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The Winding Road to a New Identity

Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of one of the most radical movements in Islamic history, the Wahhabiya (also known as “Wahhabism” among many in the West). In the mid-18th century, Muhammad Ibn Saud gave protection to the Wahhabiya's founder Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, and the two formed a lasting alliance. In this way the alliance between the Saudi royal family and the Wahhabis steadily became the bedrock of the regime. Accordingly, a pact was agreed upon between the two groups in 1744 in which the Saudi family committed itself to the Wahhabi puritan interpretation of Islam and to its propagation as a basis for the new Saudi state. The current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, established in 1932, still adheres to this pact. Throughout the years, Saudi citizens funded radical movements and exported their ideas, becoming instrumental in the spread of the Salafi-Jihadi movement. Saudi Arabia sent forces to fight against the establishment of a Jewish state in Israel in 1948 and was the leader of the 1973 oil embargo. The participation of fifteen Saudi citizens in the September 11 terror attacks in the United States was the apex of years of radical education and support for Islamism at home.

Yet, for many years the radicalism of Saudi Arabia was married to extreme conservatism and a strong alliance with the West, first with Britain and then, from the 1940s, mainly the United States. Like other Gulf States, Saudi Arabia began to open its borders to foreign migrant workers. A freer market economy, bolstered by the availability of oil capital within the framework of a rentier state in severe need of additional skilled and unskilled labor, resulted in a significant inflow of immigrants. The opening up of the country to migrant workers, along with the events of 9/11 and increasing Islamist radicalism in Iran and Turkey, convinced many Saudis that some changes must be introduced to prevailing policies in one way or another. The Saudi 2002 peace initiative, despite its flaws, is still a milestone in the understanding that a Middle East united by hate towards Israel and the West is not tenable in the long run.

Traditionalism saved Saudi Arabia—and other conservative Arab countries—from joining the bandwagon of revolutionary liberalization during the "Arab Spring" upheaval in the Arab world, which wreaked havoc across the region.

Another important element in Saudi thinking has been the growing understanding that its central economic mainstay, oil production, may not be there for the long run. Climate change and the development of alternative energy sources encouraged new waves of thinking in the Gulf. In Saudi Arabia this was realized in its Vision 2030. The initiative was based on the understanding that cooperation with the wider world is vital for a prosperous future, requiring a heavy moderation of radical Islamist thought and improved relations with its neighbors and with Israel. Internal reforms were aimed at the mobilization of vast swathes of the population, particularly women, into the workforce and economic enterprise and welcoming in foreign investors and workers. Saudi Arabia has a unique advantage in its geo-political location as a center connecting the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe and as the center of Muslim pilgrimage and reverence.
Geo-political considerations also contributed to other shifts in the Gulf region, including the determination of Iran to subdue the Middle East and exert control over Islam's Holy Places in Mecca and Medina for unifying a Muslim world under its hegemony. Erdoğan's Turkey has developed an ambitious policy based on the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology and its own neo-Ottoman inclination. Iranian and Turkish propaganda sought to reignite the dying embers of the Israeli-Arab conflict by falsely representing Israel as an enemy of Islam. Players in the Gulf understand this discourse as being damaging to aspirations for peace and prosperity in the Arab world and an obstacle to the forging of trustworthy alliances outside the region. American strategy of gradually withdrawing from the region adds to the strategic concerns of the Gulf, motivating it to search for alternative allies such as Israel and China.

In recent years, discourse on Saudi media and social media networks has started to allow space for the viewpoint that accepts a permanent Jewish presence in the region, as well as a host of other Arabs, although other viewpoints certainly persist as well.

**The 2003 and 2008 Saudi Curricula Reports**

Covering textbooks mostly from 1999–2002, our report found that the Saudi Arabia curriculum largely centered on Islam. Saudi Arabia was described as a leader in the Muslim world and a champion of Islam which was presented as the only true religion, with all other religions presented as false. Christians and Jews were denounced as infidels and enemies of Muslims and Islam.

The West was presented as the source of the past and present misfortunes of the Muslim world, beginning with the Crusades and continuing through to modern Imperialism, ending with the establishment of the State of Israel. The West was presented in these textbooks as a threat to the Muslim world in the present day, including through its dangerous cultural and intellectual influence. These influences are presented as Western-inspired ideologies such as nationalism – including its Arab version, Communism and secularism, Western influence in education and research – including research of the Muslim world ("Orientalism"), Christian missionary work, Western humanitarian and medical aid, and even Western-invented computer games. The West itself was presented as a decaying society on its way to extinction, the symptoms of which are the absence of spirituality, the practice of adultery and sodomy leading to an increase in AIDS cases, and the large number of suicides in Western society.

Jews were described as a wicked nation, characterized by bribery, slyness, deception, betrayal, aggressiveness and haughtiness. They were portrayed as a corrupting force in Arabia even before the genesis of Islam, and were also described as having cooperated with Muhammad’s enemies after the emergence of Islam, for which they were punished by the Prophet with exile and, in one case, the

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putting to death of the men and enslavement of the women and children. Jewish presence in Palestine was presented as constituting a threat to the neighboring Muslim countries. Furthermore, the Jews were accused of having caused harm throughout world history, and of being responsible, inter alia, for the French and Bolshevik revolutions and for the outbreak of World War I. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion were explicitly promoted, presented to Saudi Arabian students as an authentic historical source.

Zionism was presented as an evil movement and based on ancient the Jewish notions of the "chosen people." This is described as the idea that the Jews believe they were chosen by God as masters of the world. Accordingly, the curriculum argued that Zionism strives towards world domination or, at least, towards territorial expansion in the Fertile Crescent and Arabia. It also claimed that Zionism exerts undue and poisonous influence on world history, including through some non-Jewish auxiliary organizations, like the Freemasons and the Lyons and Rotary clubs. It is described as being in the same racist nationalist vein as Nazism.

The Saudi Arabian textbooks were full of phrases exalting war, Jihad, and martyrdom. Terror was rejected, but it appears that such prohibitions did not apply to cases that fall in the categories of Jihad and martyrdom. The curriculum rejected Western democracy and instead emphasized the "family-like" relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Specific attention is paid to female modesty laws – rules that prohibit direct contact between men and women and the importance of modest female dress.

In July 2008, IMPACT-se completed an update on its 2003 report on the Saudi curriculum. Since 2003 the Saudi Arabian authorities have introduced various changes into their schoolbooks, some of which can be positively categorized as improvements. That is, several specific negative expressions no longer appeared. However, overall the themes of intolerance and hostility remained. The curriculum continued to include belligerent expressions regarding the "liberation of Palestine" through Jihad.

The report found the curriculum to be blatantly racist and antisemitic, and in need of fundamental changes in regards to its attitude towards non-Muslims in general and Jews in particular.

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The 2016–2019 Saudi Curriculum

Since the early stages of our 2016–2019 Saudi curriculum research, we recognized a significant shift in the region. There were both positive and negative changes made to the curriculum but, considered within the context of its past radicalism, these changes still showed marked difference.

Our main findings were that extremism persists but most changes demonstrated a partial – if still inadequate – shift toward moderation in some specific regards though not in others. The textbooks did not teach equality between women and men and still asserting that women must obey their husbands however, themes of female empowerment had been introduced into the textbooks and modern norms advanced. Non-Muslims were still considered infidels, but the new curriculum showed increased openness to the West and Christians in some places, while demonizing and inciting against them in others, through the prism of lessons about the status and treatment of infidels. Harsh anti-Jewish, anti-Israel, and anti-gay expressions also remained. Sufi and Shiite practices were criticized and Israel was not shown on any maps.

The 2019 curriculum’s attitude toward Iran and Turkey was ambiguous and often contradictory however, on the whole these countries were not overly criticized. Violent Jihad was present throughout the textbooks but was mostly taught as an aspect of national defense within defined parameters such as the king having sole authority to declare Jihad war. Living for Allah was declared as more important than dying for Allah, but martyrdom for the sake of Allah remained a "godly gift, a divine dignity." There was praise for those who sacrifice their lives as martyrs for Allah, namely in battle for the faith. Yet, the curriculum strongly criticized terrorist acts committed by extremist Muslims and disavowed them.

The curriculum arguably alludes, albeit hesitantly, to the Holocaust, though in a way that is vague, inadequate, and potentially misleading: "Some minorities are exposed to deportation and extermination from the[ir] countries such as the expulsion of the Jews from Europe and the Indians from Uganda." Overall, we found the curriculum to have shifted its focus to prosperity through hard work and cooperation, as opposed to incitement or preparation for war.

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4 Geography and National Education (2), Grades 10–12 , Level 5 (Literature, Administration and Qur'an), 2019, p. 120.
New Research - The 2020–2021 Curriculum

In this follow-up report, we have found that many problematic examples had been removed from the curriculum. Some still remained. The removal of these examples should certainly be seen as a significant improvement and an encouraging development, understood as representing a step toward moderation.

**Among the problematic examples removed for the 2020–2021 curriculum** is an infamous Hadith which teaches students that a war between Jews and Muslims is inevitable in which Muslims will kill the Jews. Historically, this Hadith has considerably influenced antisemitic attitudes in the Muslim world so its removal from the 2020 Saudi textbooks is hugely significant.

Other examples removed include a text describing the nefarious means utilized by Zionist forces, such as money, women and drugs, lending to the common antisemitic trope. Another alleges that Jews have no religious-historical rights as they refused to accept Muhammad. An entire chapter focused on commentary and analysis about a verse from the Qu’ranic Surah al-Baqarah that also contained a warning against those “resembling the people of Moses” was also removed from the textbooks.

The Islamic idea of killing the Jews during the Day of Resurrection was removed as too was the glorification of violent Jihad: "Jihad in the way of Allah is the climax of Islam." This example was removed alongside an entire textbook unit that taught verses 41–68 from the Qur’anic at-Tawbah (“the Repentance”) Surah.

Remarkably, a graphic passage, condemning homosexuality and stating that gay people should be punished by death for performing the “crime of Sodomy,” was removed representing a dramatic and progressive shift towards greater tolerance and openness. Also removed was a passage that attributed disease and calamity to homosexuality.

An example discussing apostasy, describing it as punishable by death and eternity in Hell, was not found in the textbooks along with a passage that described “faith’s firmest bond” as being hostile towards infidels.

Much of the anti-Israel content that previously appeared in the textbooks has now been removed including Israel as plotting to expand its territory from the Nile to the Euphrates to secure "Greater Israel" (The 2019 version already omitted an addition to this description that had previously been

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5 Prepared by IMPACT-se Arabist Asher Spekterman.
6 *Hadith (2)*, Grades 10–12 (Humanities), 2019, p. 256.
7 *Tawhid (2)*, Grades 10–12 (Humanities), 2019, p. 86.
8 *Tafsir (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 96.
9 *Tafsir (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 94–115.
10 *Fiqh (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 255-256. The entire unit (which also included penalties for apostacy, sodomy, etc.) was entirely removed, which appeared in *Fiqh (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 245-283.
included: "The global Jewish government, to control the entire world"). The description of Zionism as a racist movement was removed in one place, but still exists in another. A polemic delegitimizing Israel’s right to exist was also removed. All of the above examples were part of a chapter titled “The Zionist Danger” that has now been entirely removed.

It might be perceived as unrealistic to expect a complete change in the Saudi worldview overnight. We should also note that some of the most egregious examples had already been removed from the textbooks examined in our main 2016–2019 Saudi Curriculum Research. Moderation was found to be introduced and removed from the curriculum in a seemingly pendulum-like fashion however, the main direction in recent years points toward growing moderation, while serious problems persist.

**Problematic examples still remained in the 2020–2021 editions.** These include conservative Islamic views that infidels will be punished on Resurrection Day; a Jewish boy converted to Islam by the Prophet is saved from hell; and Jews are demonized in an example showing the generosity of Muhammad.

In what appears to be an attempt to moderate terminology in the 2019 edition, the term "Jews and Christians" has been replaced by the generic "enemies of Islam" in some areas. The text is part of an analysis of verses 119-123 of the Al-Baqarah Surah, which specifically refer to Christians and Jews. These verses still appear in 2020. Non-Qur'anic praise for martyrdom is still taught and there are still emphatic warnings against "polytheists," including a decontextualized and ambiguous story with antisemitic implications about "Jewish wrongdoers" who are described as monkeys.

Israel is still not represented on maps and is still demonized in the curriculum in many ways. Zionism is presented as a racist political movement (although one example of this had been removed), and

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12. *Hadith* (2), Grades 10–12, (Humanities), 2019, p. 253. See also next section.
15. *Tawhid* (2), Grades 10–12 (Humanities Track), 2020, pp. 100, 109
22. *Social Studies*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, pp. 76-77; [Previously- *Social Studies*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 75-76]; *Fiqh* 1, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 5.
23. *Social Studies*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 64. [Previously- *Social Studies*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 63.]

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Jews as settlers, occupiers and aggressors. The First Intifada is praised as exposing Israel’s "falseness of democracy." Allusions to the "State of Israel" appearing in 2017 were replaced by the pejorative "Zionist" or "Zionist Enemy" in the 2019 and 2020 editions. The libel that Israel burned the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 continues to be taught. There are a number of examples emphasizing the anti-Israeli position taken by the Saudi Kingdom. A polemic about the "Arab Gulf" and other anti-Iranian material remain as too do Anti-Ottoman descriptions.

Note: We do not yet have all the 2020 books, so the true extent of change/no change is not fully known to us. There are still a few negative examples but their status is unknown at the moment.

Enhancing Curriculum Moderation in the MENA Region

The complexities surrounding recommendations made to societies rejecting radicalism and engaging in processes of internal change require a sophisticated and thoughtful approach. Many societies within the Middle East and North African (MENA) region are currently undergoing such reforms.

The intention of these societies to affect certain kinds of change is noticeable. However, pernicious material still remains in curricula from decades of incitement. This anti-Other mentality seems to have been helpful in keeping a modicum of national unity by scapegoating Other cultures and societies. These countries are now attempting to change this approach, resulting in a variety of approaches. For instance, Jordan completely restructured Islamic textbooks and inserted a judicious and conciliatory tone towards non-Muslims, while leaving the majority of its anti-Israel and antisemitic content intact.

The Saudi Example and Future MENA Education Policy

After reviewing the material, we were encouraged by the attempts at change in the new Saudi textbooks. Our sense is that Saudi Arabia, along with some other countries in the region, is gradually moving in a direction that could bring it in line with UNESCO-derived standards of peace and tolerance. This is contingent on whether the remaining problems are addressed.

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24 Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 65. [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 64.]; Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 70. [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 69.]
25 Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 72. [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 71.]
26 Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, pp. 70-71 [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 69-70.]; Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2017, pp. 140-141.
27 Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 73. [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 72.]
28 Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, pp. 73, 75-76. [Previously- Social Studies, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, pp. 72, 75.]
29 History, Grades 10–12 (Humanities), 2020, p. 38.
31 History, Grades 10–12 (Humanities), 2020, pp. 98, 100-102.
Having detected pernicious material that remains in the curriculum, we need to ascertain whether changes represent genuine tolerance or strategic appeasement and whether these changes are concrete and irreversible.

In January 2020, we produced a report that included our overall assessment of a limited but somewhat positive shift. At the same time, we also published lists of the remaining problematic examples for engagement with the Saudi authorities.

Nine months after the publication of our report, and following the groundbreaking normalization and thawing of relations between Israel and several of the Gulf states as well as with other Muslim countries such as Sudan, we are greatly more confident in our evaluation that real change is occurring.

Yet, we are aware that this attitudinal shift is not universal in Saudi Arabian society. Secret poll results published by the Washington Institute in December 2019 indicate that a substantial proportion of the Saudi population remain circumspect of change.

> And the majority who now disagree with a more moderate version of Islam has risen by the same amount, to 77%—including 43% who say they disagree “strongly.” And one-quarter of Sunni respondents continue to express some sympathy for the hardline Muslim Brotherhood organization, even though their own government has outlawed it as a “terrorist” group. A related, particularly controversial question turns out to be the matter of relations with other religious communities. Surprisingly, nearly two-thirds of Saudi respondents agree at least somewhat with this proposition: “We should show more respect to the world’s Christians, and improve our relations with them.” Yet a mere 5% expressed that sentiment when asked about Jews.  

32 The results of the poll largely support our findings that Saudis are willing to be tolerant and engage with the world economically and shun the aggressive export of Islam, but are extremely cautious of cultural openness and attitudes towards Jews remain problematic.

Changing attitudes and the outlook of younger generations in the MENA region is more promising than ever. Yet, there is much to do and the efforts needed to induce deep change seem to remain herculean. Competitive sources of influence—Iranian, Turkish, the Muslim Brotherhood, the PA, Salafi groups and even European, American and Russian radical voices—continue to spread hate and suspicion of peace and reconciliation. The battle for the hearts and minds of people in the MENA region is far from concluded.

Appendices

Saudi Curriculum: Examples Removed in 2020-21


**Example Removed:**
This infamous Hadith teaches students about an inevitable war between Muslims and Jews. Muslims will kill the Jews. Even rocks and trees will join in the attacks.

5-Fighting the Jews: *Reported by Abu Hurairah:* The Messenger of Allah had said: "The Hour of Resurrection will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews. The Muslims will kill them, and when a Jew would hide behind a rock or a tree, the rock or the tree would say: 'O Muslim, O worshipper of God! There is a Jew behind me; come and kill him,' except the salt bush (Gharqad), which is one of trees of the Jews."


**Example Removed:**
Propagating anti-Semitic myths, the student is required to fill in a table and explain how Zionism uses illicit means (money, politics, drugs, women and the media) to achieve its goals. The 2017 version of this textbook also included “family entertainment shows”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>أسلوب التوطيف</th>
<th>الوسيلة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>المال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>السياسة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>المرأة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>المخدرات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>الإعلام</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activity 2:
Explain how Zionism utilizes the following means to achieve its goals and realize its designs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>Application Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Hadith (2), Grades 10-12 (Humanities), 2019, p. 254.

Example Removed:
The anti-Semitic trope that Israel is planning to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates to secure "Greater Israel" according to God's promise appears in this textbook. The 2019 version omits a third stage: "The global Jewish government, to control the entire world" that appeared previously.

The Goals of Zionism
The Zionist goals in the Arab East region aim at regional expansion in three\textsuperscript{33} successive stages:

A. The State of Israel in Palestine.

B. The Greater State of Israel in the Arab East region.

With the help of all the international powers, Zionism has succeeded in achieving the first stage, namely the establishment of the State of Israel in the years 1367–1387 H. / 1948–1967 on all the Palestinian lands.

Zionism continues to work hard in order to achieve the rest of its stage goals, which include the establishment the Greater State of Israel in the Arab East region, according to the claimed Divine Promise: from the Nile to the Euphrates.

\textsuperscript{33} The third stage was removed from the 2019 edition. It last appeared in the 2018 textbook.

Example Removed:
Zionism's claims to religious-historical rights are considered invalid by this textbook because the Jews refused to recognize the truthfulness of Muhammad. (It also claims that they distorted the Hebrew Bible, so it cannot be deemed a reliable source as to the ownership of "Palestine").

The Religious Claim to Jerusalem
Its content is the 'Divine Promise to the prophet of the Israelites—peace be upon them—entitling them and their offspring to possess what lies between the Nile and the Euphrates [Rivers].'
But this—alleged—right falls [short]. That is because the Old Testament has been proved distorted and it is not unlikely that these promises are included in the distortions within its books. And then, these promises—even if we assume their correctness—are conditional on obeying Allah. But they rebelled against Him and disobeyed Him. Among what they had been commanded: to recognize the truthfulness of the Prophet Muhammad, but they did not do so.


Example Removed:
A chapter on the "Zionist Danger" deals with the historical legitimacy of the State of Israel, arguing that whatever right Jews may claim, the Arabs were the first to "settle in Palestine" and that their presence there was uninterrupted. It further argues that the Jews ruled the land through other empires, but this was resolved when Muslims conquered the Byzantines (Christian-Romans) and took the land.
This alleged [Jewish] right falls apart also because of the following:

A. The Arabs were the first to settle in Palestine, and their presence in it has not been cut throughout history until our present time.

B. Palestine was ruled by a series of states—the Egyptians, Iraqis, Persians, Greeks and Romans—and the Jews ruled it within the framework of these states. Its issue has been settled for the Muslims, who conquered Palestine while it had been under the rule of Christian-Romans, not the Jews.


**Example Removed:**

The text warns Muslims against "resembling the people of Moses" because many envious Jews wanted believers to be unfaithful to Islam. This example is from the Qur’anic al-Baqarah Surah which has now been entirely removed.

The text warns about resembling the people of Moses when they asked their Prophet what should not be asked. Allah informed that many Jews wished that you would return to infidelity [kufr] because they are envious of the guidance and Islam. Ignore [them] until Allah will permit fighting and banishing them. Meanwhile, continue with your worshipping so you gain Allah's reward.


**Example Removed:**

The centrality of Jihad war in Islam is presented as uncontested. It is described as the climax of the Islamic faith, just like the camel's hump. This example is from the Qur’anic at-Tawbah (“the Repentance”) Surah which has been entirely removed from the textbooks.

Jihad in the way of Allah is the climax of Islam [the peak of the hump of Islam]. Allah has mandated it to oppose anyone who lurks in the flanks of Muslims, which requires overall readiness and preparation for mobilization at any moment, if the ruler calls for it.

**Example Removed:**

This passage is an incitement to hatred against gay men, stating they should be punished by death. The “crime of Sodomy” is graphically defined for high school students and includes specific prohibitions. This is from a particularly notable chapter about the penalties decreed by Islam for crimes such as apostasy, sodomy and homosexuality that has now been entirely withdrawn from the curriculum.

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**Sodomy** (lawat) is a repugnant crime, a reprehensible sin that appeared among a former nation, the nation of Lot. Allah gave them a punishment no one else had received before, so they would become a lesson for those who came after them, and a deterrent for anyone whose innate human nature [fitra] degenerated, and his soul had tempted him to fall into this crime; he will be struck in the same manner as happened to them [nation of Lot, i.e., Sodom].

And [We had sent] Lot when he said to his people, 'Do you commit such immorality such as no one in creation [ever] committed before you? Indeed, you approach men with desire, instead of women. Rather, you are a transgressing people.' [Al-A’raf 7: 80–81].

So when Our command came, we turned [the cities] upside down and rained down on them brimstones hard as baked clay, spread layer on layer. Marked from your Lord: And Allah’s punishment is not far from the wrongdoers [Hud 11: 82–83].

**Definition of Sodomy**

Male intercourse in the anus.

Several scholars of religion said that the punishment of sodomy is death. Both the one who does it, and the one to whom it is done, are to be killed, whether they are married or not.

Sheik of Islam, Ibn Taymiyya, may God have mercy on him, said: “The truth that the companions of the Prophet agreed upon, is: both the top one and the bottom one are to be killed, whether they are married or not.” Adherents of the Sunnah have told about Ibn Abbas, may Allah almighty be pleased with them, [who told] about the Prophet, who said: “Whoever you find doing the action of the people of Lot, kill the one who does it, and the one to whom it is done.”

Example Removed:

Gay men are accused of being the main cause of calamities and disease. God, it is taught, will punish society with epidemics, and will spread diseases and disaster “if sodomy appears in society.” Homosexuality is cited as destroying morality and positive character. This example is from the same withdrawn textbook.

**The Wisdom Behind Intensifying its [Sodomy’s] Punishment:**

Allah forbade sodomy and intensified the punishment for it because of its negative effect on the individual and society:

- It degenerates the innate human nature (fitra), it corrupts character, it eliminates decency, and it destroys morality. It bequeaths depravity and wretchedness in the perpetrator’s soul, as it ends life and kills inner zealouessness.
- Whoever perpetrates this crime will continue throughout his life to be disgraced for it among people, and his shame won’t be able to be separated from his life until he dies. Its disgrace doesn’t affect only the perpetrator, but it extends also to include the entire family and tribe.
- If sodomy appears in society, Allah will hurry to punish its population, which will result in catastrophes and illnesses, in the spreading of plagues and diseases, and in the predominance of injustice and corruption in the land.


Example Removed:

Hostility to infidels is “faith’s firmest bond.”

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موالاة المؤمنين ومعاداة الكافرين أوثق عرى الإيمان، كما قال ﷺ:  "أَفْضَلُ الْأَعْمَالِ  
الْحُبُّ في اللّهِ وَالْيَعْفَضُ فِي اللّهِ" (١).
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Adhering to believers and being hostile towards infidels is faith’s firmest bond, as the almighty said: “The best of the actions is to love for the sake of Allah and to hate for the sake of Allah.”
Students are taught about apostasy, and that the punishment for it is death, disregarding any of his good deeds, and eternity in Hell. However, an apostate who wishes to repent will be able to return to his religion.\(^\text{34}\)

The Punishment of Apostasy in the World

*If an apostate asks to repent and maybe return to his religion, the door of repentance will open to him.*

*If he repents, Allah will forgive him for his sin and won’t deem his former deeds worthless.*

His Punishment in the Afterlife

*If the apostate dies, his punishment will be eternity in Hell and then his righteous deeds prior to his apostasy will be considered worthless, because the almighty said: “And whoever of you reverts from his religion [to disbelief] and dies while he is a disbeliever - for those, their deeds have become worthless in this world and the Hereafter, and those are the companions of the Fire, they will abide therein eternally.” [Al-Baqarah (The Cow), 27.]*

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\(^{34}\) Although this example was indeed removed in 2020, similar content was also featured in *Tawhid 3, Grades 10–12*, Level 5 (Literature and Qur'an), 2019, p. 21. Since IMPACT-se has not managed to obtain this textbook’s 2020 version, it is unclear whether this content is still being taught in 2020, in a different textbook.
One of the severe cases of imitating infidels is participating in their holidays. This practice is one of the evilest, damaging and popular among the Muslims. Such participation is forbidden because it contains agreement to what is not our religion. These festivals are new innovations, which Allah forbade on His believing worshipers and described them as "Those who witness no falsehood." (Furqan [The Criterion], 25: 72).


Example Altered:\(^{35}\):

Teaching high schoolers about sorcery, this textbook omitted in 2020 the explanation that convicted sorcerers could be condemned to execution for concocting "mixtures and medicines." The passage now is much more general and does not refer to any punishment whatsoever.

2020 Version:

*There are two types of sorcery:*

- The first: being great infidelity if devils were the cause, who approach them with different kinds of oblations.
- The second: being infidelity that does not exclude one from the nation and it is the sorcery of charlatanism and swindling.

2019 Version:

*There are two types of sorcery:*

- The first: being infidelity if devils were the cause; therefore, the sorcerer will be killed for apostasy. His execution is entrusted to the ruler or whomever he assigns.
- The second: being infidelity that does not exclude one from the nation and it is the sorcery of charlatanism and swindling, which may include concoctions of mixtures and medicines. The punishment can be up to the level of killing because of its evil and harm on Muslims. His execution is entrusted to the ruler or whomever he assigns.

\(^{35}\) This example remained in the 2020 edition of the textbooks but its content was moderated.
Example Removed:

This textbook states that favoring human (or positive law—*al-qanun al-wadh'i*) over sharia or doubting the more severe punishments (*hudud*) is considered infidelity.

Scholar researchers explained that judgment that is not in accordance to what Allah sent down is the greatest infidelity in the following situations:

1. Whomever fakes the right of legislation, analysis, and forbiddance... Whoever altercates with any of it is a polytheist.
2. Whoever prefers human law over the law of Allah almighty.
3. Whoever compares the law of Allah almighty to human law, and thinks they have similarities. This is the greatest infidelity, which is an apostasy...
4. Whoever believes that the law that Allah almighty sent down isn’t obligatory and it includes free choice. This is the greatest infidelity...
5. Whoever believes that fulfilling the punishments (*hudud*) is barbaric and that it does not have a place in this age.
This religious studies textbook also proffers a negative definition of Zionism, stating that it is “a globally organized Jewish racist political movement.”

**The Definition of Zionism**

Zionism: A globally organized Jewish racist political movement, which aims for the immigration of the Jews in the world into Palestine, and for making it a state for them.

Example Removed:

Students are taught how to confront Zionism, including by refuting the rights of Jews in Palestine and defending the Palestinian people from “oppression, aggression, killing, displacement and humiliation” [by Jews]; The Zionists are presented as enemies of Muslim countries.

**Attitude toward Zionism**

Confronting Zionism requires a number of methods:

1. Refutation of Zionism's claim over the right of Jews over Palestine.
2. Striving to support the Palestinian people, and defend it from oppression, aggression, killing, displacement and humiliation.
3. Islamic countries should empower themselves materially and morally to be delivered from the Zionists and their other enemies.

Example Removed:
Zionism’s effects on the Islamic World include “wars and struggles that heavily damage society”, as well as slaughter and expulsion of Palestinians, occupying Al-Aqsa, Southern Lebanon and the Golan Heights.

Zionism’s effect on the Islamic World:
Among the most noticeable effects of Zionism on the Islamic world are:
1. Occupying Palestine, which includes the Al-Aqsa mosque - [the destination of] the Messenger’s nigh journey, the first direction of prayer, and the third holy mosque.
2. Slaughtering and expelling the Palestinian people, as well as acting in the most racist way against those who preferred to stay in their homeland.
3. Occupying several other Arab territories, such as the Golan and Southern Lebanon
4. Wars and struggles that heavily damage society, development, and policy.


Example Removed:
Colonialism includes “deporting the original inhabitants and their expulsion or extermination." One of the examples given is "the 'occupation' of the Land of Palestine.
**Type of colonialism** | **Definition** | **Examples**
---|---|---
Settler colonialism | Immigration of groups of residents from foreign powerful countries to weaker ones, in order to build colonial settlements for them, while deporting the original inhabitants and expelling / exterminating / integrating them into the new society. | - What the Spanish did to the native Americans in Central and South America, and the Portuguese that settled in Brazil and forced their culture and language upon them.  
- What the English did to the native Americans in North America and also in Australia.  
- The occupation of the Land of Palestine.  
- The European colonialism in Central Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe.)


**Example Altered**\(^{36}\):

A *hadith* about a wife who is stoned to death for committing adultery with her servant (who is punished with one hundred lashes and exile for one year, because he is unmarried) has been replaced in 2020 with a *hadith* about a thief who is punished by having his hand cut off.

2020 Version:

\[\text{2. Abu Umayyah al-Makhzumi reported that a thief was brought to the Messenger of Allah and he admitted his crime, although the stolen goods were not found with him. The Messenger of Allah said to him: 'I do not think you stole them.' He said: 'Yes I did.' This was repeated twice or three time, so He ordered that his hand be cut off.}\]

2019 Version:

\[\text{2. Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid al-Juhani reported the story of the servant that fornicated with the wife... in it, Allah's Messenger said: ‘... And, O Unais, go to this [man’s] wife in the morning, and if she makes a confession, then stone her.’ He [the narrator] said: He went to her in the morning and she made a confession. “And Allah's Messenger made pronouncement about her and she was stoned to death.”}\]

\(^{36}\) This example remained in the 2020 edition of the textbooks but its content was moderated.
Saudi Curriculum: Examples Remaining in 2020-21

1. *Tafsir (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2020, p. 71. [Previously—*Tafsir (1)*, Grades 10–12 (Joint Track), 2019, p. 73.]

In a section about the punishment for breaking God's laws, students are introduced to Surah that speaks of the Israelites which includes a Qur'anic story of people who went fishing on the Sabbath but denied doing so in front of God, and therefore were turned into monkeys (A'raf 7:163-166). According to the high school textbook, those "Jewish wrongdoers" were turned into "real [or 'actual'] monkeys", indicating that the story should be taken literally and not as a metaphor.

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3. Falsehoods and deception leading to the corruption of the law of Allah, breaking limits (hudud) set by Him, and performing what He forbids. The way the Jews acted when they threw their nets into the sea on Friday for fishing, and then pulled the nets out on Sunday. And they say: 'we did not do anything on Saturday [the Sabbath].'

6. Allah punished the wrongdoers from among the Jews by turning them into real monkeys.


The lesson that Jews are condemned to damnation is taught through a passage about a sick Jewish boy who was told to embrace Islam by the Prophet; when he did, the Prophet praised Allah for saving the boy from hellfire.

Anas reported that a young Jewish slave used to serve the Prophet and he became sick. So the Prophet went to visit him. He sat near his head and said: 'embrace Islam.' The servant looked at his father, who was sitting there; his father told him to obey Abul-Qasim and the boy embraced Islam. The Prophet came out saying: 'Praises be to Allah who saved the boy from hellfire.'

This textbook demonizes Jews in order to teach about Muhammad’s generosity and tolerance. In an anecdote about “a group of Jews” who curse the Prophet by greeting him with "As-Sam Alaykum"! [Poison be upon you!], the Prophet is shown to be tolerant by responding simply “wa Alaykum!” [upon you!]

Aisha, may Allah protect here, the wife of the Prophet, reported: A group of Jews came to Allah's Messenger and said: “As-Sam Alaykum”! (Poison be upon you). Aisha, may Allah protect here, said in response: “I understood that, so I said ‘As-Sam Alaykum and curse you too!’” She said: “Allah's Messenger said: ‘Be calm, O Aisha! Allah loves forbearance in all matters.’ I said, ‘O Allah's Messenger! Haven't you heard what they [the Jews] have said?’ Allah's Messenger said ‘I have [already] said [to them] ‘and upon you!’”

4. Tafsir (2), Grades 10-12 (Humanities), 2020, pp. 75, 133. [Previously- Tafsir (2), Grades 10-12 (Humanities), 2019, pp. 77, 135.]

The textbooks praise those who sacrifice their lives as martyrs for Allah,” namely in battle for the faith, as featured in two interpretations of Qur’anic verses. Martyrdom for Allah is described as “a divine dignity.”

7– Martyrdom for the sake of Allah is a godly gift, a divine dignity, granted by Allah to the best of His worshippers.
An interpretation of a Qur’anic verse forbids friendships between Muslims and infidels.

1. It is forbidden to befriend the infidels [kuffar] while excluding the believers, but this does not mean that it is allowed to oppress them or attack them.

A chapter about polytheism determines that those who practice it are not a part of Islam and are to be sent to hell for all eternity if they don’t repent.

He who worships anyone but Allah has fallen to polytheism, which includes: inviting to worship anyone but Allah or offering sacrifices to anyone but Allah. His verdict will be as follows:

1. In the world: He is part of the greater polytheism that was taken out of the religion of Islam, because he worships anyone but Allah.

2. In the afterlife: his verdict in the afterlife is that if he dies being that [a polytheist] and he didn’t repent, then he will be among the companions of the [hell] fire for all of eternity. Proof to this can be found in the words of Allah almighty: “Indeed, he who associates others with Allah - Allah has forbidden him Paradise, and his refuge is the Fire. And there are not for the wrongdoers any helpers.” [Al-Ma’idah (The Table Spread), 72.]
A chapter teaching about the Day of Resurrection states that infidels “do not have any good deeds at all.” The passage states that on the Day of Resurrection, people will be divided into categories of believer and infidels and that Allah will punish all the infidels while saving the righteous believers.

On the Day of Resurrection, a person will either be a doomed infidel, a believer who will be saved, or a believer who lacks a little bit of faith and has committed good deeds and bad deeds. It will be almighty Allah’s will whether to punish or spare him.

The almighty Allah mentioned several situations the infidels and sinners will encounter on that day, as the almighty said:

“Then on the Day of Resurrection He will disgrace them and say, ‘Where are my 'partners' for whom you used to oppose [the believers]? ’ Those who were given knowledge will say, ‘Indeed disgrace, this Day, and evil are upon the disbelievers.’” (An-Nahl [“The Bees’”, 27)

As to the Infidels, their judgement doesn’t take into account one’s good deeds and bad deeds, because they don’t have good deeds at all. The Almighty said: “And we will regard what they have done of deeds and make them as dust dispersed.” (Al-Furqan, “The Criterion”, 23).

Israel is erased from maps in social studies and Islamic jurisprudence books.
Zionism is defined as a racist European movement which aims to expel the people of Palestine and establish a Jewish state by force.

Concepts and Terms

Zionism: A Jewish racist political movement, European in its origins and beginnings, which aims to expel the Palestinian people and establish a Jewish state by force by encouraging Jewish immigration into Palestine. It was named after Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

Students are taught that Israel deliberately tried to burn down the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969. As is well-documented, an Australian Christian fundamentalist tourist named Denis Rohan was in fact responsible for the attack.

For the advance of the Palestinian cause, the Islamic states convened the first Islamic summit in Rabat city in 1969 following the Zionist attack on the Al-Aqsa Mosque and setting it on fire. The summit was attended by all Arab and Islamic countries.

Furthermore, in Hadith and Islamic Culture (3), Grades 10–12, Level 5 (Literature and Qur’an), 2019, pp. 327-328: Students were taught that destroying the Al-Aqsa mosque, removing Jerusalem's Islamic characteristics, and rebuilding the Temple are sinister plans of the Jews, while the Jewish historical connection to Jerusalem and the Temple Mount is not recognized at all. Since IMPACT-se has not been able to obtain this textbook’s 2020 version, it cannot be determined whether this is still being taught in 2020 as well.
The word “Israel” is removed from factual descriptions of the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War in the 2019 and/or 2020 edition and is replaced by the terms “Zionist” or “Zionist enemy”. This change delegitimizes Israel by undermining its sovereignty.

2017 edition:
Yellow highlight indicates the word “Israel” has been deleted or replaced with “Zionist” in the 2019 edition.

2019/2020 edition:
The word “Zionist” marked in red is now used instead of “Israel”.
High school students are taught that Israel’s main reason in starting the Six-Day War was to expand its borders, take over Islamic and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem, and take over oil wells in the Sinai Peninsula.

The reason for war was to make people not think of their personal problems and to raise their moral. This act of aggressiveness also gave them an opportunity to achieve Zionism’s fundamental goals, to expand their territories and take over the Islamic and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem, as well as taking control over oil wells in the Sinai Peninsula. For these reasons, the Zionist enemy used Egypt’s decision to close the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships as an excuse to attack...

The following photos, entitled “Construction of the Occupier Jews’ Settlements in Palestine,” accompany a text describing the ways in which the British Mandate helped the Zionist movement form a national homeland. The explanation at no point refers to the construction of settlements or the West Bank Barrier, which was built at the beginning of the 21st century, decades after the end of the British Mandate.
High school students learn how the kingdom condemned the "Separation Wall," which was built by "the Israeli enemy."

King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz presented a peace initiative at the Arab summit conference in 2002. The Arab countries endorsed this initiative as a united Arab project to solve the Arab Palestinian conflict, and provide security for the region.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia condemned the Separation Wall built by the Israeli enemy, as well as the annexation of Arab territories, as it submitted a complaint to the International Court of Justice, which issued a decision regarding the illegitimacy of this wall.

Although an interpretation to a Qur’anic Surah changed criticism of “Christians and Jews” in particular to a general criticism of “enemies of Islam” in 2019, the Qur’anic Surah itself, which still exists in 2020, expresses criticism towards Christians and Jews, making the 2019 change still ineffective.

“... And never will the Jews or the Christians approve of you until you follow their religion. Say, ‘Indeed, the guidance of Allah is the [only] guidance.’ If you were to follow their desires after what has come to you of knowledge, you would have against Allah no protector or helper...” [Al-Baqarah, 119-123.]

2- The enemies of Islam are not satisfied unless they reject the belief in Islam and follow their community. Whatever the Muslim offers to them, he will never achieve his satisfaction.
List of Analyzed Books


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38 All listed textbooks have been analyzed by IMPACT-se; not all were quoted in the examples. Upon request, IMPACT-se can provide digital versions of all analyzed textbooks.