is it true that an official Saudi website—how would we react in America, or anywhere else, if it said that it is OK to kill Jews? Why don't they take that down? And don't you think

that their precarious political balance with the royal family needs Wahhabism to protect itself and make itself OK to the people is sort of a deal, almost a deal with—I don't want to use the word, but a deal with someone very bad?

Mr. CORDESMAN. No, Senator, I don't agree with you.

Senator SCHUMER. Well, explain to me—

Mr. CORDESMAN. Are there any examples in Wahhabi teaching which I completely disagree with? Yes. Do I watch, as Senator Leahy pointed out, similar examples of extremism and poor rhetoric on the parts of Christians and does that lead me to generalize about Christian teaching in the U.S.?

Senator SCHUMER. No one is generalizing, sir, about Muslim teaching or Islam.

Mr. CORDESMAN. I am talking about—

Senator SCHUMER. I am asking you about Wahhabism.

Mr. CORDESMAN. And that is specifically what I am answering. I have been going in and out of that country for more than 30 years.

Senator SCHUMER. And you think Wahhabism, the main thrust of Wahhabism is not what these two folks have been talking about, that hatred, that inferiority of non-Muslims and non-Wahhabi Muslims isn't part of the warp and woof of Wahhabism?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I think it is part of the margin. I think it is part of the extreme views in Saudi Arabia.

Senator SCHUMER. When anyone writes to the Saudi government and says, take this off your website, I would like to know—I mean, your main testimony, as I watched it, has been they are not doing as many bad things as they used to. I would like to know affirmative things they do to stop all of this. I believe in affirmative action here in America, OK, even though—I believe it because we have had a long, tawdry history about race and we ought to make up for it until there is equality.

Well, the Saudis have had a long, tawdry history—Wahhabism has a long, tawdry history in terms of this hatred. I mean, as you know, it was OK. Terrorism against Jews in Israel was perfectly OK, women, children. There are countless statements where Saudi leaders have said that is OK, and only after 9/11, when it started being directed at other people, did they officially sort of change their view. I think it was a short step from one to the other.

Shouldn't they be, if they have changed, shouldn't there be some affirmative signs? Shouldn't they take a website like this down? Saying we are doing less of bad things isn't good enough. Can you point to some affirmative things that they are doing to undo the decades of hatred leading to terrorism that has been spewed from large parts, in my judgment, of Saudi society and of Wahhabism?

Mr. CORDESMAN. First, Senator, to just correct the record, Saudi Arabia officials from King Fahd's time on were very clear about not supporting violence against Israel and supporting a peace plan—

Senator SCHUMER. Weren't there leaders in the Saudi government that did support it, interior ministers and others—

Mr. CORDESMAN. I think—

Senator SCHUMER [continuing]. Appointed by King Fahd?

Mr. CORDESMAN. There was certainly Prince Naif who criticized Israel. He did not support, to my knowledge, any attacks on Jews

or men and women or terrorism. And indeed, in the case which Mr. Emerson quoted, he went on from attacking Zionist causes to promptly attack the Muslim Brotherhood. So it is probably useful to keep things in context.

But to go to your specific question—

Senator SCHUMER. But Wahhabism attacks many branches of Muslim, too.

Mr. CORDESMAN. It is an extraordinarily puritanical belief, and having encountered a few puritanical Jews and Christians, I don't like the level of inherent discrimination on any of them.

But you asked about specific measures, and in my written testimony, I point out there has been a really significant advertising campaign. It has been mixed with efforts to have television shows and to deal with the overall educational reforms. This is a matter of public record. You can just look at the part of the campaign that took place very openly in Saudi Arabia. It started in February of this year. So that is something that the Committee can easily confirm.

The efforts to actually reeducate or discipline imams, which are not going to be something which you see advertised in every Saudi newspaper, have been real. The efforts which began after 9/11 by the Ministry of Education, and particularly with Prince Salman's leadership, but which have now taken on a considerable momentum, have begun to change the textbooks.

Do I like the rate at which this progress has occurred? No, I don't. Do I believe that this progress is occurring in many of the countries which have similar kinds of anger and hatred at the level I would like to see? No, I don't. But is there progress? Yes, and I have given you three tangible cases.

Senator SCHUMER. Without specifics. I mean, I guess they are in your testimony. I did not read it. Do you have specifics—

Mr. CORDESMAN. I have given you—

Senator SCHUMER [continuing]. Because you asked for specifics. You wanted specifics in reference to Senator Kyl's question. Give me the most specific positive thing. What do these advertising campaigns say? Do they say it was a mistake that many people advocated killing of Jews?

Mr. CORDESMAN. The problem you have, Senator, is you began with the thesis that many people are going around advocating the killing of Jews. I have been in Saudi Arabia on many occasions. I haven't heard that. And I have been there with colleagues of mine that are Jewish.

Senator SCHUMER. In Israel? In Israel? You haven't heard that in Saudi Arabia?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I have heard people attack me in Saudi Arabia for being Jewish and for being a supporter of Israel. I have heard them use rhetoric which was about as personally vicious as you can get. Did they represent any significant number of the Saudis that I deal with and have dealt with over the years? No.

Senator SCHUMER. Could I ask Mr. Emerson to respond—

Chairman SPECTER. You are only two-and-a-half minutes over time, so the answer is yes.

[Laughter.]

Senator SCHUMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You are always fair.

Mr. EMERSON. Thank you. I think the bottom line here is that, one, the institutional leadership of the regime, the family, the NGO's that were set up, the Saudi industrials who operate at the sufferance of the regime itself—this is not a totally capital, free market country—have all been involved in promoting a severe puritanical version of Islam, but which has called Jews and Christians infidels for years. The question is—I am amazed that this would be compared to the current situation with Judaism and Christianity because the bottom line is we in the West have largely excised much of our religious fundamentalism. Yes, there are fundamentalists in every religion and there are terrorists in every religion, but the radical Islamic theology as promoted by Saudi Arabia is the centerpiece and has been.

Now, the question is, have they changed, and the mark for that is the metrics. The other mark is whether they will own up, as you appropriately asked, whether they will own up to the fact that they did promote this, and I can give you several examples that, unfortunately, show an effort to basically lie, fabricate stuff.

This year, in April, NBC obtained a tape of a prominent Saudi sheikh, the Chief Justice of Saudi Arabia's Supreme Judicial Council, exhorting young Muslims to go to Iraq to participate in the jihad against American forces. NBC asked Saudi officials here in the United States for their reaction. Do you know what their response was? The tape was fabricated, that this was digitally created, enhanced. They warned them that this was a total made-up tape. So NBC contacted the sheikh directly in Saudi Arabia, who admitted on the phone that he actually made the tape himself.

So the reality is, you can see this over and over again where the Saudi officials deny any support for extremism, any anti-Semitism, anti-Christian dogma. This year, there have been dozens of Christians arrested, dozens of them arrested for practicing Christianity. If you asked the Saudi government, are you persecuting Christians, they say, no, there is total freedom. These are lies.

And the fact is, unless we are willing to call them on the carpet, then we can pretend that there is no disagreement. We will all get along. I call it the "kumbaya" culture. Everyone will have a nice day and we will go along with our business, but then business will continue as usual. That is the problem.

Senator SCHUMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Senator Schumer.

Senator Brownback?

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate my colleague, Senator Schumer. I worked with him on this issue of Saudi Arabia for some period of time and he has been a very effective advocate and good advocate.

I have got a pointed question. I wondered how the Saudis recently reacted officially when the Iranian President called for the State of Israel to be wiped off the face of the Earth, or of the map. What was the official Saudi response? Did they condemn this statement by the President of Iran?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I don't believe they condemned it directly. I believe what they did was to call for a peace settlement between the

Arabs and Israel. I don't think you are going to see direct confrontation in the Gulf region, Senator, if people can avoid it. It was a problem in terms of their contact with the Iranians.

Senator BROWNBAC. Didn't the Egyptians, though? Didn't the Egyptians condemn that statement?

Mr. CORDESMAN. They are safely, shall we say, distant.

Senator BROWNBAC. I doubt the Egyptians would agree with that assessment. It seems like this is a tangible one that you could have—this is a pretty easy call, pretty direct call. You could have said, well, this is an inappropriate statement for any leader, to call for another country to be wiped off the map. No official statement out of the Saudis?

Mr. CORDESMAN. Frankly, Senator, I don't know what their official statements have been on this. I do know that they reacted, and it was not in a positive way. But I think you have to understand just how tense things in the Gulf are right now. This is a matter of countries having to deal with an extraordinarily unstable neighbor, undergoing major political change, where at this point in time, they don't even know what nature of regime they are dealing with.

Senator BROWNBAC. Ms. Shea?

Ms. SHEA. Senator, in our publications and textbooks, we have seen that kind of sentiment expressed over and over again. In, for example, a fourth grade Saudi state textbook, and again, this is not a cleric or a sect somewhere, this is the government, its own publications, they talk about Israel as being a thorn in the back of the Muslim nations and a window through which colonialism can sneak up among the ranks of the Muslims to work on dividing them and light the fire of hatred between them. The Muslims will not rest until they cutoff this disease and purify the land of Palestine from the plague of Zionism and its rightful owners reclaim it, and so on and so on.

Senator BROWNBAC. That is a fourth grade text?

Ms. SHEA. That is a fourth grade textbook that we found in New Jersey from Saudi Arabia, and we have a number of other examples, as well, so it is the same kind of sentiment. These are still in circulation. The government claims—

Senator BROWNBAC. Ms. Shea, do you know if those statements have been repudiated by the Saudi government at any point in time in recent history?

Ms. SHEA. I don't know that.

Senator BROWNBAC. So, actually, it would be a consistent statement of what the President of Iran stated for what has been in the textbooks sponsored by the Saudi government?

Ms. SHEA. That is correct. They say that they are going to, or that they already have changed the textbooks. I met with the textbook reeducation reformers in Saudi Arabia—they came here last year, last December—and they said that, actually, reform wasn't even necessary. It was all a misunderstanding.

After our report came out, our study, the government—the crown prince at that time appointed a new Minister of Education. The only problem is, he appointed Mr. Obeid, who had been the Secretary General of the Muslim World League, which the Treasury Department says is an agency of grave concern for its links to extremism.

The Gulf Institute, which is an NGO based here in Washington, started by Saudi dissidents, have the new curriculum that is being used inside Saudi Arabia for 2005–06, K through 12, and they say it is really just as bad. They are going to be coming out with a new report soon, as soon as they get it all translated.

Senator BROWNBACK. I will stay within my time. It seems to me, basically, your best appraisal of a group or entity or even an individual is fruit, what it produces, what comes out of that. It seems like we have seen a lot of bad fruit here, and then when you get this particular type of statement that was made by the President of Iran, that I think most of the world gasped when he said something like this, and then you look at a regime that doesn't repudiate it, and not only that, apparently its textbooks actually teach it to its children, this is not a good fruit situation.

I appreciate, Mr. Cordesman, what you are representing. I have worked with the Saudis over the years. I have chaired that Subcommittee in the Foreign Relations Committee. I have traveled the region. I have also traveled and seen their product in the region, in that region and particularly in Central Asia, was an area I noted the most. It was an area of change and foment. I traveled it in the mid- and late-1990's. There were two countries that were funding the most disruptive type of behavior in the Stands region and they were Iran and Saudi Arabia. Virtually everywhere you would go, there would be some funded group by the Saudis or the Iranians that were pushing very troubling, difficult messages in a region that was fomenting.

It just seems like what we have taken place lately is some movement away from that, or maybe some movement toward more subtlety, but I haven't detected yet that the central message has changed at all. It may be more subtle, but it hasn't changed the message.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Thank you, Senator Brownback.

I am going to ask unanimous consent to make a part of the record an article written by Mr. Daniel Pipes and published in the New York Sun on March 29 of this year which contains a number of statements which bear on what we are looking at, and we are going to verify the accuracy of them.

It is represented that the Council on American-Islamic Relations published—the Freedom House published information on the Council on American-Islamic Relations which contained repeated references to anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi philosophy and that the head of the Canadian Islamic Congress, Mohamed Elmasry, publicly endorsed the murder of all Israelis over the age of 18, and that in New York City, an investigation by the New York Daily News in 2003 found that books used in the city's Muslim schools were, quote, "rife with inaccuracies and sweeping condemnations of Jews and Christians, and triumphant declarations of Islam's supremacy," and that in Los Angeles, the Omar Ibn Khattab Foundation donated 300 Korans entitled The Meaning of the Holy Koran to the city school districts in 2001 that had to be pulled from the libraries because of anti-Semitic condemnations.

We have had the representations by Mr. Al-Jubeir that the textbooks have been modified and it is a question which we are going

to continue to pursue, Professor Cordesman, to see what the current status is.

The legislation on the Saudi Accountability Act calls for Saudi Arabia to vastly improve cooperation with the United States in the investigation of terrorist networks and closing all organizations which fund, train, and incite terror; block all funding from private Saudi citizens and entities to Saudi-based offshore terrorist organizations; and to deal with the issue of the propaganda in the school books. So we are going to be pursuing that subject.

Mr. Emerson, I am advised that you have some information as to what King Abdullah had to say about those who were behind the 2003 attacks on Riyadh in Saudi Arabia?

Mr. EMERSON. Yes, Senator. I will refer to it in a second here. I just wanted parenthetically to make a comment to let you know that sitting behind me is a very prominent and courageous Muslim religious leader, Sheikh Ahmed Subhy Mansour, who has prepared testimony that I would like to ask to be submitted for the record, and who has been a graduate of Al Azhar University. He is now living in the United States, having been granted political asylum here. But he is very familiar with and an expert on Wahhabist ideological views as well as the consistency of the Saudi government in continuing to promote it in publications and online. I urge him to be used as a resource by this Committee.

Chairman SPECTER. We would be pleased to receive that testimony and it will be made a part of our record.

Mr. EMERSON. In response, in 2004, after there was an attack in the city of Yanbu, Crown Prince Abdullah asserted that, quote, "Zionist elements," quote, "it has become clear now that Zionism is behind the terrorism actions in the Kingdom. I can say that I am 95 percent sure of that." And then followed up by that was Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal, who said that the al Qaeda attacks were financed by Israel.

That was followed up on a CNN interview when Adel Al-Jubeir was interviewed by CNN anchor Wolf Blitzer, who asked him about the allegations that there was a secret Zionist plot behind supporting al Qaeda attacks against the regime. I have included the entire transcript of the exchange between the CNN anchor as well as Mr. Al-Jubeir because it is exceptionally instructive, because Al-Jubeir consistently tries to equate Israel with al Qaeda. He is given an opportunity finally at the very end to recant and disavow those comments and never once takes the opportunity to do so.

Chairman SPECTER. Professor Cordesman, would you care to comment on that?

Mr. CORDESMAN. All I can say, Senator, is that in working with people in Saudi Arabia, in the Ministry of Defense, in the Ministry of Interior, in the Foreign Ministry, I never once had anybody suggest for a moment that there was any Zionist support for al Qaeda. I never heard that talking to Prince Turki in conversations that go back 7 years. I never heard it in talking to the Assistant Minister of Defense in Saudi Arabia or to the son of the Minister of the Interior.

They have focused on what I think they recognize as not only an internal problem, but as one which surrounds them in the region. Whatever has been said here is not something that has been raised

with me nor is it typical of any of the people that I have been dealing with who are involved in counterterrorism operations in the Kingdom.

Chairman SPECTER. Professor Cordesman, I can easily understand why it wouldn't be raised with you. On the conversations that I have had with the Saudi officials, when I talked to King Abdullah about Khobar Towers, no bellicose or inflammatory statements were made. In talking to the Saudi Ambassador to the United States recently, he called me and wanted to be available to answer any questions, and we do have a substantial number of questions for him, no statements like that are made.

But when you have the repetition of comments by ranking Saudi officials, including King Abdullah, about the Zionists being behind al Qaeda, it is antagonistic, inciting propaganda at the highest levels. It can't be denied.

Mr. CORDESMAN. Senator, may I make a brief response?

Chairman SPECTER. Sure.

Mr. CORDESMAN. I think what bothers me a little about this is that this is the same King Abdullah which, as Crown Prince, took with considerable courage the initiative creating a new peace initiative, and not simply cosmetically, but pushed it through the Arab League. It is the same Saudi Arabia which has put together what will be a conference in December of this year in Mecca of the OIC, a summit meeting which will be trying to deal with these issues of extremism and terrorism.

I can't say that there are not within Saudi Arabia many things that I don't like. That is something that I have lived with in all my visits to the Kingdom. But I do see, perhaps, a lack of balance that, is not necessarily going to help us in persuading the Saudis to change.

Chairman SPECTER. Well, Professor Cordesman, shouldn't we, while trying to maintain a positive relationship with Saudi Arabia, identify to them in a very direct way the things you characterize you do not like? Shouldn't we confront the King with the statement which I think is on the record and not denied about his being 95 percent sure that Zionists were behind the al Qaeda attacks? Should we ignore those matters, or should we deal with them in a very direct way?

Mr. CORDESMAN. I don't think we should ignore them at all, Senator. I have great reservations about legislation. I have no reservations about the Congress putting constant pressure on the administration and the Saudis to respond. My fear with legislation is that often what happens is that it is seen as counterproductive inside the Kingdom, where the threat of legislation is not.

I think you have tools that you also could use. One of them is to expand the role of the Human Rights Report and require that it deals with reporting in these areas. It is to expand the State Department Report on Terrorism. The advantage of these kinds of forums is they cover all countries, and I do not believe that Saudi Arabia should be exempted from any of this kind of review.

Second, I think that there is a very real reason to have much stronger embassy teams and to have the Congress put much more pressure to get people into embassies like Saudi Arabia who actu-

ally work in the field to deal with the countries involved, and I could give you a list of others measures, as I have in the testimony.

So in no sense am I saying that you should not put pressure here. I think it is vital here and it is vital in all of the countries where terrorism and extremism are a problem.

Chairman SPECTER. I am pleased to hear you say that it is an appropriate area for Congress to apply pressure and that you think the introduction of the legislation is appropriate pressure. You just stop a little short of enacting the legislation.

When the Syrian Accountability Act was started, it was a pressure point, but as evidence mounted as to what Syria was doing and the evidence has continued to mount, that legislation was finally enacted, and the administration took the position you do. Don't legislate. Don't tie the hands of the administration. But finally, at the very end, the Bush administration agreed with the Syrian Accountability Act.

These are not easy matters. There is great concern that if Bashir Asad falls, that there will be a replacement causing more problems for the United States. I think we have to continue to work with the Syrian government, notwithstanding all of the problems that they have presented, especially on being transit ports for insurgents going into Iraq. But while we continue to work with them, let us not be bashful about confronting them. I don't think we are too far apart on that point.

We are going to have very substantial additional questions for the Saudi government. I will take up the Saudi Foreign Minister on his invitation to respond to questions. We will have more questions for him than we had for the entire panel.

Ms. Shea, did you have something more you wanted to say? You were looking for some responses to my question earlier. If you want to add something, we would be pleased to hear it now.

Ms. SHEA. OK. We have one of the books. The anti-Semitic passage in one of the books we found here issued by the Saudi government, Ministry of Education, Riyadh: "The Jews lured women to go to work in the factories. When the number of working women increased, they lured them into wearing makeup and revealing clothes to corrupt their morals and to corrupt young men with them."

So that is the tenor of this stuff. It is not against the policies of Israel. It is not on a political level. It is just truly anti-Semitic and awful.

Mr. Chairman, also, I would like to point out that the GAO issued a very important study at the request of some of the members of the Senate, and they released it in September. In it, they found as of July 2005, agency officials, meaning across interagency officials, whether it is State or Treasury, did not know if the government of Saudi Arabia had taken steps to ensure that Saudi-funded curricula or religious activities in other countries do not propagate extremism. I think that is a very important point, and I share Mr. Cordesman's view that this should be reported on in the religion reports and the human rights reports and the U.S. Government should press Saudi Arabia for an accounting. I think that you should include it in your Act, as well. Thank you.

Chairman SPECTER. Mr. Bakali, would you care to add anything at this point?

Mr. BAKALI. No, Senator. We just wanted to differentiate the fact that the indoctrination by Saudi would be one thing. We are not here to comment on it. But the fact that the assumption and extrapolation offered or implying that that could be invaded or filled, that is the point we were trying to make, that the indoctrination by Saudi of these few books or whatever is not necessarily a true picture of the American Muslim, to which you have alluded already.

Chairman SPECTER. We want to be emphatic that there is no condemnation or criticism of the Muslim community in the United States. We welcome your participation in our country, as we welcome men and women of all faiths or those who choose to abstain.

Thank you all very much for coming. This is, I think, a constructive hearing and one which will be ongoing and one which we will pursue.

That concludes our hearing.

[Whereupon, at 11:37 a.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

[Questions and answers and submissions for the record follow.]

[Additional material is being retained in the Committee files.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Questions from Chairman Arlen Specter

November 8th 2005 Hearing – “Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?”

To Daniel Glaser – Treasury Department

Saudi Arabia has launched a PR campaign in the United States – including on television and in print ads – portraying itself as an ally in the war on terrorism. I do not know what the campaign in the U.S. has cost the Saudis but I imagine it is in the millions. Yet, one of the most concrete actions it can take is to cease broadcasting Hezbollah’s television station -- al-Manar -- over Arabsat. Arabsat is the satellite company whose largest shareholder is the Saudi government and who has a high degree of control over what goes over it.

Al-Manar has broadcast bank account numbers so that viewers can contribute to funds that go to support and encourage suicide bombers. Today, it broadcasts a steady stream of incendiary programs aimed especially at young, vulnerable viewers, glorifying suicide bombers and using the Koran to justify violence against America and our allies. Arabsat’s footprint is not just in the Middle East. Even while European providers have ceased broadcasting al-Manar from European satellites, Arabsat reaches viewers throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe.

The Senate has sent a letter to President Bush asking him to designate al-Manar a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity, as it should be, in my view. I signed that letter to the President this summer, along with 50 of my colleagues. SDGT designation would be an important step in drying up al-Manar’s finances and would deter companies from doing business with al-Manar.

1. What can you tell me about progress being made to designate al-Manar a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity?
2. What can you tell me about progress working with Saudi Arabia to remove al-Manar off Arabsat?

**Questions for the Record
Senate Committee on the Judiciary
Questions from Chairman Arlen Specter
November 8, 2005**

1. What can you tell me about progress being made to designate al-Manar a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity?

The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated al Manar, a satellite television operation owned or controlled by the Iran-funded Hizballah terrorist network, on March 23, 2006, pursuant to Executive Order 13224. Additionally designated were al Nour Radio and the Lebanese Media Group, the parent company to both al Manar and al Nour Radio.

2. What can you tell me about progress working with Saudi Arabia to remove al-Manar off Arabsat?

Al-Manar continues to be broadcast from Arabsat and Nilesat. We have urged Saudi Arabia to remove al-Manar from Arabsat and will continue to do so. To date, al-Manar has been removed from ten satellite providers:

- HDTV Corp. – A U.S.-headquartered company that ceased broadcasting al-Manar to North America following the USG al-Manar SDGT designation in August 2006.
- Amazonas – A Brazilian-headquartered company that ceased broadcasting al-Manar to Latin, Central and North America in December 2005.
- TARBS Europe – The Australian-headquartered company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to the Middle East, Europe and North Africa in November 2005.
- Globecast – A multiplexing company owned by France Telecom ceased providing al-Manar to other satellite providers in August 2005.
- Asiasat – The Hong Kong-headquartered company ceased carrying al-Manar to Asia in August 2005.
- Hispasat – The Spanish-owned company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to Latin America in June 2005, following the Spanish government's decision to cease providing the station.
- New Skies Satellite – The Netherlands-owned company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to the EU in March 2005, following the decision of European national audiovisual regulators to oppose broadcasts that incite hatred and violence.
- Intelsat – The Barbados-headquartered company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to North America in December 2004 after the State Department named it to the Terrorist Exclusion List.

- Eutelsat – The French-owned company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to the EU in December 2004, following action by the French government.
- TARBS – The Australian-headquartered company ceased broadcasting al-Manar to Southeast Asia and Australia in November 2003, following a decision taken by the Australian government.

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

November 8, 2005

Gulam Bakali

Secretary, Board of Trustees

Islamic Association of North Texas

840 Abrams Road

Richardson, TX 75080

To: Honorable Members of the United States Senate – Committee on the Judiciary

Honorable Senator Arlen Specter, Chairman

Honorable Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Ranking Democratic Member

Honorable Senator Orrin G. Hatch

Honorable Senator Edward M. Kennedy

Honorable Senator Charles E. Grassley

Honorable Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.

Honorable Senator Jon Kyl

Honorable Senator Herbert Kohl

Honorable Senator Mike DeWine

Honorable Senator Dianne Feinstein

Honorable Senator Jeff Sessions

Honorable Senator Russell D. Feingold

Honorable Senator Lindsey Graham

Honorable Senator Charles E. Schumer

Honorable Senator John Cornyn

Honorable Senator Richard J. Durbin

Honorable Senator Sam Brownback

Honorable Senator Tom Coburn

Dear Honorable Members of the United States Senate – Committee on the Judiciary

We are submitting this written documentation to be recorded during the Committee Hearing on Tuesday November 8, 2005 – Panel II of - “Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror”

For the Record – Our submittal strictly deals with, and comments on the Freedom House Report - “SAUDI PUBLICATIONS ON HATE IDEOLOGY INVADE AMERICAN MOSQUES”, published by the Center for Religious Freedom located in Washington, DC. Our Response to the referenced Freedom House Report includes an Executive Summary section summarizing the various facts, details, pictures, references, activities, etc for easy reading. The individual sections following the Executive Summary provide further insight and details as to who we are, our philosophy, our track record, etc that can be and should be reasonably extrapolated to a Picture quite different than what could be intended to be implied in the referenced Report.

Our Mosque has neither been “filled” or “invaded” by the literature eluded to in the referenced report. Majority of our congregation do not understand Arabic as a language to even read, absorb the contents and propagate the line of thinking alleged to be advanced by such documents. Furthermore, the total number of books and literature pieces in our reference/research library amount to over a few thousands. Our Library functions as a central storage and collection area for literature in the Southwest US for academic research.

We have certainly been wronged by this report that initially was published earlier this year. We certainly have no knowledge of such documents being present at our premises, nor have we ever endorsed any of these materials. The later version of this report issued in October clarified this point.

We invite you to visit our facility and see our community firsthand. You may join us at any of our Friday prayer sermons, any of our classes, and any of our interfaith events. In the past several years, hundreds of government officials and candidates have observed our Friday prayer sermons as they have come regularly to address our congregation. Our US Senators along with several of our US Congress Representatives have been to our community gatherings; City of Richardson officials have been to our organization and know us very well. FBI officials, both past and present know many of our leaders personally and have been to many interfaith and community gatherings. The list of collaborative events on a weekly basis is beyond the scope of this submittal. We would love to host any and all of you who seek to understand us further, and ask questions. Only by asking and listening to each other can we initiate and establish a better understanding about who we are as Americans, and what makes our democracy work.

The accompanying Appendices detail more facets about Our Organization, Our Activities, Our Imam, Our involvement with other Faith-Based Organizations, Our Civic Involvement, Our Women Committee, Our Full Time School (very unique – 6 days a week full year and Religious Studies plus Full Public School Curriculum), Our Adult, Youth & Women’s Classes, Our Partnership with State Department & World Affairs Council of Greater Dallas for International Visitor Leadership Program... just to name a few.

We are very proud of our over 30-year heritage in the North Texas Region as a place of worship and more importantly a Center for sharing information about Islam in America in particular. We plan to continue our open door policy wherein every segment, group, race, faith-based organization of our society is welcome to join us, understand who we are and share their concerns, beliefs to help enrich our society. Our partners and patrons such as the Thanksgiving Square, City of Richardson, Habitat for Humanity, Arapaho United Methodist Church and others can further attest to our organization and what we stand for.

Sincerely,

Gulam Bakali
 Secretary, Board of Trustees
 Former Chairman, Board of Directors
 Islamic Association of North Texas
 840 Abrams Road
 Richardson, TX 75080
 (214) 213-3039
bakali1@yahoo.com

Executive Summary

This section provides salient highlights that are enumerated in further detailed sections to follow. These points resonate a consistent message: **Islamic Association of North Texas' Dallas Central Mosque referred to as "Richardson Mosque" in the referenced Freedom House Report, is in fact NOT what could be the implied intent or extrapolation(s) of this report.** The Islamic Association of North Texas' (IANT) Imam, Board of Trustees, Board of Directors, and the community base served **emphatically reject all sorts of "extremes," and remain constantly vigilant against such possibilities.** In fact, we have been condemning violence since our inception vocally by our press releases such as the one for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Our place of worship is a non-profit Texas Corporation for over 30 years, we are democratically governed; a good and safe neighbor; an active and Contributing Citizen; collaborative with other faith-based institutions; maintains an open door policy for general populace, academic research, schools, colleges, and State Department Foreign Visitors; partners with City and Law Enforcement, encourages civic involvement, etc.

The highlights elaborated in the accompanying sections detail the following:

1. IANT is a 501(c) 3 religious institution established over 35 years ago and serving approximately 100,000 North Texas Muslims and over 4,000 people from faith-based, civic, academic, schools and law enforcement agencies.
2. IANT's spiritual leader is a well-known international figure Dr. Yusuf Ziya Kavakci, highly respected locally in the interfaith and civic circles. He is a sought after speaker for community events both locally and nationally. He has been a steady spiritual leader at the helm for over 18 years.
3. IANT is governed by an executive elected body – Board of Trustees (5), and an Operations elected body – Board of Directors (7). The Board of Trustees providing an oversight to the daily operations includes elected members who collectively have over 160 years of Corporate America/Business Entrepreneur experience. Previous Board of Trustees Presidents have been high profile figures from the Professional, Business and Medical Community. IANT's Legal Counsel has been with IANT for over 20 years, and has provided us guidance over the years in dealing with media hype, stereotyping, etc.
4. IANT has been a law-abiding member of society and condemning terrorism since our inception. We have attached the 1993 bulletin wherein we deplored and condemned the World Trade Center bombing. We fully embrace the July 28, 2005 Fiqh Council of North America Fatwa against Terrorism.
5. Since 9/11, there has been even a greater bond between IANT and its neighbors, City of Richardson, Faith-Based Organizations, and society at large. This was due largely to IANT's immediate action plan wherein Press Releases were issued, three Major Open Houses arranged for public tours – each followed up with Q & A, Strategy sessions with Law Enforcement for security enhancement, etc.
6. IANT maintains a Library with access to those requesting for reading, research, and school projects. IANT being the largest organization in the area provides the library as a service to not only Muslims but all other faith based groups for research and special projects. IANT records indicate that the books referenced in the Freedom House Report as collected from the "Richardson Mosque":
 - A. Were NOT found in the Library
 - B. Were NOT ordered/purchased for use by IANT
 - C. Were NOT distributed to IANT congregation

- D. Were NOT "read from" to IANT congregation
- E. Were NOT promoted "FOR PURCHASE" to its congregation
- F. Were NOT used to develop or author any POSITION paper to promote a "point of view"

In fact, majority of our members do not access the library books unless there is a dire need for Academic research or something similar. The Library Operations amount to a very small portion of the overall IANT functions.

7. In addition to a place of worship serving American Muslims, IANT is an **ACTIVE, PARTICIPATING and CONTRIBUTING** Member of Society as evidenced by IANT's Activities (Classes, Study Groups, Women's activities); **Services provided** (Outreach, Interfaith, Refugee Relief, Medical Clinic); **Education Services** (Arabic & Dr. Kavakci's Lectures); **School Programs** - Full time (6 days weekly, all year) and other civic and collaborative events with City, Law Enforcement & other faith-based institutions, etc.
8. High Profile Visitors/Patrons & Friends/References belong to various groups such as: City, FBI, State elected officials, US Congress officials, Thanksgiving Square, Schools, Churches, Dallas International Visitors Bureau, Major Hospitals/Medical Community, State & Federal Agencies, Special State Department Guests from Iraq, Mali, Jordan, India, Sierra Leone, Niger, Crown Prince (then, now king) Abdullah's special assistants, China, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan (just to name a few)
9. IANT had Women's active participation from its initial inception which continues to this day. The first IANT Board Member was (still living) Ms Amina Ismail and the currently elected IANT Board Member is Mrs. Bassima Dandan. IANT Women are VERY active and have their own elected volunteer committee headed by Ms Noor Sadeh. This committee participates in any IANT activities whether it is Outreach, Relief, etc. Currently the IANT Operations staff split as follows:

Office Operations:	(2 Women, 4 Men)
IQA (Full-Time School) Teachers:	(10 Women, 6 Men)
PTO Board President	Mrs. Sadia Muzaffar
10. IANT has continued to receive the same treatment in terms of full cooperation and support from the City of Richardson Police Department and the FBI since 9/11. In fact, depending on the alert level bulletin issued by the Homeland Security Department and the media attention, we receive calls from them before we request additional surveillance.
11. IANT's collaboration and coordination with faith-based groups and others include for example: GDCC (Greater Dallas Community of Churches), Thanksgiving Square, DISD Religious Task Force, RISD Religious Task Force, Arapaho United Methodist Church, North Dallas Bible fellowship, Dallas Mayor's Interfaith Group, Habitat for Humanity, Adopt-a-Highway Program, Temple Shalom, Temple Emanuel just to name a few.
12. On the Human Relief & Development issues, IANT has empowered Cindy Weber to organize and manage the Refugee Committee for over 5 years. She runs a Warehouse for storing supplies needed for the ones that came to our shores from Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq (Kurds), Ethiopia and others.
13. Lately, with Hurricanes Katrina and Rita disasters - IANT opened its prayer locations for accommodating evacuees that were served three meals plus a 24 hour food supply stored in the coolers for as needed arrivals. Lastly, we have been encouraging Funds to be collected from all faith based organizations to be sent as part of the relief efforts for the latest earthquake.



In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Islamic Association of North Texas, Inc.

840 Abrams Road • Richardson, Texas 75081

Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 833010
Richardson, TX 75083

Tel: (214) 231-5698
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PRESS RELEASE

On behalf of the Muslim community in North Dallas, we regret the recent bomb blast at the World Trade Center in New York. We mourn the loss of life and property with the families of those deceased and injured in the blast. Law Enforcement officials allege that a Muslim was involved in this bombing. This individual or any associated group that may have had a role in this incident acted on their own volition and clearly against Islamic Teachings and Principles that require the safety and security of all civilians.

As Muslims, we are outraged by violence against civilians wherever it occurs, whether it be in Bosnia, Somalia, New York or any other part of the world. All of us as law-abiding citizens cannot and should not link one isolated incident as representing the perpetrated act committed by the whole community at large, whether it be Muslims, Christians or people of any other faith. Using labels such as "Islamic Fundamentalists", "Fundamentalist Muslims" is clearly misleading, adds to further stereotyping and equates the practice of Islam as being the root cause of all hostile actions.

We believe in upholding the Constitution, whereby every individual charged can be convicted only after "due process of law". We appeal to Law Enforcement Agencies to relentlessly pursue justice in this case, while still assuring safety and security of millions of Muslims in this country from acts of violence, hate crimes and attacks against their homes or places of worship due to the maligning of an entire community and the Islamic Faith in general.

Gulam Bakali
Chairman, Board of Directors
Islamic Association of North Texas
March 6, 1993

Gulam Bakali

972-243-8282

p. 1



U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Dallas Division

February 10, 2000

Office of the Special Agent in Charge

300 Landmark Center
1801 North Lamar St.
Dallas, Texas 75202

Mr. Ghulam Bakali
3402 Gatwick Place
Farmers Branch, TX 75234

Dear Mr. Bakali:

I want to personally thank you for taking out of your time before the Eid Al-Fitr Annual Dinner and leading me on a tour of your facility at the Dallas Central Mosque. You and the entire congregation have reason for pride in both the quality engineering and architectural beauty. I renew my offer to assistance in reviewing the security when you reach the point that such is requested. Both I and my staff enjoyed the fellowship and of course a great dinner. I look forward to the next time we meet.

Sincerely,

Danny A. Defenbaugh
Special Agent in Charge



Center for Strategic and International Studies

Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy

1800 K Street, N.W. • Washington, DC 20006

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Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?

Testimony to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary

**Anthony H. Cordesman
Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy**

November 8, 2005

Let me begin my testimony with an important caveat. Saudi Arabia is no more perfect than any other country. Like us, Saudi Arabia has made many mistakes in dealing with terrorism, in foreign policy, and managing its domestic affairs. There are many areas where leading Saudis recognize that Saudi Arabia needs major reforms, and these include education and ensuring that clerics recognize their responsibility to preach tolerance, the value of other faiths and branches of Islam, and the dangers of violence and terrorism. I have spoken and written about these needs for reform on many occasions over many years -- as, for that matter -- have many Saudis.

I am also all too aware of the level of anger and resentment against the US and the West that the US sometimes finds in Saudi Arabia, and that Saudi clerics and intellectuals can use extreme and hostile rhetoric. It is one of the tragedies of the aftermath of 9/11 that both Saudis and Americans still lash out at each other, posit conspiracy theories, and act out of fear and anger.

I would remind the Committee, however, that US clerics, intellectuals, and members of Congress have discussed Islam and Arabs in equally regrettable terms. We have leading clerics that do not hesitate to call for assassinations. We had two leading clerics who reacted to the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon by suggesting that God was inflicting a just punishment on the US for its sins. A substantial number of Christian preachers tolerate Judaism because they feel that the bible indicates that Israel is the road to Armageddon and to rapture, and that the second coming will, in any case, involve the conversion of all the Jews.

No country has a monopoly on intolerance, foolish anger, and careless words.

Looking Beyond Saudi Arabia: The Real Challenge

What is more important, is that both the West and moderates throughout the Arab world and Islam face a very real struggle against Islamist extremism and terrorism. This is a struggle we cannot win alone. It can only be won by moderate Arabs and Muslims, and such allies are essential to any victory in the war on terrorism.

It is both dangerous and misleading to single out Saudi Arabia. We need to remember that 9/11 was the exception and not the rule. Most of the prior attacks and attempted attacks on the US were by North Africans, Egyptians, and Arabs from the Levant. Long before we confronted Islamic extremism and a "war on terrorism," nations like Egypt and Algeria were fighting major extremist movements, and a different kind of Islamic extremism had come to dominate Iran. No country in the Middle East or Islamic world is free of this threat, and every moderate regime is under attack. This is a clash within a civilization at which we are on the margin.

The anger against the US and the West in Saudi Arabia is scarcely unique, and is not a product of Saudi Sunni Puritanism. Almost all of the terrorist and extremist movements

that threaten the US, the West, and every Arab moderate regime are neo-Salafi and have their ideological roots in movements coming out of Egypt, not Saudi Wahhabi practices. This includes Bin Laden and Zarqawi. It was President Zia of Pakistan, not Saudi Arabia, that was the leading supporter of Pashtun Islamic extremism in Afghanistan and the forces that created the Taliban. Khomeini and his more extreme successors in Iran are Shi'ites.

Islamist extremist movements represent a small fraction of Arabs and Muslims. They can, however, feed on broad resentment of cultural change and the impact of globalism throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds. There is deep anger over the Arab-Israeli conflict, and against the US because it is perceived as Israel's ally. The Iraq War has compounded this anger, and it has led to high levels of popular resentment of the US by the population of many of our friends in the region.

These trends are reflected all too clearly in the work of one of the most respected polling organizations in the US, and are summarized in the charts attached to this testimony. The Pew group reported, "In the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, anger toward the United States remains pervasive... Osama bin Laden is viewed favorably by large percentages in Pakistan (65%), Jordan (55%) and Morocco (45%). Even in Turkey, where bin Laden is highly unpopular, as many as 31% say that suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners" are justifiable.

There are many other surveys that deliver the same message, just as there are many surveys of US and Western opinion that reflect anger against terrorism, and hostility towards Islam and the Arab world.

Fortunately, these trends do not yet reflect a consistent trend upwards and there are significant downward trends in some countries. *But*, members of the committee should look carefully at the data for Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey. *And*, these are the figures for friendly countries. It is not possible to conduct similar surveys of the level of anger in countries whose regimes are hostile to the US or where internal turmoil makes surveys impossible.

There are good reasons that President Bush gives a high priority to helping Israel and the Palestinians agree on a peace settlement and to making massive improvements in our public diplomacy. There are good reasons to see the war in Iraq as a political struggle both for Iraqi hearts and minds and those of all the people in the region.

We face a political and ideological struggle that cuts across all of North Africa and the Middle East; and ranges into Central, South, and Southeast Asia. The forces involved are generational, and they can only be made worse if we fall into the trap of attacking Islam or the regimes that are fighting the same battle against terrorism and extremism that we are.

The forces of demographic change, and the other factors shaping regional tensions and acting as a breeding ground for extremism should caution us that reform and change have

to be pushed forward with care, that consistent efforts to work with local reformers and that regimes to achieve evolutionary change are the only alternative to revolution and upheaval.

There is no single cause for Islamist extremism, and no easy correlation between any given set of the region's problems and support for violence and terrorism. Once again, some of the factors at work are shown in the graphs and tables at the end of this testimony. More broadly, virtually every expert would agree that the problems that face this region include:

- Weak secular regimes and political parties have pushed the peoples of the region back towards Islam and made them seek to redefine the role of religion in their lives.
- Massive population increases: The Middle East and North Africa had a population of 112 million in 1950. The population is well over 415 million today, and approaching a fourfold increase. It will more than double again, to at least 833 million, by 2050.
- A "youth explosion," where age 20-24s -- the key age group entering the job market and political society -- has grown steadily from 10 million in 1950 to 36 million today, and will grow steadily to at least 56 million by 2050.
- Some 36% of the total MENA population is under 15 years of age versus 21% in the US and 16% in the EU. The ratio of dependents to each working age man and woman is three times that in a developed region like the EU.
- A failure to achieve global competitiveness, diversify economies, and create jobs that is only partially disguised by the present boom in oil revenues. Direct and disguised unemployment range from 12-20% in many countries, and the World Bank projects the labor force as growing by at least 3% per year for the next decade.
- A region-wide average per capita income of around \$2,200 versus \$26,000 in the high-income countries in the West.
- A steady decline in non-petroleum exports as a percentage of world trade over a period of nearly half a century, and an equal pattern of decline in regional GDP as a share of global GDP.
- Hyperurbanization and a half-century decline in agricultural and traditional trades impose high levels of stress on traditional social safety nets and extended families. The urban population seems to have been under 15 million in 1950. It has since more than doubled from 84 million in 1980 to 173 million today, and some 25% of the population will soon live in cities of one million or more.
- Broad problems in integrating women effectively and productively into the work force. Female employment in the MENA region has grown from 24% of the labor in 1980 to 28% today, but that total is 15% lower than in a high growth area like East Asia.
- Growing pressures on young men and women in the Middle East and North Africa to immigrate to Europe and the US to find jobs and economic opportunities that inevitably create new tensions and adjustment problems.
- Almost all nations in the region have nations outside the region as their major trading partners, and increased intraregional trade offers little or no comparative advantage.

- Much of the region cannot afford to provide more water for agriculture at market prices, and in the face of human demand; much has become a "permanent" food importer. Regional manufacturers and light industry have grown steadily in volume, but not in global competitiveness.
- Global and regional satellite communications, the Internet, and other media, have shattered censorship and extremists readily exploit these tools.
- A failed or inadequate growth in every aspect of infrastructure, and in key areas like housing and education.
- Growing internal security problems that often are far more serious than the external threat that terrorism and extremism pose to the West.
- A failure to modernize conventional military forces and to recapitalize them. This failure is forcing regional states to radically reshape their security structures, and is pushing some toward proliferation.
- Strong pressures for young men and women to immigrate to Europe and the US to find jobs and economic opportunities that inevitably create new tensions and adjustment problems.

Unlike today's crises and conflicts, these forces will play out over decades. They cannot be dealt with simply by attacking today's terrorists and extremists; they cannot be dealt with by pretending religion is not an issue, and that tolerance can be based on indifference or ignorance.

We can only win the "war on terrorism" if we accept the need to work systematically and consistently with friendly regimes, and moderates and reformers in the region, for evolutionary change. If we posture for our own domestic political purposes, call on other faiths and cultures to become our mirror image, or demand the impossible -- we will further undercut our influence and breed more anger and resentment.

If we are careless in our efforts, seek to impose them, or use threats, we will aid the extremists. We will reinforce the impression that is already all too common that we are "crusaders," "occupiers," and use reform as a tool create our own puppet regimes, and that we are not sincere in acting as a force for progressive change.

Saudi Arabia as a Friend, Not a Foe

I realize, however, that this hearing focuses on one key issue: Whether Saudi Arabia is a friend or an enemy. The question we are here to address is not whether Saudi Arabia has flaws or needs reform, nor whether Saudi Arabia has a different culture and set of values. The question is rather what Saudi Arabia's relations with the US have been, are and will be.

In spite of all the anger over 9/11, we need to consider the following facts -- all of which the Committee can confirm and supplement in far more detail at the classified level with Administration witnesses:

Military Cooperation

We fought side by side during the Gulf War, and US forces operated out of Saudi Arabia against Iraq until the end of the Iraq War. Both countries failed, however, to appreciate the impact that a continuing US presence had in focusing Bin Laden's attention on the US and Saudi regime. Both nations were slow to take him seriously as a threat and slower to take tangible action.

Saudi Arabia did not support our invasion of Iraq at the political or diplomatic level. The idea of such a war was (and is) very unpopular among the Saudi people. Moreover, the foreign minister warned us of the problems we would encounter in the aftermath of such an invasion, and the Kingdom's fear it could destabilize the region.

Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia provided critical support to the US in the war against Saddam Hussein, in spite of the fact the Saudis had strong reservations about the war. Saudi Arabia opened up its airspace, made available its airbases, and housed special forces when Turkey reneged on basing US forces at the last moment. The town of Ar Ar on the Saudi border, for example, virtually became a US base.

Unlike Turkey, which was offered a \$30 billion aid package for its support, the Kingdom did not ask for any compensation. In fact, it provided free and subsidized fuel to US forces. Saudi Arabia also provided crude oil to Jordan to compensate for the loss of crude oil Jordan was receiving from Iraq.

After the invasion, the Kingdom sent relief supplies to Iraq, including a field hospital that performed over 200,000 procedures when there was no functioning hospital in Baghdad. Saudi Arabia also offered loans and export guarantees worth over \$1 billion to the Iraqis, and offered to supply gasoline and diesel fuel when Iraq ran short of both in the run-up to the elections in early 2004. It has discussed forgiving both Iraq's debts and reparations obligations.

Saudi Arabia has worked with the US to mobilize Iraq's neighbors in support of Iraq. Last year, it floated the idea of sending peace-keeping troops from Arab and Muslim countries not neighboring Iraq to Iraq to help with security (The UN welcomed the idea, the US was lukewarm). Currently, it is working within the Arab League to try and bring Iraq's various factions together to agree on a common future. This move has been welcomed by the US.

While US combat forces have left Iraq, the US remains Saudi Arabia's principal military advisor, supplier, and source of technical assistance. Work by Richard F. Grimmett of the Congressional Research Service shows that Saudi Arabia signed \$5.6 billion worth of new arms transfer agreements between 2001 and 2004, and \$3.8 billion (68%) came from the US.

War on Terrorism:

We need to remember that that the United States put intense and consistent pressure on Saudi Arabia to aid Islamist freedom fighters in Afghanistan during the Cold War, and that the US then saw Saudi support of Islamists as a counterbalance to communism. We

were both slow to see the risks of what we were doing and how extremist might take advantage of such efforts -- just as Israel once made the mistake of aid Islamists as what it hoped would be a counterbalance to the PLO.

Like the US, Saudi Arabia was slow to commit itself to the struggle against terrorism and extremism, but it drove Bin Laden out of the country in the mid-1990s and helped push him out of the Sudan.

Saudi Arabia was slow in taking substantive action after 9/11 -- and some Saudis lived (and still live) in a world of denial and conspiracy theories. Nevertheless, Saudi leaders immediately condemned terrorism after 9/11, as did leading Saudi clerics. Saudi cooperation with the US has steadily improved over time, and has become far closer since when Saudi Arabia came under attack in mid-2003.

Saudi Arabia is now actively involved in an internal battle with Al-Qa'ida terrorists. Many such terrorists have been killed or captured, and many Saudi security personnel have lost their lives in the line of duty. This battle is being fought with considerable US support, and US and Saudi cooperation has become much stronger in recent years.

The full scale of this cooperation, like Saudi cooperation with the US in the Iraq War, is highly sensitive. I have discussed this cooperation at length with US and Saudi officials in Saudi Arabia, however, I would urge the Committee to seek a briefing on the details from the Bush Administration in closed session, on why the State Department praised Saudi Arabia for its internal and foreign efforts to fight terrorism in the annual report on "Patterns in Global Terrorism" that it issued in April 2004. Ambassador J. Cofer Black, Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism, stated in his introductory remarks that: "I would cite Saudi Arabia as an excellent example of a nation increasingly focusing its political will to fight terrorism. Saudi Arabia has launched an aggressive, comprehensive, and unprecedented campaign to hunt down terrorists, uncover their plots, and cut off their sources of funding."

There are, however, a number of examples that are a matter of public record. At the initiative of then Crown Prince, now King Abdullah, Saudi Arabia and the US established two task forces; one to combat terrorism, the other to combat terror financing. Officials from both countries now work side-by-side in the war on terror, and these task forces have become models for international cooperation.

Saudi Arabia has strengthened liaison relationships with other countries. Saudi Arabia held an International Counter-Terrorism Conference in Riyadh in February of this year. Over 50 nations sent high-level representatives who were experts in the area, including the US, which sent a delegation headed by Fran Townsend, Adviser to the President for Homeland Security. The resulting report and Riyadh declaration has called upon the UN to create a new international center to fight terrorism as well as on all countries to strengthen their cooperation and national efforts.

In addition, Saudi Arabia regularly reports to the United Nations Security Council Committees on its actions to against terrorism, and has complied with key UNSCR regulations. These include freezing the financial assets of the Taliban regime (Resolution 1267) and funds of listed individuals (Resolution 1333). It has signed the International Convention for Suppression and Financing of Terrorism (Resolution 1373), and implemented Resolutions 1390 and 1368

The Financing of Terrorism

Saudi Arabia can still do more to fight terrorist financing -- although US Treasury experts have come to praise Saudi cooperation when they initially condemned it. We should understand, however, that governmental efforts to control terrorist financing have sharp limits, and have probably reached the point of diminishing returns.

Individuals in Saudi Arabia, and many other Arab and Islamic countries, will continue to support such organizations or their fronts, and regional governments can only do so much to limit such funding. Merrill Lynch estimates that the capital controlled by wealthy individuals in the Middle East rose by 29% during 2003-2004, to a level of approximately \$1 trillion dollars raises serious questions about how much governments can do. Much of this capital is in private accounts outside the region, terrorist operations are only moderately expensive, and Merrill Lynch projects a further 9% annual rise in such holdings from 2004 to 2009.

Yet, Saudi Arabia began to try to control such funding in the 1990s -- long before most of the states in the region. It froze Bin Laden's assets in 1994. SAMA and the Ministry of Commerce issued guidelines to the Kingdom's financial and commercial sectors for combating money-laundering activities, and began to create units to counter money laundering in the Ministry of Interior, in SAMA and in commercial banks in 1995.

Saudi Arabia has since taken the following steps:

- Required all Saudi banks on September 26, 2001 to identify and freeze all assets relating to terrorist suspects and entities in response to a list issued by the United States government.
- issued rules 'Governing the Opening of Bank Accounts' and 'General Operational Guidelines' in order to protect banks against money-laundering activities in May 2002,
- SAMA began to implement a major technical program to train judges and investigators on legal matters involving terrorism financing and money-laundering methods, international requirements for financial secrecy, and methods followed by criminals to exchange information in May 2003.
- Council of Ministers approved new legislation that puts in place harsh penalties for the crimes of money laundering and terror financing in August 2003.
- Created a Joint task force on terror financing. American and Saudi officials work side-by-side in this area. The US is providing training programs for Saudi officials in this area.
- Saudi Arabia has frozen all charitable activity outside the Kingdom. Charities cannot withdraw cash from their accounts.
- Charities cannot collect cash donations in public places.
- Saudi Arabia has implemented the 40 recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) of the G-8 on money laundering and the 8 recommendations on terror financing. FATF conducted a mutual evaluation of the Kingdom's mechanisms in the Fall of 2003 and found them in line with international standards. The Kingdom is today a member of FATF.

- FATF found the Kingdom's laws on money laundering and terror financing to be in line with best practices, and pointed to examples of successful prosecutions in the Kingdom.
- The Kingdom has set up a Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) and is in the process of joining the Egmond Group. The US Treasury Department has been assisting the Kingdom in this process, which should be completed in the near future.
- The Kingdom has put in-place regulations for taking cash from or into the country.
- The Kingdom is in the process of establishing a National Commission for Charitable Activities Abroad through which all private charitable activities will take place. Until such time as this commission is established, no Saudi charity can send funds abroad. Exceptions were made during for the Tsunami and the tragedy in Darfur under strict oversight by the Saudi Red Crescent Society, an arm of the Saudi government. In some other cases, funds are delivered by Saudi government institutions to legitimate recipients (for example, aid to the Palestinians; the case is made that Saudi charities raise money for suicide bombers and deliver them. The Saudi Red Crescent Society no longer provides funds directly to entities in the territories. Funds going to the Palestinians are sent to the PA via official channels.

Energy

For all the noise over energy independence, the fact remains that over 60% of the world's proven conventional oil reserves are in the Gulf and 25% are in Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, the EIA estimates that the "best case" limit US energy policy can put on our percentage of dependence on oil imports through 2025 is to keep it constant, and the reference case shows a major increase.

Saudi Arabia has historically maintained a production cushion of 2-2.5 mb/d for use during shortfalls in production elsewhere. It tapped into that cushion after the fall of the Shah in 1979, during the first Gulf War in 1990-91 when there was a shortfall in Kuwaiti and Iraqi production, in the run-up to the war with Iraq in early 2003, and today as a result of various factors (Iraqi shortfalls, political instability in Nigeria and Venezuela, Yukos in Russia, natural disasters).

Unlike many oil powers with more limited reserves, Saudi Arabia had long sought to keep prices moderate to ensure consistent long-term demand. It has responded to the recent rapid increases in world energy demand, and lack of surplus crude oil and refinery capacity, by investing over \$50 billion in its oil sector over the next seven years.

This in part responds to US calls for an increase in its oil production to 12.5 million barrels/day. Saudi Arabia has also talked about the possibility of increasing output to 14-16 million barrels a day. It almost certainly can never reach the absurdly high levels called for in some theoretical models -- which call for an increase from around 11 million barrels a day today to 22-26 million barrels by 2025. These models, however, are theoretical demand-drive econometric models. No country, and no major US or Europe oil company, has ever found such models to be credible.

Education and the Role of the Clergy

There are many areas where both our countries need to do a far better job of educating ourselves about other nations, cultures, and religions. There is no question that Saudi Arabia long focused on building schools, and measures like teacher to student ratios, and did little to modernize its curriculum, or review the nature and quality of what was being

taught. It tended to pay little attention to what its clerics said as long as this did not have an internal political impact, and much of what some said was the mirror image of hate literature in the West.

I know how extreme these attitudes can be from my own talks to Saudi students, educators, and clerics inside Saudi Arabia. In general, few societies are friendlier and more polite. Yet, I have been attacked to my face simply for being an American, and behind my back for being a tool of Israel. People have tried to discredit me simply by saying I am Jewish -- something I would be proud to be but am not. I have read sermons and literature at the margins of Saudi society and culture that should never have had broad circulation without active protest and rebuttal.

More broadly, we are two very different societies and cultures. Saudi Arabia has a population and mix of clerics that are much more conservative than its ruling family, the Al Shaikh family (the descendants of Muhammad al Wahhab), and most top Saudi officials, intellectuals, and businessmen. The stereotype of political development in the West -- a progressive people pushing against the resistance of a conservative regime -- does not fit this society. Saudi Arabia also is very much a consensus society, and this means progress is often slow and indirect.

Having Saudi Arabia as an ally does not mean that Saudi culture is going to become Western, that it will not be a puritanical Islamic state, or that we will not differ sharply over the rate of progress in an Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

At best, Saudi Arabia will take years to make the kind of progress that took decades in the West. Popular support for open religious activities by other faiths may well be a matter of decades. Saudi Arabia also is going to have to re-educate some of its clergy and find better teachers -- eliminating Egyptian and Jordanian Islamist teachers in the process.

Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia should not be judged by the literature it issued back in the 1990s, or by its worst sermons, literature, and teaching aids today. No society can be judged by its worst performance, and real progress is taking place. Saudi Arabia is, after all, a nation whose Crown Prince -- and now King -- not only took the risk of publicly calling for a comprehensive peace with Israel, but helped win agreement on such proposals from the Arab League.

Saudi Arabia is in the midst of a three-year program to overhaul its educational system. Materials deemed offensive are being purged from textbooks, new teaching methods are being introduced, and programs to retrain public school teachers are being put in place. This is a multi-year effort, and is extremely politically sensitive and difficult. Some outside pressure helps. Too much outside pressure fuels resistance and efforts by Islamic extremists.

Similarly, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs is in the midst of a program to put in-place better monitoring of what is taught at religious schools, and what is said in mosques. To

date, Saudi Arabia reports that over 2,000 imams have been disciplined or dismissed for preaching extremism and intolerance. Saudi Arabia might well be able to take more action and take it more quickly, but my visits to Saudi Arabia -- and talking to US embassy officials and critics of the government -- confirm that the effort is real.

Saudi Arabia has vetted its Islamic Affairs Departments at its Embassies abroad and severely curtailed their numbers and activities. For example, the Saudi Embassy in Washington had over two dozen officials at its Islamic Affairs Department during the 1990's. Today, there is only one official, and he is a Foreign Service Officer, not an employee of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, or one of the Islamic Universities.

Saudi Arabia began efforts to warn its public about extremists back in the late 1990s at a low level and reinforced them after 9/11 and May 2003. It launched a large-scale national public awareness campaign early in 2005 which focused on the fact Islamist extremists are "deviationists" and the message to Saudis that terrorism and extremism, for any reason, are not part of the Islamic faith.

This campaign included advertisements on billboards and TV, documentaries, and seminars at schools and mosques. Throughout the month of Ramadan, for example, programs dealing with extremism and intolerance, were broadcast during the prime viewing hours on Saudi television.

Various government ministries have carried out internal campaigns to build awareness of the threat posed by terrorism and extremism, and have organized lectures and exhibitions in schools, universities and public areas. Saudi-based businesses and organizations include counter-terrorism messages in their communications with customers, including ATM transactions, utility bills and text messages.

While I have no way to evaluate the exact level of activity taking place, Saudi Arabia began a campaign in February 2005 to educate the society at large, with different series produced for children and adults:

- Full-length documentaries that examine different aspects of terrorism and religious tolerance, such as "Religious Dialogue," a multi-series program that identifies the rise and expansion of Islamic extremism throughout the Muslim world and demonstrates the ways in which terrorism defies Islamic values;
- Short films that inform the public about steps the government is taking to fight terrorism, including "The Secure Land," which focuses on the different branches of Saudi security (e.g. Border Patrol, Customs, National Guard, etc) and demonstrates how the Kingdom's security forces cooperate to defend Saudi Arabia from acts of terror;
- Cartoons that inspire moderation and nationalism, including "My Town," a children's series that reinforces the tolerance intrinsic to Islam and encourages patriotism as a means to fight terrorism;
- Interview programs that broadcast the opinions of academics and terrorism victims, such as "Why?," a series that introduces the nation to families of security forces killed during terrorist attacks as well as religious scholars who condemn the reasoning communicated by terrorists as justification for their acts;

- TV dialogue programs that encourage critical thinking and debate about issues related to terrorism, such as "The Discourse of Mind and Logic," in which academics and specialists analyze the atrocities committed in the name of religion and examine different ways to fight the spread of terrorism and terror ideology.

It is also carrying out a advertising campaign with advertisements on a number of Arabic satellite networks including Al-Arabiya, MBC and Future Television, as well as on Saudi TV channels. This campaign began in early 2005, and has three phases:

- Phase I – The first phase of the advertising campaign aims to stir public emotion by presenting victims of terrorist acts and to personalize the horrors of terrorism. This phase is exemplified by an ad in which a father looks through photos of his son, whose life was taken by terrorism.
- Phase II – The second phase of the advertising campaign seeks to reinforce the notion that terrorism is wrong and in no way represents Saudi values or the tenets of Islam. This message is demonstrated in an ad where a man is seen building an explosive device, and then realizes that such work is destructive to humanity at large.
- Phase III – The third phase of the advertising campaign aspires to promote national unity in the fight against terrorism. The message of this phase is illustrated by an ad in which thousands of Saudis are seen carefully placing rocks in a particular structure; as the camera pans away, the audience sees that the assemblage of Saudis have recreated the map of Saudi Arabia in stone.

Since 9/11, the Saudi government has also sponsored a number of internal dialogues on reform and modernization, and international dialogues on religion, cultural differences, and the need for tolerance. The King Faisal Foundation is one such organization sponsored by leading members of the royal family.

In September 2005, Saudi Arabia convened a conference of Islamic scholars at the initiative of King Abdullah. Representatives came from all over the world, including the US to discuss such issues as "extremism, intolerance, dealing with the other, the role of a Muslim minority in a non-Muslim state, the issuing of fatwas, terrorism, etc."

The recommendations of the scholars will form the basis of the Extraordinary Summit of members of the OIC, which will be held in Makkah in early December 2005. This event is an important milestone in shaping thinking in the Muslim world about these issues, because Saudi Arabia, as the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, is the most important Islamic nation.

Other Aspects of the US Saudi Relationship

Economic relations are not always a measure of friendship, but Saudi Arabia is one of our largest trading partners. It is our largest market in the Middle East, and American companies are among the largest foreign investors in the Kingdom. Saudis, in turn, are still among the largest foreign investors in the US, and the Saudi government has been one of the largest buyers of US debt instruments.

Saudi Arabia quietly donated over \$100 million to help the victims of Hurricane Katrina. The supplies are bought in the US and distributed directly to those who need them. In some cases, this aid arrived before Federal or State aid arrived.

A US Strategy for Saudi Arabia and the Region

For all of these reasons, I see the Saudi Accountability Act as the kind of US posturing that will do far more to aid Bin Laden and extremism than put meaningful leverage on Saudi Arabia or any other friendly Arab and Muslim country. It will simply reinforce all of the regional stereotypes and conspiracy theories that the US does not understand the region, cares little about its people and a great deal about its own interests, and is trying to impose its values and create puppet regimes for its own purposes.

The Bush Administration has almost certainly been correct in stating that the Arab world and Middle East can only achieve stability through reform. Terrorism and extremism can only be defeated at the ideological, political, economic, and social level. Without such action, military and internal security efforts will fail -- sometimes quickly as in the case of Iraq and sometimes slowly as in the case of today's more successful "one man" regimes.

The Need for the Right Kind of US Reform Effort

Where the US, the Bush Administration, and the Congress need to be careful to avoid acting on the assumption that reform can come from the outside, that the same largely American or Western solution can work in all Arab and Islamic states, and that "democracy" is somehow a magic word that transforms entire societies.

- The fact is that meaningful religious reform can only come from within Islam, the region, and individual states. The US and the West cannot fight Islam's battle for the soul of Islam. This is a struggle that can only be fought and won within the region. If it is left to outsiders, or dealt with through denial, it is a struggle that will go on indefinitely and sometimes be lost. It is a struggle that every Middle Eastern intellectual, and every government, needs to face.
- The most outsiders can do is point out the obvious. This struggle is the most important single strategic priority for virtually every Middle Eastern and Islamic state. It is necessary and unavoidable, and interacts with the broader struggle for a tolerant global society based on mutual respect and human rights.

More broadly, the US, the Bush Administration, and the Congress need to be careful to adopt realistic time scales for evolutionary change, and to avoid focusing on "democracy" as if a simple political fix could be encouraged or imposed on every nation from the outside and at the nearly the same time.

- At a minimum, workable "democracy" means taking the time to create government with strong checks and balances. It means priority for human rights and the rule of law over the simple act of voting. It means creating functional political parties capable of both serving the nation and looking beyond one man, one vote, one time. Pure democracy has never worked in any state. Sufficiently crude democracy is little better.

- Both development, and regional strategic stability, will occur one nation at a time, and at different rates and in different ways. They will be driven either by local reformers and by political evolution, or will often collapse into forms of revolution that may be worse than the status quo.
- The real world priority for reform also has to give equal balance to economic reform, employment, education, social services, and reducing population growth rates. It means finding solutions to ethnic and religious divisions, and social change. It means giving at least as much priority to the economic role of women as the political role; creating a broad and globally competitive labor force.
- This kind of evolutionary reform can only occur at a different pace and in a different way in each state in the region. Like religious reform, it can only come from within and must be driven by local reformers. It cannot be driven by US public diplomacy, or by seeking to makeover every state in something approaching the form of the US or Europe. We are not talking about a few years; we are talking a decade and sometimes decades.

If we are to avoid letting extremists like Bin Laden drive us into a true clash of civilizations, we need a realistic strategy for reform on both sides. Saudi Arabia, the Arab world, and other Islamic states cannot deal with their needs for reform through denial, through complaining about outside states and forces, complaining about US and other external calls for reform, or waiting for the solutions to the region's other strategic problems. The US cannot deal with the issue by demanding mirror images, instant action, and all the other aspects of its traditional initial solution to every problem: "simple, quick, and wrong."

The Saudi and Arab Side of the Effort

The Middle East and Arab world will succeed, if and when, it starts to solve its problems one nation at a time, honestly, and without waiting for outside aid or solutions to all the region's ills. It is also important to note that it now has a unique window of opportunity.

The resources for action are also much greater today. The current projections of the EIA indicates that MENA oil export revenues will rise from a recent low of around \$100 billion in 1998 in constant 2004 dollars to over \$500 billion in 2005 – reaching or exceeding the former peak of some \$500 billion reached in 1980..

The question is whether MENA governments will act upon this window of opportunity, whether the wealthier states will look beyond their own needs, and whether the poorer states will actually move towards effective development and reform. No nation has developed since World War II that did not develop itself, and solve virtually all of its own problems. If Asian states like Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, or other Asian states had waited for peace or regional solutions, Asia would be another Middle East.

The US and Western Side of the Effort

The US and Europe, however, need patience, a balanced approach to reform, strong country missions capable of encouraging local governments and reformers, and the understanding that different societies and cultures will often take a different path. In practice, this means a very different strategy based on persuasion, partnership, and cooption rather than pressure and conversion:

- *Implement a broadly-based reform strategy:* Social, economic, and political reforms should be supported, but in an evolutionary sense. The US and Western states, however, cannot be seen as pushing these reforms in ways that discredit local officials and reformers. Outside pressure for

change will be resisted even if the reforms are necessary, and too much overt pressure is counterproductive.

- *One size does not fit all.* The Arab and Islamic worlds are not monolithic. Each country requires different sets of reforms and needs. Some need help in reforming their political process, others need economic aid, and others need special attention to their demographic dynamics and population control. The West, therefore, must avoid any generalized strategy of dealing with the Arab-Islamic world as one entity.
- *Work on a country-by-country approach and rely on strong country teams, not regional approaches:* Regional policies, meetings and slogans will not deal with real world needs or provide the kind of dialogue with local officials and reformers, tailored pressure and aid, and country plans and policies that are needed. Strong country teams both in Washington and in US Embassies are the keys to success.
- *Recognize that the pace of reform will be relatively slow if it is to be stable and evolutionary, and dependent on partnership and cooption.* Artificial deadlines and false crises can only lead to failed tactics and strategies. Outside support for reform must move at the base countries can actually absorb, and shift priorities to reflect the options that are actually available. History takes time and does not conform to the tenure of any given set of policymakers.
- *Carefully support moderate voices:* "Moderates" in the region do need the support of the West, but obvious outside backing can hurt internal reform efforts. Moreover, "moderate" must be defined in broad terms. It does not mean "secularist" and it does not necessarily mean "pro-American." It also, however, does not mean supporting voices that claim to support freedom and democracy, but are actually the voice of extremism.
- *Democratization is only part of reform and depends on creating a rule of law, checks and balances and a separation of powers, protection for minorities and human rights, and effective political parties.* Trying to force or "rush" democracy on Middle Eastern countries is impractical and counterproductive. The goal should be to help MENA countries develop more pluralistic and representative governments that respect the rights of minorities.
- *Recognize that the key to effective action is local political action, dialogue, education, efforts to use the media, and public diplomacy:* The West and the US cannot hope to win a struggle for Islam and reform from the outside. It is the efforts of local governments, reformers, educators, and media that will be critical. Encouraging and aiding such efforts is far more important than advancing the image of the US or Western states or trying to shape local and regional attitudes through Western public diplomacy.
- *Avoid generalizing about Muslims:* generalizing Islam as a source of violence and discriminating against Muslims in the west can alienate "uncommitted" Muslims.
- *Demonizing any part of Islam will aid extremists:* The problem of terrorism is not the problem of "puritan" or "Wahhabi" Islam, but the attitude of violence and intolerance of politically motivated groups that exploit religious teaching to gain legitimacy in the eyes of their recruits and followers. To defeat these groups, their motivations need to be understood and fought at their roots. E.g. Al-Qa'ida's goal of ruling the "Arabian Peninsula."
- *Avoid supporting "secularism" against "traditionalism:"* The region has seen its share of failed governance systems. Most efforts to secularize have failed and the US should not be seen as a driving force behind what may be assured failure. Moreover, the word "secularism" translate into "elmaniyah" is often intermingled with "atheism."
- *Don't try to divide and conquer:* The West should stay clear of issues like Sunni-Shiite frictions, and taking sides with ethnic and sectarian groups. It does not serve anyone when they are played against each other. The Iran-Iraq War was a perfect example of how interfering can backfire. The US should avoid playing any role that could encourage such divisions, particularly given the current environment in Iraq.

- *Liberalism vs. counter-terrorism:* The liberty democratic societies afford people is sometimes the same tool extremists use to spread their hateful ideology. The west must be careful in advocating immediate liberalization and freedom of speech of the Middle East.
- *Apply a single set of standards to Western and regional counterterrorism:* Do what you preach and preach what you do. The West and specifically the US should void being seen as supporting violation of human rights and abusive security measures in counter-terrorism, which advocating human freedom. Violence by states against civilians be it Russia, Egypt, or Israel should be equally condemned.

In short, any effective strategy to deal with terrorism and extremism means addressing two key strategic issues that go far beyond the so-called war on terrorism. One is whether the Arab world can recognize the need for reform and achieve it. The second is whether the West, and particularly the US, can learn to work quietly with nations for effective reform, rather than seek to impose it noisily, and sometimes violently, on an entire region.

Religious Perceptions: The West versus the Middle East

Which Religion Is Most Violent?

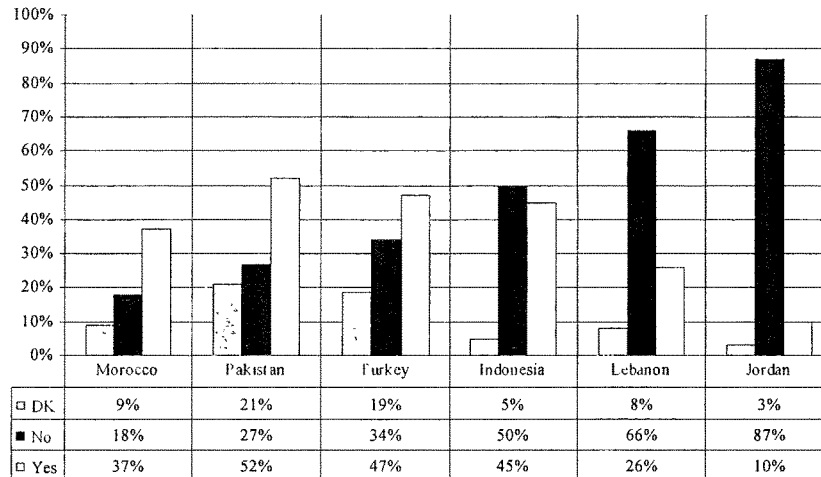
	Islam	Judaism	Christianity
Netherlands	88%	2%	3%
France	87%	2%	2%
Spain	81%	4%	2%
Germany	79%	3%	2%
Poland	77%	5%	3%
India	73%	2%	5%
Russia	71%	10%	3%
US	67%	4%	9%
Great Britain	63%	4%	8%
Canada	61%	4%	8%
Jordan	1%	98%	1%
Morocco	3%	83%	5%
Lebanon	18%	66%	15%
Indonesia	11%	63%	10%
Pakistan	6%	51%	4%
Turkey	15%	20%	46%

Source: The Pew Global Attitude Project, "Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics, July 14, 2005.

- Westerners and people in India chose Islam as the most violent religion.
- People in Muslim countries chose Judaism as the most violent.
- Turkey is the only exception where Christianity was chosen to be most violent.

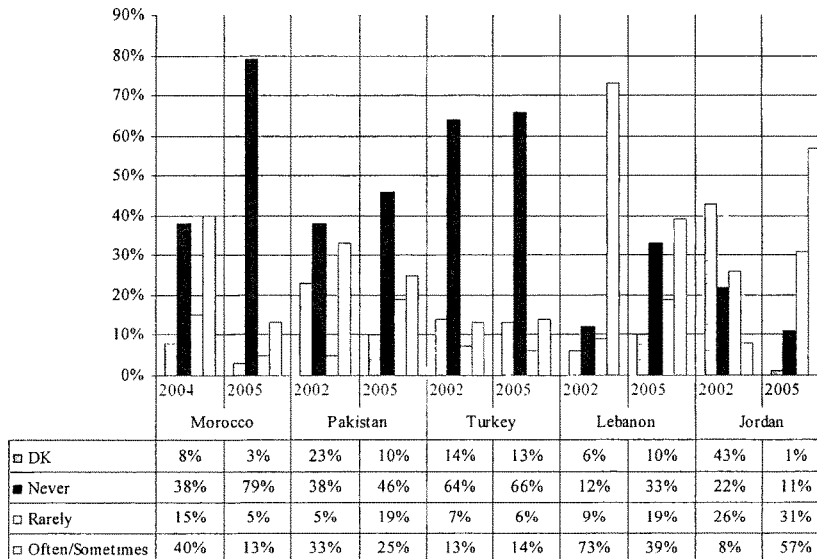
Muslim Public Attitudes Toward Terrorism-I

Do Muslims feel that Islamic extremism is a threat to their country?



Source: The Pew Global Attitude Project, "Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics, July 14, 2005.

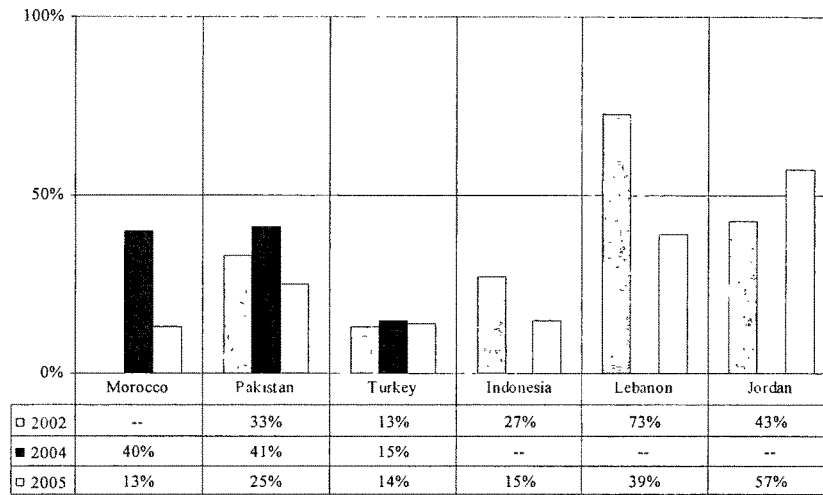
Is violence against civilian targets is justified?



Source: The Pew Global Attitude Project, "Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics, July 14, 2005

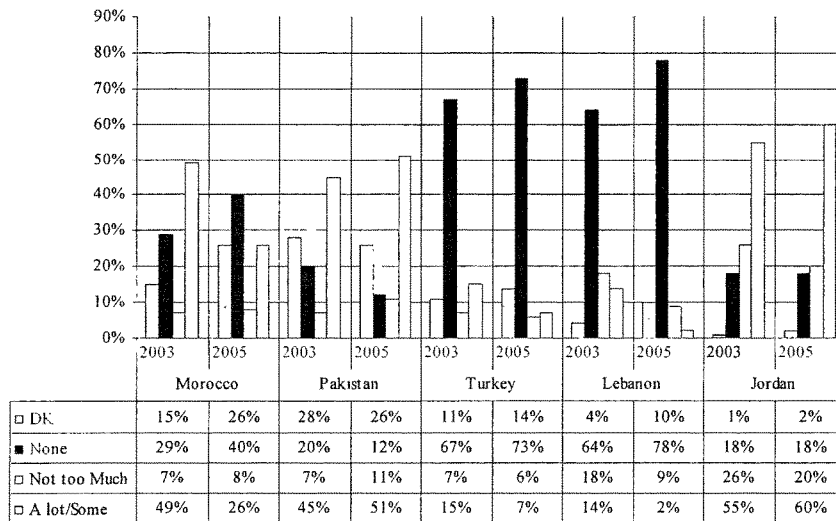
Muslim Public Attitudes Toward Terrorism-II

Do you support Violence against Civilians in Defense of Islam?



Source: The Pew Global Attitude Project, "Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics, July 14, 2005.

Do you have confidence in Osama bin Laden?



Source: The Pew Global Attitude Project, "Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics, July 14, 2005.

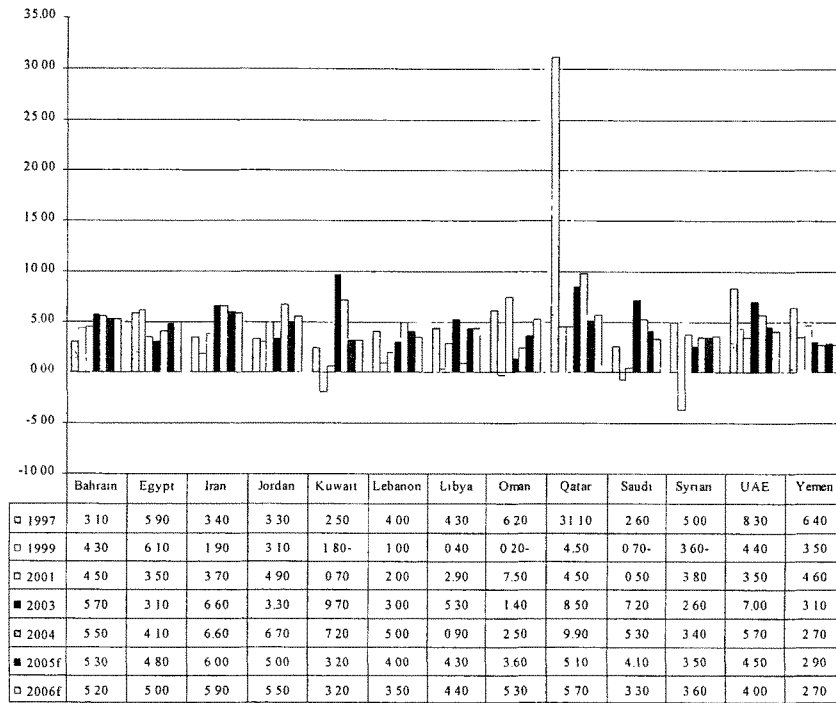
Key Macroeconomic Indicators for MENA Countries: 2003-2004

	GDP (\$US Billion)	GDP Per Capita (\$US)	Defense Budget (\$US Billion)	Defense Budget/GDP (%)
Algeria	65.0	2,050	2.20	3.38%
Bahrain	8.2	11,460	0.46	5.61%
Egypt	67.5	1,000	1.70	14.67%
Iran	128.0	1,930	3.00	2.34%
Israel	109.0	16,310	7.40	6.79%
Jordan	10.1	1,910	0.88	8.71%
Kuwait	40.3	16,930	3.80	9.43%
Lebanon	18.2	4,050	0.51	2.80%
Libya	17.6	3,170	0.74	4.20%
Morocco	43.7	1,450	1.80	4.12%
Oman	21.0	8,200	2.50	11.90%
Qatar	19.2	30,820	1.90	9.90%
Saudi Arabia	211.0	9,380	18.70	8.86%
Syria	21.7	1,250	1.50	6.91%
Tunisia	25.2	2,550	0.49	1.94%
UAE	78.0	19,350	1.60	2.05%

Source: HSS, *Military Balance 2004-2005*

Real GDP Growth in MENA Countries: 1997-2006

(Growth Rates in %)



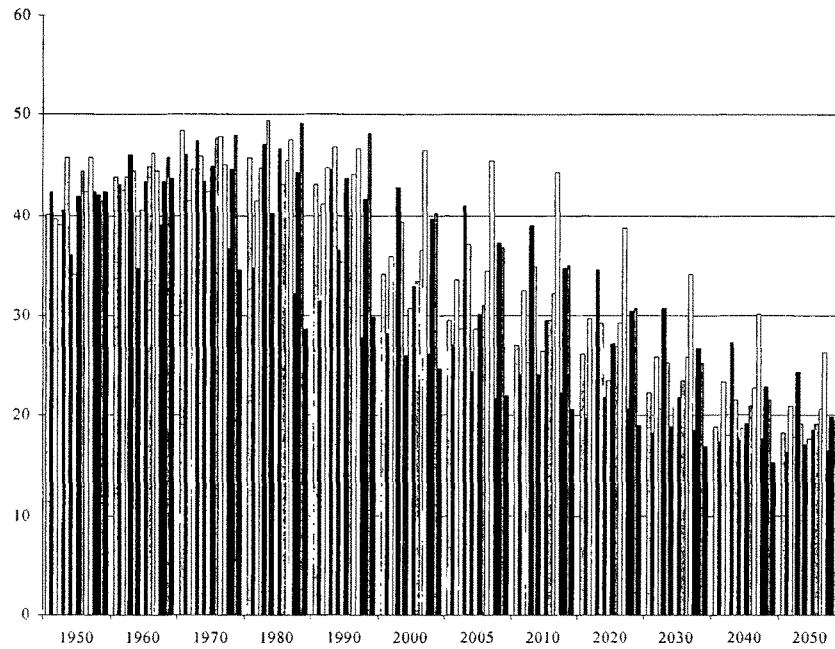
Source: The IMF, *World Economic Outlook: Globalization and External Imbalances*, April 2005, Page 210

Youth Explosion in the MENA Region-I

- *Population growth is creating a "youth explosion."* This growth has already raised the size of the young working age population (ages 20 to 24) in the Gulf area from 5.5 million in 1970 to 13 million in 2000, million. Conservative estimates indicate it will grow to 18 million in 2010 and to 24 million in 2050. If one looks at the MENA region as a whole, age 20-24s have grown steadily from 10 million in 1950 to 36 million today, and will grow steadily to at least 56 million by 2050.
- *The World Bank estimates that some 36% of the total MENA population is less than 15 years of age* versus 21% in the US and 16% in the EU. The ratio of dependents to each working age man and woman is three times that in a developed region like the EU. The US State Department has produced estimates that more than 45% of the population is under 15 years of age.
- *Youth unemployment provides a recruitment pool for extremists:* Most of the MENA countries have large unemployment rates. People in the region tend to blame this on governments in the region and outside supporters such as the US. The unemployed have proven to be a fertile ground for extremists' recruitments.
- *Immigration is being driven by economic and social forces and creates new challenges of its own.* It is hardly surprising therefore that the Arab Development Report should mention surveys where 50% of the young Arab males surveyed stated their career plan was to immigrate
- *Youth confusion:* With the explosion of the methods of communications such as satellite channels, internet, cell phones, etc the youth in the region are being bombarded by messages from all sides. Extremists have utilized these methods and the alienation of youth by what they consider "cultural invasions."

Youth Explosion in the MENA Region-II

(Percentage of Population Age 0-14)



Source: *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision*, United Nations, February 2005. Note: the forecast is based on medium variant.

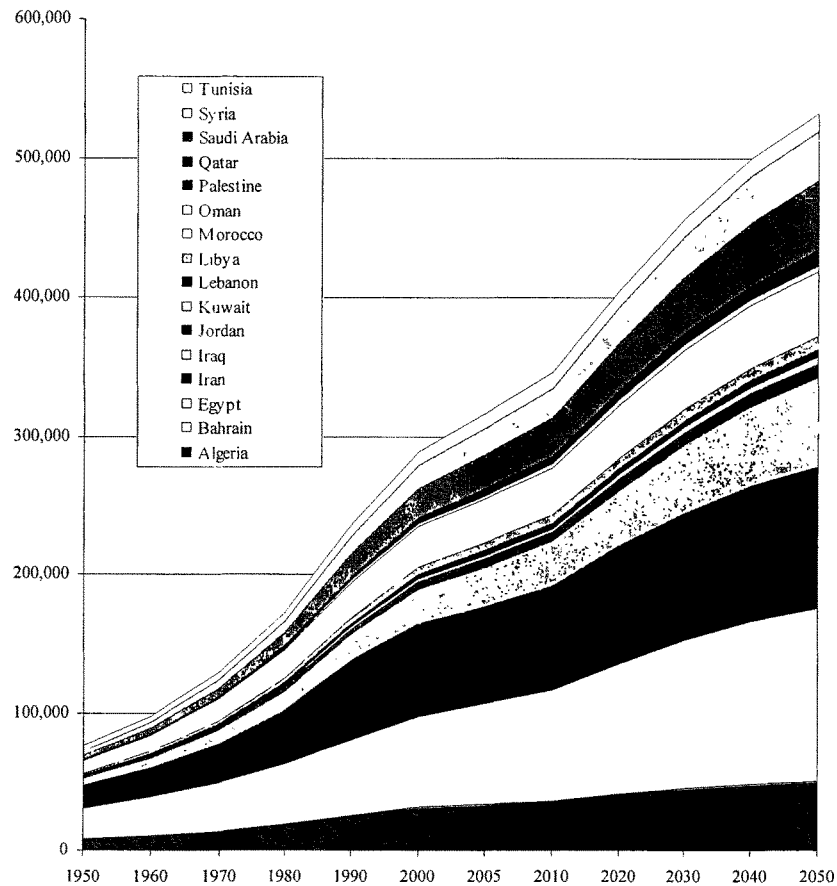
Youth Explosion in the MENA Region-III
(Percentage of Population Age 0-14)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Algeria	40.1	43.8	48.4	45.8	43	34.1	29.6	27	26.1	22.3	18.9	18.2
Bahrain	42.3	43.1	46	34.7	31.5	28.2	27.1	24.1	19.8	18.2	17.4	16.3
Egypt	39.7	42.5	41.4	41.4	41.1	35.9	33.6	32.5	29.7	25.8	23.3	20.9
Iran	39.1	43.8	44.6	44.7	44.7	35.2	28.7	25.2	25.4	20.6	18	17.8
Iraq	40.5	46.1	47.4	47.1	44.6	42.7	41	39	34.6	30.8	27.3	24.3
Jordan	45.7	44.4	45.9	49.4	46.8	39.3	37.2	34.9	29.2	25.2	21.6	19.2
Kuwait	36.1	34.8	43.4	40.2	36.6	26	24.3	24	21.8	18.8	17.8	17.1
Lebanon	34.2	40.6	42.4	38.1	35.4	30.7	28.6	26.4	23.4	21.1	18.7	17.7
Libya	41.9	43.3	44.9	46.7	43.7	32.9	30.1	29.5	27.2	21.9	19.1	18.6
Morocco	44.4	44.8	47.6	43	39.7	33.4	31.1	29.5	26.9	23.4	21	19.2
Oman	42.3	46.2	47.8	45.5	44.1	36.5	34.5	32.2	29.3	25.8	22.7	20.6
Palestine	45.7	44.4	45	47.5	46.7	46.5	45.5	44.3	38.8	34.1	30.1	26.3
Qatar	42.3	39	36.7	32.3	27.7	26.1	21.7	22.3	20.6	18.5	17.7	16.5
Saudi	42	43.3	44.5	44.3	41.6	39.6	37.3	34.7	30.4	26.7	22.8	19.9
Syria	41.4	45.7	47.9	49.1	48.1	40.3	36.9	35.1	30.8	25.3	21.5	19.4
UAE	42.3	43.7	34.6	28.6	29.9	24.6	22	20.6	19	17	15.3	14.5

Source: *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision*, United Nations, February 2005. Note: the forecast is based on medium variant.

Population Trends in the MENA Region-I

(Population in Thousands)



Source: *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision*, United Nations, February 2005. Note: the forecast is based on medium variant.

Population Trends in the MENA Region–II

(Population in Thousands)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Algeria	8,753	10,800	13,746	18,811	25,291	30,463	32,854	35,420	40,624	44,706	47,508	49,500
Bahrain	116	156	220	347	493	672	727	791	910	1,016	1,100	1,155
Egypt	21,834	27,840	35,285	43,860	55,673	67,285	74,033	81,133	94,834	107,056	117,803	125,916
Iran	16,913	21,704	28,805	39,330	56,674	66,365	69,515	74,283	85,036	92,253	98,023	101,944
Iraq	5,340	7,332	10,112	14,093	18,515	25,075	28,807	32,534	40,522	48,797	56,694	63,693
Jordan	472	896	1,623	2,225	3,254	4,972	5,703	6,338	7,556	8,672	9,556	10,225
Kuwait	152	278	744	1,375	2,143	2,230	2,687	3,047	3,698	4,296	4,840	5,279
Lebanon	1,443	1,888	2,390	2,698	2,741	3,398	3,577	3,773	4,140	4,428	4,611	4,702
Libya	1,029	1,349	1,986	3,043	4,334	5,306	5,853	6,439	7,538	8,345	9,015	9,553
Morocco	8,953	11,626	15,310	19,527	24,696	29,231	31,478	33,832	38,327	42,016	44,801	46,397
Oman	456	565	747	1,187	1,843	2,442	2,567	2,863	3,481	4,053	4,554	4,958
Palestine	1,005	1,101	1,096	1,476	2,154	3,150	3,702	4,330	5,694	7,171	8,661	10,058
Qatar	25	45	111	229	467	606	813	894	1,036	1,158	1,263	1,330
Saudi Arabia	3,201	4,075	5,745	9,604	16,379	21,484	24,573	27,664	34,024	40,132	45,309	49,464
Syria	3,495	4,620	6,378	8,978	12,843	16,813	19,043	21,432	26,029	29,983	33,297	35,935
Tunisia	3,530	4,221	5,127	6,454	8,219	9,563	10,102	10,639	11,604	12,379	12,810	12,927

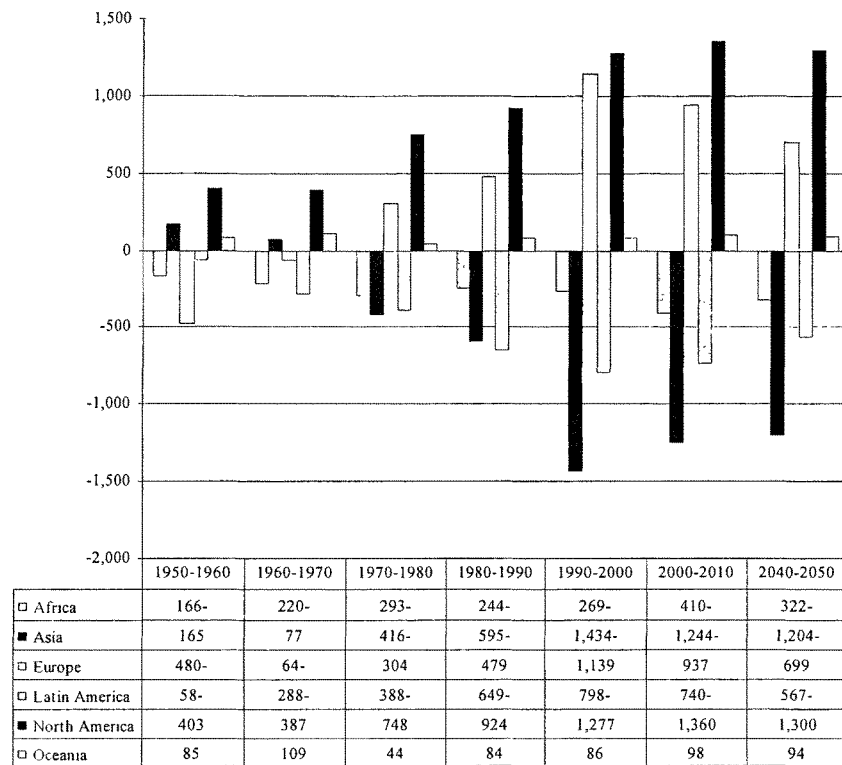
Source: *World Population Prospects. The 2004 Revision*, United Nations, February 2005. Note: the forecast is based on medium variant.

Immigration: Living Between Two Worlds?

- *Ghettoization of European Muslims:* Muslims in Western Europe more and more live in the same neighborhood and do not feel part of a larger European society.
- *Islamic identity vs. assimilation:* A report by the Pew Global Attitudes Project published on July 14, 2005 found that most Europeans, with the exception of Poland (42%) feel that Muslims in their country want to remain distinct from the general population (Germany 88%, Russia 72%, Spain 68%, Netherlands 65%, Great Britain 62%, France 59%). The US's public attitude was split, 49% of Americans felt that American-Muslims wanted to remain "distinct."
- *Negative attitudes towards further immigration from the MENA:* According the Pew Global Attitudes Survey, the majority of Europeans think the immigration from the MENA region is a bad thing, and them appose Turkey's bid to join the EU. (*Immigration from the MENA region is a bad thing:* Netherlands 67%, France 81%, Germany 76%, Britain 44%, Spain 32%, and Poland 26%).
- *Dissidents vs. extremists:* Many so-called dissidents left their home countries in fear of jail and punishment for advocating violence or overthrowing local governments. Many of them have found safe havens in European cities such as London. Now, these individuals have created a support base around them and are preaching violence against their adopted country. A realistic approach against these individuals must be adopted. This can include deporting them to their home countries or trying them locally for advocating violence.
- *Partnering with the Muslim community:* Muslim communities in the West can be the best asset against terrorists. The authorities should build a cooperative partnership to share information about extremists and report any suspicious activities in their communities. "Random" arrest and deportation, however, will hurt any cooperation efforts and will alienate the Muslim communities.
- *Limiting backlash:* Overreaction by Western countries to incidents of terrorism can embolden extremists and alienate and isolate Muslim communities in the West, which are vital to counter-terrorism efforts.

Average Annual Net Number of Immigrants per Decade by Major Area: 1950-2050

(Net number of migrants in thousands)



Source: *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision*, United Nations, February 2005, Page 19. Note: the forecast is based on medium variant.

Testimony of
Steven Emerson
Before the
United States Senate Judiciary Committee

"Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror"

November 8, 2005

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Executive Summary

At the Investigative Project on Terrorism, we have been investigating and tracking radical Islamic organizations and funding for 10 years.¹ We have now compiled one of the largest intelligence archives on radical Islam in the world today. We work closely with law enforcement, the intelligence community, Congress and the media. In tracking Al Qaeda and other Islamic terrorist movements, I have been specifically monitoring and investigating Saudi funding and linkages since the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. My interest in how Saudi Arabia has used its petrodollar revenues to promote and legitimize radical views actually goes back to the mid-1980's when I authored my first book, *The American House of Saud: the Secret Petrodollar Connection* (Franklin and Watts, 1985). The book exposed the political strings attached to Saudi funding of academic centers in the United States. Now, 20 years later, I have found myself returning over and over again to the same problem.

In the years prior to 9-11, the U.S. government paid little attention to the flow of money and religious propaganda exported worldwide from Saudi Arabia. During that period, an elaborate network of Saudi-funded and directed charities, foundations and Islamic propagation centers were created, which in turn funded Islamic organizations, schools and radical movements around the world. Because of its vast petrodollar riches, Saudi Arabia's version of Islam -- a puritanical interpretation often described in short hand as Wahabism -- succeeded in indoctrinating young Muslims, controlling the religious direction of major Islamic religious institutions and in extending the Wahabist doctrine to the four corners of the Earth. The paper trail of Saudi money, funneled through a vast network of charities and religious organizations, has led to some of the most violent terrorist groups in the world, including Al-Qaeda and Hamas.

Saudi officials have long asserted publicly and in private discussions with U.S. officials that the government cannot be held responsible for the actions of non-governmental groups, private donors and corporations, the media and religious leaders. But in fact, much of the non-governmental network in Saudi Arabia was created by Saudi government officials to provide an arm's length relationship and has long been funded by Saudi government line items or by members of the Royal Family. The Wahabist-dominated religious hierarchy in Saudi Arabia was and is tightly controlled by the Saudi regime and Royal Family.

Terrorism requires three primary ingredients: Indoctrination, recruitment and financing. Often, the connections are not neatly compartmentalized, largely because of the intricate and complex ways employed to launder funding to terrorist groups and the larger extremist social-religious organizations from which terrorists recruit. Other times, the evidence shows that non-governmental organizations carry out, to a large degree, activities that are totally legitimate and legal; indeed it is the very external legitimacy of these groups that provide the perfect cover to siphon off, divert or launder financial support or provide cover to terrorist cells. Sometimes the Saudi donors were unaware of

¹ I want to thank my incredible research and administrative staff for their phenomenal efforts in providing research for this testimony.

where their funds were being applied or how they were ultimately used. And in many cases, the Saudi-generated funding and direction for Islamic “humanitarian” or “religious” activities abroad was given in the noble Islamic tradition of Zakat or charity. Some of the recipients, in turn, used the funds to empower and extend the influence of militant Islam through the carrying out of humanitarian services that Arab governments had failed to provide.

Since 9-11, Saudi officials repeatedly have maintained that they have curtailed any support to terrorist groups by Saudi charitable foundations, that they have embarked on an effort to rein in extremist religious ideology, that they have institutionalized new rules of transparency, and that they are as adamant in condemning terrorism as the United States. Towards that end the Saudis have announced several high profile actions, including the alleged shut-down of the Al-Haramain Foundation (“AHF”), the creation of a new U.S.-Saudi commission to monitor terrorist financing, the establishment of a centralized Saudi clearinghouse for all charities, the hosting of an international counter-terror conference, the curbing of extremist propaganda, and a host of other initiatives to stop the spread of terrorism.

But the question that must be asked is whether there is any significant substance to these declarations and announcements. One of the problems for US officials is how to independently determine the true extent to which these announcements have been translated into action. There is a justified skepticism at taking these declarations at face value. While there have been some positive steps taken by Saudi Arabia that can be independently confirmed, a review of other Saudi pronouncements in the past two years strongly suggests that Saudi Arabia has failed to carry out some of the publicly-proclaimed reforms, while in other cases, there is not enough independent evidence to determine whether Saudi Arabia has followed up on its pledges.

There is no doubt that as the result of the Al Qaeda attacks in Saudi Arabia in 2003, the regime itself has declared war on the internal Saudi terrorist infrastructure, killing some two dozen Al Qaeda terrorists and arresting scores of others. And to give credit where it is due, there have also been credible efforts to begin sanitizing some of the publications, websites and religious dogma published by the regime or Saudi charities but in general, the Saudi war against the Al-Qaeda network in Saudi Arabia has not been translated into systematic corollary measures against Islamic terror networks outside the Kingdom.

Defenders of the current Administration policy of not publicly confronting the Saudis point to the fact that Saudi Arabia has engaged in an aggressive campaign to root out Al Qaeda cells in the Kingdom, an effort largely triggered by the series of attacks launched by those cells beginning in 2003. To be sure, Saudi Arabia engaged in a systematic effort to destroy the Al Qaeda infrastructure on Saudi home soil. And the country has cooperated with the U.S. in some other areas, including the extradition of accused terrorist suspect Abu Ali and in starting to impose some central authority on some of the previously untracked “private” funding from Saudis going to radical Islamic causes. Indeed, some U.S. officials with whom I have spoken say they have met Saudi

counterparts who are genuinely committed to stopping the spread of Islamic extremist propaganda.

Still other arguments for not pushing the Saudis too far revolve around the fear that such pressure could destabilize the regime and ultimately lead to a takeover by even more radical forces, such as those aligned with Osama bin Laden.

- Saudi organizations and leaders operating with the permission or acquiescence of the Saudi regime continue to spout virulent anti-Western propaganda and thereby raise serious questions as to whether Saudi Arabia is trying to comprehensively crack down on the sources and support for Islamist terrorism.
- While there have been some efforts to sanitize Saudi websites, publications and textbooks of religious hatred, the record of demonstrable and provable changes is spotty at best and at worst devoid of any substance. Publications from Saudi Arabia and Saudi websites, either officially operated by the regime or those of non-government organizations, continue to spread an extremist view of Islam throughout the world.
- Although there have been some constraints imposed by the Saudi government, Saudi Arabian religious charities and non-governmental organizations (“NGOs”) still disseminate or propagate intolerance and anti-Semitic and anti-Christian dogma.
- Revised banking regulations designed to control the flow of charities have not been applied to three of the most prominent and radical organizations, the Muslim World League (“MWL”), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (“WAMY”) and the International Islamic Relief Organization (“IIRO”).
- Saudi funding of Hamas has continued as new conduits have been created.
- Saudi government officials, religious leaders and members of the Royal Family continue to level anti-Semitic allegations of conspiracies. Persecution of Christians has not abated.
- Senior Saudi religious figures have continued to call for jihad against the United States.
- Saudi officials in the United States and American recipients of Saudi funds continue to detract attention from the extremists’ actions by alleging that the campaign against Saudi extremism is “racist” and that it has led to “hate crimes” against American Muslims.

Saudi Arabia and Persecution of Christians

The religious freedoms that Muslims seek -- and are accorded -- in the United States and elsewhere in the West are far from reciprocated in Saudi Arabia. Indeed, the Kingdom has made it illegal to promote any religion other than Islam, and it continues to outlaw churches.

The State Department listed Saudi Arabia as a "country of particular concern" in its September 2004 report on the state of religious freedom in more than 190 countries. The report accused the Saudis of "particularly severe violations" of religious freedom.²

Consider these recent examples:

- The Washington-based watchdog group, International Christian Concern, reported this past June that Saudi security and religious police had engaged in what it termed a "pogrom-like" crackdown against Christians in the wake of reports of the desecration of the Quran at the military prison camp in Guantanamo, Cuba. The group said it had received reports of 46 confirmed arrests.³
- At about the same time, the religious news agency Asianews reported the arrest of eight Protestant Christians, including two Indians. The Rome-based agency -- affiliated with the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions -- reported that the Saudi religious police, the Muttawa, had arrested an evangelical Christian from India and seized a bible and addresses. That event led to the arrest of seven other members of an evangelical group, including an immigrant worker whose apartment was used for Christian meetings, said the Asianews website.⁴
- On April 23, the Saudi daily Al-Riyadh reported that the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, or religious police, had arrested 40 Pakistani men and women in the Saudi capital two days earlier for "setting up a church" with crosses, pictures and statues in what it called a "deserted palace."

² International Religious Freedom Report for 2004, released Sept. 15, 2004. Saudi Arabia Section <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/35507.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005. It should be noted that action can be taken in the US against Saudi government officials found to be linked to such activities under the enhanced immigration law provisions of the new Intelligence Reform Act, signed into law by President Bush on Dec. 17, 2004. http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=108_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ458.108. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. Under the Intelligence Reform Act, several important immigration-related provisions deal with foreign human rights violators. Those provisions include Sections 5501 through 5506, which amend the Immigration and Nationality Act so that aliens who commit certain acts are excludable or deportable (removable) from the United States. The changes make it a removable offense for any alien who was/is a foreign government official who engaged in particularly severe violations of religious freedoms, as defined in the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, found in Title 22, U.S. Code, Section 6402. These immigration removal provisions, since they are administrative/civil in nature, may be applied retroactively. However, there is little evidence that the US government has pursued such efforts with any degree of enthusiasm.

³ "Saudi officials deny allegations of persecution of Christians in the kingdom," *The Associated Press*, June 7, 2005.

⁴ "Eight Christians arrested in Saudi Arabia," *Agence France-Presse*, June 1, 2005.

Agence France-Presse said they had been celebrating a Catholic mass in a private house.⁵

An official of a U.S.-based human rights organization was quoted in May as saying that Saudi religious authorities most often target the Filipino Christian community. Americans are usually left alone, said Nina Shea, director of the Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House, because "[i]n the calculation of the Saudis, Americans only care about American Christians."

Dissemination of Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Dogma Continues

Anti-Semitic conspiratorial allegations have been embedded in Saudi religious and political dogma for decades. Persistent allegations that Jews, Christians, Westerners, and other "enemies of the Kingdom" are responsible for Saudi woes strongly belies the notion that Saudi Arabia is sincere in its public condemnations of terrorism.

As documented so well by the Middle East Media Research Institute ("MEMRI"), leading Saudi officials and clerics continue to allege classical anti-Semitic conspiracies. Instead of condemning such extremism, Saudi officials in the United States have gone to great lengths in refusing to criticize these outrageous statements. For example, then-Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, appeared on NBC's *Meet the Press* on April 25, 2004. Anchor Tim Russert asked guest Prince Bandar whether the statement made in 2003 by Saudi Interior Minister Nayef that the "Zionists" were responsible for the 9-11 attacks was the position of the Saudi government. "No," said Bandar, but then added, "I don't know what circumstances this quote was made." I fail to see how there could be any "circumstances" in which such a falsehood could be legitimately uttered. Bandar, of course, could have unambiguously condemned such a statement and taken the opportunity before an American audience to formally disassociate the Saudi government from it. Instead, he felt compelled to issue one of those rhetorical qualifiers that in the end leaves open the notion that the anti-Semitism underlying Prince Nayef's comment could actually be legitimate.

In early 2004, Al Qaeda terrorists launched a series of attacks in Saudi Arabia. Following one such attack in the Saudi port city of Yanbu, Crown Prince Abdullah asserted that "Zionist elements" were behind the attacks. As first noted by MEMRI in a May 3, 2004 dispatch, the official government Saudi Press Agency ("SPA") disseminated a story with the headline: "SPA – Crown Prince says Zionism is behind the actions in the kingdom." The Saudi story then reported that Crown Prince Abdallah asserted on May 2, in front of Saudi officials and Royal Family members, *"It became clear to us now that Zionism is behind terrorist actions in the kingdom. I can say that I am 95% sure of that."*⁶

⁵ "Pakistani Christians held in Saudi all freed: embassy," *Agence France-Presse*, May 21, 2005.

⁶ MEMRI Special Dispatch Series No. 706, "Saudi Crown Prince on Yunbu' Attack: 'Zionism Is Behind Terrorist Actions In The Kingdom... I Am 95% Sure Of That,'" May 3, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP70604>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

Abdullah's comments were immediately amplified by Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal as he made even more conspiratorial allegations in the Arab media. For example, in an interview on Abu Dhabi television, Al-Faisal stated that the attacks were perpetrated by two pro-Al Qaeda Saudi exiles who were "financed by Israel."⁷

The Saudi government is determined to strike with an iron fist in fighting this deviant group and rooting out the terrorists. The exiled dissidents are associated with pro-Israel groups. As everyone knows from (Monday's) Interior Ministry statement, the leader of the latest attack had links with the renegades (Saad) Al-Faqih and (Mohammed) Al-Masari. Although these two renegades have no weight whatsoever, it is known that they have contacts with, and even financing from, sides connected to Israel.⁸

Asked by the television interviewer to explain the comments about "Zionists" made by the Saudi Crown Prince, al-Faisal responded with even more anti-Semitic conspiratorial allegations, asserting a secret collusion between "the Zionists, the terrorists and the Kingdom's enemies abroad":

It is no secret that extremist Zionist elements are waging a fierce campaign against Saudi Arabia, leveling false accusations and fabricated slanders at the Kingdom. The desperate attempt by the terrorist group to undermine security, stability and national unity serves the interests of these Zionist elements, which makes the convergence of goals tantamount to evidence of some kind of link between the Zionists, the terrorists and the Kingdom's enemies abroad.⁹

The effort to pin the terrorist attacks on Saudi Arabia on some type of secret plot by Israel was not limited to Saudi officials on their home turf. Adel Al-Jubeir, a prominent Saudi official attached to the Saudi Embassy in Washington and top aide to then-Ambassador Prince Bander, was interviewed on CNN on May 13, 2004. In the course of that interview, anchor Wolf Blitzer asked Al-Jubeir about the comments made by Crown Prince Abdullah. The exchange below is illuminating and disturbing as the comments made by Al-Jubeir show that he inverts reality in portraying criticism of Saudi extremism as actually a plot to destroy the regime. Time and time again, Blitzer offered Al-Jubeir an opportunity to disavow the conspiratorial allegations made by Saudi leaders about a secret Zionist plot. But Al-Jubeir refused to criticize the comments. Instead, he repeatedly portrayed Saudi Arabia as the victim of a conspiracy to "destroy it" claiming that the

⁷ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

⁸ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

⁹ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

Zionist critics of the regime effectively were colluding with Al Qaeda:¹⁰ Although ordinarily I would have attached the transcript as an appendix, the exchange of comments between Al-Jubeir in response to the questions by Blitzer was so compelling that I have included the entire transcript below:

BLITZER: *Your Crown Prince Abdullah, he made a very controversial statement, as you well know, a couple weeks ago. I want our viewers to listen precisely to what he said.*

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH, SAUDI ARABIA *(through translator): I don't say — it's not 100 percent, but 95 percent that the Zionist hands are behind what happened.*

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: *He was accusing Zionists of that most recent terror attack in Riyadh. On the basis of what?*

AL-JUBEIR: *I believe, Wolf, if you look at the context of it, the point that he was trying to make is that there are people in the United States who have been very harsh when it comes to Saudi Arabia, have called for regime change in Saudi Arabia, have called for the dismemberment of Saudi Arabia, and whose — the objectives that they have called for are the same objectives as those shared by the terrorists.*

Osama bin Laden wants to destroy the Saudi state. Osama bin Laden wants to destroy the Saudi government. And so you should understand these comments in that context, that those who are most critical of Saudi Arabia in a very hostile way in the United States, as well as in Israel, share the same objective as Osama bin Laden and those who committed these acts

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: *You're saying that people in Israel want to see Saudi Arabia destroyed?*

AL-JUBEIR: *No, I'm saying there are some people. We have books that have been published about Saudi Arabia, have been called the "Hatred's Kingdom." There have been calls by some for regime change in Saudi Arabia, for putting Saudi Arabia on the axis of evil. It's really that kind of attitude that is shared by Osama bin Laden.*

¹⁰ CNN, Wolf Blitzer Reports, Aired May 13, 2004.
<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/040513/wbr.01.html>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

BLITZER: *Is the crown prince, who's the effective leader of Saudi Arabia, equating al Qaeda with Zionists?*

AL-JUBEIR: *That's not what he was trying to say here. What he was trying to say is that the objectives of those people who have been most harsh toward Saudi Arabia are the same as the objectives of Osama bin Laden. It doesn't mean that they committed this crime.*

BLITZER: *Because we listened closely to that tape and we had several Arab linguists listen precisely. And what he clearly said was that he believes 95 percent — not 100 percent, but 95 percent — that the people who undertook this most recent terror attack in Saudi Arabia was not al Qaeda, but were Zionists.*

AL-JUBEIR: *That they were behind them when somebody calls for regime change in Saudi Arabia, as we have a number of people here in the United States when people call for dismemberment of Saudi Arabia.*

You'll recall the infamous briefing before the Defense Policy Board where the analyst made the case that we should take Saudi out of Arabia. That is not much different from the mind-set of Osama bin Laden, which wants to also replace the Saudi government and install instead a Taliban-like regime.

When you say behind them, it means supporting them intellectually. That doesn't mean financially. It doesn't mean that they put them up to it. It just means that they share the same objective.

BLITZER: *Because U.S. officials clearly say that most recent terror attack in Riyadh and all the other ones were the work of al Qaeda.*

AL-JUBEIR: *We agree.*

BLITZER: *You agree?*

AL-JUBEIR: *So have we. Our Interior Ministry issued a statement to that effect. The person who was the ringleader of the attack is a known person, a dissident. He was on — on our list of — sorry — terrorists. He was on the list of most wanted individuals in Saudi Arabia. His picture was plastered all over the country.*

BLITZER: *Do you want to issue any sort of apology for the comments of your boss, the Crown Prince Abdullah?*

AL-JUBEIR: *Why apology? I was explaining it to you. There's no*

apology necessary.

BLITZER: *Because of the impression that he left that for that most recent terror attack he was blaming Zionists.*

AL-JUBEIR: *Because, Wolf, what happens with Saudi Arabia, unfortunately, after 9/11 is anything that Saudi Arabia does or says is perceived with a lot of criticism.*

It's sort of, we are guilty until proven innocent. It should be the other way around. And so nobody cuts us any slack. And every little thing is exaggerated. Every little thing is inflated. I can look at statements by American officials. I can look at statements by officials of other countries that are outrageous and that have not solicited apologies from them or from anyone else. But when it comes to us, we're always the ones who have to apologize. I don't see a reason to do this here.¹¹

Saudi Public Relations: A Lack of Frankness

Saudi representatives in the US have gone further in trying to deny responsibility for radical statements. One extraordinary example occurred earlier this year and was the subject of an NBC News exclusive. NBC obtained an audiotape of Sheik Saleh Al Luhaidan, chief justice of Saudi Arabia's Supreme Judicial Council, exhorting young Muslims to go to Iraq to participate in the jihad against American forces. According to the report, NBC asked Saudi officials for their reaction. Their response? Saudi officials falsely claimed that the tape was a fabrication. NBC then contacted the Sheik directly in Saudi Arabia who admitted he had made the recording. According to NBC, "A Saudi spokesman twice denied the tape was authentic, claiming Saudi intelligence analysts determined it was 'a crude fake.' So NBC News called Luhaidan himself, in Saudi Arabia, and played the tape. Luhaidan confirmed those were his words, saying in Arabic, 'Yes, this is my voice.'¹²

In response to repeated criticism of its ties to militant Islam, Saudi Arabia has embarked on an assiduous public relations campaign to portray itself as opposed to terrorism. In February of this year, the regime hosted a lavish international "anti-terrorism" conference with participation from 50 countries, including a high ranking delegation of more than a dozen officials from the United States, and about 10 Arab and Muslim NGOs. But in terms of substance, the conference was an exercise in grand deception, designed to literally purchase U.S. and Western goodwill thru the orchestration of superficial anti-terrorism claims. In the end, the estimated tens of thousands of dollars spent by the U.S.

¹¹ CNN, Wolf Blitzer Reports, Aired May 13, 2004.

<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/040513/wbr.01.html>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

¹² Myers, Lisa, "More evidence of Saudi doubletalk? Judge caught on tape encouraging Saudis to fight in Iraq," MSNBC.com Apr. 26, 2005. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7645118/>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

government on travel and other conference-related expenses amounted to a mass subsidy to a vast Saudi public relations campaign to sanitize its image in the West.

At the outset, it was easily discernible that the conference was meant only as a public relations play for Saudi Arabia, a fact that could have been instantly deduced from the attendance roster. Included in the official visiting delegations were representatives of two of the leading state-supporters of terrorism, Syria and Iran, and of Sudan, a militant regime engaged in a genocidal campaign in Darfur. Another official delegation, sitting alongside all the foreign missions, was the Muslim World League, a notoriously extremist Saudi charity long-linked to the spread of Islamic radicalism.

Over the course of the four-day conference, the Saudi hosts were able to lead a chorus of those in attendance in condemning "terrorism" over and over again while also announcing new efforts to stop "terrorist financing," the creation of a new Saudi anti-terrorist center and countless other proposals and initiatives. But there was never any specific description or definition of the "terrorism" they were condemning. The final communiqué of the Riyadh conference included this clause: "The Conference affirmed that terrorism has no particular religion, race, nationality or geographical area. In this context, it stressed that any attempt to link terrorism with any religion is helpful only to the terrorists."¹³ Actually, the refusal to name Islamic terrorism or Islamic extremism as the core problem is of much more assistance to the terrorists. This is not, as the communiqué asserted, a matter of linking a religion to terrorism. It is Islamic terrorists who have invoked their interpretation of Islam and thus are motivated by religious doctrine. And it is Islamic militants who want to blur the distinction between Islam and militant Islam by accusing the West of engaging in a war against Islam. The unwillingness to acknowledge the very problem of Islamic terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism as stemming from a particular religious ideology thus renders any pronouncements against the general threat of terrorism to be devoid of any real meaning.

The fear of maligning a religion expressed by the Saudi hosts was not as evident when it came to "the Jews." As Glenn Simpson of *The Wall Street Journal* has reported in his account of the conference, one of the materials given to the outside media was an essay by Abdullah al Obeid that blamed stories linking terrorism and Islam on "some mass media centers that are managed and run by Jews in the West."¹⁴ Mr. Simpson wrote, "[u]nder his leadership, Mr. Obeid added, the Muslim World League organized symposiums to explain that Palestinian attacks on Israelis 'are conducted in self-defense and they are lawful and approved by all religious standards, international treaties, norms and announcements.' He made no distinction between attacks on civilians and soldiers."¹⁵

The author of the book was a long-time MWL official, Mr. Obeid, who, Mr. Simpson reported, had served as "secretary general of MWL from 1995 to 2002, a period when the

¹³Counter-Terrorism International Conference: 'Riyadh Declaration', Feb. 8, 2005.

<http://www.saudiembassy.net/2005News/Statements/StateDetail.asp?cindex=498>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

¹⁴ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁵ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

huge Saudi government-funded organization fell under intense scrutiny from Asia to North America for spending tens of millions of dollars to finance the spread of Saudi Arabia's austere brand of fundamentalist Islam."¹⁶ Immediately upon the conclusion of the conference, Simpson reported, Saudi Arabia announced that it had appointed Mr. Obeid as Saudi Education Minister.¹⁷

In September 2004, MWL accused "Zionist and Christianizing organizations" of operating in Iraq with the aim of weakening Islam in the war-torn country. MWL remarked that it "noticed the infiltration of biased foreign organizations into Iraq, including Zionist and Christianizing ones, to implement programs aimed at corrupting youth and weakening their Islamic and patriotic awareness."¹⁸

Saudi Charitable Organizations

A discussion of Saudi-based government sanctioned international organizations or charities such as the Muslim World League (MWL), the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), or the Al-Haramain Foundation, and their spokesmen, requires the recognition of two distinct crucial issues:

The first is the propagation of Islam *in the manner as is practiced* by the Saudi individuals or organizations in question, and the second is the knowing or unknowing use of money, auspices and assets from such charities that have aided terrorist entities. While there may be, often, an intertwining of these two issues, they are two separate and distinct problems that are causing enormous reverberations around the world.

According to the 9-11 Commission's finding: "While Saudi domestic charities are regulated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, charities and international relief agencies such as the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), are currently regulated by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs. This Ministry uses zakat and government funds to spread Wahabi beliefs throughout the world."¹⁹

The international export of the Wahabi version of Islam began with the Muslim World League ("MWL"), set up in 1962 by the royal Saud family, to promote Islamic unity, and to spread its view of Islam. After the 1991 Gulf War, when the Saudis angered the Brotherhood and other extremists in the kingdom by seeking help from the U.S., the Saudi government set up a new charity -- the Al Haramain Foundation -- to spread Islam beyond the Middle East, and to counter the Brotherhood's influence. The government's

¹⁶ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁷ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁸ "Islamic Body Accuses 'Zionist, Christianizing' Groups of Infiltrating Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, September 20, 2004.

¹⁹ "The 9-11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States" W.W. Norton & Company: July 2004 at p. 372.

Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowment, Call and Guidance ("Ministry of Islamic Affairs") was organized in 1993 to export Wahabism around the world.²⁰

Over the course of several years, from 2002 through 2005, the U.S. Treasury, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the United Nations designated various international branches and individuals associated with one of the largest Saudi-based charitable organizations, Al Haramain Foundation (AHF), as supporters of terrorism.²¹

As recently as July 2005, Stuart Levey, the U.S. Treasury's Under Secretary for Terrorism & Financial Crimes, noted that "Saudi Arabian charities, particularly the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Association [sic] of Muslim Youth (WAMY), and the Muslim World League (MWL) continue to cause us concern."²² Senator Charles Schumer issued letters on September 17, 2003 calling upon Treasury Secretary Snow and Attorney General John Ashcroft "to open a criminal investigation and immediately freeze the assets" of WAMY "in the wake of a new report...suggesting links to Hamas, Saudi Arabia and terrorism."²³

Both the MWL and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth have long been primary financial and religious instruments by which the Saudi regime propagated Wahabism. According to a GAO report issued in September 2005,²⁴ the interconnectivity between

²⁰ Ottaway, David B., "U.S. Eyes Money Trails of Saudi-Backed Charities," *Washington Post*, Aug. 19, 2004.

²¹ The U.S. branch of the Al Haramain Foundation (AHF) was designated as a terrorist organization by the US Treasury on September 9, 2004. Since March 2002, the United States and Saudi Arabia have jointly designated eleven branches of AHF based on evidence of financial, material and/or logistical support to the al Qaida network and affiliated organizations. These branches - Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Somalia, and Tanzania - along with the former director of AHF, Aqeel Abdul Aziz Al-Aqil, are named on the UN's 1267 Committee's consolidated list of terrorists associated with al Qaida, Usama bin Laden and the Taliban and are subject to international sanctions. U.S. Treasury Release JS-1895, "U.S.-Based Branch of Al Haramain Foundation Linked to Terror, Treasury Designates U.S. Branch, Director." Sept. 9, 2004. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js1895.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005. Most recently, the U.S. designated Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, who "founded and organized an Albanian jihadist organization that has been financed by the Al Haramain Foundation." U.S. Treasury Release JS-2727, "Treasury Designates Bin Laden, Qadi Associate." Sept. 19, 2005. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2727.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005..

²² U.S. Treasury Release JS-2629, "Testimony of Stuart Levey, Under Secretary Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs." July 13, 2005. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2629.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

²³ Press Release, "Virginia Charity Linked to Hamas and the Saudis Have Escaped Federal Charges," Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/press_releases/PR02034.html. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. See also Schumer Letter to John Snow, Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/special_reports/Snow%20and%20WAMY%209.16.03.pdf and Schumer Letter to John Ashcroft, Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/special_reports/Ashcroft%20and%20WAMY%209.16.03.pdf. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005.

²⁴ United States Government Accountability Office ("GAO") Report to Congressional Requesters, "Information on U.S. Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism." Sept. 2005. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>. Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

the Saudi government, non-governmental organizations, and “private” foundations and funding is so intertwined and advanced that it would be impossible to unravel the terrorist financing even if the Saudi government wanted to do it. The GAO report continued as follows:

Various government and non-government sources report that Saudi funding and export of a particular version of Islam that predominates in Saudi Arabia has had the effect, whether intended or not, of promoting the growth of religious extremism globally. In the 1960s, funding of religious outreach activities overseas became a central feature of Saudi policy through organizations such as the Muslim World League and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Activities of these organizations include providing medicine and food and building mosques, schools, and shelters. The Saudi donations to support its aid efforts and the spread of its religious ideology come from public and private sources and are channeled through a variety of foundations and middlemen to recipients around the world. Saudi Arabia’s multibillion-dollar petroleum industry, although largely owned by the government, has fostered the creation of large private fortunes, enabling many wealthy Saudis to sponsor charities and educational foundations whose operations extend to many countries. U.S. government and other expert reports have linked some Saudi donations to the global propagation of religious intolerance, hatred of Western values, and support to terrorist activities.²⁵

MWL and WAMY continue to operate around the world with dozens of international offices. MWL has two offices in the United States, one in northern Virginia and the second in New York City. The Virginia office was raided by the FBI in March 2002 as part of an investigation into a large network of Virginia-based Islamic charities and corporate entities suspected of having ties to terrorist groups. It was again raided in July 2005. Its current US director, Abdullah Al-Noshen, was arrested for immigration fraud and is now awaiting trial. The assistant director of that office, Khalid Fadlalah, was arrested and subsequently pled guilty to lying on immigration documents to enable Al-Noshen to work in the United States.

Most recently, the role of MWL in funding extremists in the United States came to light in the trial of Ali Al-Tamimi, the American-Muslim spiritual leader of Dar Al-Arqam Islamic Center in northern Virginia, arrested on terrorism charges after 9-11. He was convicted this year for soliciting treason, seditious conspiracy and conspiracy to wage war against the United States. At his trial, one of his defense witnesses was his successor at Dar Al-Arqam, Yousef Idris. Idris said he was employed by MWL and served at the same time as the primary lecturer at Dar Al-Arqam. Under cross examination by Assistant US Attorney Gordon Kromberg, Idris stated he agreed with Tamimi (a Sunni cleric) that Shiites should have their heads cut off if they did not repent. Government

²⁵ United States Government Accountability Office (“GAO”) Report to Congressional Requesters, “Information on U.S. Agencies’ Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism,” Sept. 2005. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>, at pg.6 (PDF pg.10). Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

officials and other sources have described Dar Al Arqam as a center for radical Islamic supporters who have routinely heard Islamic lectures and sermons demonizing the United States, the West and Jews. Not insignificantly, Dar Al-Arqam is located at 360 South Washington in Arlington Virginia, the same address as MWL.

The Muslim World League issues several publications and also runs several websites featuring both English and Arabic components. Although many of the links on the multiple MWL websites are now inactive, the primary Saudi-based MWL website offers access to Islamic religious rulings, fatwas. One such fatwa posted on this site betrays the organization's intolerance for other religions, "Establishing schools and public facilities such as hospitals and others in the land of Kufar [infidels] is one of the necessities of Dawah [propagation of Islam] and the tools of Jihad for the sake of Allah" as it "protects the Muslims' religious beliefs and identity against the Christian and non-religious institutions."²⁶

Another section of the MWL website defends Jihad: "Jihad in Islam was legislated to uphold truth, to defend the oppressed, and to implement justice...and in defense of the homeland against the occupation of land and plundering of wealth, and against the colonial settlement that drives people out of their homes, and against those who support and help the expulsion from homes."²⁷

The MWL position paper continued, "We cannot equate the terrorism and violence of tyrants who exploit countries and desecrate its honors and sanctuaries and plunder the wealth, and the practice of the legitimate defense, whereby the weak strive to grasp their legitimate right in self determination."²⁸

The current Canadian MWL website has posted various publications and tracts that attack Judaism and Christianity as being "false" religions, denigrate the Bible as being "corrupted," and legitimize the Islamic religious punishments of amputations. In referring to Jews, for example, the MWL Canadian website says as follows:

In the scriptures of Jews we notice that the concept of life after death is a vague one. It is, in fact, a materialistic concept, and it is also a racist one. For Jews God is a pro-Jewish Lord. He gives them the right to crush and eliminate all other nations who are called Goyim (non-Jews). These people do not deserve to be human and naturally do not qualify to enter Heaven. It is a concept of bias, hatred and racism.

²⁶ Muslim World League Website,

<http://www.themwl.org/Fatwa/default.aspx?d=1&cid=109&l=AR&cid=11>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

²⁷ "Muslim World League Position on Terrorism." p. 12. Muslim World League Website <http://www.themwl.org/Subjects/default.aspx?d=1&l=AR&cid=4&cid=31>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

²⁸ "Muslim World League Position on Terrorism." p. 13. Muslim World League Website <http://www.themwl.org/Subjects/default.aspx?d=1&l=AR&cid=4&cid=31>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

Hamas Offices in Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia's repeated claims that it does not harbor or finance terrorists or terrorist organizations are belied by recent events. In an arrest weeks ago in Jerusalem, Israeli security forces uncovered a Hamas operation with direct links to Saudi Arabia. Officials apprehended senior Hamas operative Ya'akub Abu Assab, of the Jerusalem neighborhood of Souana, after raids on suspected Hamas offices. Through the course of interrogation, Israeli officials discovered that Assab was not only the top Hamas official in Jerusalem, but that he also acted as a liaison between Hamas offices in Jerusalem and in Saudi Arabia. According to Israeli officials, Assab was in frequent contact with the Saudi offices via the Internet. Assab, who traveled freely with an Israeli ID, is said to have received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Hamas offices in Saudi Arabia, as well as instruction for Hamas operations. The officials noted that the money was transferred from Saudi Arabia through couriers and moneychangers and was used to support the families of Palestinian suicide bombers as well as to assist in the funding of operations.²⁹ As Matthew Levitt recently observed, although Hamas maintains official offices in Syria, Iran, Yemen, and Sudan, this is the first indication of a formal office within the Saudi Kingdom.³⁰

Saudi Arabian Support for Palestinian Terrorists: A History

Saudi Arabia has funneled money to Palestinian terrorist groups through terror-linked charities and committees for a number of years. At the onset of the second intifada beginning in October 2000, the Saudi government set up two committees to solicit money for the Palestinians: the Saudi Popular Committee for Assisting the Palestinian Mujahideen and the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. The Saudi Popular Committee for Assisting the Palestinian Mujahideen gave to the PLO, while the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada gave to the Palestinian Authority.³¹ While both supplied significant support, it was the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, headed by Saudi Prince Nayef bin Abd Al-Aziz, which "served as the main conduit for Saudi financial and material aid to the Palestinian territories since its establishment under Royal Decree 8636 on October 16, 2000."³²

Purporting to use the funds for humanitarian aid, the Saudi decree required the large banks in the country to set up unified accounts for the fund raising proceeds through the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. Each of the new accounts set up at the bank would be known as "Account 98."³³ From their inception, these accounts

²⁹ Etgar Lefkovitz, "Jerusalem-based Saudi Hamas Liaison Nabbed," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 27, 2005.

³⁰ Matthew Levitt, "A Hamas Headquarters in Saudi Arabia?," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, Sept. 28, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2378>. Accessed Oct. 19, 2005.

³¹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 9-10.

³² Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 9-10.

³³ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 11.

proved to be highly successful in raising money. The 2004 *Almog* civil lawsuit against the Arab Bank alleges that 150,000,000 Saudi riyals (\$40 million US) were deposited into these accounts in the first month in Riyadh alone.³⁴ In April of 2002, Saudi television aired a state-run telethon encouraging donors to raise money for the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. The telethon reportedly raised over \$109 million dollars.³⁵ By December 2003, the Saudi Embassy reported that the total value of “services” handed to the Committee stood at \$194,123,924.³⁶

In April 2002, Israelis first discovered the link between the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada and Palestinian terrorist groups. As part of Operation Defensive Shield, Israel forces raided the Tulkarem Charitable Committee -- long one of Hamas’ well-known civilian institutions.³⁷ Among the documents confiscated from the raid, Israeli officials discovered on a computer a spreadsheet from the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, giving a detailed account to how the Tulkarem Committee received \$545,000 from the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada to allocate to 102 families of so-called martyrs --roughly \$5300 per family. The spreadsheet included the names of eight suicide bombers.³⁸

In May 2002, “Israel released a report that alleged the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada had transferred large sums of money to families of Palestinians who died in violent events, including notorious terrorists.”³⁹ Saudi officials retorted that the Israeli accusations were “baseless and false.”⁴⁰ Executive Chairman to the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Dr. Sa’id Al Urabi Al Harithi, claimed that the Committee had “nothing to do with terrorism.”⁴¹

A report in the *New York Times*, quoting senior law enforcement individuals, stated that U.S. Treasury and other federal agencies officials began pressing for the Saudi government to monitor more closely the actions of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada out of concern that American banks might be a terrorist conduit for money. This response drew immediate ire from the Saudi government. Nail al Jubeir, spokesman for the Saudi Embassy in Washington, DC, responded that the money did not go to terrorists, because it was monitored by international organizations such as the Red

³⁴ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 97.

³⁵ “Telethon for Palestinian Victims Highly Successful”, *Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, April 14, 2002. See <http://www.saudiembassy.net/2002News/News/ForDetail.asp?cIndex=1132>. Accessed on Oct. 21, 2005.

³⁶ “Humanitarian Relief Handed Over to Palestinian Officials in Kingdom,” *Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia*, December 31, 2003. See <http://www.saudiembassy.net/2003News/News/AraDetail.asp?cIndex=1189> (accessed on Oct. 21, 2005).

³⁷ Matthew Levitt, “Who Pays for Palestinian Terror?,” *The Weekly Standard*, August 25, 2005.

³⁸ Robert Lenzner, “Terror Inc.” *Forbes*, October 18, 2004.

³⁹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues,” *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 12-13.

⁴⁰ Ben Barber, “Saudi Millions Finance Terror Against Israel,” *The Washington Times*, May 7, 2002.

⁴¹ [FBIS Translation GMP20020419000070] April 19, 2002 as cited in Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues,” *CRS Report for Congress*, Mar. 1, 2005, pg. 13.

Cross, the United Nations and the Palestinian Authority. He deemed the investigation a “cheap shot.”⁴²

Following the discovery that the Arab Bank’s New York branch may have been involved in suspicious activity, families of the victims of terrorist attacks filed two civil lawsuits against the bank. The 2004 *Almog* lawsuit alleged that the Saudis established the Account 98 at a number of commercial banks in Saudi Arabia including: Saudi-American Bank, the Saudi-British Bank, the Saudi-Dutch Bank, Saudi-French Bank, National Commercial Bank, and the Arab National Bank.⁴³ The lawsuit went on to contend that the banks collected donations from willing donors. Once the donations were collected, the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, opened up bank accounts of those they considered “beneficiaries,” and deposited the donations into their accounts. In turn, because the donations could not easily be converted to Israeli currency, the Arab Bank instead diverted the funds to its New York branch to be converted to US dollars.⁴⁴

Since its inception, the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada has not hidden its support for suicide bombers and other so-called “martyrs.” In a list posted on the Committee’s website of 1,300 names of individuals considered “beneficiaries,” “over 60 match or closely resemble the names of known Palestinian militants, who carried out attacks on Israeli personnel and civilians,” including those of suicide bombers.⁴⁵

According to the March 2005 Congressional Research Service (“CRS”) Report on Saudi Arabia’s ties to terror financing, the following names listed on the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada website corresponded to those suspected of being suicide bombers:

- * **Said Hassan Hussein Hotari**--identified as suicide bomber in June 1, 2001, attack on Dolphinarium nightclub in Tel Aviv. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Izzedin Shahil Ahmed Masri**--identified as suicide bomber in August 9, 2001 attack on Sbarro pizza restaurant in Jerusalem. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Maher Muhiaddin Kamel Habeishi**--identified as suicide bomber in December 2, 2001 attack on Haifa bus. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Wa'fa AH Khalil Idris**--female, identified as suicide bomber in January 27, 2002 street attack in Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility.

⁴² Timothy O'Brien, “US Presses Saudis to Police Accounts Used to Aid Palestinians,” *The New York Times*, June 24, 2003.

⁴³ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 102.

⁴⁴ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 104. See also *Litle et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5449, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 15, 2005), pg. 51.

⁴⁵ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues,” *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 14.

* **Mohammed Ahmed Abdel-Rahman Daraghme**h--identified as suicide bomber in March 2, 2002 attack on Orthodox Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility.⁴⁶

The fact that the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada was openly supportive of suicide bombers was further underscored when the Committee's Executive Manager Mubarak Al-Biker stated in 2002, "[w]e support the families of Palestinian martyrs, without differentiating between whether the Palestinian was a bomber or was killed by Israeli troops."⁴⁷

And despite the Saudis' claim of shutting down terror financing, the Saudi government, since the exposure of the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada links to Hamas, has made only relatively minor changes to prevent charitable donations from falling into the hands of terrorists. In an effort to polish its image in the West, the Saudis changed the name of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada to the Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Palestinian People. In 2002 the Saudi government announced the creation of the High Commission for Oversight of Charities to assist charities in their transparency.⁴⁸ In 2003, the Saudi government introduced new banking regulations that prohibit private charities and relief groups from sending money overseas until further inspection has shown that the money was not going to aid terrorist organizations.⁴⁹ And in 2004, the Saudis belatedly established the Saudi Nongovernmental Commission on Relief and Charity Work abroad, through which all future private donations would flow. Yet, as of March 2005, according to the 2005 CRS Report, the new Commission "was not operational."⁵⁰

Saudi Arabia: Still Financing Terror?

Therefore, despite these new mechanisms, it appears that Saudi actions to combat terror financing need improvement. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), recently reported that Saudi Iqra TV aired a program on August 29, 2005 in which its hosts encouraged viewers to support "jihad" and to donate money to the Palestinian cause.⁵¹ Claiming that "jihad is the pinnacle of Islam", Secretary General of the Saudi

⁴⁶ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 14-15.

⁴⁷ Raid Qusti, "Saudi Telethon Funds Go Direct To Palestinian Victims," *Arab News*, May 27, 2002.

⁴⁸ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 17.

⁴⁹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 17.

⁵⁰ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 18.

⁵¹ "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

government's Muslim World League Koran Memorization Commission, Sheikh Abdallah Basfar, implored those who watched to donate money the Palestinians:

Allah tempts you. If you give money, you'll be rewarded. But he threatens you that if you don't give money, and you are stingy in spending your money for the sake of Allah, you should expect punishment from Allah, because Jihad is the protection of land and honor. It's a most important thing. When you repel evil from your brothers in Palestine, you repel it from yourself and from your country, your family, your daughters, and your sons. Don't think you are only protecting them – you are also protecting yourself. Furthermore, Allah is trying you with this money. Allah is testing you to see whether you spend this money for His sake. Hence, he who refrains from fighting and from donating money for the sake of Allah, Allah inflicts disaster or catastrophe upon him before Judgment Day.⁵²

During the program a caption on the screen directed donors to send money, not to the renamed Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Palestinian People, but to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada (Intifada Committee) and Account 98.⁵³

Saudi Websites Promoting Extremism

Like the incendiary sermons televised on Saudi Arabian television, there are Saudi government websites that continue to espouse extremist statements. The website www.al-islam.com which is the official website of the Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance, is one such website.

The following hadith (a narration about the life of the Prophet Muhammad) is found on www.al-islam.com: "The Prophet said, 'By Him in Whose Hands my life is! I would love to fight in Allah's cause and get killed then get resurrected and then get killed, and then get resurrected again and then get killed.'" ⁵⁴ This hadith is often used by the Al-Qaeda leader in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to encourage Muslims to join the jihad.

The following hadiths, featured on the Saudi Ministry website, discuss the day of resurrection and the obligation of Muslims:

⁵² "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁵³ "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁵⁴ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/display/display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=10755>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is! Whoever is wounded in Allah's Cause...and Allah knows well who gets wounded in His Cause...will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound having the color of blood but the scent of musk." ⁵⁵

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say, 'O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him.'" ⁵⁶

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "You [Muslims] will fight with the Jews until some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will [betray them] saying, 'O Abdullah [slave of Allah]! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.'" ⁵⁷

Although the website offers *hadiths* on a variety of different subjects, not all referring specifically to the jihad, it is clear that these statements praise and encourage the jihad, for example:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, The example of a Mujahid in Allah's Cause -- and Allah knows better who really strives in His Cause -- is like a person who fasts and prays continuously. Allah guarantees that He will admit the Mujahid in His Cause into Paradise if he is killed, otherwise He will return him to his home safely with rewards and war booty. ⁵⁸

In addition to posting religiously incendiary material, the website of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance has a link to the website of Sheikh Abduraziz Bin Baz, the late Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia. Bin Baz was the chief sanctioned voice of the Saudi kingdom. Though Bin Baz was attacked by the most stringent of Salafi Muslim radicals as a munifiq (traitor) for his cooperation with the Saudi royal family, Bin Baz himself has backed militant confrontations with the West. In his book *The Ideological Attack*, he repeatedly claims that there is a Zionist and "Christian crusader" plot against Islam. Bin Baz had appeared repeatedly as a guest for the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). He has also had contacts with various prominent members of Al Qaeda including Hassan Al Suraihi, who fought alongside Bin Laden in Afghanistan.

⁵⁵ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4415>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁶ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4614>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁷ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4613>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁸ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4393>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

The English version of the website, http://www.binbaz.org.sa/aboutus_eng.asp, features an “about us” section which claims that one of its purposes is:

Keeping in touch with Muslims and non-Muslims through Sheikh ibn Baz’s approach in all parts of the world, and to demonstrate the humanitarian aspect of the Islamic faith and its address to all mankind. That will only be possible by the reinforcement of the approach of tolerance and moderation called for by Sheikh ibn Baz during his life or via his books and lectures after his death.⁵⁹

And yet, despite the message of “tolerance and moderation” in English, the Arabic site of binbaz.org continues to post an article entitled, “What is meant by Jihad?,” wherein Bin Baz states:

It was proven that the prophet -- peace and blessings of Allah be upon him -- collected the Jizya [tax] from the Magi of Hajr, so these three kinds of Kufar [Infidels], the Jews, Christians and the Magi, it was written that they should pay Jizya, It is a duty that Jihad should be waged against them and that they be fought when there is a capability until they convert to Islam or pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued, as for others ; it’s a duty -- according to the scholars -- to fight them until they convert because the prophet -- peace and blessings of Allah be upon him -- fought the Arabs until they converted in multitudes to the religion of Allah and they were not asked to pay Jizya.⁶⁰

Similarly, in a section on the website called “Articles and Fatwas,” this Bin Baz writing is posted:

Jihad in Allah's cause is among the best offerings, and the great obedience, indeed it is the best offering by the givers and what to competitors (to satisfy Allah) competed to do after the (religious) duties. That's only because it results in the victory of the believers, the lifting of the faith higher, the suppression of the infidels and the hypocrites and the facilitation of spreading Islam among people of the universe.⁶¹

One final example of Bin Baz’s views on Christians and Jews featured on the Arabic binbaz.org website comes from his article, “Warning Against the Schemes of the Enemies,” in which he states:

⁵⁹ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz (English). http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:Y-rbgt9ijX4J:www.binbaz.org.sa/aboutus_eng.asp+Keeping+in+touch+with+Muslims+and+non-Muslims&hl=en. Accessed November 3, 2005.

⁶⁰ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). “What is Meant by Jihad?.” <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=Bz00343.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

⁶¹ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). “Virtues of Jihad and the Mujahidin.” <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=Bz00341.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

Allah has foretold us about it in His glorious book when He said 'Nor will they cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can.' The Almighty also said 'Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion.'⁶²

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), its History of Radicalism, Summer Camps and a New Lobby

WAMY is heavily supported by the Saudi Government.⁶³ Its Washington, D.C. office was once headed by Osama bin Laden's nephew, Abdullah Bin Laden.⁶⁴ When Ahmad Ajaj was arrested in 1992 while trying to enter the U.S. with Ramzi Yousef, investigators found among Ajaj's belongings a WAMY envelope with the organization's Saudi Arabia address.⁶⁵ The envelope contained a manual entitled "Military Lessons in the Jihad against the Tyrants." Both Yousef and Ajaj were later convicted for their roles in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

In addition, WAMY has actively promoted religious hatred through the publication of such books as *Islamic Views*, printed in Arabic by the Armed Forces Printing Press of the Saudi Government. *Islamic Views* teaches that Islam "is a religion of *Jihad*" and that *Jihad* "was an answer for the Jews, the liars."⁶⁶ *Islamic Views* also advises Muslims to [t]each our children to love taking revenge on the Jews and the oppressors, and teach them that our youngsters will liberate Palestine and Al Quds when they go back to Islam and make *Jihad* for the sake of Allah.⁶⁷ Although this publication still circulates in the United States and in the United Kingdom, there is no evidence that it has been republished by WAMY or the Saudi government.

In October 2005, Saleh Wohaibi, Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), complained that "WAMY and other charitable organizations suffered a loss of image as they were linked to terrorism by the Western, more specifically, the American media."⁶⁸ It is no small irony that he complained that WAMY summer camps will suffer due to loss in revenue. According to the Kingdom's *Arab News*, Wohaibi said

⁶² Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). "Warning Against the Schemes of the Enemies." <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=Bz01112.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

⁶³ "WAMY team in Afghanistan risks life to deliver aid," *Saudi Gazette*, Interview with Dr Abdul Wahab A. Noorwali, Assistant Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), in Jeddah, November 20, 2001:

"Saudi Arabia's support has been enormous since the establishment of WAMY in 1963. The Kingdom provides us with a supportive environment that allows us to work openly within the society to collect funds and spread activities. It also provides us with protection abroad through Saudi embassies and consulates, in addition to financial support."

⁶⁴ "Islamic Charity Committee Moves to New Premises," *Arab News*, May 1994; see also IRS Form 990 for the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) submitted for fiscal years 1993-1999.

⁶⁵ The 48-page manual was Government Exhibit No. GX 2800-A S5 93 CR 180 in *United States v. Salameh*, (S5) 93-cr-180.

⁶⁶ *Islamic Views*, Saudi Armed Forces Printing Press, 13th Edition, Circa 1991.

⁶⁷ *Islamic Views*, Saudi Armed Forces Printing Press, 13th Edition, Circa 1991.

⁶⁸ Hassan, Javid. "Fund-raising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities." *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

“the best way to wean youth away from undesirable activities was to install sound values based on Islamic teachings. ‘That’s what the summer camps were about...’”⁶⁹

WAMY did indeed run summer camps that Wohaibi laments as a loss. The following is an excerpt from an officially sanctioned song to be performed by campers, as printed in an English-language WAMY camp training manual:

Youth of [Islam] are the guided youth. Come! Come to a final decision:
The Prophet has called out and so has the Qur’an. So blessed is the
servant who responds when he is called... Bring back the glory to its lions,
and restore the zeal to its soldiers. Flatten evil in its cradle, and unsheath
the swords... Hail! Hail! O sacrificing soldiers! To us! To us! So we
may defend the flag. On this Day of Jihad, are you miserly with your
blood?!⁷⁰

A WAMY camp in Florida was graced by the presence of Suleman Ahmer, the former operations manager in the United States of Benevolence International Foundation (BIF). The U.S. government shut down BIF for financially supporting Al Qaeda in December 2001.⁷¹ Ahmer was an unabashed supporter of cooperation with radical Islamic movements around the world. In an October 1997 letter to Arnaout, Ahmer expressed surprise that the organization would even claim to sponsor relief activities: “[W]e have never worked in the countries which are affected by natural disasters and... we may never work in this area. But somehow in so many of our publications we have that BIF works in areas affected by wars and natural disasters. I wonder where it came from and so on.”⁷² Ahmer managed to convince Arnaout and the other BIF administrators to create two mission statements, one detailing supposed relief work for public consumption and one an internal document emphasizing “making Islam supreme” for the benefit of the fundamentalist board members.

In a lecture given on July 26, 1996 at a WAMY camp in Okeechobee, Florida, Ahmer told the campers:

...[T]he Bosnians were well away from Islam... They couldn’t even say the word “jihad.” They used to call “mujahedin,” “muhajedin.” It took them many months to learn the right word.⁷³

⁶⁹ Hassan, Javid. “Fund-raising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities.” *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁰ “Islamic Camps Objectives, Program Outlines, Preparatory Steps.” World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY); Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Prepared by the Camps & Conference Unit of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth 1987. Translated (with additions) by Abu-Bakr M. Asmal 1990. Obtained at the WAMY Western Europe Office; 46 Goodge Street; London, UK.

⁷¹ “Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism, November 19, 2002. <http://treas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm>. Accessed Nov. 3, 2005.

⁷² “Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements.” *United States of America v. Enaam M. Arnaout*. U.S. District Court, N.D.Ill., Eastern Division. Case #: 02 CR 892. January 31, 2003. Pgs. 50-52.

⁷³ “Jihad, The Misunderstood Word.” Lecture by Suleman Ahmer at the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) Okeechobee Summer Da’wah Camp. July 26, 1996. Videotape obtained from the Meccentric Da’wah Group.

But, Ahmer insisted that the effort was not made in vain; after witnessing the fearlessness of the foreign mujahideen battalion loyal to Al-Qaida, the Bosnians responded, "if this really, if this is what Islam teaches you, we are fools if we don't practice Islam."⁷⁴

According to Wohaibi, WAMY camps are among the programs affected by the reported 20 percent drop in revenue. "Now with nothing much to keep them usefully occupied, they spend the whole day sleeping at home during the summer vacation. And when they get up, they drive off to spend the night in the desert."⁷⁵

In response to the disclosures of WAMY support for extremism, al-Wohaibi continues to blame the media. "This kind of hostile campaign is still going on in the American media. We are conducting a public relations campaign through the U.S. media. With the help of some Saudi organizations we have established Friends of Charity Association (FOCA), which is a lobbying group in Washington. It's doing a good job in trying to reach out to government officials, congressmen and the media as part of our effort to explain our activities and remove misconceptions."⁷⁶

Yet sophisticated lobbying and public relations blitzes aside, the agenda of these groups remains the same today as it was years ago. In May 2004 the *New York Times* published a story on the question of reform in Saudi Arabia which discussed how "[t]he religious establishment feels it already lost one round this academic year when the lesson directing Muslims to shun non-Muslims was removed from religious textbooks. Some Saudis wanted it deleted because the principle was used to justify terrorist attacks, but conservative clerics depicted the change as the first step by the West in dismantling the country's religion through the education system.

"Saying that the Jews and the Christians are infidels is part of our religious dogma," said Saleh S. al-Wohaibi, the American-educated secretary general of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Any changes in the way it is taught should be decided by Saudis, he said, adding, "It doesn't mean we try to incite hatred against others, but my religion has its own principles that should not be violated or changed."⁷⁷

FOCA, headquartered in Washington D.C., is comprised of the Muslim World League (MWL) the International Islamic Relief Organization, (IIRO), World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), the Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, Al Muntada and Makkah

⁷⁴ "Jihad, The Misunderstood Word." Lecture by Suleman Ahmer at the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) Okeechobee Summer Da'wah Camp. July 26, 1996. Videotape obtained from the Meccacentric Da'wah Group. See the advertisement for this talk at <http://www.meccacentric.com/012.html>.

⁷⁵ Hassan, Javid, "Fundraising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities," *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁶ Hassan, Javid, "Fundraising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities," *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁷ MacFarquhar, Neil, "Saudis Uneasy Balance Desires for Change and Stability," *New York Times*, May 4, 2004.

Al-Mukarama Charity Foundation.⁷⁸ In a most telling move, when Al-Haramain was ordered shut down by Saudi Arabia, FOCA held a press conference at WAMY headquarters to attack the decision.

Saudi Clerical Intolerance and Support for Jihad

On November 5, 2004, a fatwa called an "Open Sermon to the Militant Iraqi People" was delivered at Friday prayers. The fatwa was signed by 26 Saudi clerics including Dr. Sheikh Mahdi Mohammad Rashad Al Hakmi "who described himself, in a 2002 petition he also signed as a regional director for WAMY in the Saudi province of Jazan."⁷⁹ Excerpts from the fatwa state:

Without a doubt, fighting the occupiers is a duty of [all] who [are] able. It is a "defense jihad," and it comes under the law of rebutting the aggressor. It does not require a jihad of initiative or demand. It [defense jihad] does not require leadership but is employed as much as possible, as God said: "Be as pious as much as you can...."

We call on our Muslim brothers in the world to stand by their brothers in Iraq with sincere prayers and support as much as possible...⁸⁰

Signed by prominent and influential Sunni clerics like Sheikh Salman Al Awda, Sheikh Awadh Al Qarni, and Sheikh Hatem Al Ooni, the fatwa, as noted by MEMRI, was widely regarded as a call to all Muslims to go to Iraq and fight the U.S. troops and their allies. Young men from Saudi responded in large numbers by going to Iraq to fight.

A review of Saudi newspapers, websites, sermons and broadcasts show that Saudi clerics continue to preach incitement, hatred, and jihad. (In this critical effort, MEMRI has been instrumental and pivotal in translating materials from Saudi Arabia in addition to its translation and analysis of the Arab and Muslim media and websites.) Recurrent themes have included the need to fight the conspiratorial efforts of Christians and Jews, raging anti-Americanism and theological anti-Semitism, support for violent jihad, incitement against U.S. troops in Iraq, and the mandated Islamic conquest of the world.

Sheikh Abd Al-Rahman Al-Sudayyis, the Saudi government appointed imam of the Grand Mosque of Mecca, has called Jews "scum of the earth" and "monkeys and pigs" who should be "annihilated." Similarly, he referred to other enemies of Islam as "worshippers of the cross" and "idol worshipping Hindus."⁸¹ As MEMRI's Steven Stalinsky noted in *The New York Sun*, in a sermon on February 1, 2004, at the Grand

⁷⁸ <http://web.archive.org/web/20051023014615/http://www.foca.net/Members.stm>

⁷⁹ Braude, Joseph, "Something's Gotta Give," *TNR Online*, Dec. 03, 2004. See Appendix to this testimony.

⁸⁰ The Fatwa of the 26 Clerics, "Open Sermon to the Militant Iraqi People," included in materials from a PBS *Frontline* report, "House of Saud," <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/etc/fatwa.html>.

⁸¹ Stalinsky, Steven. "MEMRI Report: Top Saudi Cleric to Spread Hate Doctrine in Canada," *The New York Sun*, May 12, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/media.cgi?ID=85004> (accessed Oct. 21, 2005).

Mosque in Mecca, Al-Sudayyis called on Muslims worldwide “to defeat all their occupiers and oppressors”:

They [the Jews] are killers of prophets and the scum of the earth. Allah hurled his curses and indignation on them and made them monkeys and pigs and worshippers of tyrants. These are the Jews, a continuous lineage of meanness, cunning, obstinacy, tyranny, evil, and corruption...⁸²

In another sermon broadcast on Saudi TV Channel 1 on April 2, 2004, Al-Sudayyis discussed Jewish history and the modern Jihad. The following are excerpts from the discourse:

The history of the [Jewish] people is written in black ink, and has included a series of murders of the prophets, the *Mujaheedin*, and righteous people. This although the book descended upon Moses is all mercy. Allah has said: “And is preceded by the Book of Moses which has a guide and a mercy for people before him...” So where is this mercy in all barbarity, devoid of moral and human values? But maybe it is the beginning of their end.

Oh Brothers in the land of missions and the cradle of valor, Oh Sons of brave *Mujaheedin*, Oh descendents of conquering heroes... You have revived the hopes of this nation through your blessed *Jihad*. By Allah, be patient until, with Allah’s help, one of two good things will be awarded you: either victory or martyrdom. Our hearts are with you; our prayers are dedicated to you. The Islamic nation will not spare money or effort in support of your cause, which is the supreme Muslim cause, until the promise made by Allah, who never breaks a promise, is fulfilled.⁸³

Al-Sudayyis continued his virulent ranting in his July 15, 2005 sermon:

"Oh Allah, liberate our Al-Aqsa Mosque from the defilement of the occupying and brutal Zionists... Oh Allah, punish the occupying Zionists and their supporters from among the corrupt infidels. Oh Allah, scatter and disperse them, and make an example of them for those who take heed."⁸⁴

⁸² Stalinsky, Steven. “MEMRI Report: Top Saudi Cleric to Spread Hate Doctrine in Canada,” *The New York Sun*, May 12, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/media.cgi?ID=85004>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸³ “Arab and Iranian TV Clips in Support of Suicide Bombing,” MEMRI Special Report, No. 32, September 1, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR3204>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁴ MEMRI Special Dispatch No. 935, “Friday Sermon By Leading Saudi Imam Al-Sudayyis in Mecca: ‘Oh Allah, Liberate Our Al-Aqsa Mosque... Punish the Occupying Zionists and Their Supporters Among The Corrupt Infidels... Oh Allah, Scatter and Disperse Them.’” July 21, 2005. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP93905>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

Supporting the Iraqi Insurgency

This concept was clearly stated regarding the war in Iraq. As first reported by MEMRI, on November 5, 2004, a communiqué was signed by 26 Saudi clerics, several of whom held positions as lecturers of Islamic studies at different government supported universities and colleges in Saudi Arabia. Because of the prominent standing of the signatories within the Islamic community, the communiqué was broadly viewed as a *fatwa* (religious ruling). The communiqué supporting the resistance against coalition forces in Iraq as an Islamic duty, posted on <http://www.islamtoday.net>, includes this language:

There is no doubt that the *Jihad* against the occupiers is an obligation upon any able person. This is a type of *Jihad* whose aim is to repel the aggressor, and it is not bound by the conditions that hold for an intentional *Jihad*; thus there is no need for a supreme leadership [i.e., a Caliph who would declare *Jihad*], but rather the matter is undertaken according to [each Muslim's] ability ... these occupiers are undoubtedly military aggressors, and there is a legal consensus concerning [the obligation] to fight them so that they will leave in humiliation, Allah willing. In addition, worldly law also recognizes a people's right to resistance.... It is forbidden for any Muslim to offer any help whatsoever to the occupying soldiers' military operations, since this is aiding crime and aggression...⁸⁵

Despite claims by its defenders that the communiqué was aimed primarily at Iraqis, there were reports of young Muslim men from across the Islamic world that understood it to mean a call to wage Jihad in Iraq and traveled to the country for that purpose. For example, Abd Al-Rahim bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Al-Muteiri, a terrorist from Al-Ahsaa in Saudi Arabia captured in Iraq, said during his interrogation on the Iraqi TV channel Al-Iraqiya on March 31, 2005: "I hadn't thought of coming to Iraq, but I had *fatwa* (calling for *Jihad*)... I read the communiqué of the 26 clerics..."⁸⁶

On Saudi TV Channel 1 in response to a question as to whether it is acceptable to pray for the annihilation of Jews and Christians, Sheikh Ahmad bin Abd Al-Latif, a professor at the Saudi Um Al-Qura University, said: "Cursing the oppressing Jews and the oppressing and plundering Christians and the prayer that Allah will annihilate them is permitted."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ "Reactions and Counter-Reactions to the Saudi Clerics' Communique Calling for Jihad in Iraq," MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, No. 896, April 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP89605>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁶ Al-Iraqiya TV (Iraq), March 31, 2005. <http://memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=629>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁷ "Arab TV Discusses Terrorism in Saudi Arabia," MEMRI Special Report, No. 752, July 23, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP75204>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2004.

Conclusion: Friend or Foe?

The attacks of 9-11 made clear that the problem of Saudi sponsored extremism could not be considered a domestic Saudi problem any longer. In the United States, the repercussions of the export of militant Islam could be seen in the radical Islamic charities and entities operating under false cover. For decades prior to 9-11, Saudi finances, ideology and books poured into the United States without any scrutiny, leading to the creation of radical Islamic organizations, charities, centers, prison groups and schools in the United States. By 2005, however, the overt Saudi fingerprints had dissipated, but the damage had already been done. Radical Islamic organizations have tried to disguise themselves as “mainstream.” Borrowing a page from their radical religious patrons who portray themselves as the “victims” of an American “war against Islam,” Islamic groups here in the United States have routinely issued the same allegation in trying to intimidate critics of militant Islam here in the United States. And nowhere was this more clearly seen than following the release of the Freedom House report, which various Islamic leaders and groups contended was an “attack on Islam” or that it would result in “hate crimes” against American Muslims. The attack on Freedom House was led by groups like CAIR (the Council on American Islamic Relations) which itself has been the long time beneficiary of Saudi-generated funds as well as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), also a beneficiary. (See Appendix attached to testimony on CAIR statements and CAIR’s Saudi funding.) Similar language is used in attempts by these and other American based apologists and propagandists to intimidate those interested in frank discussion of militant Islam in American media and academe.

The biggest question mark for policymakers in determining policy towards Saudi Arabia is how to come up with metrics for determining Saudi compliance with anti-terror initiatives, especially those agreed to or announced by Saudi officials. Too often however, in an effort to assuage Saudi feelings, the U.S. government has tiptoed around the issue of confronting the Saudis about the discrepancies between their representations to American officials and what they actually are doing. Sometimes, US government officials have actually legitimized radical Saudi organizations. For example, in 2004, the US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, James Oberwetter, attended the 2nd annual Iftar dinner hosted by WAMY in Riyadh, a fact that WAMY proudly displayed in a photo and story on its website.⁸⁸

As noted earlier, the Government Accountability Office (“GAO”) issued an important report (“Information on US Agencies’ Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism”) in

⁸⁸ “Next to a delicious Ramadan Iftar, and among a large number of ambassadors, diplomats and scholars, and businessmen, WAMY celebrated along with its guests the 2nd annual Iftar dinner for diplomats and businessmen. The American Ambassador Huberwaller *[sic]* was among the people who were most amazed by the ceremony and its professionalism. He was amazed also by the Ramadan Iftar and the information that was given during the ceremony and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims that was based on mutual respect and affection. He and General Secretary of WAMY Dr. Salah Bin Suliaman al-Woheibi had a friendly conversation.” WAMY web archive, “Fifty Ambassadors and Diplomats attending the 2nd annual Iftar Dinner for WAMY in Riyadh,” http://web.archive.org/web/20041028034843/www.wamy.org/Final1/wamy_project_9548/wamy/News/display1.asp. Accessed October 21, 2005. Translated from Arabic.

September 2005 that dealt with the problems encountered in identifying, monitoring and combating the spread of Islamic extremism.⁸⁹ The report reached some startling conclusions regarding the shortfalls in U.S. intelligence about the follow-through by Saudi Arabia in enacting its anti-terror declarations.

Among the conclusions reached by GAO were the following:

- The U.S. does not know whether Saudi Arabia has followed through on its promise to revise its educational curricula to ensure that they do not propagate extremism.
- The U.S. does not know whether Saudi Arabia has implemented its plans to close the Al-Haramain Foundation.
- The U.S. does know the extent of “Saudi efforts to limit the activities of Saudi sources” that have promoted extremism abroad.

Earlier this year, the CRS issued a report titled, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues.”⁹⁰ According to that March 1 report, the counter-terrorist banking regulations introduced by the Saudi government in May 2003 do not include oversight over “multilateral” charitable organizations based in Saudi Arabia such as the Muslim World League, the International Islamic Relief Organization and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.

But in the end, in order for the U.S. to make an informed set of policy decisions, it is imperative that we not fool ourselves as to the degree to which Saudi Arabia is tethered to radical doctrine.

It might be argued that Saudi Arabia, given its Wahabist roots, is incapable of changing a national identity so rooted in a radical Islamic tradition. The regime therefore is a contradiction, trying to balance its role as a responsible financial superpower and modern state with its Wahabist self-defining historical and religious legacy. To be sure, the regime will seek to placate the United States and lessen the build-up of outside pressure by periodically announcing an anti-terror initiative. But these external pressures have to be and remain very firm and clear if they are to counterbalance the pressures either in favor of radicalism, or at least of those elements who wish to seek an accommodation with it.

In the end, the very question at the core of this hearing—whether Saudi Arabia is a friend or foe—highlights the fact that Saudi Arabia essentially has tried to be on both sides of the fence. In its economic-industrial relationship with the West, primarily expressed through oil production and investment, the regime wants to project itself as an ally of the United States. But in its political-religious identification, Saudi Arabia for

⁸⁹ United States Government Accountability Office (“GAO”) Report to Congressional Requesters, “Information on U.S. Agencies’ Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism,” Sept. 2005. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>, at pg.6 (PDF pg.10). Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

⁹⁰ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues,” *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005

years has cultivated, nurtured and fomented a radical Islamic doctrinal view that sees the United States, the West, Christians, Jews and all other “infidels” as bent on a conspiracy to subjugate Islam.

In the end, unless it is made to view changes as the price of its survival, the Saudi government will not change. Its one constant interest is survival; when one loses power, one loses everything -- wealth and even security. No one retires to a think tank in California or Washington DC. Survival is a constant balancing act, like a person dancing on a log in midstream. Further, we should remember that the Saudi government is the collective rule of a family. Within this arrangement, different groups will have different appreciations of the situation and will stress different aspects of the general balancing act. Some members of the Family are much more hostile to the US than others.

Since World War II, the Saudis have tried to balance commercial and strategic cooperation with the US with the cultivation of a radical anti-western version of Islam. On the one hand, virtually every Middle Eastern Muslim government has sought, since the rise of Western power in the 19th century, to maneuver between outside pressure and internal opposition. The ideal solution has been to play these forces off against each other. In the Saudis’ case, having the Muslim holy sites on their territory has prompted the support of Muslim groups worldwide in a form of ideological competition. It has also been a long established practice of Middle Eastern governments to seek to divert turbulent groups and ambitions onto the territory of others.

On 9/11 the two wings of this policy came into conflict. It is possible that, given increasing globalization, the Saudi double game was doomed to blow up one way or another. What we now see is a Saudi attempt to regain control over the process by clamping down on the specifically anti-Saudi elements (like al-Qaeda) diverting those that can be diverted, co-opting those that can be co-opted, while seeking to mollify the U.S. as much as can be done without upsetting the internal balance. Although Saudi Royal Family declarations in the past year have committed the regime towards an opening up of the political process, the reality is that the regime itself will never probably fulfill any of the long terms commitments to democratize, as that would assuredly result in the removal of the regime itself. As the radical Islamists have recognized, the route to power in Saudi Arabia is simply to repeat the mantra of “democracy,” eliciting the sympathetic ear of the US government officials, which naively believes that pluralism would be a sine qua non of “democratic” elections in Saudi Arabia. To be fair, however, in Saudi Arabia, we have witnessed since 9-11 a nascent political reform movement that is genuinely committed to civil society and pluralism. These reformers deserve our full support.⁹¹ (Appendix includes an article about this movement.)

The basic problem is that the interests of the two most powerful strata of Saudi society, the Saudi ruling elite (a family business) and the religious establishment-- are

⁹¹ See, e.g., “Stop Terror Sheikhs, Muslim Academics Demand,” *The Arab News*, October 30, 2004. <http://www.arabnews.com/?page=4§ion=0&article=53683&d=30&m=10&y=2004>. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. See Appendix accompanying this testimony.

intrinsically not compatible with ours. The U.S. believes in capitalism, democracy, freedom, separation of church and state, and for most of our citizens, a constant progress to a world of greater equality between people of different backgrounds. The Saudi elites and religious establishment do not believe in capitalism, or democracy or gender equality. What we call freedom they think of as chaos. We believe in progress, both material and moral. But large segments of Saudi society see the secular western world as the warped construction of a conspiracy of Jews, socialists, Christian missionaries and what-have-you.

Only in one area do our interests concord. They sell oil; we buy it. During the cold war this commercial cooperation was doubled by a strategic one. The Saudis saw communism as both the antithesis of Islam and, in the USSR, as the main support for the leftist movements and regimes in the Arab world that sought to put them (and other regional monarchies) out of business. If US policy is the democratization of the region, then our interests and those of the Saudi royal family are not compatible, since the royal family system would not survive the democratization of Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi paradox is only a sharper version of the one in the region as a whole. For the last thirty years the Muslim Middle East has witnessed a rise in traditional religion. In the Muslim world, this religious revival has been accompanied by the rise of political Islam ("Islamism"). Political Islam is populist, utopian, anti-western, internally totalitarian and externally aggressive (though it sees itself as defensive). Wahabism seeks to exploit one branch of this movement. But the movement touches all subgroups of Islam. Iran is a case in point, since the Imami Shi'ism of Iran is about as far theologically from Saudi Wahabism as one can be. Yet both are radically anti-western and anti-modern.

Ultimately, we need to make a hardheaded assessment of whether Saudi Arabia is capable of changing. By not pressing the Saudis to truly make demonstrable progress in the war against Islamic extremism, current policies have only postponed the day of reckoning. There are many pressure points in our arsenal of political and economic options that have not yet been deployed against Saudi Arabia. Four years after 9-11, the Saudis have had ample time to respond to our policy of silent diplomacy in asking them to shut down the religious, financial and political spigots of Islamic terrorism. Now is the time to publicly hold them to account. In the end, our future-- and theirs as well-- depend upon the response that is forthcoming.

**Statement of Senator Russ Feingold for the
Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing
“Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?”**

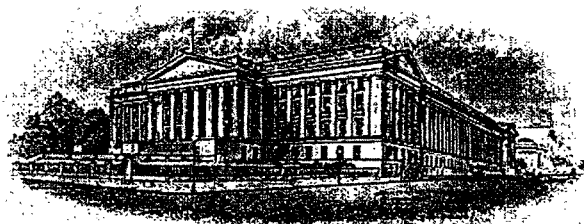
November 9, 2005

I thank the Chairman for holding this hearing, which gives us the chance to assess one part of our efforts to defeat violent extremism and combat terrorism around the world. Today’s hearing is especially important in reviewing benchmarks of progress in US-Saudi Arabia cooperation.

In the wake of September 11, 2001, the U.S. rightfully demanded Saudi Arabia’s cooperation in combating terrorism. By sharing intelligence, refusing to turn a blind eye to the violent activities of extremists, and cutting off terrorists’ sources of financing, Saudi Arabia could play a significant and positive role in this most urgent priority.

Attacks by Islamic militants within Saudi Arabia, most notably, in 2003 and 2004, underscore the fact that international terrorism threatens the Saudis themselves. However, it does not appear that the Saudi government has adequately reformed itself or distanced itself from extremist ideologies. Troubling reports continue to question Saudi Arabia’s efforts to curb terrorist financing. Saudi officials have yet to clearly separate themselves from radical Islamic charities that seek to manipulate misperceptions of the US and its relations with Israel and to promote violence.

Recent news reports have noted that al-Qaeda is promoting its hateful doctrine in mainstream media and seeking to unite followers in opposition to the U.S. We cannot afford to let this effort go unchallenged and I hope that the Administration now appreciates that fact. Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy Karen Hughes heard first hand during her recent trip to the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, about growing anti-American sentiment. Saudi Arabia needs to understand that we expect it to be a helpful ally in the war against terrorism and that there will be serious consequences for the U.S.-Saudi relationship if it is not.



**DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

EMBARGOED UNTIL 9:30 AM
November 8, 2005

Contact: Molly Millerwise
202-622-2960

**Testimony of Daniel L. Glaser, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Office of Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes
U.S. Department of the Treasury**

Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary

Chairman Specter, Ranking Member Leahy and other distinguished members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify today before you on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is an important topic that touches at the very heart of our efforts as a government to combat terrorism throughout the world. We have learned over the last four years that the war on terror requires the collective efforts of every country, working to counter terrorism both within its own borders and in every corner of the globe. In this collective fight, we depend on the wisdom, vigilance, and support of both our allies and those whom we traditionally hold at arm's length. In this mix of relationships, Saudi Arabia is by all measures one of the countries most central to our global counterterrorism efforts. I would characterize the quality of this relationship as one of active partnership aimed at achieving progress on several issues. The success of global anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing (AML/CFT) efforts relies, in good measure, on ensuring that this partnership is real, focused and lasting.

Like any partnership, however, ours has experienced times of frustration and impatience. Partnerships evolve over time, and those that last, can point to a long list of trials which have tested both sides of it. Our relationship with Saudi Arabia is no exception.

Today, Saudi Arabia is actively countering the threat of terrorism. This is a key success, unfortunately catalyzed by the May 2003 terrorist attacks in Riyadh, which alerted the Kingdom that terrorism was not only a theoretical global problem, but very much a local one. Having now suffered multiple attacks within the Kingdom itself, Saudi Arabia has come to understand the clear and present danger that terrorism and its vast support structures pose to its citizens and the very fabric of everyday life. The United States experienced the same shock on September 11, 2001 and the difficult months and years that have followed.

The Saudis have demonstrated serious determination to take aggressive action against al Qaeda. The Saudi Government has also taken steps to address the more fundamental issue of confronting extremist ideology by waging a campaign within the Kingdom against those it terms “deviants” who pervert Islam to preach violence. This campaign has included working with religious leaders to eliminate hatred-filled sermons and repeated statements by the King addressing this issue. But on counterterrorist financing, the Saudis need to do more. This includes taking steps to ensure that Saudi funds are not sent overseas to promulgate the very hatred and extremism that Saudis are confronting at home.

Saudi Arabia should build on its own domestic efforts to exert active leadership regionally, and by enhancing its bilateral counter-terrorist financing relationships worldwide. It should go after individual contributors to extremist organizations and monitor how Saudi funds sent overseas, including Saudi government funds, are being used. Saudi Arabia is aggressively tackling the scourge of extremism and terrorism it faces within the Kingdom. What happens outside the Kingdom is also of the utmost importance, however, since extremism in one country can easily find its way elsewhere in the world and pose a threat to us all. As Under Secretary Levey has said, wealthy donors in Saudi Arabia are still funding violent extremists around the world, from Europe to North Africa, from Iraq to Southeast Asia. We hope that Saudi Arabia will take effective action against these individuals to disrupt their facilitation of violence and to send a clear message that such activity will not be tolerated by the Kingdom.

Points of Progress

Saudi Arabia has undertaken many measures to stem the tide of terrorist financing within the Kingdom since the terrorist attacks in Riyadh, May 2003. In fact, in some respects Saudi Arabia has gone further than many countries in the region to build serious systems aimed at combating illicit financing. These measures include new regulations in the charitable sector, increased vigilance and sophistication in the financial sector, and regional integration on matters of anti-money laundering and counter-terrorist financing.

Charitable Sector

Among the efforts that we have conducted jointly with the Saudis, the most public and prominent were our joint designations of Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation branches globally for that organization’s support to the worldwide al-Qaida network. These branches were listed by the United Nations as well. Public designations of individuals and entities such as Al-Haramain not only cut these supporters off from the global financial system, but also they send the strong public message that the U.S. and its partners will not tolerate the efforts of charities to disguise their activities while engaging in false marketing. The support of Saudi Arabia in these designations reflected our united front against a common enemy.

In addition to these targeted actions, Saudi Arabia has taken concrete steps to systemically protect its charitable sector. Since May 2003, the following regulations have been put in place:

- Enhanced customer identification requirements apply to charitable accounts;
- Each charity must consolidate its banking activity in one principal account;

- No cash disbursements are permitted from charitable accounts; payments are only allowed by check payable to the first beneficiary and must be deposited in a Saudi bank;
- No ATM or credit cards may be issued against a charitable account (all outstanding ATM and credit cards for such accounts have been canceled); and
- No transfers from charitable accounts are permitted outside of Saudi Arabia.

These restrictions are far-reaching in scope and highlight the degree to which Saudi Arabia has taken oversight of this sector seriously. We are also awaiting the establishment of a Charities Commission to oversee all charities and NGOs based in the Kingdom. The financial controls outlined above combined with this oversight body will represent progress made in combating terrorist financing in the Saudi Arabian charitable sector.

Financial Sector

Saudi Arabia has also made systemic changes to its financial sector. Saudi Arabia boasts a sophisticated financial sector, regulated by the Saudi Arabian Monetary Authority (SAMA). As a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Saudi Arabia is subject to mutual evaluations conducted by the Financial Actions Task Force (FATF), the premier international body dedicated to promulgating and seeing global compliance of AML/CFT standards. These mutual evaluations are conducted by a team of experts that evaluate a country's compliance with the internationally-recognized forty recommendations on anti-money laundering and nine special recommendations on counterterrorist financing. In February 2004, FATF produced its assessment of Saudi Arabia and found the Kingdom to have met most of its general obligations with the FATF recommendations.

Saudi Arabia also sits in a region that is comprised of cash-based economies. The entire region is grappling with the challenge of cash couriers, how to track them, how to penalize them, and how to prevent the abuse of cash-based economies. Recently, Saudi Arabia decreased the reporting threshold for cash transiting its borders to \$16,000. This reporting enhancement not only reflects significant political will but also allows law enforcement to take more frequent action against those who they suspect of carrying cash into the country for illicit purposes.

The Saudi Government has also created some useful institutions to aid in the fight against terrorist financing. It recently established a financial intelligence unit (FIU) to engage in the essential process of reporting, analyzing, and disseminating critical financial information within Saudi Arabia and internationally. The FIU became operational as of September 10, 2005. FIUs play a crucial role in establishing the backbone of information-sharing among countries worldwide. We expect to engage with our counterparts in the Saudi FIU to increase our effectiveness in preparing reports of suspicious activity for action. We are already actively engaged, moreover, in joint analysis at the Joint Terrorist Financing Task Force in Riyadh where agents from IRS Criminal Investigation Division (IRS-CID) and FBI sit side-by-side with their Saudi counterparts to analyze important streams of data together.

Regional Integration

With respect to Saudi Arabia's regional role on these issues, it is instructive to reflect on the Middle East North Africa Financial Action Task Force (MENAFATF) which held its second

plenary in Beirut this past September. Saudi Arabia figures prominently in this regional body, holding the Executive Secretary seat in the MENAFATF's leadership structure. Attended by all 14 members, the recent plenary demonstrated a commitment to raising awareness in the region and becoming a force in the global dialogue on anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing issues. The plenary adopted three excellent papers on hawala, cash couriers, and charities which underscore the degree to which the region is grappling with the institutions and typologies most subject to abuse by supporters of terrorism. Saudi Arabia co-authored the paper on charities which offers a candid assessment of the issue and prescriptive recommendations for how countries in the region should deal with it.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that all of the measures discussed above have made it more difficult for sponsors of terrorism to fund their causes through the formal financial system. We also must acknowledge the extraordinary efforts of Saudi Arabia's internal security forces, which have been waging an ongoing battle on the ground with al-Qaida, and have themselves sustained casualties. In light of these measures, it is clear that Saudi Arabia has taken the threat seriously, especially with regard to the threat of attacks on its own soil.

Challenges Ahead

While we support and welcome these efforts, public and resolute leadership against all aspects of terrorist financing is absolutely crucial and Saudi Arabia needs to take its efforts in this area to the next level. In recent years, Saudi-U.S. cooperation against terrorist finance has increased and achieved important successes. In order for this relationship to mature, however, Saudi Arabia will need to move beyond reacting to information provided by the U.S. and to lead the effort to identify and take action against sources of terrorist financing.

The subject of charities and NGOs has been a lingering concern of ours in the context of counterterrorist financing. As I noted above, Saudi Arabia has taken steps to bring its charities and NGOs under control. We have, however, been repeatedly raising the issue of so-called international NGOs, namely the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), and the Muslim World League (MWL). The Saudis have responded that charitable organizations and these international NGOs are de facto prohibited from sending funds abroad. It is not clear to us that this de facto prohibition is having true effect and we remain deeply concerned about this issue. Furthermore, these restrictions do not apply to foreign branches of Saudi-based NGOs and charities, which can transfer money among themselves throughout the world with little accountability to the Kingdom. It is possible, for example, for an IIRO official in Saudi Arabia to advise IIRO branches in country X and country Y to transfer money to each other, outside of Saudi regulatory reach.

Saudi officials must concern themselves beyond the limits of restrictions within the Kingdom. They must recognize that organizations so closely associated with Saudi Arabia, anywhere in the world, are de facto Saudi responsibility. These organizations must become an integral part of Saudi focus and policy. I am not suggesting that Saudi Arabia go it alone. This type of a comprehensive strategy will require the coordination of many regional and global counterparts. But Saudi Arabia itself must be actively engaged in ensuring that these organizations are responsive to Saudi oversight. The Saudis must care not only what happens in IIRO Riyadh but they must also be concerned with what transpires in every other IIRO office around the world.

As my testimony previously notes, the Saudis have repeatedly said that they will form a Charities Commission to officially oversee all charities in the Kingdom. We eagerly await the establishment of this mechanism and expect that all international charities and NGOs will be covered by its oversight.

Even when the Charities Commission takes form, it will not address the issue of private donors. While current regulations take account of the financial activities of charitable concerns, they do not apply to direct donations made by private donors. This issue, which we have raised on numerous occasions with the Saudis, has been a problem in the past and continues to concern us. Especially as charities and NGOs are held under closer scrutiny, it will become increasingly important to focus on the ways in which private giving has and is being abused.

Palestinian Terrorist Groups

The fight against terrorist financing cannot be limited to al-Qaida funding alone. Just as Saudi Arabia is working to ensure that Saudi funds do not support al-Qaida, they must also work equally diligently to thwart the funding of Palestinian terrorist groups that undermine peace and stability in the Middle East.

We were troubled, in this regard, by the recent clip from an August 29, 2005 program aired in Saudi Arabia on Iqra TV, a Saudi-based station, which solicited funds for the Saudi Committee for the Support of the al Quds Intifadah and asked donors to direct funds to a Joint Account 98 at "all banks in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia." Account 98 had been a regular issue of concern that we have raised with the Saudis at all levels. They have repeatedly assured us that Account 98 no longer exists and that they are making efforts to staunch the flow of funds to these groups. The U.S. shares Saudi Arabia's concern for meeting the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people, but it is vitally important for Saudi Arabia to act resolutely against all terrorist organizations, and to cut off support for groups like HAMAS intent on undermining progress towards peace and undermining the Palestinian Authority.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that Saudi Arabia's perspective on counterterrorism has evolved over the last few years, and with that change in perspective has come real progress on systemic issues within the Kingdom. We encourage Saudi Arabia to make greater efforts to counter terrorism and the financing of terrorism in third countries. Such leadership requires a comprehensive, proactive, and zero-tolerance approach to terrorism that includes widespread vigilance over global charities and wealthy private donors, as well as total intolerance for support to all terrorist organizations. We hope that Saudi Arabia accepts this challenge of leadership, and the greater responsibilities that come along with it. As Saudi Arabia does so, we will be able to say that we have entered into a new stage of our partnership in the war against terrorism.

**Opening Statement of Senator Patrick Leahy,
Ranking Member, Judiciary Committee
Hearing on "Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror?"
November 8, 2005**

With this hearing today, the Committee addresses an important aspect in our efforts to fight terrorism. As a nation, we cannot defeat al Qaeda and other Islamic extremists without the assistance of our allies in the Middle East. We all recall that the Saudis were less than cooperative when the FBI sought to interview Saudi nationals in the investigation of the Khobar Towers bombing. The attacks of September 11, 2001, further strained our relationship with Saudi Arabia and raised troubling questions about the Saudi government's commitment to fighting terrorism. While there has been some progress in recent years, there is still considerable room for improvement in the Saudi government's counterterrorism efforts.

As the 9/11 Commission noted in its recommendation in its final report:

"The problems in the U.S.-Saudi relationship must be confronted, openly. The United States and Saudi Arabia must determine if they can build a relationship that political leaders on both sides are prepared to publicly defend a relationship about more than oil. It should include a shared commitment to political and economic reform, as Saudis make common cause with the outside world. It should include a shared interest in greater tolerance and cultural respect, translating into a commitment to fight the violent extremists who foment hatred."

Despite the Commission's recommendation, we have done little to openly confront the problems in the U.S.-Saudi relationship. Critical information about the role of the Government of Saudi Arabia before and after September 11, and its level of cooperation with U.S. law enforcement agencies, before and after, has not been revealed to the public. Despite an outcry from Republican and Democratic Senators, alike, for the release of information, the Administration has denied the public its right to know these crucial facts. This is most evident in the refusal of the Executive Branch to declassify all or part of the 28 pages relating to Saudi Arabia in the Joint Intelligence Committee from July 2003. Several of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who have seen these pages, including Senators Shelby and Brownback, believe that almost all of the data in these pages can be released with no harm to national security. Even Saudi Arabia's former ambassador to the United States asked that these pages be declassified.

Meanwhile, this Administration refuses to confront the Saudi government's role in promoting Islamic extremism. Particularly troubling has been the Saudi government's lavish funding of religious schools, or madrasas, throughout the region that propagate extreme forms of Islam and advocate hatred and violence. These Saudi-funded madrasas threaten the existence of more moderate beliefs and practices in the Muslim world and foster anti-Western and anti-Semitic sentiments. Offering food, lodging, and a free education, madrasas have spread rapidly throughout the region, often calling on Muslims to fight non-believers and stand against what they see as the moral depravity of the West.

More troubling is the strong link between madrasas and terrorist financing. It is widely known that the Saudi government has permitted and even encouraged fundraising by charitable Islamic groups and foundations that have been linked to known terrorist organizations. Although the Saudi government has announced restrictions to private charity organizations and relief groups sending funds overseas, the strict regulation of these restrictions remains to be seen.

The President condemns many of the repressive policies of Arab nations, but seems to have an obvious blind spot when it comes to Saudi Arabia. In a speech last month, the President noted that “the influence of Islamic radicalism is magnified by helpers and enablers. [Terrorists] have been sheltered by authoritarian regimes – allies of convenience like Syria and Iran. ... The United States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them because they are equally guilty of murder.” Despite this strong rhetoric, President Bush and Secretary Rumsfeld praise Saudi Arabia, a monarchy that has done more to promote Islamic extremism and discourage the emergence of moderate Muslim leaders than any nation.

The President also defends Saudi Arabia’s record on civil liberties and religious freedom. In April 25, 2005, the President said “the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognizes the principle of freedom upon which the United States was founded, including the freedoms enshrined under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.” I find it remarkable that the President can make such a statement. The State Department has designated Saudi Arabia as a “country of particular concern” for its violations of religious freedoms.

In its 2004 Country Report on Human Rights Practices, the State Department wrote that in Saudi Arabia “citizens did not have the right to change their government. Security forces continued to abuse detainees and prisoners, arbitrarily arrest, and hold persons in incommunicado detention. ... Most trials were closed, and defendants usually appeared before judges without legal counsel. Security forces arrested and detained reformers, some of whom continued at year’s end to seek an open trial. The Government reportedly infringed on individuals’ privacy rights. The Government continued to restrict freedoms of speech and press, assembly, association, religion, and movement.” The Saudi government may recognize the freedoms enshrined in our First Amendment, but it certainly does not allow its citizens to enjoy those freedoms.

I understand that some of our witnesses today will discuss extremist publications found in U.S. mosques and broadcasts from Saudi television that advocate violence against Americans. While these should raise serious concerns about our Nation’s security, it is important to understand that the extremist ideology promoted in these publications and broadcasts does not reflect the teachings of Islam or the beliefs of the vast majority of Muslims.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the broadcast of extremist ideologies is not limited to the Muslim faith or Saudi television. Several of America’s best known Christian evangelists, who are suspected by many to speak for President Bush’s and Vice President

Cheney's strongest supporters, have made deplorable statements about Islam. The Reverend Franklin Graham, who gave the invocation at George W. Bush's inauguration, said on NBC News: "We're not attacking Islam but Islam has attacked us. The God of Islam is not the same God. He's not the Son of God of the Christian or Judeo-Christian faith. It's a different God, and I believe [Islam] is a very evil and wicked religion." On CBS's "60 Minutes," the Reverend Jerry Falwell called the Prophet Muhammad "a terrorist." The Reverend Pat Robertson said on Christian Broadcasting Network News that, "If I say something that Islam is, you know, an erroneous religion, then I get criticized by the Anti-Defamation League. You just want to say: 'When are you going to open your eyes and see who your enemy is.'" Just as the majority of Christians or Jews reject these statements, the majority of Muslims reject the publications and broadcasts that will be discussed at today's hearing.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses and I commend the Chairman for his efforts to openly address the role of Saudi Arabia in our efforts to fight terrorism.

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Sheikh Dr. Ahmed Subhy Mansour

Introduction

For more than two decades, this witness, as a writer has struggled in his home country in discussing the untouchable side of Muslim tradition in order to reform the religious Muslim life to confirm and to conform to the real Islamic values of peace, justice, tolerance and freedom of speech and belief. This has angered the hardest line of Sunni Muslim sect; known as Wahabi cult, or the fanatic Muslims. Finally, the writer had to escape to the U.S to practice his freedom of speech and belief, and to make his religious knowledge available to benefit those who may be concerned.

Coming to the U.S, and finding the Islamic schools influenced by the Wahabi fanatic culture, has been a great disappointment. The efforts to publicize the writer's teachings and his articles are generally opposed by the well-trenched Muslim institutions in the US, namely the mosques and other centers. The writer has very similar experience in Egypt, when he tried to reform the religious courses in general education in Egypt through Ibn Khaldoun Center in Cairo. The project was confiscated in Egypt by the pressure of the Wahabi influence. Despite the tremendous differences in the societies of Egypt and the US, the writer sees the same problem here in the Islamic mosques and schools.

Working on one year's visiting fellowship at Harvard Law School, Human Rights Program, the writer intends to dedicate his time in research to reform the religious teachings in Islamic schools in the U.S with the original pure teachings of the Quran and Islam which happen to be in conformity with the Western and American values highlighting basic Human Rights.

, The writer has moved to Alexandria VA, to seek needed support in his struggle for theses needed reforms in the religious education and training of Muslims. After moving to VA, the writer helped some brave Americans in Boston in their struggle against the fanatic Wahabists in their mosque

The writer is honored by giving this testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee Judiciary Committee.

To make the respected members of this committee easily understand the gist of my testimony, I will give this testimony in a question and answer format.

The First part: The Wahabism and the Saudi State

1- Does Wahabism represent Islam officially?

No. No one particular group of Muslims can claim official representation of Islam. The religion of Islam is represented only by the Quran. All Muslims believe in the Quran as the official (and final) word of God for this world.

2- Do Wahabists represent all Muslims?

No, Muslims now are in three traditional sects: The Sunni sect, the Sufi sect and the Shiites. The Sunni sect is the most fanatic sect among them. The Wahabists belong to the fanatic Sunni sect.

3- Do Wahabists represent the entire Sunni Muslim sect?

No, the Sunni sect has four schools. The most fanatic Sunni school is Hanbelah. The Wahabists belong to this Hanbelah Sunni School.

4- Do Wahabists represent the entire Hanbelah School?

No, they belong to the hardest line among the Hanbelah School. This hardest line named Ibn Taymeya groups.

5- Do Wahabists represents the entire Ibn Taymeyah groups?

No, they are the most fanatic group among the followers of Ibn Taymeyah. They are a very minute but most fanatic Sunni cult within the group.

6- If they are such a minute cult, why do they wield so much power?

Because they are backed by one of the most oil-rich monarchies in the world today: the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

7- Is there a conflict between the modern intellectual Muslims and the traditional Wahabi sect?

To understand this dilemma in the Muslim world, let us bear in mind that there are now more than one billion Muslims, spread all across the globe. Most of them (>80%) are non-Arab and constitute a silent majority. Nearly half of the present Muslim population (approx. half billion) live in the Indian subcontinent of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Indonesia constitute another big chunk of the Muslims. Egypt is the largest Arab Muslim nation.

Due to the wide spread illiteracy of the general Muslim population in the Muslim lands, the religious Muslim scholars and sheikhs, numbering not more than just few thousands; wield tremendous power over the masses. These “scholars” popularly known as Imams, seem to fall under two main categories: 1- the anti- Western (and now more so anti- American) including the fanatic Wahabists, and 2- The Quranic intellectual Muslims who tend to admire the West (and America) for its achievements and for what it stands for society. They believe in Islam as the religion of peace, tolerance, freedom of speech, with core democratic principles for justice and human rights for all subjects.

These two groups are locked in a struggle against each other for the support of the Muslim silent majority. In this fight for survival, the Wahabists have the tremendous advantage of unlimited monetary help and more support from the Saudi Kingdom. On the other hand, the so-called Quranic scholars, who being a minority to begin with, generally find themselves helpless in the entire Muslim World. Even with their small numbers, they are considered a big threat by the majority Wahabi-influenced Muslim clerics and their backers. The leaders of the Quranic groups were persecuted and all of them are under the pressure of these terrorists and the dictators in Muslim lands. For their very survival they need protection and support to carry out their “Jihad Against Terrorism”.

8- How to understand the root causes of this evil known today as “Wahabism”

The Saudi State was established three times and was destroyed twice in recent history.

The initial process of the first Saudi State began in 1745, when Ibn Abdel Wahab, the zealot Sunni scholar, revolting against the Sufi and Shiite Muslims in the 18th.century, had formed an alliance with Ibn Saud, the prince of Al Dare’iah in Najd, north of the Arabian Peninsula. According to this agreement, the Saudi Prince was given the religious justification to conquer his neighbors and occupy their lands under the banner of Jihad. This sowed the seeds for the Wahabi cult in the first Saudi State.

Generating its Wahabi dogma from the hardest line of the Sunni tradition, the first Saudi State used the name of Islam and Jihad to occupy most of the Arabian Peninsula and to invade and massacre the Shiites and Sufi Muslims in Iraq and Syria. The helpless and dwindling Ottoman Empire of that time asked its strong ruler of Egypt; Mohammed Ali Pasha to eliminate the Saudi Wahabi danger. After seven years of hard battles, Mohammed Ali was finally able to destroy the first Saudi State and its capital in 1818.

9- Did the defeat of the Saudi State in 1818 eliminate the Wahabi faith?

No. On the contrary, the Military solution against the first Saudi State apparently helped the Wahabi faith to learn an important lesson. While the Turkish military uprooted the first Saudi State, but it gave the Wahabis more strength and determination to help the broken Saudi house to reestablish their second state in Najd for some decades in the 19th century.

Due to the absence of strong Islamic ideology during that time to counter the emerging Wahabi doctrine from inside Islam, the Wahabi teachings spread unopposed in the heart of Muslims even in the absence of a well-defined Saudi State itself.

Moreover, their military defeat had made the Wahabi scholars become more determined in their extreme ideology.

10 –What is the role of Wahabism help in reestablishing the current Saudi State?

The second Saudi State collapsed because of inner military conflicts.

Abdel Aziz, [Ibn Saud] is the founder of the current third Saudi State by his tough wild Wahabist followers named Al Ikhwan; or “Brothers”.

Those ardent fanatic Wahabi soldiers [Ikhwan] helped Abdel Aziz in reestablishing his Saudi State, [1914 – 1925] which was called [The Saudi Kingdom] in 1932.

The wild tough Bedouins of [Ikhwan] were inculcated with Wahabi dogma as real and forgotten Islam which should be applied by their swords and military Jihad.

After adding Al Hejaz and the Muslim Sacred Mosques, the Ikhwan continued their military conquests by invading Iraq and Syria where they committed many massacres. It was against the will of the mighty British Empire and its interests and allies. Abdel Aziz refused to defy the greatest power in the world to keep his new state secure.

This apparent conflict between the Saudi political authority and its religious Wahabi hierarchy, was absent during the first Saudi State. The tough soldiers of Al Ikhwan, believed in the continuous military Jihad and condemning Abdel Aziz and accused him to be friend of the idol worshippers [the other Muslims] and the infidels, [the British]. They had a strong Wahabi argument against Abdel Aziz who tried to eliminate this dissension by some of his other religious official scholars, who were unable to help him against the basic teachings of their sacred old masters ; Ibn Abdel Wahab and the oldest Imams; Ibn Taymeya and Ibn Hanbal.

11- How could Abdel Aziz solve this problem ?

Abdel Aziz’s policy was mainly aimed at the protection of his state, rather than reform the Wahabi faith. This has created the problems and the resultant bloodsheds extending to our present times, manifested by the emergence of leaders like Bin Laden.

12- This needs more explanation.

It was clear that the Wahabi doctrine needed reform in the 20th century, but the helpless non-Wahabi Saudi scholars found themselves incompetent for such an important task. So the peaceful political efforts of continuous conference in Riyadh on 1927 and 1928, failed to avoid the military conflict.

Abdel Aziz had to fight his own brothers [Ikhwan], defeating them militarily in 1929, but he could not defeat their extreme religious beliefs, nor could he reform them. Leaving this problem unsolved until now, makes the Saudi State, the core of extremism and fanaticism for the entire Muslim World, including the Western World as well.

Abdel Aziz had another problem in protecting his new state from its enemies, the Shiite Muslims around his borders in Iran, Iraq, Syria and in Yemen, and inside his state, in its eastern part and in Al Hejaz. He planned to convert the Muslims around his state from Sufism to the Wahabi faith. He concentrated first on Egypt and India where there were a big Muslim Sunni masses suffering from the British colonization and who would find solace in the Wahabi doctrine to provide religious motive for revolt against the occupiers of their lands. He acted on his plan as soon as he established full control over Al Hejaz and its sacred mosques and hence the Muslim pilgrimage. This gave the Saudi State a control over the religious heart and nerve center for the entire Muslim World.

So as early as 1928 the Muslim Brotherhood organization was created in Egypt by Hassan El Banna and his Spiritual master Rasheed Reda, an agent of Saudi Abdel Aziz in Egypt. Between 1928- 1948, Hassan El Banna established some fifty thousand branches of the Muslim Brotherhood all across Egypt, besides many international collaborators and the secret military organizations. Muslim Brotherhood orchestrated the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, which changed the history of Middle East. After that conflict between the Brotherhood and Nasser the leader of the Revolution (1952), most of the Muslim Brotherhood members escaped from prosecution to Saudi State, their spiritual home. They finally returned to Egypt in the time of Al Sadat (1970's) who gave them controlling authority in Egyptian religious and educational life. They used their influence to create their public and secret organizations to take over Egypt, and in turn assassinated Al Sadat himself in 1981. Finally, the Egyptian Muslim Brothers produced two famous leaders, Sheikh Omer Abdel Rahman, currently imprisoned in the U.S and Ayman Al Zawahery, the right hand of Bin Laden, beside Mohammed Atta the leader of the attack of September 11. Muslim Brotherhood and its public and secret organization are some of the bad fruits of the policies of Abdel Aziz.

13- Besides Egypt and the Middle East, what were the effects of this fanatical policy in the India subcontinent?

It was relatively easy for Abdel Aziz to force his doctrine in recruiting Indian Muslims who were against the British and other majority of their Indian people; they found in the Wahabi faith a religious justification to revolt against their British masters and other Indians, sowing the seeds for the division of the great Indian state

and its people into two countries, creating Pakistan, which has been one of the greatest calamities of the 20th century.

Pakistan by the help of the Saudi State and its Islamic university in Islam Abad and its [Madrassas] or Islamic primary schools, created Taliban, who took over Afghanistan subsequent to Russian departure in 1989. The problem of Taliban in Afghanistan still persisting despite their military route by the US in 2001.

14- Is Abdel Aziz, the founder of the current Saudi State and the father of the current Saudi king Abdullah, mainly responsible for all the ills of Wahabism we face today?

Yes.

Instead of up-dating and reforming the Wahabi faith after his clash with his [Ikhwan], Abdel Aziz preferred to export the Wahabi cult in its original Middle-Age teachings to the Muslim world creating religious bloody conflicts and turmoil from Algeria to Indonesia and from Sudan to Russia, and finally to the West and the U.S.

His sons are keeping his policy until now. They have steadfastly refused any political reform entering the kingdom, either coming from the West or from within Islam. Moreover, they continue to use their influence in persecuting any Muslim thinker and scholar if he dares to counter their Wahabi dogmatic culture.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is the time for true reform for Muslims, for their own safety and the safety of the entire world and civilized society. It is also time to realize that while some battles may be won by military force in select places, this ideological war between the U.S and the Wahabism will have to be won by the Quranic Muslims who are pro Americans. Empowerment of such Muslims is therefore the need of the hour.

The Second Part

The bad results of the Wahabism

1- Does the Saudi State still uphold its founder's policies?

Do they seem to care about the world's concerns for reforming their primitive society?

Yes and No.

After the death of the Saudi founder Abdel Aziz, his sons have maintained their absolute grip on power by relying on the Wahabi

doctrine. This hypocritical approach has been boosted by their new-found oil wealth and their eager enthusiasm to make Saudi Arabia as the leader of the entire Muslim World. The U.S – because of its political and economical interest in the region inadvertently provided a moral support for the Saudi policy. Moreover, the Western nations including the US have continued to provide facilities to the Saudis to create the Islamic Centers inside the West to spread the Wahabi dogma as the real religion of Islam, and gave them the opportunity to mislead and misguide the Muslim communities in the West.

Although the oil wealth has given the Saudis the ability to modernize the material life, their religious, social and cultural lives are still controlled by the fanatic Wahabi dogma. This apparent contradiction between the Middle-Aged fanatic teachings and their government's policies of allying with the infidel West (according to the Wahabi doctrine) has caused increasing resentments among the new brand of radical Muslims, typified by the likes of Bin Laden.

2- How significant is the Saudi State problem in dealing with its own extreme Wahabists, in becoming a victim of its own policies?

It is extremely big.

Trying to keep the Wahabi teachings intact under the rising tide of radicalism and discontentment against government policies makes the Saudi State a prime target from these radical religious factions. On the first day opening the 15th century of the Muslim calendar [November 22, 1979] some of these fanatic Wahabists, lead by Johayman, laid a siege on the Sacred Mosque of Mecca dooming the Saudi State to seek military help from their Western allies (the infidels). This in turn gave the ultra Wahabists an ax to grind claiming that the Saudi State is anti Islam. As expected, the Saudi authorities used their borrowed military power to eliminate Johayman and his group while its official religious scholars were - and still are - unable to rebut Johayman's arguments.

3- What is the level of current opposition groups within the kingdom?

Besides the Kingdom itself, the U.S and the entire World have to deal with the current Saudi opposition which produced the likes of Ben Laden. The current Wahabi opposition- born after the first Gulf war in 1992 – includes many different intellectuals with different

backgrounds; most of them have graduated from the Western universities but still maintain their fanatical and extreme Wahabi views.

4- What is the effect of Wahabism on the Arab World?

The Arab World is the first victim of the Wahabi culture. The medium of dictatorship has generally supported in the spread of the cancer of Wahabi Faith around Arab Muslim World. Democracy is the forgotten Islamic virtue, a dirty word allied with the infidel West, but the Wahabi faith gives the Muslim dictator unlimited political power in accordance with the Middle aged political culture. The Saudi royal family could not let go of the monarchy to face any democratic aspirations of its people to hold on to their absolute power. However, the current neo Wahabi opposition while believing in absolute authority of the Muslim ruler or [the Caliph] is in conflict with the Saudi regime as the real enemy of Islam. These extremists, allied with Muslim Brothers around the world are condemning the military despotic regimes, as the followers of the [infidel West]. Their aim is to take over the political power and establish theocratic regimes. So the irony is that while the political oppositions around the world uphold democracy and human rights, the Wahabi political oppositions inside Muslim World are against the [Infidel West] FOR its democratic culture and their total rejection of all non-Muslims.

In this complex game of political power, the Military despotic regimes in Muslim World seem to support that Wahabi oppositions only to scare the intellectual opponents and the unsuspecting world making a choice on their behalf: Us (meaning the dictatorship) vs. them (meaning the Wahabists)? That is how they have been able to maintain their control over the Wahabi culture as well as the masses, at the same time by using military power against the selected Wahabi terrorists who propagate overthrow of regimes by violent means (jihad) as true teachings of Islam.

As a result of dictatorships of the regimes and their religious oppositions, the wave of democracy abandons the Middle East while it invades other nations in Africa which are less civilized than the Muslims.

5- What about the Saudi Wahabi influence in Egypt?

Muslim Brotherhood was created in Egypt by the efforts of the Saudi agents. After Nasser destroyed their organization for his own political survival, they returned back to Egypt - with renewed Saudi oil-rich influence – during the time of Al Sadat, who gave them limited authority to control the Egyptian religious and educational life. But extreme religious zealots are seldom satisfied with limited power and soon they began their influence to create other public and secret organizations to take over entire Egypt. Though Mubarak seems to have kept them at bay to gain control, they have the great power in the Egyptian street. Muslim Brothers are not just an organization. It is a live powerful Wahabi culture. It is the culture that makes the Wahabi fanatic dogma acceptable in the entire Muslim World. Ironically, this Muslim Brother culture (with the Saudi influence) have taken full control of Al Azhar .

6- What more do we need to know about The Al Azhar University of Egypt?

Al Azhar was initially a Mosque, built in 972, the same year the Egyptian capital Cairo was built. As the original seat of many great Islamic scholars and thinkers, it continued to be the magnet over the centuries to attract Muslims scholars from around the world to come and learn about the Islamic Jurisprudence and religious philosophy. Soon it obtained the status of the most respected name as the premier Islamic institution in the Muslim world for its scholarly expertise to dispense religious knowledge and train Muslims scholars who pursued knowledge in specific fields of their interests.

It is not only the oldest university in the entire world, but also the biggest as it has more than fifty colleges and five universities in Egypt, beside its own educational religious system in Egypt for the primary, preparatory and secondary schools. You can find its schools in every Egyptian village and neighborhood. Al Azhar trained Muslim Imams control the entire network of Egyptian mosques and hence the religious life of all Muslim Egyptians.

As a legendary part of the Egyptian life and history, Al Azhar has been manipulated by the modern Egyptian rulers to brain wash the masses in the name of Islam. Its current President Mubarak has tightened his grip on Al Azhar to preach the Wahabi culture to preserve his power. Paradoxically, this has made the Egyptian streets and mosques increasingly hostile to the U.S and its policies in the Middle East.

It is a must to reform such a critical Islamic institution as Al Azhar to support real democratic values of Islam, which are not opposed to America because of its freedoms and its charter for basic human rights. The reformed Al Azhar must defend the freedom of speech and belief, democracy, tolerance and human rights as real Islamic values.

For 15 years (1973- 1987), I struggled against the Saudi fanatic influence inside Al Azhar and tried to reform it in my limited capacity without much support. I was fired from Al Azhar University for my views and put in prison on trumped-up charges. My struggles against them continued as a free Islamic Scholar trying to propagate Islam according to its original teachings from the Quran of peace and tolerance. For this I was constantly persecuted until my escape to the U.S in October 2001.

Thus reforming Egypt will not be possible without the needed reforms at its religious nerve center- Al Azhar.

And in trying to reform the Middle East, reformed Egypt with a renewed Al Azhar can play a central role. If we approach it with a right understanding of the issues, I humbly submit in front of this committee that it is possible to reform Al Azhar and Egypt with the right people at the helm. This can be one sure way to blow a death nail to eradicate Wahabism .

7- In the short run, what can the U.S do to resurrect its image in the hostile Arab Muslim streets?

The U.S and the West become victims of the Wahabi culture, by their unflinching support of the dictatorial regimes in spite of their apparent falling out with their home grown neo Wahabists.

The uninterrupted dictatorships have hatched continuous corruption and chaos in creation of terrorists and their organizations in the Middle East. To deviate the masses from the real issues of corrupt governance (education, health, law and order, security ect), these despotic regimes and the Wahabi organizations have used each other in their game for political power. Wahabists tell the masses that the [Infidel West], is the ardent enemy of Islam, and is plotting against Muslims to keep them behind all nations. The dictators on the other hand are able to scare the Western powers from the bogey of Wahabists (their own creation) to keep them in power perpetually. So the West finds itself in this perplexing dilemma of who to support to guarantee a safe passage for their strategic interest. They have obviously chosen a path of least resistance by sticking with their

“trusted allies” the fewer members of the ruling class in favor of the “unknown chaos “ of the masses.

In the meantime, finding it relatively helpless within their own borders, neo Wahabists have refocused their ire at the Western backers of their rulers. Their obsession with the complex of the “Western/Jewish Conspiracy against Islam” was the main motive behind the terrorist attacks of September, 11.

To provide religious sanctity to this radical ideology of declaring war on the so called “enemies of Islam”, these Wahabists have restored the old traditional fanatic Sunni faith of dividing the world into two camps of the believers (Dar-ul-Islam), and that of the infidels (Dar-ul-Harab). In their twisted way of thinking, it gives them freedom to attack (openly or subversively on unsuspecting civilians) any land where Muslims are not in control. To achieve this aim, they are working relentlessly to take over political power in Egypt, Saudi State and Pakistan to set the stage their ultimate goal for the One Islamic United Nation to finally crush the Christians the Jews and anybody else that comes in their way and against their medieval understanding of their religion.

8- How could this radical religious opposition within Muslim nations carry out this big dream?

Their unified goal is to take over the world and raise the Islamic banner by military means as the sole arbitrator of world affairs.

So far these Wahabists have made substantial progress:

1-They have already controlled most of the mosques and Islamic centers inside, including Al-Azhar and out side the Muslim World, including most of the Western European cities (especially London, Germany and Holland) and the US.

2-They already control the most educational, media and cultural outlets in the Arabic lands and gaining steadily in their control non-Arab Muslim World.

3-They use all these means to make the Wahabi the only representative of Islam, by referring to Muslims as “Al Ommah”, meaning “One Nation”. It sounds that there is one Ommah or

one nation in this world, the Muslim Nation, ignoring the other nations. Hence they assume leadership to represent all Muslims by default!

4-Their absolute control of the Sunni Muslim communities to preach the Wahabi -inspired doctrine in the West and the U.S centers is enough to create a volatile atmosphere against the host nations. A systematic approach in dealing with this menace is required instead of gut reactions on isolated instances as we have seen since 9/11.

5-Wahabis have been successful in recruiting not only the Muslims who have been brainwashed against the West and the U.S, but using the tactics of the communists during the cold war, manipulating other groups, mostly non-Muslims to do their dirty work to avoid detection. It is very much like the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

6-They use historic references of the grandeur of the original caliphate empire to lure present Muslim generations into an artificial aura of super Islamic Utopic generation on earth.

7- By distracting the U.S and the West by this new kind of war where you could not predict where and when and how the next terrorist attack will happen, their aim is to exhaust the economic resources of the West and to eventually make them weak and winnable.

8-In this new kind of war, they have many different faces and sides. They are masterminding Western technology against the West and its inability to defend itself against this faceless enemy. Use of the internet for recruiting has basically taken care of the need of travel of possible suspects, with chances of being apprehended. They have trained soldiers and made loose secret organizations to commit the terrorist crimes under the various names of jihad. Their secret agents seem to have penetrated many regimes, due to their wide spread support among the mostly uneducated Muslim masses; some of them are even famous writers and (so-called) Islamic scholars to provide religious cover to defend them for their crimes against humanity. Many are constantly collecting money and funds for them, in the guise of Muslim sufferings around the world, while others are

trying to recruit young Muslims for brainwashing and preparing them for the terrorist crimes.

The third Part

Reforms in the Saudi Kingdom

1– Why the efforts to reform the Saudi Kingdom from within have not been successful?

Briefly, the Saudi family has two major problems: its Dictatorship, and its Wahabi bloody culture. The Saudi Royal family represents in our modern time the worst of the Middle Ages culture with a dangerous mix of political ambition and religious hegemony over the entire Muslim population. Thus they have refused any reform in the preaching of the Wahabi faith, even when the demands to change come arise from within the core of Islam.

They rely on the religious Sunni term(Al Hakemeyya) meaning : “The Divine Rights of the King “ which is afforded to the royal family by their Wahabi counterparts- giving the Saudi family the religious justification to monopolize the wealth and the political power for themselves exclusively, as it used to be in the Muslim Empire in the Middle ages. By giving the kingdom their Saudi family name, it reflects the Middle-Age culture where dynasties were named after their founders e.g. the Abbasid, the Fatemid, the Omawwid,and the Ottoman Empires.

To understand their line of thinking we can show that within the official Saudi documents, all non-royal family members, including their own citizens, are referred to as [Al Tabe’eyah] which means those that are under their control, and are regarded as an asset or belongings. Saudi family members are only those who are free citizens in their own country and kingdom.

By owning the country, its wealth, and its people, takes the royal Saudis out of any need for accountability to anyone. In their belief system, it is “AL Shoyoukh Abkhas”, meaning that “The

king is the only one who knows better" ! Any discussion of such political terms and issues is a crime. Some intellectuals who have questioned this phenomenon are paying the price by being in prison in the Saudi State at this time.

The mention of the key word "slavery" in the CDLR report highlight this brand of thinking by the Saudi Royals, implying that they believe that they own all the people inside the kingdom. By aligning with the street Mutawwis (the Wahabis) the Saudi Royal Family has been given this unlimited power to enslave its population. Although the royal family members seldom show any personal religious piety for themselves by their lavish lifestyles, indulgence in drinking, womanizing and gambling away their millions, they are unlikely to abandon their ties with Wahabism anytime soon.

2 - What about the hopes with the changed Saudi leadership of king: Abdullah?

The sons of Abdel Aziz generally have belonged to three camps:

- 1- The most corrupt to back absolute dictatorship; e.g. their modern patriarch, late king Saud and now late king Fahd and their living brothers Sultan, Nayef, Turkey and Salman.
- 2- Few with some good ideas about democracy, like Tallal who revolted against his brother king Saud during the sixties and was excommunicated.
- 3- Others are famous for their religious leanings according to the Wahabi culture, like late king Faisal and the current King Abdullah.

When the present king was crown prince, the Saudi opposition in London during the late 1990's pinned great hope on him due to their opposition to the then king Fahad and his full brothers Nayef, Sultan and Salman. It was said that Abdullah had some secret relationship with some members of this opposition to use them to strengthen his power inside the Saudi Kingdom. The facts however, seem to point out that king Abdullah has more partisans in the Wahabi extremist crowd than his late half brother, king Fahd.

The Wahabists have great hopes in him.

The Fourth Part

The Wahabist war on America

1- How Is Saudi Arabia spreading Wahabism here in our American mosques and schools?

The Wahabi Muslim Americans are using the Islamic schools and mosques and internet in spreading the Wahabi culture of hatred and terrorism.

According to the Wahabi religious verdicts [Fatwas] and their historical wars, Al Jihad means to hate and to fight the enemy of Islam. The term "enemy" includes all Christians, the Jews, all non Muslims as well as other Muslims who do not follow their Wahabi ideology. They justify waging wars- as military Jihad – to kill not only the army personnel, but also innocent civilians, including elderly, children and women, even their pets. At the same time, the Wahabi Soldier, if he martyrs himself he gains instant access to his final abode in paradise, with the highest rank of being granted the power of intercession before God on the Day of Judgment to intercede for his family and friends. The current wave of suicide bombers are the clear manifestation of this bigoted ideology of their Jihad against the infidels.

2- More details about their influence in the American mosques and Islamic schools.

According to one recent survey, there are 1,209 mosques in America; most of them were founded during the last 20 years, making the Wahabi Islam one of the fastest growing religions in the United States. By 2010 it is expected to become the second largest faith practiced in the country. There are about 200 fulltime Muslim schools, about 500 Sunday Islamic schools, and six schools of Islamic higher learning in America.

The fanatics Wahabi Imams are now in charge of most of these mosques and schools in countering the Western ideas of liberty, justice and peace and fighting the U.S. system from within its home territory.

Ironically, many of these Sheikhs and Imams claim Al Azhar and Saudi backgrounds, giving them a religious hierarchical position difficult to challenge by ordinary Muslims. They can be more dangerous than the open foes like the Ben Laden.

A cursory look at the official Saudi translation in the holy Quran of Al Fateha (the opening chapter) can highlight this point. [Al Fateha]- is recited at least 17 times through the daily Muslim prayers- they on purpose have mistranslated the last two verses in [Al Fateha]. It should say:" Guide us to the straight path. The path of those on whom you have bestowed your blessing, not of those who earned your anger, nor of those who went astray"

The official Saudi translation comments on these verses to describe the Jews as those who earned the anger of God, and the Christians as those who went astray

There are hundreds of other examples in this Saudi Wahabi Translation. Thousands of copies of such translations are regularly distributed in the Islamic centers and schools and mosques in the U.S to make Muslims believe that all the Christians and Jews are infidels, enemies of Islam and according to the Wahabi faith, they should be fought and killed. This translation is also available on line on this official Saudi web site:

<http://www.qurancomplex.org/Quran/Targama/Targama.asp?TabID=4&SubItemID=1&l=arb&t=eng&SecOrder=5&SubSecOrder=1>

Are we now to believe in their assurance to the US government and its people that they are with us in their fight against war on terror with the likes of Ben Laden? I do not think so and the evidence suggest otherwise.

The hypocrite scholars are worse than the frank extremists like Ben Laden, who speak their discourse and apply it openly as they can. Those hypocrites are more dangerous because they keep the religious culture of terrorism untouchable, which provides a rich breeding ground ready to produce thousands of Bin Laden.

The only way to expose them is to face them from inside their culture, proving their enmity towards Islam, and the big contradiction between their tradition and real Islam (evident fro the Quran), and to discuss and criticize their tradition in the light of Quranic discourse.

3- What about the Freedom House Report “SAUDI PUBLICATIONS ON HATE IDEOLOGY FILL AMERICAN MOSQUES.”?

Yes, I believe that the report is fair in its overall assessment of the problem. Actually, it provides a wakeup call which comes a little late. Such a report should have been generated twenty years ago. But while hind sight is 20/20, it is still a good first step. But continued scrutiny of Wahabi lobby activities including their centers, fund raising and money transfers, their Arabic newsletters, Arabic sermons and conferences are warranted.

4-What about the Arabic online war against America?

By the help of the American counterparts, the fanatics Arab Wahabists are controlling most of the Arabic websites. Muslim Brothers were the first people in Egypt in using computers for their political cause, so are the Saudis fanatics and others. It is their best way to reach all their secret organizations and cells and individuals in the entire world. They use it within the U.S soil by hijacking Islam and the American value of freedom of belief and speech, while benefiting personally from these value systems to escape scrutiny. While the American agencies may have the most sophisticated internet security tools, they are not qualified in facing them in the Arabic websites because they use their confidential terminology and codes.

For example; there are websites which seemingly focus on religious issues only and in general way. For the ordinary Muslim, they seem just religious websites, so they may have a large following and supporters. Under deeper scrutiny by expert scholars, however, one may find that the so-called moderate traditional web sites are the proving to be more dangerous in propagating fanatic Wahabist views to ordinary Muslims.

The most famous moderate web site is “Islam Online”, owned and controlled by Sheikh Al Qaradawy, the spiritual leader of Muslim Brothers. This so – called Moderate Sheikh has issued his famous bloody fatwa calling to kill all the American civilians in Iraq. In addition, the Saudis have the most number of the fanatic web sites. It is easy to say the Saudi Arabic web sites have many different fanatic kinds of discourse. There are these official sheikhs who attack Ben Laden and defend the Saudi Kingdom while they are upholding the

same faith and beliefs as Ben Laden himself. There are the sites of other Sheikhs like Salman Al Ouda and Safar Al Hawaly who were against the Saudi regime initially and were put in prison. After some compromise – they were released on one condition: not to attack the Saudi State. Accordingly, they have learned to ignore the Saudi repressive regime and have instead focused their attacks on the West and U.S interest to encourage the terrorists every where else.

Al Mas'ary and Al Fakeeh are other example for this category of websites operated by Saudi dissidents in London where they attack the Saudi family and the U.S together and encouraging the war against the West in general. Other London websites attack the Arabic regimes and the U.S and the West: Yaser Al serry and Hany Al seba'ey from Egypt as example. Some websites provide portals for Ben Laden and Al Zarqawy to propagate their messages. But generally, all of these fanatic web sites share common preaching of hatred and a bloody religious culture inspired by Ben Laden but with different tunes and different accents.

The Fifth Part

American Mission: How to defeat terrorism in this intellectual war?

1- How to respond to this intellectual war?

This war against terrorism should be 90% ideological and intellectual peaceful war. It is very easy and cheap war if it is handled by the right people. Unfortunately America is using its military in 99% of this war.

This is dangerous since it will have serious implications of draining its economy, the eventual aim of its enemy.

2- What are some other details of this intellectual war which must be fought to defeat Wahabism?

This is a new kind of war. We can summarize its new aspects with one concrete example: the suicide bomber. He is eager to blow himself up in order to kill as many innocent people as possible from among Christians, Jews and other Muslims. Young men are usually inspired by their dreams of the future and of enjoying their lives, but the suicide bomber is motivated only by the thought of being a martyr and he is convinced that

virgins are waiting for him in paradise to reward him for blowing himself up amongst “infidels”.

The suicide bomber is a human ticking bomb walking the streets ready to destroy other people, any time and any place. It is very difficult to recognize him and to predict where and when he will strike.

With this new weapon -- the human bomb – the Wahabi terrorist enemy has neutralized the most horrifying weapon of all times, the nuclear bomb.

This War’s chief Ingredients:

1-The most lethal weapon is the suicide bomber.

2-The ammunition is the Muslim medieval tradition and religion.

3-The factories of ammunitions are the mosques, the Islamic centers in the West and in the U.S, the Muslim system of educations and the Arabic web sites.

4-The battle field is the mentality and attitude of all Muslims.

5-The soldiers and the generals of war are fanatic extreme Muslim scholars and the Sheikhs.

6- The very nature of this war is 100% intellectual-ideological religious war.

7-Who will win this kind of war? The terrorists, unless challenged by the Islamic scholars.

8-Why: Because so far only the U.S army is waging about 90% of this war.

The Crucial Reassessment:

1-How can the U.S win this war and save thousands of lives and billions of money?

By using the same tactic of the intellectual-ideological religious war.

2-How could the U.S use this tactic?

By responding to every enemy weapon to neutralize it:

The weapon [suicide bomber] must be convinced that if he kills innocent people or himself he will be the enemy of Islam.

The ammunitions [Muslim tradition and religion] must be used against the terrorist themselves.

The factories of ammunitions: [Mosques, Islamic centers in the West and the U. S and the educational system in Muslim World] are under the control of U.S. allies. These factories of ammunitions in the Muslim World must be reformed in the name of Islam by the pressure of the U.S, and the U.N. -- along with real political reform. The mosques and the so-called Islamic schools in the U.S must be reformed, and the Arabic fanatic web sites must be faced.

The battle field of this war will be the mentality of all Muslims.

The soldiers and the generals of this war against terrorists are the free Muslim scholars and sheikhs. We are willing to fight but need the support of the West and the U.S.

The very nature of this war against terrorists: A large percentage of it can be -- and must be -- intellectual war.

Who will win this kind of war?

The civilized world including the West and the U.S. will win it.

Why?

Because the fanatic terrorist Wahabists have their power by using the name of Islam. We must explain from *within Islam* the contradiction between Islam and the bloody culture of Wahabism.

It is not hard to have the silent Muslim majority on our side if we can reach them. It is not hard also to convince some of the fanatics by using the fanatic tradition against them. Also, it is very easy to recruit the open-minded Muslims and organize them in this peaceful war against terrorism. Actually, they are eager to be organized and supported by the U.S to get their freedom and to get rid of the terrorist danger.

3- Does America have the Ability to win this war of Ideas?

America has not used its unique abilities to win this intellectual war. America has the most powerful media productions in the world and the

great number of the Islamic departments within its Universities. Moreover, there are the Quranic groups in Egypt and the entire Muslim world, who are manifestly pro democracy and anti Wahabism. They can easily defeat the Wahabists if they have the American support and protection.

I have a painful experience in this regard. After 25 years of struggle against the Wahabism as a Muslim scholars and freedom fighter, I came to the U.S eager to serve this great country which gives me a shelter after the Egyptian fanatics have rooted me out from my home, family and career. Since October 2001 until now (October 2005) I worked only 15 months. 3 months in the National endowment For Democracy, and one year at Harvard Law School. Because of the Saudi Wahabi fund no Islamic Department in the American Universities responded to my application to teach in my Islamic field, in spite of my knowledge and expertise. This explains why these Islamic Departments in the American Universities ignore Wahabism and how to counter it.

During my 3 months at N.E.D, I wrote my first book in English”: The root of democracy in Islam” in 2002. I called in this book to establish many T.V Arabic free channels to defend America and its democratic values. After establishing the Arabic American T.V channel, Al Horra, I contacted them several times to work with them, but they ignore me totally. Some months ago, Magdi Khalil who worked at Al Horra hosted me to talk about Islam and the contradiction between Islam and Wahabism. I also talked about the American role in establishing democracy in Iraq, saying it is a real Islamic Jihad which must be supported by All Muslims. Because of this Magdi Khalil was fired from Al Horra. This proves that Al Horra is controlled by the wrong people.

I sent many proposals to many American agencies and figures in the fields of reforming the Islamic mosques and schools and recruiting the free minded Muslims to activate and win the silent Muslim majority to our side, and how to handle this war of ideas. The response so far is zero and very frustrating.

I stand alone with my Quranic people facing the fanatic Wahabists on line in the Arabic internet. In my weekly article on line, I usually attack the Wahabism and the dictatorships, giving my Quranic people a hope that one day they will have the American support.

4- What is the practical step in handling this war?

This new war against terrorism will save billions of money and thousands of lives, although it may last for some decades in this century. It is impossible to change people mentality in some years. America must have its own powerful agency to win this war peacefully and intellectually and perfectly. This will confirm America as the only super power in this century.

This American agency will be specialized in Islamic cultural fields to produce and publish and broadcast books, drama and television programs in Arabic, Urdu, Farsi and English languages throughout the Muslim World and the Muslim communities in the U.S and the West. Its production must reach all Muslims in every street, every mosque, on line, and in theaters and homes.

5- In some details: What is the mission of this proposed American agency? And how it will handle its mission?

Briefly, this agency has two new expressions in handling its mission: Amricanizing Islam and Islamizing this war. Amricanizing Islam means to preach the core of Islam among Muslims. When you read the Arabic Quran according to its terminology you will find Islam has the same American values. Islamizing this war means to recruit the intellectual Muslims to handle it by the support and the control of this American agency.

The proposed agency needs the following departments:

A) Department of International Affairs, to organize the Quranic Muslim groups in the entire World, to give them assignments, and to recruit other intellectual Muslims. This department will hold regular conferences to help the agency in handling its mission overseas.

B) –Department of Islamic Reform:

1. For the Islamic mosques in the U.S. to defend democratic values in the name of Islam)

This will enable the U.S. to drive extremists out of the American mosques, making them advocate American patriotism as part of core Islamic values of faith.

2. For the Islamic Schools in the U.S.

It's useless to reform their religious curriculum; the only way is to present to them alternative Islamic subjects, to preach the Islamic values of Peace, tolerance, justice, freedom and democracy.

This department will provide these subjects as available materials for these schools, calling on the schools to reconsider this in their teaching. It will also publish these subjects calling on the American Muslim community to discuss them and to be an active part in pressing the Islamic schools to uphold them instead of the fanatic teachings.

If they refuse, then it will be a unique opportunity to discuss this issue in the public eye of the media. A public debate may disclose some absent facts concerning the secret relationship between some Islamic schools and other fanatic organizations in the Muslim World.

In such a debate, they will be faced with these important questions: If you really believe that Islam is the religion of great values, why do you ignore this in your courses? If you claim you did not have the ability to write it in your courses, and information to this end has now become available, why do you continue to refuse to uphold it in your courses? If you are against the fanatic culture, why do you keep it in your courses?

The final goal is to make these Islamic schools serving Islam compatible with the United States nation in its war against terrorism.

C: Department of Publishing

It should publish books and newsletters in Arabic and English languages and to distribute them in all the American Muslim mosques, schools and stores and communities and publishing it also online.

Publishing these books and newsletter aims to:

- 1- Expose and disclose the dark side of the fanatic tradition and the big contradiction between it and the real teachings of Islam.
- 2- Recruit open minded Muslim Americans to work against the fanatics inside and outside the U.S.
- 3- Through the discussions and the reactions of those who control the Muslim communities and schools and mosques, it will be easy to define the terrorist Imams and their followers in order to free the American mosques from their control.

D Higher Institute for Islamic Research and Reform in which open-minded Muslims will be trained to be Imams, not only in the mosques but also in the Islamic schools and to work as Imams for Muslims in prisons and army instead of these Wahabi fanatic Imams. It is also necessary to train some other brilliant free minded Muslims to infiltrate the fanatic groups inside the mosques to pave the way for taking over them in the right time.

This high Islamic institute will be also a think tank specialized in the Islamic fields and the other secret sacred sides of the Wahabism. It will tackle researches and assignments for the American agencies.

F- Arabic Library specialized in the secret sacred scriptures and texts and the hidden manuscripts of the Sunni Wahabi cult. It is said that the Saudi agents in Egypt have stolen many of these unpublished manuscripts from the very Old Al Azhar library and the official Egyptian Library. We need copies in our proposed library to serve us in this intellectual war. Using these sacred secret books will be an atomic intellectual bomb against them.

G- Department of Online War

It is painful to say, that the greatest super power in the human history has not single Arabic web site to defend itself and to clear its image, while it is usually insulted and attacked severely every day in the Arabic on line web sites. The Wahabists have a lot of these Arabic websites. Their sole mission is to brainwash Muslims against America. This department will be supervised by Arabic experts who will maintain this online war and has a team work inside and out side of America to keep commenting on all the articles and the books that insulting America on line and in the local media overseas.

It also will hold many conferences to :1- Explore this new kind of war.2- Analyze the fanatic websites, and how they brainwash the young Muslims and prepare them to be suicide bombers, how they recruit them , and how they raise fund.3- How to face them. 4- How to deal with “Al Fatwa”- the verdict or the rule given by the Sheikh – as the most dangerous weapon against them. 5- Translating and presenting this unknown field - the Arabic fanatic web sites - to the Americans. 6- Expose the so – called moderate Muslims and sheikhs who have two discourses, deceiving the West and the U.S. while they are working for the terrorism.7-Establish many web sites to serve in this war.9- Organize the secular and other open minded Arab scholars and their web sites to be in our side against the terrorism. 10- Establishing new Muslim generation specialized in this online war.

H: New Arabic Satellite Channels for multi media productions of Movies, T.V serials and other programs

Only intellectual Muslims have access to internet and read books and newspapers. Most of Muslims get their education and knowledge from T.V channels and its drama which 90% of them are owned and controlled by Wahabists and dictators. To defeat them , the magic word here is “Hollywood”. By drama and few T.V satellites the U.S can win 90% of this war.

Proponents of extremism and terrorism are not just clerks or imams. The most dangerous are script writers who compose historical, Islamic, and ordinary dramas. In their movie and soap-opera scripts, they usually promote terrorism through subtle ideas which they convey indirectly and effectively to the conscious and subconscious of viewers, shaping their ideas and outlook while enjoying the show without any discussion or protest.

Most Arab countries monopolize the media, including local and satellite TV channels, to serve a ruling dictator and the Wahabism. Egypt and Saudi Arabia are working together in promoting the Wahabism.

When small Qatar set up its anti American Al jazeera channel with a reasonable margin of freedom and independence, the satellite channel has become famous in Arab countries and the whole world.

The success of Al Aljazeera motivated the USA to set up Al-Hurra (the Free) Arabic channel. When the United States thought about establishing Al-Hurra Channel, Arab regimes and advocates of terrorism were caught by horror. Yet despite all the facilities and financial assistance given to Al -Hurra, the American channel turned into something similar to a local Lebanese channel, without any impact. Al-Hurra was born dead, when it ought to have been born a giant to confront the intense hatred for the United States in the Arab region, spread a culture of democracy in the Middle East, and uproot the Wahabi culture.

It has become imperative to establish more free and independent TV channels to address the Islamic world preaching the American Islam against the Wahabism. The address must be well-studied and void of any direct preaching or demagogue presentation. Ideas must be presented with such ease and subtlety as to persuade viewers.

Establishing TV and drama production companies

If the proposed channels have a unique message to convey, then they require specific drama and cultural program production companies which will be unique in their production in drama and T.V programs.

Drama has the most effective impact on Arab and Muslim viewers. All kinds of drama – social, political, and even thrillers – can easily serve our cause, either in the main plot, or in deliberate comments said by the characters. Historical drama teems with thousands of issues which a writer can use to highlight virtuous values and raise the awareness of viewers. In all kinds of drama, different themes can be incorporated in natural conversations that are both congruous with the context, and void of direct preaching.

TV programs are generally popular and effective. We have our issues that have not been presented or discussed yet by other channels, because they are not bold enough to raise them. Even if they do, they are not qualified to run the talk.

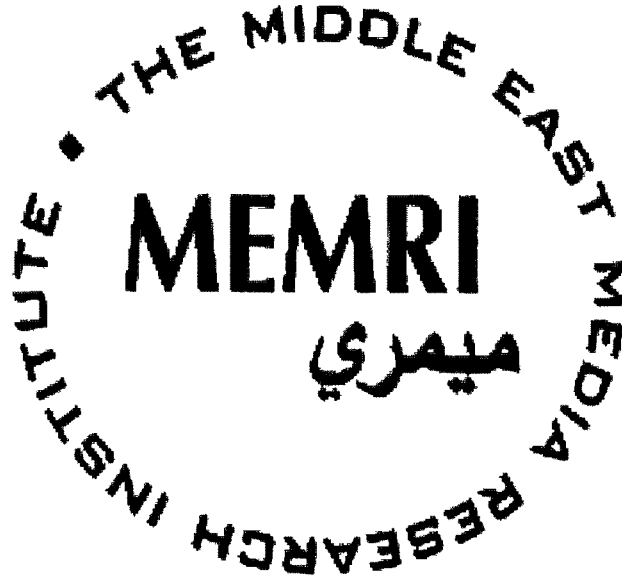
Human rights in Islam have not been frankly and objectively discussed. They cannot discuss questions like these: if Islam is really a religion of peace, why has terrorism been cultivated among Muslims? How has terrorism come to be inextricably associated with Islam? If Islam is valid for all times and places, why have Muslims lagged behind other nations? And why is there a call for ancestral fundamentalism? If Islam is a religion of freedom, tolerance, democracy, and compassion, why do Muslims have despotic regimes? Why do they reject democracy and advocate radicalism and fanaticism? Hundreds of questions like these need to be answered in free and objective arguments in talk shows run by real thinkers, and not by people who promote superstition, ignorance, fanaticism and backwardness.

In short, it is necessary to raise the issues that have remained undisclosed in the Islamic literature for ages, including edicts, rulings, legislations, and interpretations that contradict the core of Islam and all its values and virtues. A daring and scientific discussion of these issues will ensure prompt success for such programs, especially when discussions are based on freedom of opinion, thinking, and belief, tolerance, and respecting the right of others to differ and disagree, without holding them infidels, traitors, or contemptible. There are other taboo issues which the Arabic TV satellite channels usually neglect in order to avoid collision with Arab old despotism. Among these issues are the corruption, the real history of the Saudis and their fanatic Wahabism, and torture in the Arab Muslim World.

Finally

This proposed agency by these departments will defeat terrorists and their Wahabi culture at a very cheap cost and giving the world more safety.

Ahmed Subhy Mansour



**STATEMENT OF MEMRI PRESIDENT YIGAL CARMON FOR NOVEMBER 8,
2005 U.S. SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE HEARING "SAUDI ARABIA:
FRIEND OR FOE IN THE WAR ON TERROR?"**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to present my written statement today before the Committee. I am sorry that I cannot attend; however, I look forward to appearing before your committee in the future.

Background Information on MEMRI

The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which was founded in early 1998 in Washington, D.C. with the aim of bridging the language gap between the Middle East and the U.S., monitors, translates, and studies the Arab, Iranian, and, as of this year, Turkish media (including TV channels) religious sermons, and school books. MEMRI has branches in Berlin, Baghdad, Tokyo, and Jerusalem, and until recently, in London, with a staff of over 60 working around the globe.

MEMRI's research is translated into German, French, English, Italian, Spanish, and Japanese and we have over 50,000 subscribers and millions of visitors to our websites (www.memri.org and www.memritv.org) from around the globe.

In recent years, I have briefed U.S. government agencies on the results of our work – the State Department, Justice Department, Defense Department, Department of Homeland Security, NSC, and different police departments in the U.S. – and I have quite often had the honor of briefing Congressmen and Senators in special briefings hosted by them on Capitol Hill. In particular, I would like to mention a series of briefings focusing on Saudi TV channels. Please see the attached folders which include our research material from those briefings, as well as other material on Saudi Arabia.

On these same issues I have briefed European Union officials, European Parliament members, and British, Swedish, and Norwegian members of Parliament, as well as Italian, German, and French government officials.

I have also participated in conferences on terrorism held around the world. The most recent of these, held in March of this year and hosted by King Juan Carlos of Spain and Spanish Prime Minister Zapatero, convened to commemorate the first anniversary of the March 11, 2004 terrorist attack at Madrid's main train station.

MEMRI's work focuses on three projects: Reform in the Arab and Muslim world, Jihad and Terrorism Studies, and Antisemitism and Hatred of Minorities in the Arab and Muslim World.

A) The Reform Project focuses on the ever-increasing liberal and reformist courageous voices in the Arab and Muslim world who, despite the danger both from their governments and from the extremist Islamist organizations, speak out to call for fundamental changes in the extremist and violent interpretations of Islam and for the endorsement of democracy and human, civil, and women's rights.

B) The Jihad and Terrorism Project monitors Islamist terrorist groups that preach Jihad and martyrdom in mosques, the media, and school systems. To this end, we monitor not only the media but also the plentiful Islamist websites that propagate Jihad and martyrdom.

C) The Antisemitism Documentation Project focuses on Arab, Iranian and Turkish media that advocate and propagate antisemitic themes – both old ones, such as the blood libel accusing the Jews of using the blood of non-Jewish children for Passover matzos, and new ones, like the myth that the Jews were behind the September 11 attacks.

Allow me to emphasize that MEMRI's Reform Project includes liberal and reformist voices in Saudi Arabia. Let me mention just a few names:

- Islamic clerics and scholars such as Sheikh Ibrahim Mansur Al-Nuqaidan, who just a few years ago was sentenced by a Saudi court to 75 lashes for expressing his opinions but would not back down, and Sheikh Abd Muhsin Al-'Obiqan, as a government official who stands up against calls for Jihad
- Journalists such as Muhammad Ibn Abd Al-Latif Aal Al-Sheikh, who just recently compared Salafi-Jihadi ideology to Nazi ideology, and Hussein Al-Shubakhshi, who constantly criticizes Islamist extremist ideology
- Women activists such as Badriya Bishr (see her last article "Imagine You're a Woman" at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP101205>)
- The liberal prince Khaled al-Faysal, Governor of 'Asir (<http://www.memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=153> and also see his profile by MEMRI at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA21205>)

It is also important to mention in this respect a thorough and courageous study highly critical of the Saudi curriculum, by two researchers, former Saudi judge Sheikh Abd Al-Aziz Al-Qassem and Saudi author and journalist Ibrahim Al-Sakran. This study was submitted to the second national dialogue forum, which was held in Saudi Arabia in late December 2003 under the sponsorship of Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah. The study came out with a call for a fundamental change in the Saudi Wahhabi curriculum, and blamed it for the spread of hatred and violence to "the other" in Saudi society.

(<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA19504>)

The Anti-Terrorism "Riyadh Declaration" vs. the Reality on Saudi TV Channels Available in the U.S.

On February 8, 2005, Saudi authorities published the Riyadh Declaration against terrorism. The declaration followed a conference sponsored by Saudi Interior Minister Prince Nayef.

The declaration emphasized, inter alia, "the importance of enhancing the values of understanding, tolerance and dialogue... the bringing of cultures together... the rejection of any clash of civilizations, and the combating of ideology that calls for hatred and instigates violence or justifies terrorist crimes..."

The reality on the Saudi TV channels available in the U.S., however, reflects just the opposite. Even as the conference was taking place, Saudi TV Channel 1 aired a Saudi poet

appearing before a smiling Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan and blaming the Jews for sending bin Laden.

Speaking from the conference on Saudi TV Channel 2 on February 7, 2005, popular Saudi cleric Sheikh Aed Al-Qarni attacked the U.S. and the Jews: “The first to kill and use terrorism in the world were the Jews and America. They began to act in this way two hundred years before us. The blowing up of buildings in Washington opposite the Pentagon was an American terror attack. There are world Zionist circles that want to create for us constitutions that are illegitimate... But we won’t accept the Zionist rule or that of the White House – which is, in fact, a Black House.”

On Saudi Iqra TV, on February 3 2005, also while the conference was still taking place, preacher Musa Al-Qarni declared, “We ask Allah to strengthen the Jihad fighters in Iraq, and help them against their enemies the Jews and the Christians.”

Saudi TV channels are accessible in the Middle East and Europe where the U.S. presence (including government offices, tourist destinations, businesses, etc.) are visible and in abundance. Therefore, American targets that might be affected by such incitement are also accessible in the Middle East and Europe.

Today’s hearing focuses only on channels available in the U.S. – namely, Saudi government channels 1 and 2, and Iqra TV which is owned by Saudi media tycoon Sheikh Saleh Kamel. All of these affect homeland security. This is particularly disturbing and most unacceptable.

What do these channels air?

Their broadcasts reflect the very opposite of what the Riyadh Declaration calls for. They reflect incitement to violence, Jihad, and terrorism; they preach hatred and intolerance; they embrace the clash of civilizations; and they justify terrorist crimes. The following are a few examples from the MEMRI TV Project.

Saudi TV Channels 1 and 2

The imam of the main mosque in Mecca, Sheikh Abd al Rahman Al-Sudayyis, said on April 2004: “The history of the [Jewish] people is written in black ink, and has included a series of murders of the prophets, the Majaheedin, and righteous people. This, although the book descended upon Moses is all mercy... But maybe it is the beginning of their end. Oh Brothers in the land of missions and the cradle of valor, Oh Sons of brave Majaheedin, Oh descendants of conquering heroes... You have revived the hopes of this nation through your blessed Jihad. By Allah, be patient until, with Allah’s help, one of two good things will be awarded you: either victory or martyrdom.”

Sheikh Ahmad Ibn Al-Latif, professor at Um Al-Qura University, was asked by a viewer of Channel 1 on May 24, 2004 whether prayers by Imams in Saudi mosques for Allah to annihilate Jews and Christians are allowed by the religion. The host modified the question, asking: “Some imams and preachers call for Allah to annihilate the Jews and those who help them, and the Christians and those who support them, and call for Him not to leave a single survivor of them on this land. Is this permitted according to Islamic law?” Sheikh Abd Al-Latif answered, “Cursing the oppressing Jews and the oppressing and plundering Christians, and the prayer that Allah will annihilate them, is permitted. In fact, the Prophet himself used

to curse some oppressors. But if it is possible, people should pray that Allah guide the others. There is no need for anger to overcome us. We should not pray only for their annihilation and for Allah to take revenge on them.”

Retired Saudi general Dr. Anward Ashqi, head of the Middle East Center for Strategic and Legal Studies in Saudi Arabia, discussed the tsunami in Southeast Asia on January 13, 2005 on Channel 1 explaining: “The U.S., before the disaster, gave warning to its base in Diego Garcia and warned all of its shores about this earthquake. It did not, however, warn the governments of those countries.” The reasons he gave for why the U.S. gave no warning to others were: “An economic presence through which the Western countries will reconstruct those areas. Second, the doors will open for missionaries to come to those areas. Third, the doors will open to security and intelligence personnel from the western countries. We don’t want to behave as they are behaving, since they have their own strategic goals.”

Sermons from major Saudi mosques in the kingdom are frequently aired on Channels 1 and 2, and regularly include calls to fight non-Muslims. For example, Sheikh Saleh Bdeir said on Channel 2, on June 25, 2004: “The enemies of Islam, the Jews, Christians, atheists, and those from among the infidel Westernized who are enslaved by them within the Muslim community, never cease attacking the Islamic nation.” He called to Muslims to “confront your enemies’ efforts with greater and stronger efforts, before these enemies become stronger.”

On August 8, 2005, on Saudi Channel 1, Egyptian professor Adb Al-Sabour Shahin stated, “Our enemies weave many lies about us... For example: One day, we awoke to the crime of 9/11, which hit the tallest buildings in New York... There is no doubt that not a single Arab or Muslim had anything to do with these events. The incident was fabricated as a pretext to attack Islam and Muslims. The plan was to take over the world’s energy sources, and to achieve this control by force and not by agreement or negotiations, by interests, free trade, or anything like that. This is what they wanted. So this incident was fabricated – and Allah knows that the Arabs and Muslims are innocent of it...”

Iqra TV

This channel presents itself as dedicated to bringing “the teachings of Islam into the homes and hearts of Arabs worldwide.”

On July 7, 2005, Saudi Deputy Minister of Religious Endowments Abd Al-Rahman Al-Matroudi appeared on Iqra TV explaining, “The definition of terrorism as far as we are concerned is: Any act or statement that contradicts the Koran or Sunna, whether in thought or in action, is terrorism. If it is a thought, then it is the first step toward action, and thus, it is also terrorism.”

On February 3, 2005, Iqra TV did indeed present the principle concept of Jihad by interviewing popular Saudi cleric Musa Al-Qarni, who explained: “I am not one of those who deny this completely and say this religion doesn’t use the sword. No. This religion uses the sword when it is necessary. Therefore, wisdom, as the religious scholars say, is to put everything in the right place. If there is need for the sword, then it is wise to use the sword, and if there is need for good deeds and preaching, then it is wise to use them.”

“We ask Allah to strengthen the mujahideen [Jihad fighters] in Iraq, and bring them victory over their enemies, the Jews and the Christians. I also want to stress that the

Jihad waged by Muslims in Iraq in order to drive out the enemies, from among the Jews and the Christians, who are attacking both land and honor – this Jihad is legal. It is Jihad for the sake of Allah and in defense of Muslim lands, honor, and sanctities.”

Saudi cleric Aed Al-Qarni spoke on Saudi Iqra TV channel on December 12, 2004 about why Christians and Jews will burn in Hell: "The Jews take pride in something they lie about; the Jews and the Christians... They say: 'Oh people, we, the Jews and Christians, are the sons of Allah...' They are lying, [may] Allah's wrath [be] upon them...."

Calling for the throats of Christians and Jews to be slit and their skulls shattered, Sheikh Aed Al-Qarni told Iqra TV on December 26, 2004: "We Muslims should be rebuked. One billion 200 million... are incapable of taking action... of harming the Jews... I pray to Allah that He will make the enemies fall... and that He will destroy the Jews and their helpers from among the Christians... We curse them... and pray that Allah will annihilate them, tear them apart, and grant us victory over them... Throats must be slit and skulls must be shattered. This is the path to victory, to shahada [martyrdom]..."

Just over two months ago, on August 29, 2005, an Iqra TV program was devoted to supporting Jihad in Palestine. The program began with the host telling all Saudis including "women, children, elderly, and youth" that they should donate money, and instructing them how to do so. A caption then appeared on the screen: "Saudi Committee for Support of the Al-Quds Intifada, Account #98, a joint account in all Saudi banks." A moderator explained that "Jihad is the pinnacle of Islam" and that the money goes directly to those waging Jihad and "helps them carry out this mission."

In the clip, the secretary-general of the Saudi government's Muslim World League Qur'an Memorization Commission, Sheikh Abdallah Basfar, explained why it was an "obligation" for all Muslims to support Jihad. He promised that "all of the funds sent via the known charities and organizations" will reach those for whom the funds are meant. The Saudi government official then cited a few traditions attributed to the Prophet Mohammed: "He who equips a Jihad fighter – it is as if he himself fought," and, "Someone who does not fight or equip a fighter – Allah will afflict a disaster upon him." Sheikh Basfar's explained that "money is so important... Jihad cannot be waged without it."

In an unprecedented demonstration of hatred, Iqra TV reported, on August 26, 2004, on a street poll focusing on the question, "Would you shake hands with a Jew?" The responses included: "No, because the Jews are eternal enemies" and "Of course not, so I wouldn't have to consider amputating my hand afterwards." Next, the interviewer asked what the response should be "if a child asks you, 'Who are the Jews?'" Iqra reported the answers: "The enemies of Allah," and "Allah's wrath is upon them, as the Koran says... They are the filthiest people on the face of this earth... The solution is clear... If only [the Muslims] had declared Jihad."

On May 20, 2004, Iqra TV featured Saudi Sheikh Abdallah Al-Muslih, chairman of the Commission on Scientific Signs in the Koran and Sunna at the Muslim World League and former dean of Islamic law at the University of Abha. Sheikh Al-Muslih explained: "There is nothing wrong with suicide attacks if they cause great damage to the enemy." Al-Muslih further emphasized, "[When] we speak of [attacks] in Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia ... this is forbidden... This is the land of the Muslims. We must never do this in a Muslim country."

Other Saudi TV Channels

It should be emphasized that the Saudi government channels 1 and 2, as well as Iqra, are not the only Saudi TV channels that air in the U.S.

I would like to mention the highly watched and most important TV news channel Al-Arabiyya, which is also Saudi TV. Headed by Abd Al-Rahman Al-Rashed, renowned reformist and former editor-in-chief of the London daily *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, Al-Arabiyya TV balances out the damage done day by day, week by week, and month by month by Al-Jazeera TV; The Rotana channel, also Saudi, which airs primarily music, dance, and other cultural shows; also the Al-Ikhbariya government news channel, which only very rarely propagates violence, Jihad and hatred, if at all, like the older Saudi MBC news channel which preceded all the others and has also very rarely engaged in incitement to Jihad and terrorism (if at all).

But this only emphasizes even more the fact that Saudi TV Channels 1 and 2, as well as Iqra TV, could be different, without incitement, without hatred, and without preaching violence, Jihad and martyrdom.

What Can Be Done

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to quote to you a statement made on Saudi Al-Arabiyya TV on July 14, 2004:

“This perverse [Jihadist] ideology has spread all over Saudi Arabia, in the schools, the mosques... satellite channels... There’s a videotape now circulating in Saudi Arabia of a boy age 10 or less [in a Saudi orphanage]. He is asked, ‘Who is your role model?’ And he answers, ‘Osama bin Laden.’”

This statement was made by none other than Prince Khaled al-Faysal, member of the royal family, governor of the ‘Asir province. This testimony, by such a high-ranking figure in the Saudi establishment, demonstrates the vital need for action to be taken to stop the flow of hate and the call for Jihad from Saudi government-sponsored media, particularly TV. The question is, of course, what can be done?

The following are several models of action:

A) The French-European model of banning channels that air incitement.

France initiated this model last year, after the airing of the antisemitic Ramadan series *Al-Shatat* by Hizbullah's Al-Manar TV, which was broadcast in France via French satellite. Later, it banned the Iranian TV channel Sahar, which also aired antisemitic series. In both cases, MEMRI was instrumental in providing the French police and judicial authorities with translations of these series.

Last month, I visited the head of the French CSA (audiovisual authority) Mr. Dominique Baudis, and, at his request, provided him with translated material from Iqra TV for his consideration.

It is noteworthy that the Spanish and the Netherlands authorities followed through with a ban of Hizbullah's Al-Manar TV. The French authorities are trying to encourage other E.U. countries to follow the same model, and to unite their actions in this respect.

B) Preventing inciters from entering the U.S. by denying them visas.

This model is very effective and highly deterrent. The Islamist Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradhwai, a prominent spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, is already banned from entering the U.S. At this time, U.S. Congress members are trying to encourage European Parliament colleagues to ban him from Europe as well. Another case in point is the main preacher of Mecca's main mosque, Sheikh Abd Al-Rahman Al-Sudayyis, who has incited against "worshippers of the Cross," "idol worshipping Hindus," and Jews, the "scum of the human race," "monkeys and pigs," and "killers of the prophets" and who has consistently encouraged Muslims to Jihad. Following a report by MEMRI, with translated quotes of his stances, he was barred by Canadian authorities, in May 2004, from attending an Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) conference in Toronto.

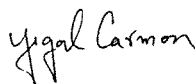
C) Public criticism by the U.S. government.

A good example of this model is the case of a high-ranking Kuwaiti official, Dr. Muhammad Al-Mulaifi, director of the Research Center at the Kuwaiti Ministry of Religious Endowments, who published an article in the Kuwaiti daily *Al-Siyassa* on August 31, 2005 praising Hurricane Katrina as a soldier of Allah called to bring down divine punishment on the U.S. MEMRI translated and distributed this article. Then, the U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait responded, criticizing Al-Mulaifi in a letter to the newspaper. This prompted other articles by Kuwaiti writers criticizing Al-Mulaifi and supporting the U.S. Then, Al-Mulaifi himself responded – even if not in a straightforward apology – by distancing himself from the ministry in his writing of the article.

D) The Saudi Arabia Accountability Act

Such legislation will make the Saudi authorities face the need to take proactive action in a variety of ways to prevent incitement on their TV channels. At this opportunity, I would like to express my deep appreciation to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Senator Specter, for initiating this important act.

Thank you.



Yigal Carmon
President

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What Are Islamic Schools Teaching?

by Daniel Pipes
New York Sun
 March 29, 2005

[*NY Sun* title: "Anti-Semitism in Muslim Schools"]

"Shocked" is how Aisha Sherazi, principal of the Abraar Islamic school in Ottawa, described the reaction of the school's administration and board on learning last week that two of its teachers had incited hatred of Jews.

And "shocked" was how Mumtaz Akhtar, president of the Muslim-Community Council of Ottawa-Gatineau, described his own reaction to the front-page news about the Abraar school.

But they may have been the only two persons on the planet to be "shocked" to learn that teachers at an Islamic school are promoting anti-Semitism or other aspects of the Islamist agenda. The fact is, inquiries into Islamic schools repeatedly discover just such a radical Islamic outlook. Some examples:

- *New York City*: An investigation by the *New York Daily News* in 2003 found that books used in the city's Muslim schools "are rife with inaccuracies, sweeping condemnations of Jews and Christians, and triumphalist declarations of Islam's supremacy."
- *Los Angeles*: The *Omar Ibn Khattab Foundation* donated 300 *Korans* (titled *The Meaning of the Holy Quran*) to the city school district in 2001 that within months had to be pulled from school libraries because of its anti-Semitic commentaries. One footnote reads: "The Jews in their arrogance claimed that all wisdom and all knowledge of Allah was enclosed in their hearts. ... Their claim was not only arrogance but blasphemy."
- *Ajax, Ontario*, 50 kilometers east of Toronto: The *Institute of Islamic Learning* is a Canadian emulation of the extremist Deobandi madrassahs of Pakistan. It focuses exclusively on religious topics, has students memorize the Koran, demands total segregation from the Canadian milieu, and requires complete gender separation. Former students complained about the school's cult-like devotion to its head, Abdul Majid Khan, and complained that it is a "twisted religion."

Then there are four leading Islamic schools in the Washington, D.C. area:

- The Muslim Community School in Potomac, Md., imbues in its students a sense of alienation from their own country. Seventh-grader Miriam told a *Washington Post* reporter in 2001, "Being American is just being born in this country." Eighth-grader Ibrahim announced that "Being an American means nothing to me."
- A textbook used at the *Islamic Saudi Academy* of Alexandria, Va., in 2004, authored and published by the Saudi Ministry of Education, teaches first graders that "all religions, other than Islam, are false, including that of the Jews [and] Christians." An ISA class valedictorian, Ahmed Omar Abu Ali, was recently indicted for plotting to assassinate President Bush.
- The U.S. government revoked the visas in 2004 of sixteen people affiliated with the Institute for

Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America, of Fairfax, Va. In the words of the *Washington Post*, "That decision followed accusations that the institute, a satellite campus of al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, was promoting a brand of Islam that critics say is intolerant of other strains of the religion as well as Christianity and Judaism." In addition, the IIASA is under investigation for ties to terrorism.

- The Graduate School of Islamic Social Sciences of Ashburn, Va., referred to as a "purported" educational institution in an affidavit justifying a raid on the school, had its financial records seized in 2002 on suspicions of links to terrorism.

Nor are schools the exception among Islamic institutions in North America. A recent study by Freedom House found a parallel problem of venomous anti-Jewish and anti-Christian materials in U.S. mosques. The most prominent American Muslim organizations, especially the Council on American-Islamic Relations, spew antisemitism and host a neo-Nazi. The same applies in Canada, where the head of the Canadian Islamic Congress, Mohamed Elmasry, publicly endorsed the murder of all Israelis over the age of eighteen.

So long as Muslim leaders simply declare themselves, in the spirit of Capt. Renault in the movie *Casablanca* "shocked, shocked" whenever news of Islamist supremacism leaks out, this cancer will continue unabated. The Islamic schools, the mosques, and other Muslim organizations like CAIR and CIC will continue their cat-and-mouse game so long as it works.

It won't work only when outside pressure is brought to bear on them by politicians, journalists, researchers, moderate Muslims, and others. They must state clearly and frequently the unacceptability of Islamist venom. Only then will today's fraudulent "shocked" reaction finally become sincere.

For further examples of this pattern, see "Troubles at Islamic Schools in North America."

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TESTIMONY OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR
CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
U.S. SENATE

“Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror”

November 8, 2005

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify before this distinguished Committee. On behalf of Freedom House’s Center for Religious Freedom, I wish to present the findings of the report, *Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques*,¹ which Freedom House issued in January 2005, as well as some comments on the shortcomings of the Saudi government’s response.

Freedom House’s Center for Religious Freedom decided to undertake this project after a number of Muslims and other experts publicly raised concerns about Saudi state influence on American religious life.² It complements a May 2003 recommendation of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, an independent government agency, that the U.S. government conduct a study on Saudi involvement in propagating internationally a “religious ideology that explicitly promotes hate, intolerance, and other human rights violations, and in some cases violence, toward members of other religious groups, both Muslims and non-Muslims.”³

The Center’s study addresses the question: Is Saudi Arabia, our purported ally in the War on Terror, responsible for having planted extremist propaganda within our borders?

In order to document Saudi influence, the material for this report was gathered from a selection of more than a dozen mosques and Islamic centers in American cities, including Los Angeles, Oakland, Dallas, Houston, Chicago, Washington, and New York. In most cases, these sources, while representing a small fraction of the total number of mosques in the United States, are among the most prominent and well-established mosques in their areas. This study did not attempt any general survey of American mosques.

And, as the Center’s website states in the electronic version of the report, “We have made no determination that these mosques endorsed any of these materials cited in these reports, or were even aware of their presence.”

Many of the tracts in our study are in the voice of a senior authority.

One of them states: *"Be dissociated from the infidels, hate them for their religion, leave them, never rely on them for support, do not admire them, and always oppose them in every way according to Islamic law."*⁴

The advice of another is emphatic: *"There is consensus on this matter, that whoever helps unbelievers against Muslims, regardless of what type of support he lends to them, he is an unbeliever himself."*⁵

Another book states that, if relations between Muslims and non-Muslims were harmonious, there would be *"no loyalty and enmity, no more jihad and fighting to raise Allah's work on earth."*⁶

The books give detailed instructions on how to build a *"wall of resentment"* between the Muslim and the infidel: *Never greet the Christian or Jew first. Never congratulate the infidel on his holiday. Never befriend an infidel unless it is to convert him. Never imitate the infidel. Never work for an infidel. Do not wear a graduation gown because this imitates the infidel.*⁷ The cover of the book giving this particular set of instructions states: *"Greetings from the Cultural Department"* of the Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington, D.C.

This book was published by the government of Saudi Arabia; it bears no publication date and was found in several locations. The other books are textbooks from the Saudi Education Ministry, and collections of *fatwas*, religious edicts, issued by the government's religious office, or published by other organizations based in Riyadh and monitored or controlled by the government of Saudi Arabia.

Between late 2004 and December 2005, researchers who are themselves Muslim Americans, gathered samples of over 200 such texts -- all from within America and all spread, sponsored or otherwise generated by Saudi Arabia. They demonstrate the ongoing efforts by Saudi Arabia to indoctrinate Muslims in the United States in the hostility and belligerence of Saudi Arabia's hardline Wahhabi sect of Islam.

The documents we analyzed all have some connection to the government of Saudi Arabia.⁸ While not all extremist works are Saudi, Saudi Arabia is overwhelmingly the state most responsible for the publications on the ideology of hate in America. Our findings are consistent with the assessment of the Treasury Department's Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence. On July 13, 2005, Treasury Under Secretary Stuart Levey testified before the Senate Banking Committee: "Saudi Arabia-based and funded organizations remain a key source for the promotion of ideologies used by terrorists and violent extremists around the world to justify their hate-filled agenda."

All Saudis must be Muslim, and the Saudi government, in collaboration with the country's religious establishment, enforces and imposes Wahhabism as the official state doctrine. In 2004, the United States State Department designated Saudi Arabia as a "Country of Particular Concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act after finding for many years that "religious freedom did not exist" in the Kingdom. The Saudi

policy of denying religious freedom is explained in one of the tracts in this study: *“Freedom of thinking requires permitting the denial of faith and attacking what is sacred, glorifying falsehood and defending the heretics, finding fault in religion and letting loose the ideas and pens to write of disbelief as one likes, and to put ornaments on sin as one likes.”*⁹

The Wahhabi ideology that the Saudi monarchy enforces, and on which it bases its legitimacy, is shown in these documents as a fanatically bigoted, xenophobic and sometimes violent ideology.¹⁰ These publications articulate its wrathful dogma, rejecting the coexistence of different religions and explicitly condemning Christians, Jews, all other non-Muslims, as well as non-Wahhabi Muslims.

The various Saudi publications gathered for this study state that it is a religious obligation for Muslims to hate Christians and Jews and warn against imitating, befriending, or helping such “infidels” in any way, or taking part in their festivities and celebrations. They instill contempt for America because the United States is ruled by legislated civil law rather than by totalitarian Wahhabi-style Islamic law. Some of the publications collected for this study direct Muslims not to take American citizenship as long as the country is ruled by infidels and tell them, while abroad, above all, to work for the creation of an Islamic state. The Saudi textbooks and documents our researchers collected preach a Nazi-like hatred for Jews, treat the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion as historical fact, and avow that the Muslim’s duty is to eliminate the state of Israel. Regarding women, the Saudi state publications in America instruct that they should be veiled, segregated from men and barred from certain employment and roles.

In these documents, other Muslims, especially those who advocate tolerance, are condemned as infidels. The opening fatwa in one Saudi embassy-distributed booklet responds to a question about a Muslim preacher in a European mosque who taught that it is not right to condemn Jews and Christians as infidels. The Saudi state cleric’s reply rebukes the Muslim cleric: *“He who casts doubts about their infidelity leaves no doubt about his.”*¹¹ Since, under Saudi law, “apostates” from Islam can be sentenced to death, this is an implied death threat against the tolerant Muslim imam, as well as an incitement to vigilante violence. Sufi and Shiite Muslims are also viciously condemned. Other Saudi fatwas in the collection declare that Muslims who engage in genuine interfaith dialogue are also “*unbelievers*.” As for a Muslim who fails to uphold Wahhabi sexual mores through homosexual activity or heterosexual activity outside of marriage, the edicts found in certain American mosques advise, *“it would be lawful for Muslims to spill his blood and to take his money.”*¹² Regarding those who convert out of Islam, it is explicitly asserted, they *“should be killed.”*¹³

Much of the commentary in the West on Wahhabi hate ideology is restricted to shallow statements that it is “strict” or “puritanical.” The Saudi publications in this study show that there is much more of concern to Americans in this ideology than rigid sexual codes. They show that it stresses a dualistic worldview in which there exist two antagonistic realms or abodes that can never be reconciled, and that when Muslims are in the land of the “infidel,” they must behave as if on a mission behind enemy lines. Either

they are there to acquire new knowledge and make money to be later employed in the jihad against the infidels, or they are there to proselytize the infidels until at least some convert to Islam. Any other reason for lingering among the unbelievers in their lands is illegitimate, and unless a Muslim leaves as quickly as possible, he or she is not a true Muslim and so too must be condemned. The message of these Saudi government publications and rulings is designed to breed greater aloofness, instill suspicion, and ultimately engender hatred for America and its people.

One insidious aspect of this propaganda is its aim to replace traditional and moderate interpretations of Islam with Wahhabi extremism. Wahhabism began only 250 years ago with the movement created by fanatical preacher Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Once a fringe sect in a remote part of the Arabian peninsula, Wahhabi extremism has been given global reach through Saudi government sponsorship and money, particularly over the past quarter century as it has competed with Iran in spreading its version of the faith. With its vast oil wealth and its position as guardian of Islam's two holiest sites, Saudi Arabia now claims to be the leading power within Islam and the protector of the faith, a belief stated in the Saudi Basic Law. Saudi Foreign Policy Adviser Adel al-Jubeir publicly states that "the role of Saudi Arabia in the Muslim world is similar to the role of the Vatican."¹⁴ Even as the Saudi state asserts that it strives to keep the faith "pure" and free of innovation, it invents a new role for itself as the only legitimate authority on Islam.

One example of how Saudi Arabia asserts its self-appointed role as the authoritative interpreter of Islam within the Muslim world is provided in a collection of fatwas published by the Saudi Embassy's Cultural Department in Washington. Its one-page introduction laments the dearth of competent Islamic scholars among Muslim emigrant communities abroad, and the confusion this has caused about Islamic beliefs and worship. The opening line reads, "*The emigrant Muslim communities suffer in these countries from a lack of religious scholars (ulema).*"¹⁵ It states that this deplorable situation has led the highest committee of Islamic scholars in the Kingdom to offer authoritative replies to questions frequently asked by Muslims living in the non-Muslim world. These replies are given in authoritative pronouncements that the introduction urges should be official guides for preachers, mosque imams, and students living far from the Kingdom.

A prolific source of fatwas condemning "infidels" in this collection was Sheik 'Abd al-'Aziz Bin 'Abdillah Bin Baz (died 1999), who was appointed by King Fahd in 1993 to the official post of Grand Mufti. As Grand Mufti, he was upheld by the government of Saudi Arabia as its highest religious authority. Bin Baz was a government appointee who received a regular government salary, served at the pleasure of the King, and presided over the Saudi Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, an office of the Saudi government. His radically dichotomous mode of thinking, coupled with his persistent demonizing of non-Muslims and tolerant Muslims, runs through the fatwas in these publications. Bin Baz was responsible for the unique fatwa, enforced in no other Muslim country, barring Saudi women from driving. Though

Bin Baz is now dead, his fanatical fatwas continue to be treated as authoritative by the Saudi government.

As I previously stated, the Center has not attempted to measure the extent and effect of Saudi publications here. However, as the website of King Fahd states, “the cost of King Fahd’s efforts in this field has been astronomical.” Some, such as Alex Alexiev of the Center for Security Policy who testified before this Committee in 2003, have estimated Saudi spending on the export of extremist ideology globally to measure three to four times what the Soviets spent on external propaganda during the height of the Cold War. As oil revenues rise for the Saudis, this might well increase.

Singapore’s main newspaper recently published an interview with Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, the Lebanese-American chairman of the Islamic Supreme Council of America and a distinguished Islamic scholar: “Back in 1990, arriving for his first Friday prayers in an American mosque in Jersey City, he was shocked to hear Wahhabism being preached. ‘What I heard there, I had never heard in my native Lebanon. I asked myself: Is Wahhabism active in America? So I started my research. Whichever mosque I went to, it was Wahhabi, Wahhabi, Wahhabi, Wahhabi.’”¹⁶

In an interview on October 26, 2001, with PBS Frontline, Dr. Maher Hathout, identified by PBS as a senior adviser to the Muslim Public Affairs Council and the spokesperson for the Islamic Center of Southern California, this very question about Saudi influence in America is posed by the interviewer. Dr Hathout answered: “[T]hey send imams and books in Arabic. And these books are translated into English and the translation is not always very good. And they are talking about an environment that is obsolete, the world-view of the unbelievers fighting the believers. So it comes very irrelevant to the diversity and the pluralism in America. *These books are all over the place, because they can afford to make very glossy magazines and distribute it for free*” (emphasis added).¹⁷ MPAC has announced a policy of not accepting Saudi support.

Within worldwide Sunni Islam, followers of Wahhabism and other hardline or salafist (literally translated as venerable predecessors) movements remain a distinct minority. This is evident from the millions of Muslims who have chosen to make America their home and are upstanding, law-abiding citizens and neighbors. In fact it was just such concerned Muslims who first brought these publications to our attention. They decry the Wahhabi interpretation as being foreign to the toleration expressed in Islam and its injunction against coercion in religion. They believe they would be forbidden to practice the faith of their ancestors in today’s Saudi Arabia, and are grateful to the United States and other Western nations for granting them religious freedom. They also affirm the importance of respecting non-Muslims, pointing to verses in the Koran that speak with kindness about non-Muslims. They raise examples of Islam’s Prophet Mohammed visiting his sick Jewish neighbor, standing in deference at a Jew’s funeral procession, settling a dispute in favor of a truthful Jew over a dishonest person who was Muslim, and forming alliances with Jews and polytheists, among others. They criticize the Wahhabis for distorting and even altering the text of the Koran in support of their bigotry. They say that in their tradition jihad is applicable only in the defense of Islam and Muslims, and

that it is commendable, not an act of “infidelity,” for Muslims, Jews, and Christians to engage in genuine dialogue.

Fifteen of the September 11 hijackers were Saudi subjects indoctrinated from young ages in just such Wahhabi ideology, possibly from some of the very same textbooks and fatwa collections in our study. Saudi state curriculum for many years has taught children to hate “the other” and support jihad, a malleable term that is used by terrorists to describe and justify their atrocities.

For example, a book for third-year high school students published by the Saudi Ministry of Education that was collected in Oakland, California, teaches students to prepare for jihad in the sense of war against Islam’s enemies, and to strive to attain military self-sufficiency: *“To be true Muslims, we must prepare and be ready for jihad in Allah’s way. It is the duty of the citizen and the government. The military education is glued to faith and its meaning, and the duty to follow it.”*¹⁸

Saudi commentators, themselves, have drawn the link between, on one hand, the large number of Saudis involved on September 11, and among the al Qaeda prisoners in Guantanamo Bay and the insurgents in Iraq, and, on the other, the culture of religious rage and violence that is part of Saudi religious education. A study presented to a Saudi forum of 60 intellectuals, researchers, clerics and public figures, convened by Saudi then-Crown Prince Abdullah in December 2003 as part of a “National Dialogue” series, found “grave defects” in the religious curricula of the state’s boys’ schools, particularly with regard to “others,” that is, non-Muslims and non-Wahhabi Muslims. The researchers concluded that this approach “encourages violence toward others, and misguides the pupils into believing that in order to safeguard their own religion, they must violently repress and even physically eliminate the ‘other,’” according to a summary of the study by MEMRI.¹⁹ The Saudi forum concluded with recommendations for reforming the religious curriculum.

The Saudi government is currently waging a multi-million dollar public relations campaign in the United States, which among other activities advertised in American journals that the Kingdom’s textbooks are being “updated.” In an interview on October 14, 2005 with Barbara Walters, King Abdullah responded to a question about extremism and hatred in Saudi textbooks with the assurance, “We have toned them down.”

We have not attempted to investigate this claim but we remain skeptical based on our own interviews last December of Saudi official religious scholars who denied that reform was necessary and said that textbook reform would have to “evolve slowly over many years,”²⁰ as well as other reports. We do not find it reassuring that, following the release of our study, the government of Saudi Arabia appointed as the new education minister a former director of the Muslim World League, Abdullah al Obeid. The Wall Street Journal reported (Feb. 9, 2005) that “Mr. Obeid was secretary general of MWL from 1995-2002, a period when the huge Saudi-government-funded organization fell under intense scrutiny from Asia to North America for spending tens of millions of dollars to finance the spread of Saudi Arabia’s austere brand of fundamentalist Islam.” It

is one of the 25 Islamic organizations placed under investigation by the U.S. Senate Finance Committee for “financ[ing] terror and perpetuat[ing] violence.”

What we have confirmed is that, as of ten months ago, the retrograde, unreformed editions of Saudi textbooks and state-sponsored fatwa collections remained in circulation in some prominent American mosques.

The global spread of Islamic extremism, such as Wahhabism, is the most serious ideological challenge of our times. Senator Jon Kyl, chairman of the Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on Terrorism, who held hearings on Wahhabism, asserted: “A growing body of accepted evidence and expert research demonstrates that the Wahhabi ideology that dominates, finances and animates many groups here in the United States, indeed is antithetical to the values of tolerance, individualism and freedom as we conceive these things.” The 9/11 Commission was even more emphatic that a threat is posed “even in affluent countries, [where] Saudi-funded Wahhabi schools are often the only Islamic schools,” (page 370) and that “education that teaches tolerance, the dignity and value of each individual, and respect for different beliefs is a key element in any global strategy to eliminate Islamist terrorism.”

Wahhabi extremism is more than hate speech; it is a totalitarian ideology of hatred that can incite to violence. The fact that a foreign government, namely Saudi Arabia, has been working to mainstream within our borders such hate ideology demands our urgent attention. This Committee and the press have previously examined the extremist infiltration of the prison and military chaplain programs in the United States. The Saudi textbooks and publications described in the Center’s report could also pose a serious threat to American security and to the traditional American culture of religious toleration and freedom.

I believe that, not only does the government of Saudi Arabia not have a right to spread educational materials based on an ideology of religious hatred against Jews, Christians, other Muslims such as Shiites and Sufis, and others within U.S. borders, by the fact that it is a government actor and member of the United Nations, it is committing a human rights violation in doing so. A government that advocates religious intolerance and hatred violates the religious freedom and tolerance provisions of Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The September 2005 report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office, *U.S. Agencies’ Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism*, indicates that recent Saudi claims to have made reforms cannot be taken at face value. They must be verified:

The GAO report concludes that while Saudi Arabia claims to have made reforms, and in some case has done so, “*U.S. agencies do not know the extent of the Saudi government’s efforts to limit the activities of Saudi sources that have allegedly propagated Islamic extremism outside of Saudi Arabia.*” (Emphasis added).

- Specifically, the GAO reports that, “*as of July 2005, agency officials did not know if the government of Saudi Arabia had taken steps to ensure that Saudi-funded curricula or religious activities in other countries do not propagate extremism.*” (Emphasis added).
- The government of Saudi Arabia, and State and Treasury officials in the U.S. have publicly declared that Saudi Arabia is undertaking a number of charity reforms, including requiring all private Saudi donations marked for international distribution to flow through a new National Commission for Relief and Charity Work Abroad. However, the GAO report found: “[*A*s of July 2005, this commission was not yet fully operational, according to Treasury.” (Emphasis added).
- In 2004, Saudi Arabia and the United States announced they had jointly designated nine al Haramain Foundation offices as terrorist financiers, and Saudi Arabia announced its intentions to close down al Haramain Foundation. But the GAO report states that in May 2005 “*a Treasury official told us it was unclear whether the Saudi government had implemented its plans.*” (Emphasis added).

These GAO assertions make clear that either the Saudis have failed to follow through on important reforms and/or the U.S. has failed to verify whether or not the reforms have been carried out. Either case is deeply troubling.

The GAO report concludes that, while U.S. government officials and other experts believe that the spread of Islamic extremism, rather than al Qaeda, is the “pre-eminent threat facing the United States,” U.S. government agencies lack a common definition of Islamic extremism, as well as a coordinated approach to it. Furthermore, the GAO report concludes that “*The agencies do not distinguish between efforts or programs intended to target Islamic extremism indigenous to a country and those intended to target outside influences, such as Saudi Arabia.*” (Emphasis added).

Recommendations

I urge this Committee to seriously consider the following recommendations, which are drawn from those of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, an independent government agency:

1. The State Department *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom* should include in its reporting on Saudi Arabia an analysis of the content of Saudi textbooks and other Saudi state publications promoting or condoning anti-Semitism and religious hatred.
2. The U.S. government should issue a formal demarche urging the government of Saudi Arabia to cease funding or providing other support for written

materials or activities that explicitly promote hate, intolerance, and human rights violations. Further it should urge the government of Saudi Arabia to:

- A. Provide an accounting of what kinds of Saudi support have been and continue to be provided to which religious schools, mosques, centers of learning, and other religious organizations globally;
- B. Stop funding religious activities abroad until the Saudis know the content of the teachings and are satisfied that they do not promote hatred, intolerance, or other human rights violations;
- C. Monitor, regulate, and report publicly about the activities of Saudi charitable organizations based outside Saudi Arabia in countries throughout the world;
- D. Cease granting diplomatic status to Islamic clerics and educators teaching outside Saudi Arabia, and close down any Islamic affairs sections in Saudi embassies throughout the world that have been responsible for propagating intolerance, as it has already apparently done within the U.S.;

Finally, even should the Saudis stop exporting and supporting extremist propaganda, their extremist textbooks, study guides, and fatwa collections will remain in circulation here and in other countries for years to come. Some American mosques have voluntarily made it their policy to screen out and reject Saudi-supplied educational materials and publications; this is an important model for all.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. This concludes my testimony.

1 Full text of report available: www.freedomhouse.org/religion

2 Schwartz, Stephen, *The Two Faces of Islam*, Doubleday, New York, NY, 2002.; Baer, Robert, *Sleeping With the Devil*, Crown Publishers, New York, NY, 2003. See also Mai Yamani's talk at Freedom House "State Wahhabism of Saudi Arabia: Impacts of a Religious Ideology of Intolerance and Hate," 21 October 2004; Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Saudi Arabia, <http://www.cdhr.info/>; Saudi Institute, http://www.saudiinstitute.org/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

3 U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, *Report on Saudi Arabia*, May 2003.

4 *Loyalty and Dissociation in Islam*. Riyadh: Ibn Taymiya Library, no date.

5 *Loyalty and Dissociation in Islam*. Riyadh: Ibn Taymiya Library, no date.

6 *Verdict Regarding Celebrating the Year 2000 and the Call for the Unity of Religions*. Riyadh: Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, 2000.

7 Bin Baz, Sheik Abdul Aziz. *Religious Edicts for the Immigrant Muslim*. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Cultural Attaché in Washington, no date.

8 In some instances, they have five connections. The publications under study each have at least two of the following links to Saudi Arabia. They are: official publications of a government ministry; distributed by the Saudi embassy; comprised of religious pronouncements and commentary by religious authorities appointed to state positions by the Saudi crown; representative of the established Wahhabi ideology of Saudi Arabia; and/or disseminated through a mosque or center supported by the Saudi crown.

In many examples, the Saudi link is readily apparent from the seal or name appearing on the cover of the publications of the Saudi Embassy in Washington, or of the Saudi cultural, educational or religious affairs ministries, or of the Saudi Air Force. While not all the mosques in the study may receive Saudi support, some of the mosques and centers, such as the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles and the Islamic Center in Washington, are openly acknowledged to receive official support by the Saudi king as recorded on his website (www.kingfahdbinabdulaziz.com).

Furthermore, the Saudi government has directly staffed some of these institutions. The King Fahd mosque, the main mosque in Los Angeles, from which several of these publications were gathered, employed an imam, Fahad al Thumairy, who was an accredited diplomat of the Saudi Arabian consulate from 1996 until 2003, when he was barred from reentering the United States because of terrorist connections. The 9/11 Commission Report describes the imam as a "well-known figure at the King Fahd mosque and within the Los Angeles Muslim community," who was reputed to be an "Islamic fundamentalist and a strict adherent to orthodox Wahhabi doctrine" and observed that he "may have played a role in helping the [9/11] hijackers establish themselves on their arrival in Los Angeles" (Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, NY, pp. 216-217).

Several publications in this study were also gathered from the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in Fairfax, Virginia. According to investigative reports in the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi Ambassador to the U.S., served as chairman of this school's Board of Trustees, and some 16 other personnel there held Saudi diplomatic visas until they were expelled for extremism by the State Department in 2004 (Markon, Jerry and Susan, Schmidt, "Islamic Institute Raided in Fairfax; U.S. Agents Target Group Accused of Promoting Extremism," *Washington Post*, 2 July 2004). Until late 2003, the institute was an official adjunct campus of the Imam Mohammed Ibn-Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, part of Saudi Arabia's state-run university system, funded and controlled by the Saudi Ministry of Education (Simpson, Glenn, "A Muslim School Used by Military Has Troubling Ties," *Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 2003). Although Saudi Arabia claims to have severed official links with it, the Institute the Saudis established continues to operate in northern Virginia.

Some of the works were published by the Al-Haramain Foundation, run from Saudi Arabia with branch offices in the United States until the FBI blocked its assets in February 2004, finding that it was directly funding al Qaeda. In October 2004, the Saudi government's Ministry for Islamic Affairs announced its intentions to dissolve the foundation, and, according to a senior Saudi official, its assets would be folded into a new Saudi National Commission for Charitable Work Abroad. However, the US Government Accounting Office released its new report on *Islamic Extremism* (GAO-05-852, page 5) on September 22, 2005, in which it stated: "According to State, the government of Saudi Arabia also announced its intentions to close al Haramain Islamic Foundation, but in May 2005, a Treasury official told us it was unclear whether the government of Saudi Arabia had implemented its plans."

Some of the Wahhabi materials in this study were printed by publishers and libraries functioning as publishing houses in Saudi Arabia. Some of these are directly government-supported and-controlled, such as the King Fahd National Library and the General Presidency of the Administration of Scientific Research, Ifta', Da'wa and Guidance (General Administration for Printing and Translation). Others, which may be privately run, are monitored closely by the state, which does not grant the free right to expression, and, according to the State Department, the government's Ministry of Information has the authority to appoint and remove all editors-in-chief (U.S. State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Saudi Arabia Country Report on Human Rights Practices, February 2004).

9 Alsawi, Dr. Salah. *Ruling though Jurisprudence and the Opposition Claim*. Riyadh: Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America, 1992.

10 Ajami, Fouad, "The Sentry's Solitude," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2001, p.2-16; Baer, Robert, *Sleeping With the Devil*, Crown Publishers, New York, NY, 2003.

11 *Rulings for Travelers and Emigrants*, authored by Sheik Bin Baz and Sheik Mohammad al-Salih Ibn al-Athimein and printed by the Saudi Arabian Airforce publishing house for distribution in the United States by the Cultural Department of the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

12 Bin Baz, Sheik Abdul Aziz. *Reality of Monotheism and Polytheism*. Riyadh: The Ministry of Islamic Affairs, 2002.

13 bin Uthaimin, Sheik. *The Belief of Ahl Assuna wal Jammaat (The People of the Way and Community of the Prophet)*. Riyadh: The Ministry of Islamic Religious Affairs, 1995.

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16 Simon, Mafoot, "A Sufi Muslim Takes on Wahhabism," *Sunday Straits Times*, 12 December 2004.

17 "Interview with Maher Hathout." PBS Frontline, 26 October 2001. Available: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/interviews/hathout.html>.

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19 Dankowitz, Aluma, "Saudi Study Offers Critical Analysis of the Kingdom's Religious Curricula," *Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)*, 9 November 2004.

20 In December 2004, I met with a delegation of Saudi religious officials, including Sulaiman Muhammad al-Jarallah, the former director of the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences of Fairfax, Virginia, and a current teacher at the government's Imam Ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh who serves on a teacher training commission at the University and on the organizing committee for the National Dialogue. Dr. Jarallah replied to my question about the progress of such reform by stating that Saudi Arabia was a "conservative" society whose textbooks properly reflected religiously conservative values. After I raised specific examples of hate ideology expressed in the Saudi government textbooks, he sought to mitigate it by giving an example of a heavily veiled Saudi woman having difficulty getting a taxi in London. He added that "updating" the textbooks would take "many years" and "evolve slowly." Another Saudi participant, Ibrahim Abdullah Al-Sadan, also teaching at the Ibn Saud University and a former member of the Ministry of Education's Islamic Educational Reform project, said that the criticisms of the curriculum were unwarranted because the examples given at the National Dialogue were taken out of context. The meeting took place on December 14, 2004, at the Washington offices of the US Commission on International Religious Freedom as part of an inter-faith dialogue sponsored through the US Institute for Peace. Also see, *World Net Daily*, "Saudi Sheik: 'Slavery is a Part of Islam'" The independent Saudi Information Agency reported that Sheik Saleh Al-Fawzan who was recently taped justifying the enslavement of infidels in a lecture recorded by the Saudi Information Agency, remains a leading figure in the religious establishment that oversees this effort http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=35518, 10 November 2003.

Senate Committee on the Judiciary

October 25, 2005

Testimony of

R. James Woolsey

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify today. I am appearing here solely in a personal capacity. I was Chairman of the Board of Freedom House when its Center for Religious Freedom published "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques" earlier this year, and I wrote the Foreword for the publication. By way of identification, I served as Director of Central Intelligence 1993-95.

I believe the context of this publication and its importance requires a brief characterization of the ideological side of the overall war in which we are engaged – that war is much larger, I believe, than merely being one against the tactic of terrorism. In my view we are at war today with three major ideological movements in the Middle East: Ba'athism (essentially the Arab Nationalist version of secular fascism); Shi'ite theocratic totalitarianism (embodied in the Vilayat-i Faqih, or "Rule of the Jurisprudential" in Tehran); and Sunni theocratic totalitarianism (both Jihadist Salafists such as al Qaeda and "loyalist" Salafists, such as the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia).

I will be dealing today only with these latter two types of Sunni theocratic totalitarianism, since it is their ideology that is reflected in the materials included in the Center's publication. Both of these types of theocratic totalitarians are Salafists, essentially believing that only a literal and unmitigated version of the model of rulership implemented in the 7th century in Islam has ultimate legitimacy. Both have the objective of rule by a unified mosque and state, a theocracy – and that unity is, for them, embodied historically in the person of the Caliph. Different individuals in these movements may emphasize different aspects, but generally their common ultimate objective is to unify the Arab world under theocratic rule, then the Muslim world, then to add those regions that were once Muslim but are no more (e.g. Spain), then to encompass the world.

Such totalitarian visions seem crazy to most of us in this country and we thus often underestimate their importance. The Salafist totalitarian dream has much in common with the Nazi dream of a Thousand Year Reich, or the Communist one of World Communism. The latter two movements were responsible for tens of millions of deaths in the twentieth century in part because they engendered

“fire in the minds of men” in Germany in the inter-war years and in Russia in the years before 1917. So far the Salafists haven’t reached the Nazi and Communist death totals, but this is due to a lack of power, not to less murderous objectives.

It is important to realize that Salafists of both Jihadist and loyalist stripe, e.g. both al Qaeda and Saudi Arabia’s Wahhabis, share substantially the same basic views on all points but one. Both exhibit fanatical hatred of Shi’ite Muslims, Sufi Muslims, Jews, Christians, and democracy, and both brutally suppress women. They differ only on whether it is an appropriate approach to execute Jihadist attacks against any enemy near or far now – to murder Iraqi Shi’ite children getting candy, people in the World Trade Center, etc. – or whether one should for the time being defer some types of murder to serve the political interests of a particular state, in this case Saudi Arabia.

In this way Salafist Jihadists such as al Qaeda and Salafist loyalists such as the Wahhabis are somewhat analogous to, respectively, the Trotskyites and the Stalinists of the 1920’s and 1930’s. Trotskyites, like al Qaeda, believed in the importance of using violence anywhere while Stalinists, analogous to the Wahhabis, showed primary allegiance to protecting “socialism in one country”, the USSR. That this difference was only a question of tactics not ultimate objectives didn’t keep the Trotskyites and Stalinists from being the bitterest of enemies – Trotsky died in 1940 with a Stalinist axe in his skull.

By the same token, al Qaeda launches attacks in Saudi Arabia today and the Saudis capture and kill al Qaeda members. But this has nothing to do with their having different underlying beliefs, and none of this conflict should mask the underlying unity of the common Salafist doctrine of al Qaeda and the Wahhabis. It is this common Salafist ideology that the Wahhabis have spread very widely – financed by \$3-4 billion/year from the Saudi government and wealthy individuals in the Middle East over the last quarter-century or so – to the madrassas of Pakistan, the textbooks of Turkish children living in Germany, and the mosques of Europe and the U.S. Alex Alexiev, senior fellow at the Center for Security Policy, testified before a Subcommittee of this Committee on June 26, 2003, that this is approximately 3-4 times what the Soviets were spending on external propaganda at the peak of Moscow’s powers in the 1970’s.

This underlying Salafist ideology spread by the Wahhabis is not only theoretically fanatical and murderous – it is explicitly genocidal. For example, the BBC reported on July 18 of this year that a publication given to foreign workers in Saudi Arabia by the Islamic Cultural Center, falling under the authority of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, advocates the killing of “refusers” (Shia). The Imam of Al-Haram in Mecca, which is Islam’s most holy mosque, Sheikh Abd Al-Rahman al-Sudayyis, was barred from Canada last year after

reports of his sermons calling Jews “the scum of the earth” and “monkeys and pigs” who should be “annihilated”. Materials distributed by the Saudi Government to the Al-Farouq Masjid mosque in Brooklyn, printed in the Center for Religious Freedom 2005 book that is the subject of these hearings, call for the killing of homosexuals: “It would be lawful for Muslims to spill his blood.” Converts from Islam to another religion “should be killed” state these same Saudi publications, disseminated in US mosques.

A second area in which the Wahhabi ideology is totalitarian to a unique degree is in its repression of women. In 2002 the world press carried stories of an extreme example: religious police in Saudi Arabia forced some young girls fleeing a burning school back inside to their deaths because they were not properly veiled. This is fanaticism that knows no bounds.

Our Center for Religious Freedom publication provided concrete examples of Wahhabi ideology as it is being disseminated by the Saudi government inside the United States. We must realize that words and beliefs have consequences, and totalitarians are often remarkably clear about what they will do once they have enough power. Many brushed aside Mein Kampf when it was first written but it turned out to be an excellent guide to the Nazis’ behavior once in power. By the same token, we ignore the Wahhabis’ teachings at our peril. And their wealth creates a special problem: the 9-11 Commission Report (p. 372) observed that “Saudi-funded Wahhabi schools are often the only Islamic schools.”

In my judgment there are two important aspects we must understand in dealing with this ideology and its teachings.

First of all, the rest of us – Christians, Jews, other Muslims, followers of other religions, non-believers – are under absolutely no obligation to accept the Wahhabis’ and their apologists’ claims that they represent “true Islam”. In the late fifteenth century in Ferdinand and Isabella’s Spain, ecclesiastical authority was vested in Tomas de Torquemada. He claimed to represent “true Christianity” although his behavior was about as far from that embodied in the Sermon on the Mount as is conceivable: he tortured and persecuted Jews, Muslims, and dissident Christians, burned many at the stake, and stole their property. We are under no obligation to take Torquemada’s word that he represented “true Christianity”. By the same token we are under no obligation to accept the Wahhabis’ claim that they in fact represent the great and just religion of Islam. Torquemada’s fanatical ideology had direct consequences in the behavior of the Spanish monarchy. And Wahhabism has similarly direct consequences in the behavior of the Saudi state.

Second, it is difficult for Americans to bring themselves to draw distinctions among those who claim they are following the requirements of their religion – we generally do not want to quarrel with others’ religious beliefs even if they seem very strange to us. But we must realize that murderous totalitarianism that claims religious sanction is different. We have defeated four major totalitarian movements in the last six and a half decades: German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Japanese Imperialism, and Soviet Communism. All were essentially secular movements. But our current enemy’s totalitarian ideology seeks to hide behind one of the world’s great religions, as Torquemada sought to cloak his murderousness in claims to represent Christianity. This makes it difficult for most Americans to assess and understand. We tend to regard each person’s religious beliefs as his own private matter. We have to learn to make an exception for theocratic totalitarianism masquerading as religion.

During the Cold War we had little difficulty in distinguishing between, say, the Khmer Rouge and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, although both called themselves “Socialists”. But we have a much harder time bringing ourselves to distinguish between those American Muslims who follow the Wahhabi party line on the one hand and, on the other, brave and decent individuals such as the Sufi leader Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, who has been warning Americans of the danger of Islamist terror since well before 9/11. We must get over this reluctance to challenge the perpetrators of and apologists for theocratic totalitarianism.

Two final points:

Does taking on Wahhabism and its supporters mean that we must stand opposed to all that is done by the government of Saudi Arabia? Not necessarily. We fought the Communist ideology in different ways from 1917 through the Cold War. But while we were fighting it, at times during these years we had varying types of relationships with the Government of the USSR – we were close allies during WW II, and with some Soviet leaders (Kosygin to a small extent, Gorbachev certainly) we worked toward common purposes. We had some commercial relations with the Soviets (Pepsico comes to mind), and some of us spent many years negotiating arms control agreements with them, sometimes to positive effect. In short, we generally kept up our ideological war against communism, especially after 1947, while working as need be with the Soviet state. But we never forgot the Soviet state’s underlying ideology and we should not forget that of Saudi Arabia either.

We need to keep the same concepts in mind when dealing with the government of Saudi Arabia. The Royal family has some reformers in it, including, to a mild degree, King Abdullah, with whom we may make some common cause. We

need to work with the Saudi government on issues related to oil, of course. But just as we took steps in the 1980's to try to limit Europe's dependence on Soviet natural gas supplies we would be well advised today to reduce our dependence on oil. (My Co-Chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, former Secretary of State George Shultz, and I have posted on the Committee's web site – www.fightingterror.org -- a policy paper on this subject, "Oil and Security".)

How might we undertake to fight Wahhabi ideology? Again, we should probably recall some Cold War lessons. By the 1950's, after a Congressional attempt to outlaw communism was struck down by the Supreme Court, and after Joseph McCarthy's attempt to spread guilt by association was defeated, we hit upon several ways to deal with our domestic communists. We made them register. We infiltrated them with large numbers of FBI agents. We essentially made their lives miserable. It was legal for them and their front groups to exist – indeed they perennially ran Gus Hall for President – and they recruited some spies for the Soviets. But in spite of their best efforts they were not a serious force in American life and they did not succeed in undermining our ability to fight the Cold War.

We should have a frank national discussion about how we may learn from this history and deal similarly with Sunni theocratic totalitarianism – so that it may join Nazism and Communism where they all rightly belong: on the ash-heap of history.