

# Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia

Interview by Stephen Suleyman Schwartz

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## Stephen Suleyman Schwartz

**Stephen Suleyman Schwartz** is an American journalist, columnist, and author who converted to Islam (Sufi) in 1997. He is a vociferous critic of Islamic fundamentalism and especially targets Wahhabi Islam. Schwartz is the executive director of the Center for Islamic Pluralism and has written many books.

We wanted to interview Mr. Schwartz because he is a rare bird. That is, he is a moderate Muslim (Sufi) who is willing to stick his neck out publicly to denounce radical Islam. He has developed, among Westerners, a unique position as a confidante of Shiite Muslim religious leaders and intellectuals, notably with Iraqis as well as Shias living in the US.

Sufism is a spiritual tradition within Islam that focuses on the mystical. It is a movement within Islam that seeks to find Allah's love and knowledge through the direct personal experience of God and focuses on unity and harmony. They are known, and violently attacked by radical Muslims, for their appreciation of other religions, mainly Christianity and Hinduism.

Stephen's investigative reporting on Islamist extremism has led to repeat appearances on Fox News and other TV and radio networks.

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His articles have been published in the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Spectator*, and the *Weekly Standard*, to name just a few. He also was a staff writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* for ten years.

His articles have been printed in the world's major newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Toronto Globe and Mail*, and many more. He is a regular contributor to *The Weekly Standard* and *The Spectator* as well as to the *New York Post*, *Reforma* in Mexico City, and leading periodicals in the Balkans (from Center for Islamic Pluralism <http://www.islamicpluralism.org/about/>).

**Books by Stephen Suleyman Schwartz:**

- *A Sleepwalker's Guide to San Francisco: Poems from Three Lustra, 1966–1981*
  - *Brotherhood of the Sea: A History of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific*
  - *Spanish Marxism vs. Soviet Communism: A History of the P.O.U.M* (with Victor Alba)
  - *A Strange Silence: The Emergence of Democracy in Nicaragua*
  - *From West to East: California and the Making of the American Mind*
  - *Kosovo: Background to a War*
  - *Intellectuals and Assassins: Writings at the End of Soviet Communism*
  - *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*
  - *Sarajevo Rose: A Balkan Jewish Notebook*
  - *Is It Good for the Jews? The Crisis of America's Israel Lobby*
  - *The Other Islam: Sufism and the Road to Global Harmony*
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**JEFF KING: I want to start with a personal question. Tell us about your personal journey towards Islam, and just give us some general background about your life.**

I will be brief about my life. I grew up in a household that was anti-religious. My mother was a communist, and so, being a good typical American, I rebelled against my parents, but I realized when I was eight years old, I believed in God. From the time I was a teenager, I started to look at and study different religions, but I didn't choose a particular religion until 1997 when I went to Yugoslavia. I was writing a lot of articles regarding the war and recovery in Bosnia for several publications. When I went there, I was very struck by the moderate form of Islam followed by the people of Bosnia and how they had not engaged in terrorism during the war. That was very important to me. I saw that they had organized a regular army and defended themselves, but they did not engage in terrorism, even though terrorism would have been easy for them because they looked like Serbs, they spoke the same dialect, and many of them had married Serbs.

I had also always been interested in Sufism since I was a teenager and actually became interested in Sufism because of its influence on Catholic mysticism. But, when I went to Bosnia, there wasn't really much Sufism in Bosnia. There was moderate Islam (that appealed to me), but then I went to Kosovo. [I found that] Sufism is a very, very vibrant, living movement. In fact, 40% of the Albanians living in the west of Kosovo are Sufis and that is where I actually became a Sufi as well.

I didn't intend to become someone famous for converting to Islam. I believe the situation was forced on me after 9/11 when it was necessary for moderate Muslims to organize and speak out against the terrorists. One week after 9/11, I published my first major article about Wahhabism and I became known as the critic of Wahhabism. In the course of that, I became known as a Muslim critic of Wahhabism. Everything became public.

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**JEFF KING: All right. A lot of people here in the West don't understand the difference between Sufism and Wahhabism and different types of Islam. Please tell us the difference.**

Very briefly. Sufism is not a type of Islam. It's not a sect like Sunni or Shia Islam and it's not a subset like Wahhabism. It's a set of spiritual practices that are well known to both Sunnis and Shias. Sufism is essentially self-discipline aimed at purifying itself and getting closer to God.

Everybody thinks Saudi Wahhabism is ancient, traditional and conservative. It's not ancient; it only started 250 years ago. It's not traditional; it destroys tradition. It's not conservative; it's radical. And part of the jihad of the Dawa<sup>18</sup> of the Wahhabi is that they hate the Sufis. They hate the Sufis because the Sufis developed positive relationships with Christians and Jews, and the Sufis were interested in the views and traditions of the other religions—mostly Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism—and the Wahhabis hated this. The Wahhabis hated the fact that the Sufis became the dominant Islamic religious interpretation under the Ottoman Empire. The Wahhabis were a purification movement coming out of Arabia. They hated the Ottoman Empire and they hated the Sufis. They still hate the Sufis.

In fact, in classical Islamic theology [al-Ghazali], Christians were praised for their love of Jesus, even though Muslims don't believe Jesus was God's son. But the Wahhabis hate anything in Islam that seems to resemble anything in Christianity. But, mainly, they hated this Sufism because of its association with the Ottoman Empire, and so they have killed Sufis and still do it today. It's very strange for Christians and Jews to hear this.

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<sup>18</sup> See pg. 340.

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**JEFF KING: You mentioned that Wahhabism is something that came from Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab and ibn Saud from the Arabia Peninsula. Can you give us some background on that? It's very important for people to understand how Wahhabism developed in [what is now] Saudi Arabia and the symbiotic relationship that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has with Wahhabism.**

Well, there wasn't a Saudi Arabia when Wahhabism emerged. It was: Arabia, the Kabaah, Mecca, and Medina—all controlled by the Ottomans—as well as the area around Kuwait and further south. The interior of Arabia was a wild desert called Najd, where there has been no economic development, no agricultural development. The only income was robbing the caravans that went from Kuwait to Mecca. There was a powerful clan in Najd, headed by Muhammad ibn Saud (the House of Saud), and they formed a partnership with the House of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of Wahhabism.

The agreement was that the House of Saud would control political, financial, governance practices while the house of the descendants of ibn Abd al-Wahhab would control religious life and the two families married and they continue to marry among themselves. This created the situation of a joint Wahhabi/House of Saud plan for control of Arabia. They took over for the second and last time in Mecca and Medina in 1924 and the Saudi kingdom was established in 1932.

I was once on Canadian television and the interviewer said to me, "Well, of course, Muhammad was born in Saudi Arabia." I said, "Well, no he wasn't, because there was no Saudi Arabia then." It was Arabia; he was born in Hijaz, but Hijaz was not then in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia emerged only in the last century.

**JEFF KING: How is Saudi Arabia spreading Wahhabi ideology and violence in the world? What mechanisms and structures are they using?**

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Basically, they go in and divide the Islamic community to set up a separate Wahhabi jamaat community to agitate against the established Muslims, to provoke family quarrels, to agitate against the other religions if they're present and then to train people in the military arts and arm them, and to provoke armed conflicts. They do this over and over again, even in Muslim countries.

King Abdullah came to power in 2005 and he doesn't like the Wahhabis and has wanted to limit and restrict them and abolish their religious monopoly in the kingdom. Abdullah has made efforts to reform the kingdom socially, but he hasn't been very successful because he's up against the Wahhabi clerics who are very powerful. He's up against thousands of Saudi princes and princesses who support Wahhabism, as well as other wealthy Saudi individuals and families. They support Wahhabism as an ideology for internal control within the country, but they also contribute to the spread of the *dawa* of Wahhabism to Sunni Muslims around the world. They essentially call Sunni Muslims around the world to accept Wahhabism, and they've been successful in some countries. They've been less successful in other countries, and even unsuccessful in some countries. But, they have tremendous [financial] resources and, with those resources, they accomplish a lot in terms of establishing their control over Sunni Muslims.

**JEFF KING: What is their strategy for expanding radical Islam?**

There are three strategies. There's the strategy for Muslim countries, there is [a] strategy for countries where there is a large Muslim population, and there is a strategy for countries with a small Muslim population.

In Muslim countries, they essentially come in and they begin distributing their literature and preaching that they are the only true and real Muslims. This is not an Islamic idea. In [Sufi] Islam we believe that at the end of time God will judge who is sincere and who

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was insincere according to their intentions. The argument that somebody is a true Muslim, or is a real Muslim, this is rare in [traditional] Islam.

But the whole argument—the argument from ibn Abd al-Wahhab—was that, in order to be a true Muslim, you have to follow his guidance and that you have to not only reject polytheism and the worship of idols, you have to get rid of all these practices in Islam like Sufism. This is all new; it's not part of classical Islam.

In countries where there are Muslims and non-Muslims living side by side, like India and Ethiopia, they attempt to provoke conflict between the Muslims and the non-Muslims (mainly the Hindus in India) in order to support their image of themselves as the great jihadists, the great warriors for Islam, the only real/true Muslims.

In a country where there is a small Muslim community, they really get away with a lot. The United States is a perfect example. Islam did not really emerge as a significant religion in the United States—that is not to say real Islam or true Islam, but authentic Islam (as opposed to a Black Muslim movement)—did not emerge in the United States until after the 1980s.

When it began to emerge in numbers it had no hierarchy, because you don't have a hierarchy in Sunnism. It had no apparatus, it had no organizations. [As a result], these Saudi-financed Wahhabi organizations like The Council on American-Islamic Relations, the Islamic Society in North America, and some Pakistani jihadist organizations like The Islamic Circle in North America, suddenly emerged. They set up, essentially, a [social/political] and religious apparatus for the Muslims in America. All of a sudden, the Muslims in America had organizations that claimed to speak for them.

A lot of this was in some part inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, but I think it's a mistake to think it was mainly a brotherhood operation because Arabs are actually a fairly small share of the

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Muslim population in America. The largest groups of born Muslims in America are South Asians from Pakistan and India, and they were more under the influence of Pakistani jihadism than of Arab Saudi Wahhabism. But, Pakistani jihadism and Sunni Wahhabism are based on the same concepts with very slight differences, but they have [both] been financed by Saudi Wahhabism.

They ended up creating a structure in the United States with Saudi money, South Asian functionaries, and Brotherhood literature, because most Americans, ordinary American Muslims or new Muslims, can't understand Wahhabi literature or Pakistani jihad literature. They don't understand it. Muslim Brotherhood literature is written much more simply and has much more of an appeal on the basis of being easy to understand.

**JEFF KING: That's a great explanation. When you look at global Wahhabism, are there structures/organizations, or one organization that controls the spread of Wahhabism?**

I don't think it's a single organization now. There was, under King Fahd, the previous king of Saudi, an organization called the Rabita [The Muslim World League] and they have/had branches. One of them was the International Islamic Relief Organization.

These organizations took the initiative and directed the spread of Wahhabism around the world, but with Abdullah in power—and with a lot of attention focused on these groups after 9/11—it seems to be more splintered now. It doesn't seem like there is a specific organization that is in charge of spreading Wahhabism around the world. It's just done by Wahhabi groups that get Saudi money and appear in different countries and have different names in different countries.

**JEFF KING: And that makes it very hard to control?**

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It's going to be hard to control unless Saudi King Abdullah can be convinced to turn off the money faucet. Like with communism: when the Soviets stopped giving money to communist parties around the world, the communist parties disappeared. In 1988, there were communist parties in almost every country in the world. Now there are almost none. Once the Soviets turned off the money tap, the [organizations died].

**JEFF KING: In your book, you mentioned CAIR (Council on American Islamic Relations), ISNA (Islamic Society of North America) and other Islamic organizations in the United States. Tell us about these organizations. What kinds of strategies do they use in order to exert their influence?**

Well, CAIR claims to be a civil liberties organization that exists to protect the rights of Muslims. But in fact, CAIR is a front for Hamas and it exists to spread Islamist ideology and spread the image that Muslims are victimized in the United States, that Muslims are in danger in the United States and have to protect themselves. It's a radical group; there is no question about it.

ISNA is a strange phenomenon, in that, a lot of young Muslims are cynical about it. They go to their annual meetings to meet the members of the opposite sex because it's easier than at home. Almost all the Muslim organizations have these wedding services or match up services, but the fact is that ISNA was founded by, and with the support of, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Saudi Wahhabis, and the Pakistani jihadis.

ISNA has always stood in defense of those groups, they have always acted along the same line as Professor Esposito and his group at Georgetown University, which is to defend and promote the ideas of radical Islam as the only Islam there is, as the authoritative voice of Islam.

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**JEFF KING: There are a number of well-known universities and academic institutions which are being funded by Saudi money. Is this correct, and what are the ramifications?**

They receive Saudi money, yes. I will give you the one example which is the most infamous example: the situation of Georgetown University. Georgetown received a lot of Saudi money. They established The Center for Muslim Christian Understanding, they [the Saudis] support the work of Professor John Esposito, and he is an upfront, un-apologizing or unrepentant apologist for radical Islam and for Wahhabism in particular.

He brags about how often he visits Saudi and how proud he is of the Saudi connection between Georgetown and Saudi Arabia. If you look at the work that comes out of Georgetown, inspired by Esposito and people close to him, it is clear that the work is intended to support radical Islam and the position of Saudi Arabia. There is no question about it. It is to whitewash Wahhabism and make Wahhabism sound as if it doesn't exist, it's not a problem, it's reformed, or various other claims they make in order to basically deny the existence of radical Islam.

Now, with the Obama administration, we're in a period where basically the administration is denying the existence of radical Islam. Radical Islam isn't a problem because it doesn't exist!

**JEFF KING: So, what do you think is the goal? Is it to indoctrinate the younger generation with the idea that there is no Wahhabism?**

Rather, it is that there's just one Islam and the Sunni radicals define Islam.

**JEFF KING: How many mosques in the United States are under control of the Saudis/Wahhabism?**

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Well, there are twelve hundred mosques in the US [getting accurate numbers is very difficult], but in 2010, at least 800 or 900 of them [were] under Saudi influence, Saudi control.

**JEFF KING: How do they exert control, and do they plant imams at these mosques?**

They control them through the North American Islamic Trust, which is part of the Islamic Society in North America. [In regards to planting imams], yes, when they build mosques, they train the imams and they send imams from abroad, from Saudi. Imams are either trained in Saudi or trained in Yemen, or trained in other countries with radical ideology and then sent as imams. A lot of them are also from Pakistan and even India.

**JEFF KING: That's frightening but a few people like you [and other Muslims] are speaking out against this. How effective are you?**

Some of us are speaking out and some of us are effective. I mean, the fact that you're even having this interview with me shows that we have some effect, but we're very isolated and it's very difficult. In the United States, the moderate Muslims who are speaking out against Wahhabism are rare, that's the reality.

**JEFF KING: What about the government of the United States? In terms of dialogue, are they talking more with moderates or with the Wahhabi?**

Under the Obama administration, the position of the government of the United States is that they want to talk to the radicals. They want dialogue with the radicals; they want dialogue with the extremists in Afghanistan. They want to pretend there is no such thing as radical Islam and any problems that exist can be handled through negotiation, through talking, and money.

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**JEFF KING: Another thing that you mention in your book is your experience in the Balkans, how the Muslims there are being infiltrated by the Wahhabis. How much the Wahhabis are expanding there. Tell us a little bit about what methods they are using to expand.**

Money, money!! People in the Balkans are poor. People in the Balkans came out of communism and they came out of a horrible war, series of wars. They're poor. The European Union has not done [anything] to help them rebuild or reconstruct their society. Being that they're poor and the West has done little to help them reconstruct, [this is more in Bosnia than Kosovo] the Islamic elite are susceptible to bribery; they're susceptible to money and the Saudis bring money. But, of course, there is something attached to the money: and that they have to have the right to preach Wahhabism. They've built mosques in Bosnia, and they install Wahhabi imams there, and they use the Saudi-built mosques in Bosnia to spread Wahhabism. But it's always money.

Extremism without money remains obscure and nobody ever hears about it. All forms of radicalism, extremism, revolutionism, communism, socialism, Wahhabism—if it weren't for the money, you'd never hear about it.

**JEFF KING: You know we work on behalf of persecuted Christians. We get continual reports of: violence against Christians, imprisonment, even killings of Christians (especially those who convert to Christianity from Islam). There are laws that relegate non-Muslims in general to second class citizens in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, to mention a few. We get reports of persecution continually. What's your take on that? I mean, as a Muslim, how do you deal with that?**

Well, I'm opposed to persecuting anybody over anything having to do with religion. Religion is a matter of private conscience. People follow the religion they follow because God has chosen them to do

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that, and I'm against any Muslim's interference of anybody's choice of religion. If people go out of Islam, no—very few religions are happy when people become apostates, you have to understand that.

**JEFF KING: That's true.**

Everybody has that. Christians don't like it when Christians become Muslims. Jews don't like it when Jews become Muslims or Christians. Every religion resents its people leaving the religion, but it's one thing to say you disagree with it, with their action, and it's another thing to promote violence or some sort of legal sanctions against them. If people are going out of Islam to other religions, my answer is, then, let's make Islam better. That's a sensible answer. Otherwise, I respect the individual choices people make since I made an individual choice myself, and I don't support any action to discriminate against anybody on basis of religion. I'm opposed to it, and I think the role of Sufis is to protect non-Muslims who are under attack by Muslims, by radical Muslims. But one has to admit that the issue of apostasy is not a simple issue. What we need in Islam is we need a debate about this. We need a debate about what it really is, what it means. We have to redefine the terms of all of this. We can't let the terms on this debate be set by radicals.

We have to find a way to make real the statements in the Qur'an that Jews and Christians who are sincere in their belief have nothing to fear in the last day and will be rewarded. We have to respect that Muslims are commanded to show [respect] towards Christians and Jews; we have to make that real.

Now, the question of Muslims who leave the religion, as I say, this is not a major problem in most of Islamic history. It's not commented on in most of Islamic history. But, we have to have a different attitude about this and we have to recognize that in the modern world people make choices just as at all times people make choices. It would be interesting to research cases of Muslims who became

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Christians in the past because I know that it did happen. In the Ottoman Empire there were families where it was unclear whether they were Christian, Muslim or both, frankly. All of this history and all of this debate has to be carried out within the Muslim community, but the first thing is that nobody should be subjected to violence or legal sanction because of their religious choices.

**JEFF KING: Also in your book, you described Wahhabi funding the makers and importing of bombers in Palestine. As we know, the majority of the hijackers during 9/11 were Saudis. So, there is a very clear link between Wahhabism and terrorism?**

Absolutely! The Wahhabi apparatus that was emanating from Saudi Arabia at the time of 9/11. I mean, bin Laden [was] a Saudi and bin Laden didn't create al-Qaeda to advance Islam. He created al-Qaeda, in my view, to prevent social change in Saudi Arabia by proving to the world that if anybody tried to limit the Wahhabis they would have to deal with very violent, brutal people. I always say that 9/11 wasn't aimed at America or Israel; it was aimed at the Muslims. It was an illustration to Muslims to show the brutality and the lengths to which the Wahhabis were willing to go.

**JEFF KING: So, what is the solution then for Wahhabism? Is there any? Because this looks like it's a danger for the peace and security of the world.**

[There is a] very simple solution. King Abdullah should cut off all money going to foreign Wahhabi [preaching/evangelism]. He should break the relationship between the royal family and the house of ibn Abd al-Wahhabi. He should [have said] that Wahhabism is no longer the state religion, that Muslims are free to follow any form of Islam they want, and that all religions are free because about a quarter of the population in Saudi Arabia are foreign workers, millions of whom are Christians. So the fact that there is no right to build Christian churches in Saudi Arabia is absurd. I mean, it's anti-Islamic.

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Christians living in Saudi Arabia should have the right to have their own churches. You know, all the other countries around there [what the Saudis call the crescent of normality]—from Kuwait, Jordan, and even Iraq now, all the way down through Yemen—have Christian churches. There are even some Jewish synagogues.

The fact that [building of churches] is not permitted in Saudi, this is not Islamic. This is a new thing that the Wahhabis invented. Because, there were Jews living in what's now Saudi Arabia until the 1950s, and there is a Christian cemetery in Jeddah, an old Christian cemetery, and there is a Christian church in Jeddah, though it's not used as a church now.

It's very simple. King Abdullah should say, "Wahhabism is no longer a state religion in this country. We'll no longer allow any money to go to finance international radicalism by Wahhabis," and that that will be it. It will be just like it was when the Soviet Union stopped being communist. With an end to the flow of money, the phenomenon will end. The phenomenon will decline very quickly.

Now, there is a fact and I've said this elsewhere, radical Islam is more volatile than communism was. When communism collapsed, it was psychologically exhausted. That isn't true with Wahhabism. Wahhabism is still violent, and it still has an appeal to certain types of people. It still has this appeal of planning, and it's the purest form of [perceived Islamic] response. So, cutting off the money won't get rid of the problem completely, but it will certainly diminish the problem.

**JEFF KING: One of the challenges in dealing with Saudi Arabia is the relationship between the Saudi royal family/government and the United States. What is your suggestion for the United States government in general and to United States citizens in positively influencing Saudi Arabia?**

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I think that the only thing that one can say about the present situation of the US government is that the Obama administration has to change its direction, has to stop playing this absurd game of pretending that there's no such thing as radical Islam. [It] has to take a position like that of the Bush administration, that we are opposed to the spread of radical Islam, and the United States has to tell the Saudis, "We want to be your friends, but we want to have a transparent relationship where terrorism is not a side effect of the friendship."

I think King Abdullah would respond to that, but the problem is President Obama won't do it. But that's what Americans can do. Focus attention on Saudi Arabia. Write about it, read about it, pay attention to what's going on there, and demand that the US take a critical position on everything that's wrong with Saudi Arabia.

**JEFF KING: Coming back to the book in general, what message do you intend to convey in your book *The Two Faces of Islam*?**

My intention is to establish that the majority of Muslims in the world are moderate – they're not radical, they're not violent, they are not jihadists. They do not want to engage in conflict with their neighbors who are not Muslims or with their neighbors who are Muslims. And that people in the West, people who are not Muslims, should do everything they can to help the moderate Muslims and to support the Sufis, the moderate Sunnis, the moderate Shias, and other Muslims who want to defeat radicalism.

But one cannot deny that radicalism, right now, seems to have gotten a new life, because the Obama administration and Western European powers—when they say they want to get out of Afghanistan, when they say that can't win the war in Afghanistan, when they're passive about the threat of the fall of Pakistan—they are encouraging the growth, expansion, and rise of radicalism.

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**JEFF KING:** We want to challenge your thesis of *The Two Faces of Islam*. Overwhelmingly, Muslims take the Qur'an to be the direct word of God and the source of Islam in general. What are you going to do with violent verses which are used by the Wahhabis and others to justify violence, to justify radical thinking—I'm sure you know some of them.

I would rather have a copy of Qur'an here if we're going to discuss it. Maybe we can do that in a separate interview, but the point is we believe that the verses that the Wahhabis and other radicals use to justify their activities are taken out of context. That all the verses have—all of the verses that are used to justify the alleged jihad of the radicals—have other verses that balance them out.

For example, the verse which says "*Let there be no compulsion in religion (Qur'an 2:256),*" has a famous verse that says: "*Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.*" (Qur'an 9:29)

Well, no country in the world actually charges the jizya tax today. The jizya tax does not exist today, there is not one country in the world that has [it]. Saudi Arabia doesn't have it. I think the thing is, there are things that applied earlier in Islamic history, and we can say now don't apply in Islamic history. I mean, the Qur'an is a book open to interpretation; we can interpret it. We can interpret how to apply it, and I think we should apply it in a manner that lessens conflict and promotes conciliation (see author's note, p. 173).

I'm not going to use a stupid cliché about Islam being a religion of peace. Islam will be a religion of peace if the Muslims make it a religion of peace. Now, as far as the Qur'an goes, it's God's word, but we can interpret it. We do interpret it; we don't take it literally. Literalism doesn't actually, doesn't exist today. It disappeared in

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Islam a long time ago. Even the Wahhabis take themselves on an interpretation. They stress certain verses; we stress other verses.

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