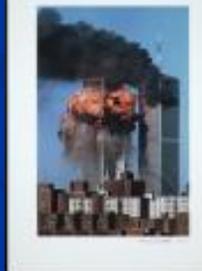
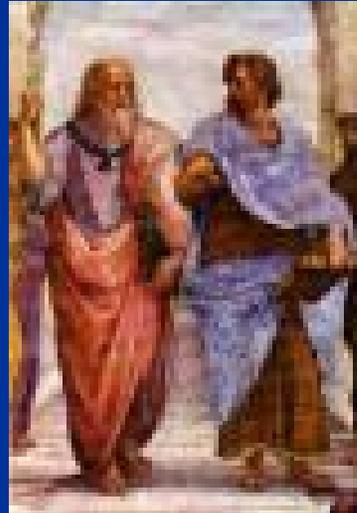
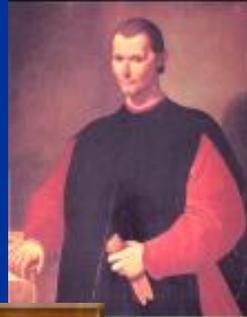
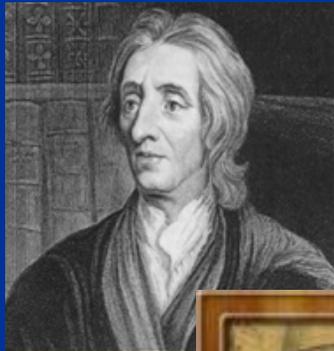
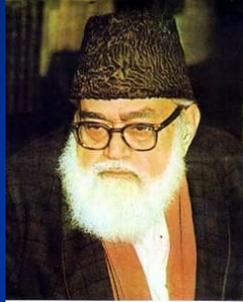
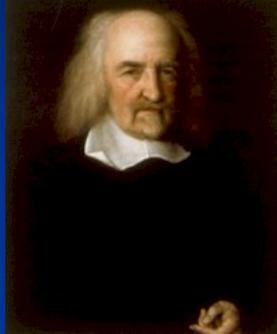
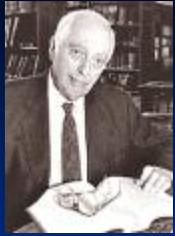


# Winning the Peace: Lesson 14

## Western Liberalism, Political Islam, and the Justice Claim



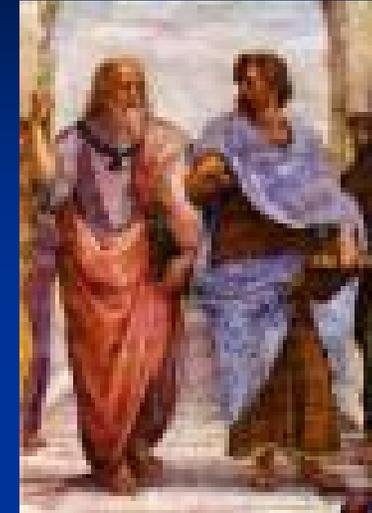
MAJ John Gallagher

MAJ John Gallagher / [john.gallagher@us.army.mil](mailto:john.gallagher@us.army.mil)  
USMA Dept of Social Sciences FEB 2006

# Agenda – DAY 1 of 2

- **Political Philosophy – Always a Hypothesis**

- **Political Philosophy to Public Policy...**
- **Religion and Politics**
- **Justness and Human Flourishing**
- **Social Sciences vs. Physical Sciences**
- **Globalization: Public Policy and Justness**



- **“Plato to NATO”**

- **Western Liberalism**
- **Claims of Western Universalism**

- **Islam**

- **The religion**
- **Golden Age**
- **Ibn Taymiyyah and Political Islam**



# Agenda – DAY 2 of 2

## • Political Islam

- Founding Figures Con'd
- Strategic and Political Goals
- Military Innovation / Capability
- Passion and Support of the People
- Leadership and the Justice Claim

## • The West

- Strategic and Political Goals
- Military Innovation / Capability
- Passion and Support of the People
- Leadership and the Justice Claim

## • Implications

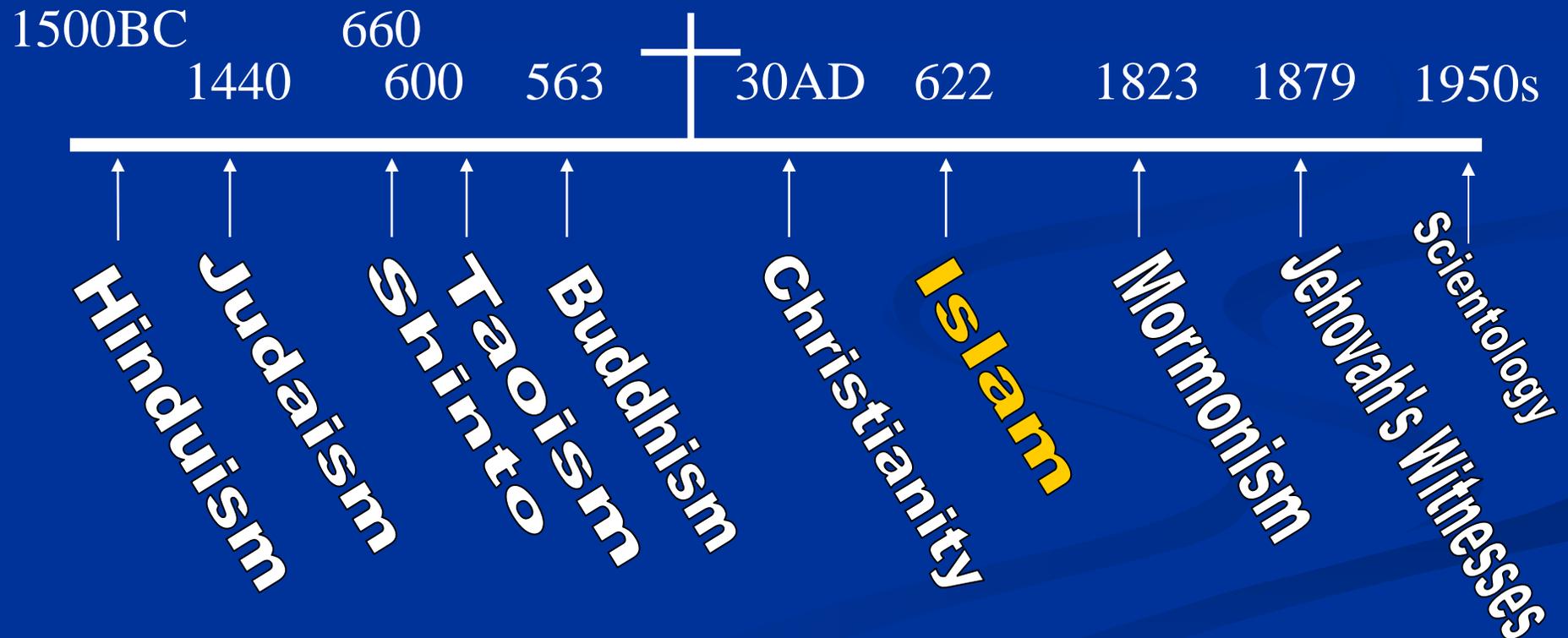
- Counterinsurgency
- Iraq
- The Way Ahead



# ...Political Philosophy to Public Policy...

- Comprehensive doctrine about social organization
- Political = polity: Leading collective lives
- Division of labor, specialization of function
- “Version of events”—religion and politics (falsifiable?)
- Political legitimacy
- Relationship between justice, political philosophy, political institutions, public policy, political conflict, public violence, war
- HYPOTHESIS, validation, universalism?

# Chronology of World Religions



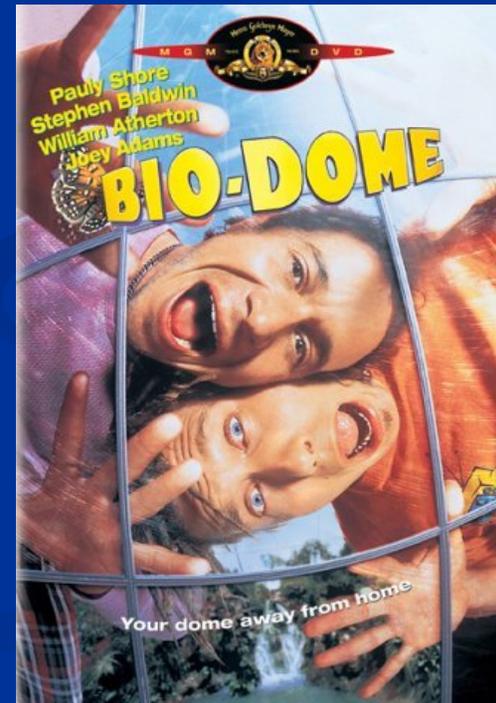
**Coherent vs. compelling / Market Behavior (GIP p14)**

# Social Sciences v. Physical Sciences

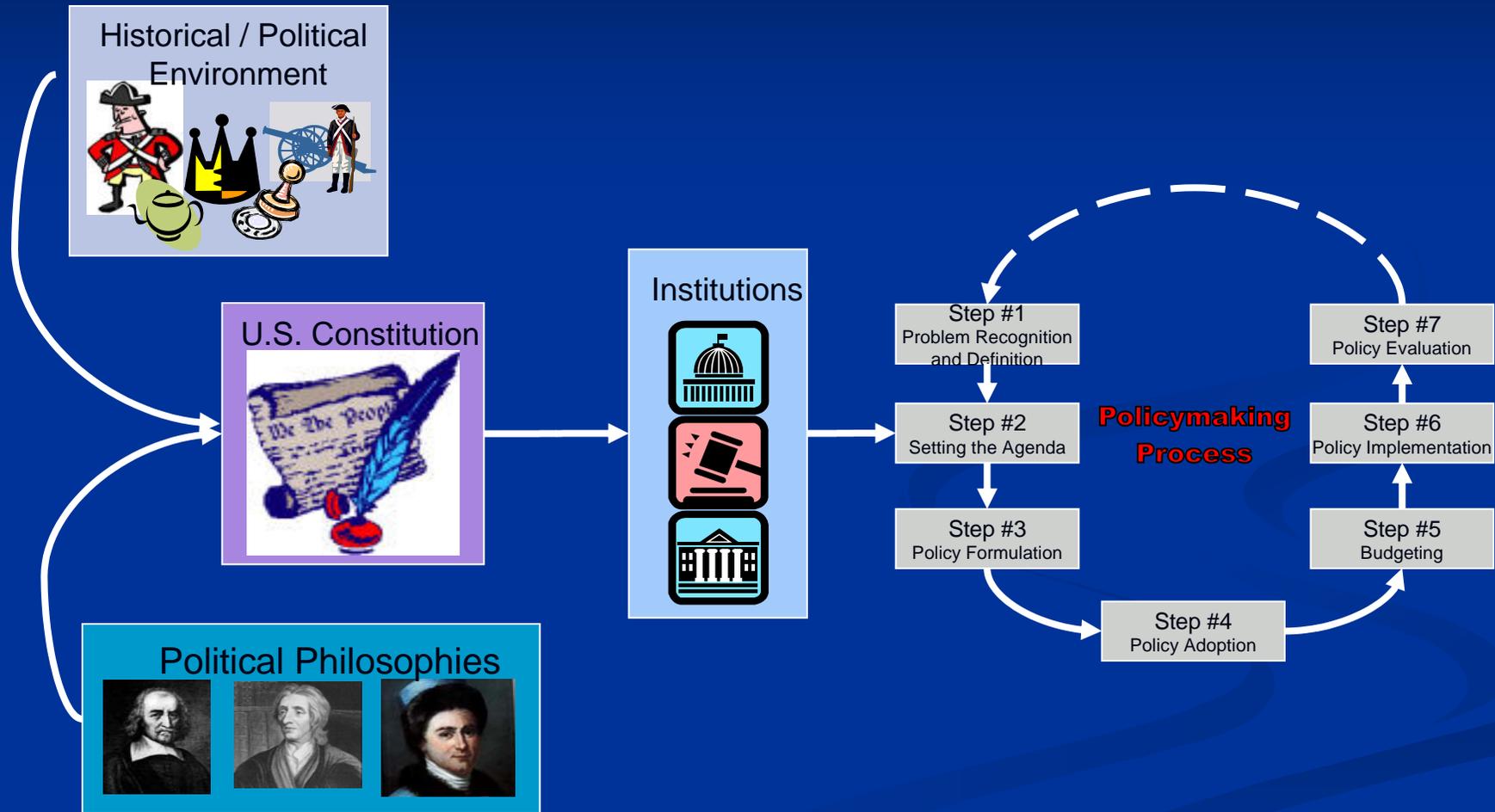
- Philosophy, social ordering, institutions, public policy
- Hypotheses, independent/dependent variables
- Control and testing
- $r^2$ , correlation, causation
- Bio Dome

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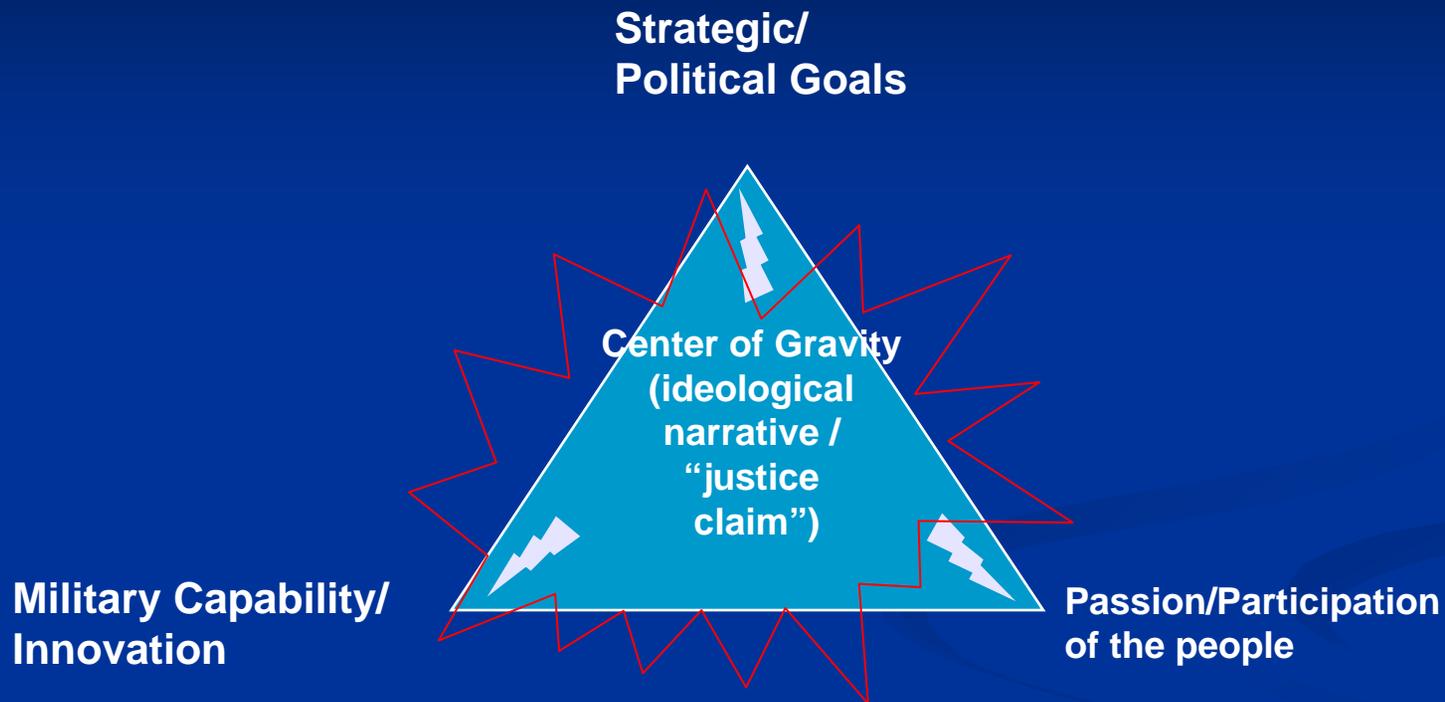
• Globalization: Policy and Justness



# Political Philosophy to Public Policy



# One theoretical framework



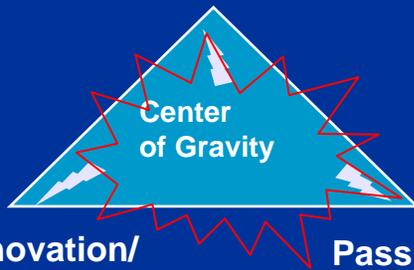
- Center of gravity exists where there is a *unity or interdependence* among the enemy's strengths, exerting a decisive influence over all other parts of the network
- Ideological narrative provides justification and purpose for political goals, popular support, and “military” capability / innovation / violence
- Leadership has decisive influence on manipulation / resonance of claim (names of terrorist movements / organizations 22b)

# One theoretical framework

*Relationship between justice, political philosophy, public policy, political conflict, public violence, war*

## Political Islam

Strategic/  
political goals

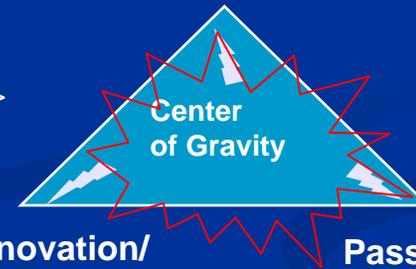


Military Innovation/  
Capability

Passion/Support  
of the people

## U.S. / Security Policy

Strategic/  
political goals



Military Innovation/  
Capability

Passion/Support  
of the people



Interests  
Threats  
Strategy  
Forces

National Security Strategy/  
US Security Policy

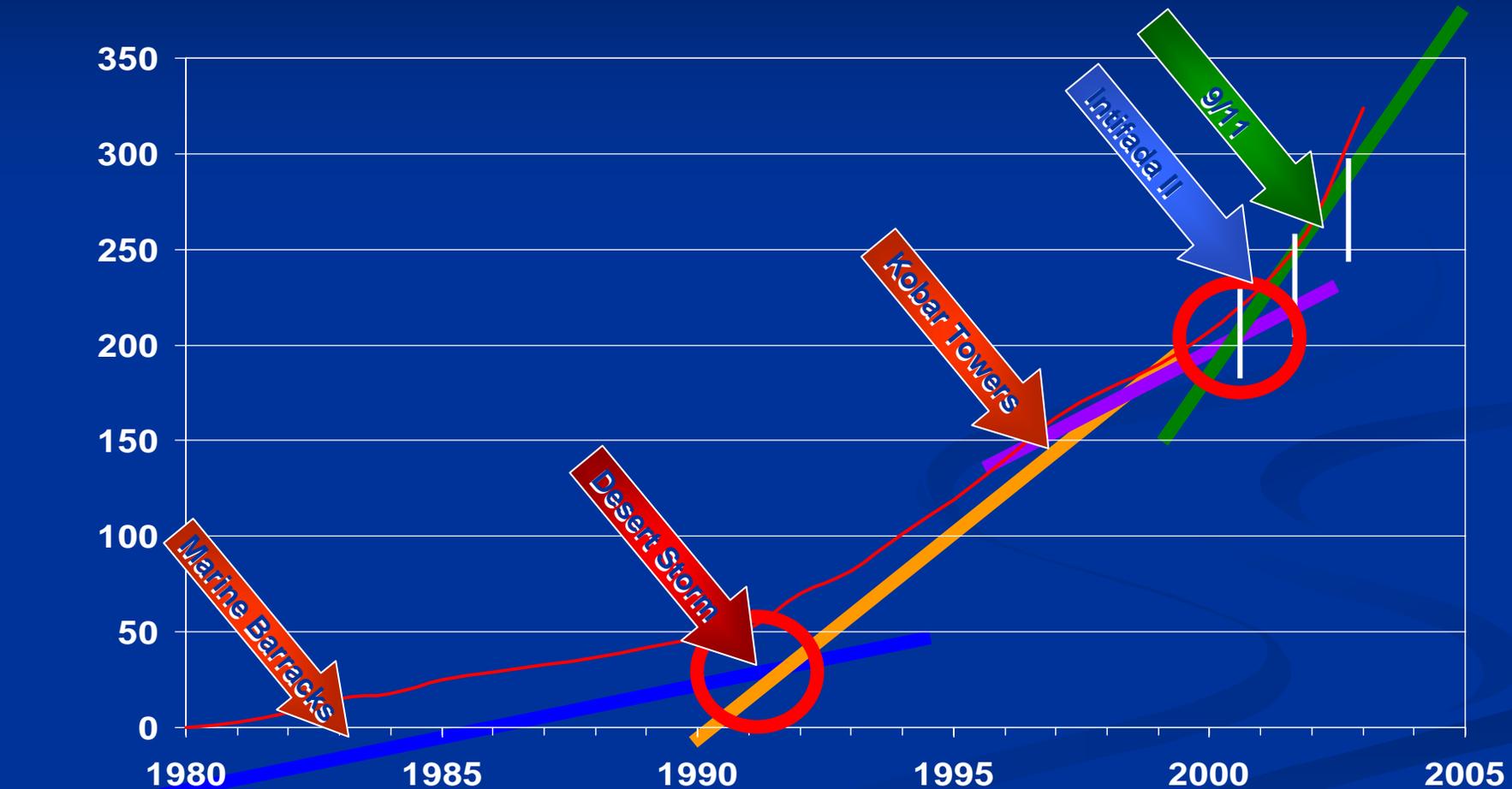
# Definition of suicide terrorism

Intentionally killing oneself for the purpose of killing others, in the service of a political or ideological goal

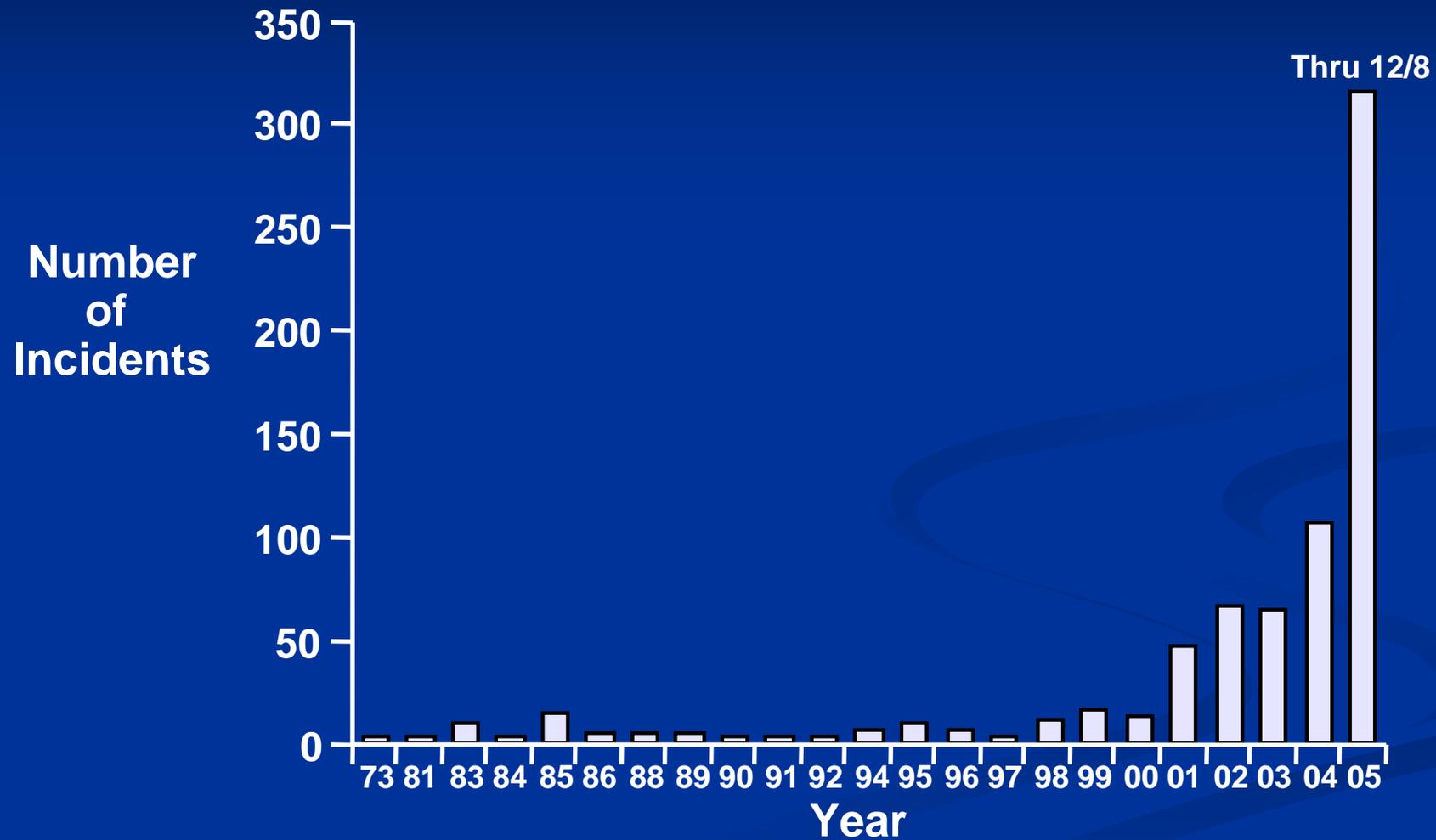
## To be distinguished from:

- High-risk missions
- Fooled couriers
- Suicide – without homicide – for a political cause

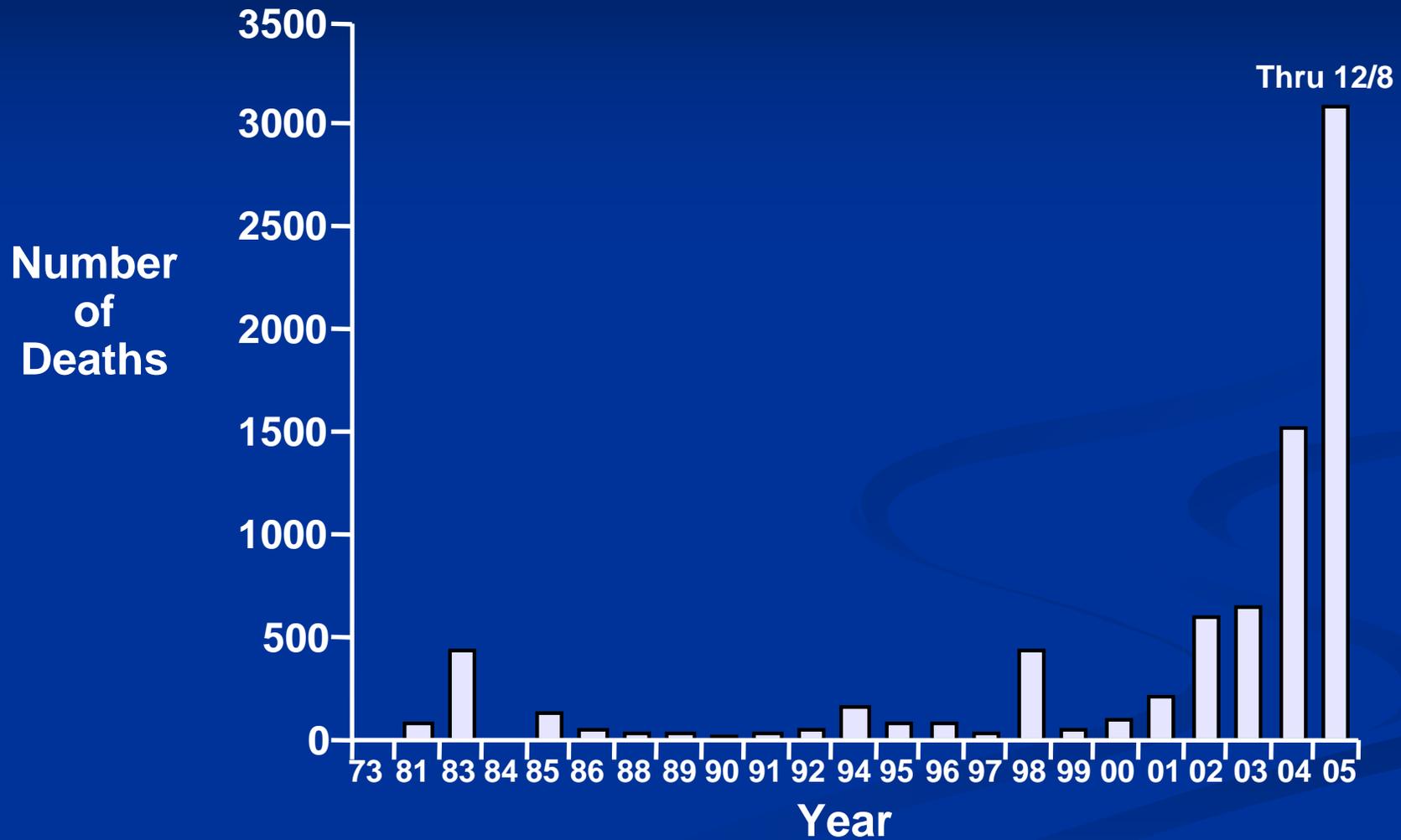
# What's The Trend?



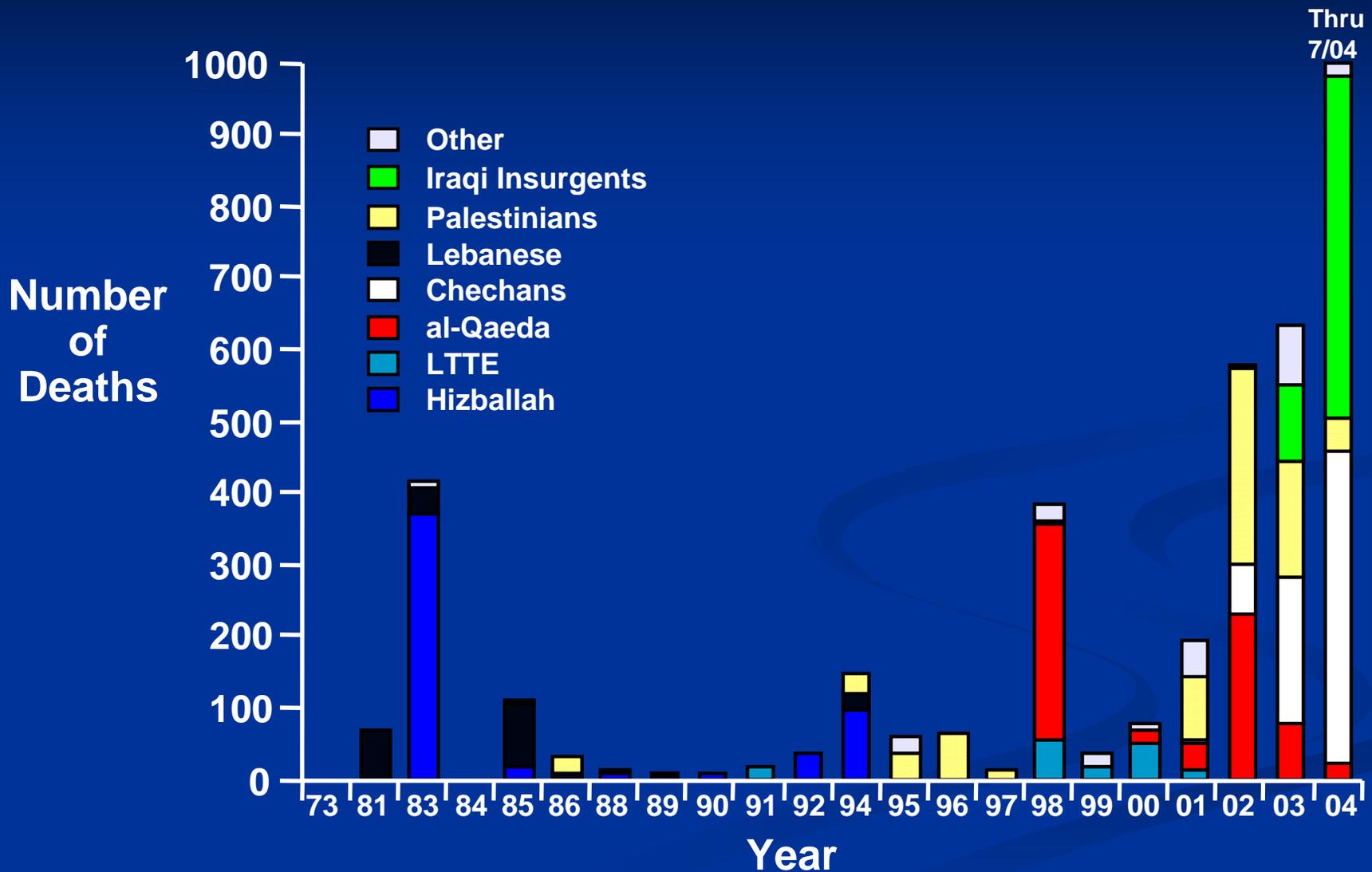
# Over Past Few Years, Suicide Attacks Have Grown in Frequency

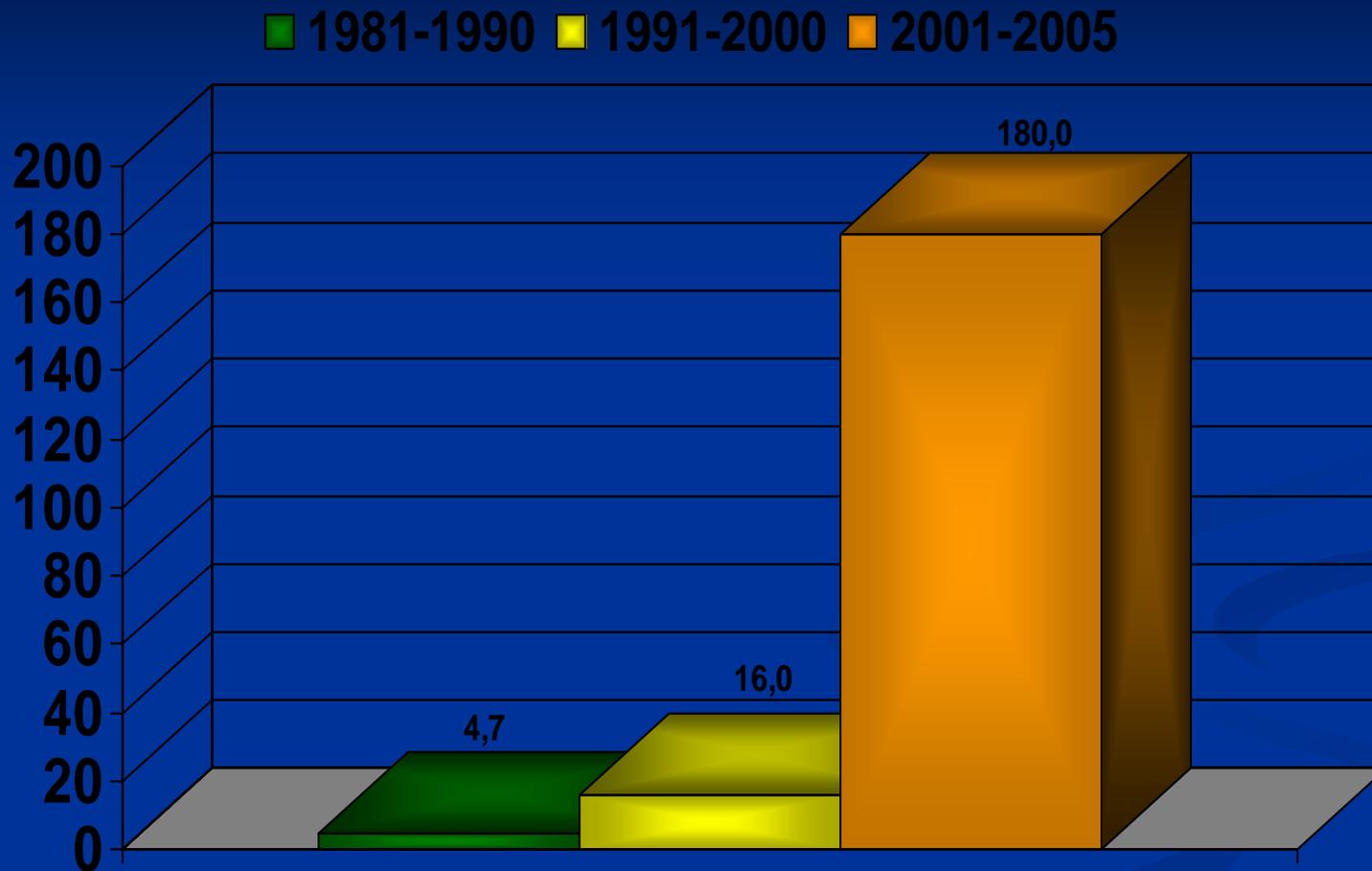


## Over Past Few Years, Suicide Attacks Have Grown in Frequency **and Lethality**



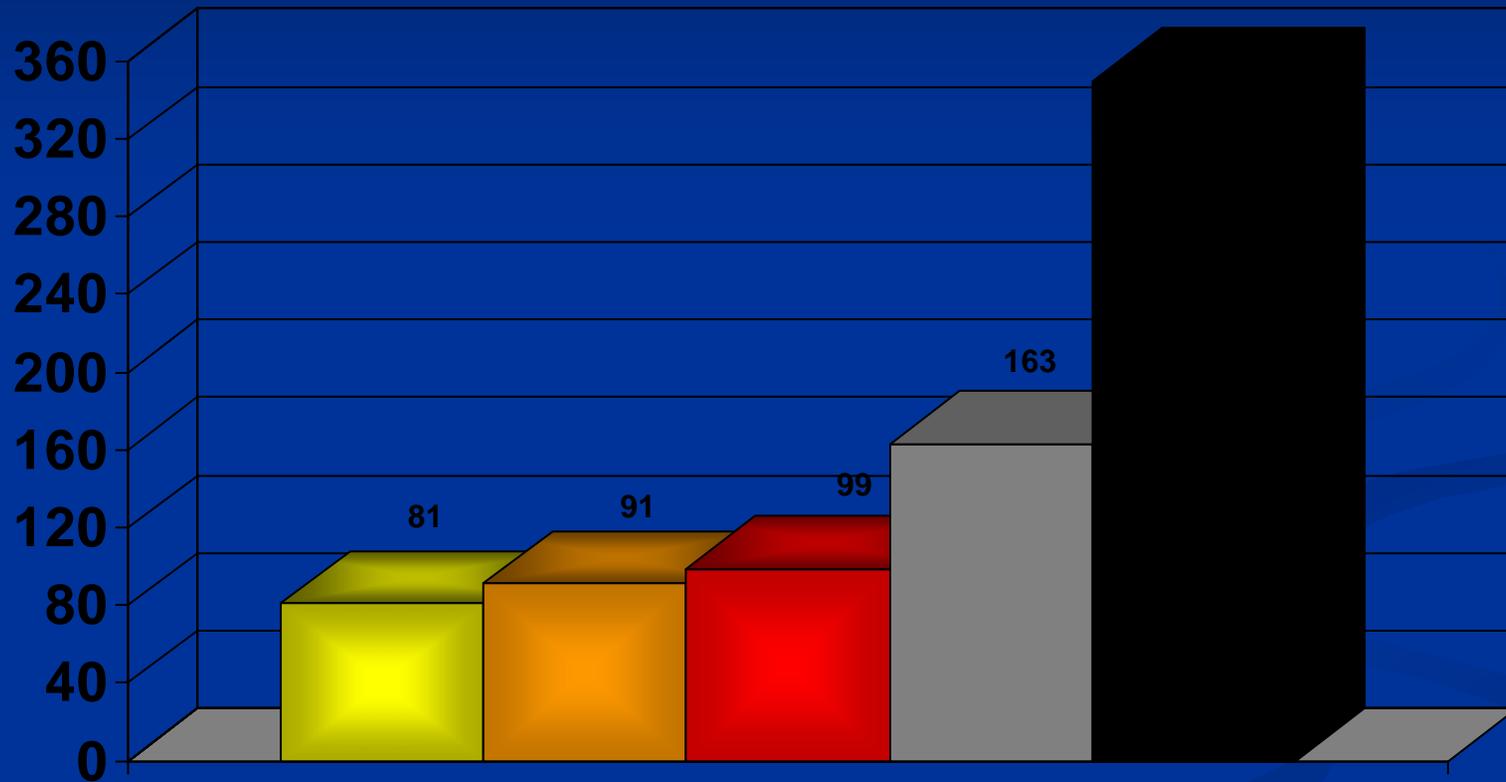
# Over Past Few Years, Suicide Attacks Have Grown in Frequency **and Lethality**





**Suicide Attacks Worldwide, Annualized  
(By Decade)**

■ 2001 ■ 2002 ■ 2003 ■ 2004 ■ 2005



**Suicide Attacks Worldwide : 2001 -- 2005**

# Trends: 1980s

- Lebanon
- Kuwait
- Sri Lanka



# Trends: 1990-2006



- Israel
- India
- Pakistan
- Yemen
- Algeria
- Chechnya
- Kenya
- Tanzania
- Panama
- Argentina
- Croatia
- Australia
- Turkey
- Russia
- Morocco
- Indonesia
- Saudi Arabia
- Afghanistan
- Indonesia
- Spain
- U.K.
- U.S.

# Who's Responsible?

Year	Hizbollah	Lebanese	Palestinian	LTTE	al-Qaeda	Chechans	Iraqi Insurgent	Other	Total
1973			1/0						1/0
1981		1/61							1/61
1983	4/367	2/39						1/2	7/408
1984	1/0								1/0
1985	2/16	9/87	1/2					1/0	13/105
1986		1/8	1/19						2/27
1988	1/7	1/1							2/8
1989	2/3		1/1						3/4
1990	1/1								1/1
1991				1/13					1/13
1992	1/29								1/29
1994	1/96	1/21	3/25						5/142
1995			5/37					2/18	7/55
1996			5/60						5/60
1997			1/7						1/7
1998			2/3	4/56	2/301			1/16	9/416
1999				3/16				11/15	14/31
2000				5/49	2/18			3/5	10/72
2001			25/88	3/13	4/38	2/3		10/46	44/188
2002			58/272		4/228	1/72		3/2	64/574
2003			22/164		8/76	12/203	15/106	5/79	62/628
2004			15/67		18/268	9/437	44/649	18/78	104/1499
2005		1/20	11/35		130/1800	3/2	127/1071	41/146	313/3074
<b>Total</b>	<b>13/519</b>	<b>16/237</b>	<b>151/780</b>	<b>16/147</b>	<b>168/2729</b>	<b>27/717</b>	<b>186/1826</b>	<b>96/403</b>	<b>593/7362</b>

# Trends: 1980s-2006

Worldwide use of suicide terror has *grown exponentially* over the last two decades

“It is gaining in strategic importance with disruptive effects that cascade upon the political, economic and social routines of national life and international relations.”

# Trends: 1980s-2006

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# It's Effective

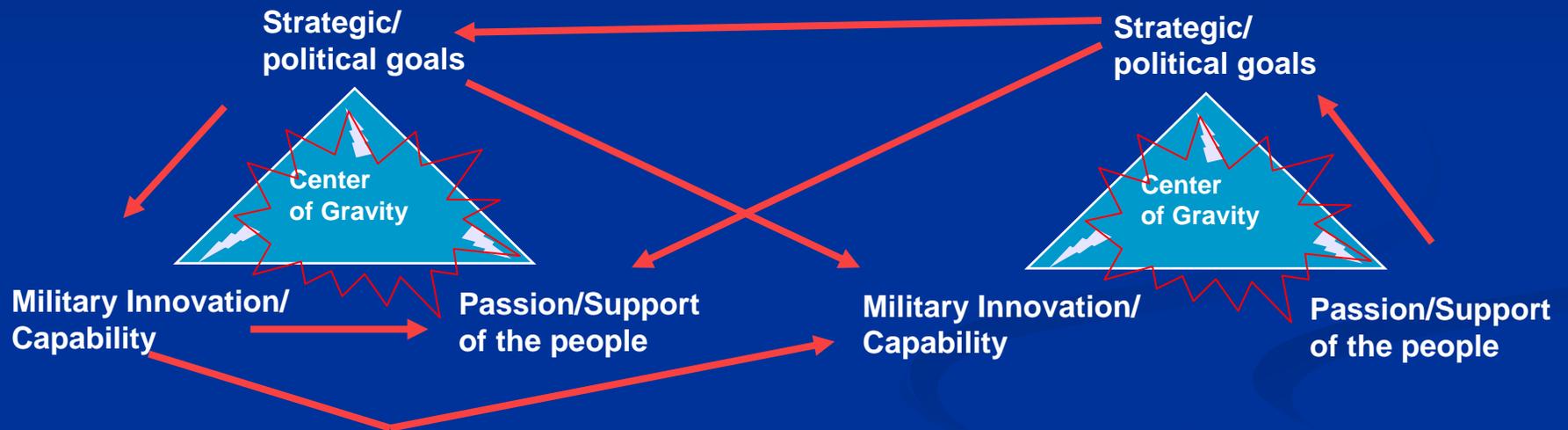
Why? Because terrorists have learned that it works.

- Israel: 0.5% of attacks, 56% of fatalities.
- Gets more media coverage than most other forms of attack
- U.S.: 9/11 – **10 times more deadly than any previous terrorist attack in history.**
  - Suicide aspect of 9/11 attacks was essential to success and stunning impact

# One theoretical framework

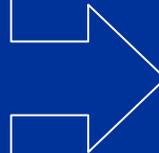
Political Islam

U.S. / Security Policy



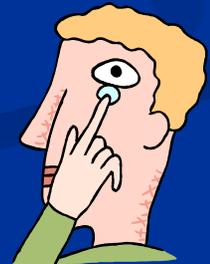
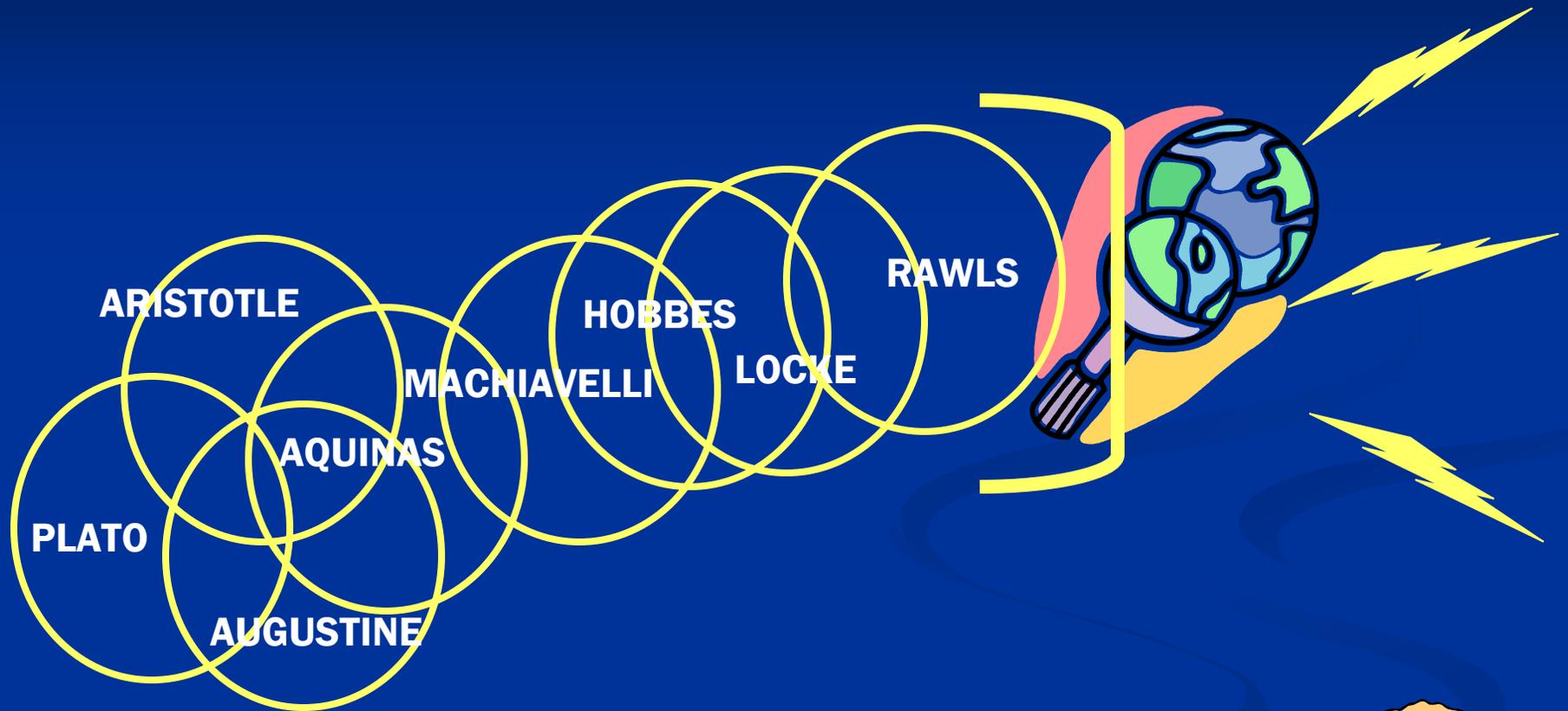
## INTERACTION

- Political
- Economic
- Military
- Cultural
- Technological



GLOBALIZATION

# WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY



# Reminder: Political Philosophy to Public Policy

*A political philosophy advocates a social organization—a distribution of society's benefits and burdens / privileges and obligations—in a way that the people perceive as just and promotes human flourishing (civic peace, economic and physical security, etc.).*

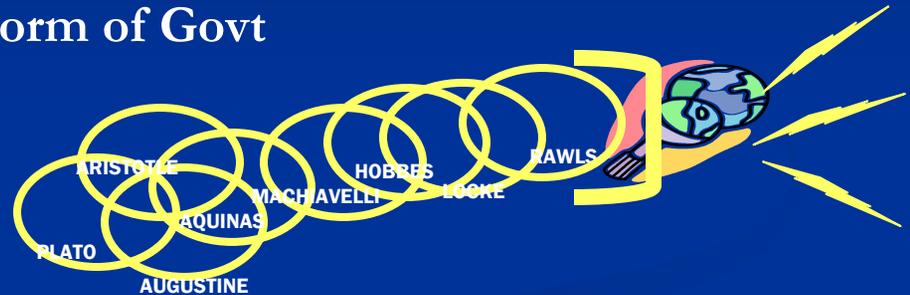
*It is a hypothesis: If CONDITION, then OUTCOME. It's social science, so it's hard to control and falsify.*

*There is an unbreakable relationship between justice, political philosophy, political institutions, public policy, political conflict, public violence, war.*

*What happens when such a hypothesis seems to be validated—to deliver the outcome it suggests?*

# “Plato to NATO”

- **Socrates, Plato, Aristotle: Political Philosophy, Reason**
- **Augustine, Aquinas: Christianization of Plato / Aristotle**
- **Machiavelli: Renaissance and Power**
- **Hobbes, Locke: Social Contract, Form of Govt**
- **Enlightenment**
- **Revolutions – French, American**
- **Napoleon, Empire and Expansion**
- **U.S. Constitution**
- **Industrial Revolution – attitude and ethic**
- **World War II**
- **UN, NATO, Soviet Union collapse**
- **National Security Strategy, Claims of Western Universalism**
- **Self interest or liberty and justice?**



# Western Universalism (?)

“The great struggles of the twentieth century between liberty and totalitarianism ended with a decisive victory for the forces of freedom—and a **single sustainable model for national success**: freedom, **democracy**, and free enterprise.”

-President Bush in the NSS  
Sep. 17, 2002

## Democratization Hypothesis?

If what, then what?

# National Security Strategy

## -Interests

Physical and Economic security/prosperity

## -Threats

Great power war, rogue states, non-state actors

## -Strategy

Primacy, selective engagement, cooperative security, neo-isolationism

## -Forces

Forces and resources to execute the strategy

## Democratization Hypothesis?

If what, then what?

# Islam → Political Islam

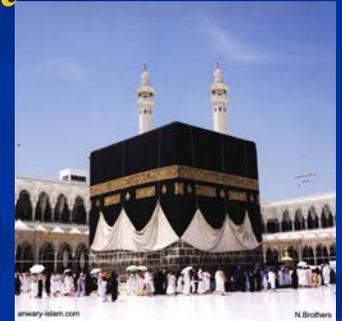
- Pre-Islam Arabs
- Mohammed – “One God”
- 5 pillars
  - Professing faith (regarding God and Mohammed, his prophet)
  - Multiple times of prayer each day (five times is customary)
  - Giving to the poor
  - Fasting during Ramadan
  - Making the journey to Mecca once in one’s lifetime (if able)
- Kabah/Mecca (Abraham, Hagar, Ishmael / Sarah, Isaac)
- Mecca to Medina
- Hijrah 622ad – Birth of Islam





# Medina – “city of the prophet”

- M’s uncle dies, no allies in Mecca, Hijrah in 622
- True beginning of Islam
- Yethrab invites M to arbitrate, they rename the town
- Forces in Mecca still seek M’s death
- 624 Battle of Badr; Clashes at Medina persist
- 10k man army led by M seizes Mecca
- M shows mercy to Mecca
- Islam spreads rapidly from Morocco/Spain in West to China and India in East



# Death of Mohammed--Caliphs

- M dies in 632 after a brief illness; not a long period of sickness
- Competition for role of first Caliph
  - Bakr, father in law and Ali, cousin and son-in-law
  - Shi'a believe in Ali as rightful successor
  - Sunni believe in election and thus Abu Bakr
- Bakr to 634, Umar to 644, Uthman to 656, Ali to 661
- Then Mauwiyya to 680 (of Umayyid (Sunni) dynasty lasting to 750)
- Yazid his son to 683—Umayyid Dynasty continues...
- Ali's son Husayn (or Hussein) NOT selected—killed at battle of Karbala

# Abbasids and Islam's Golden Age

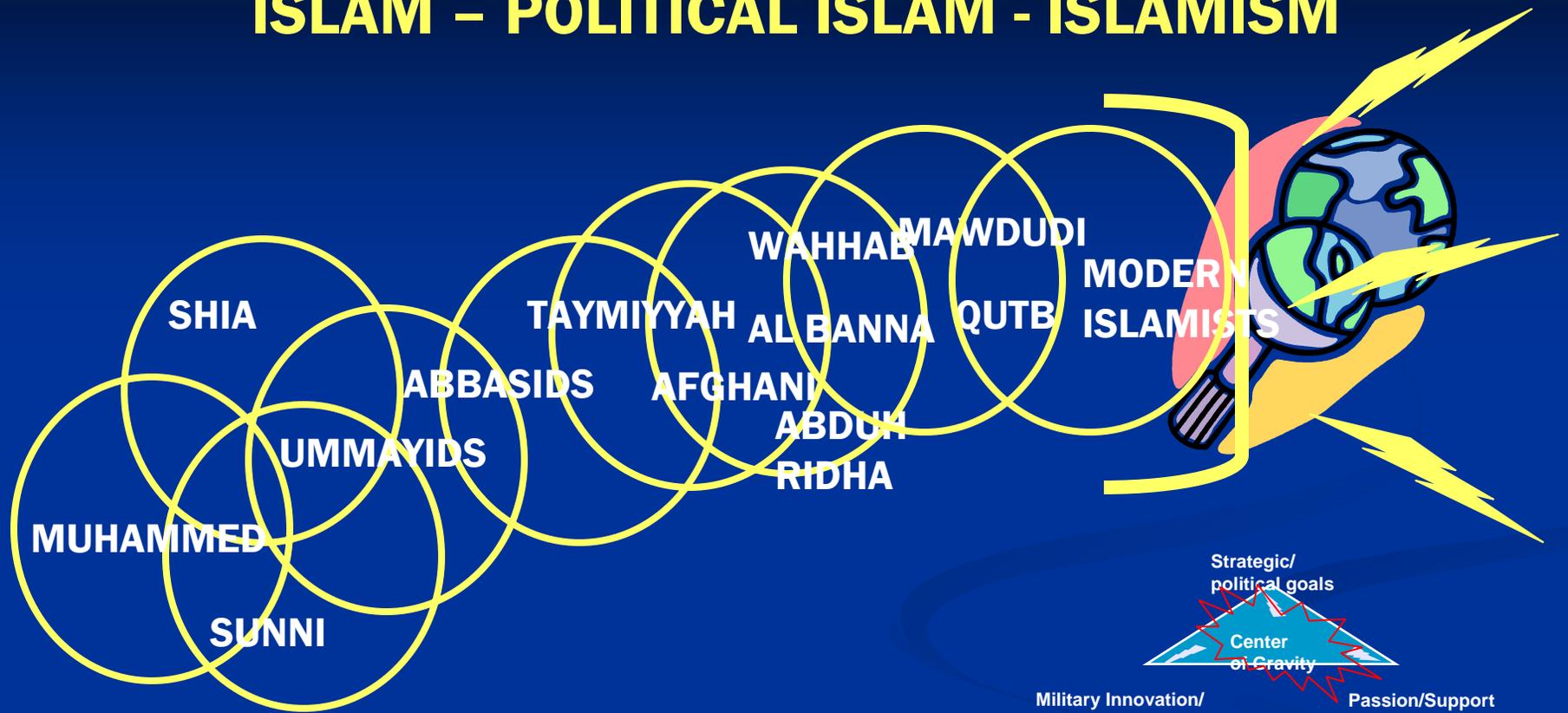
- By 750, the Ummayyid dynasty collapses to the Abbasids (of Baghdad)
- Abbasids are considered descendants of M's uncle
- Abbasids align with Sunni teachings later (85% of Muslim world are Sunni)
- Abbasids bring texts, writings translated into Arabic
- Persian wisdom literature, king's conduct, etc.
- Greek philosophy, natural sciences
- Baghdad, capital of Islamic world, thrives in poetry, architecture, science, philosophy—algebra, exponents, calculus, trigonometry—medicine using advanced surgical techniques
- Christendome is in dark ages, bloodletting and exorcism
- 11<sup>th</sup> century—Crusades begin as routes get cut off to Jerusalem



# End of the Abbasid Dynasty / Ibn Taymiyyah

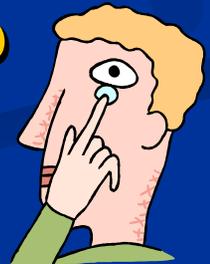
- 1258 – Defeat of Abbasids/Caliphate in Baghdad by Mongols
- Taymiyyah (1268 – 1328) considered Medina ideal Muslim community – purity
- Communities since have become impure, less worthy of God's favor
- Though Mongols had converted to Islam, they were Apostates
- Upheld Yasa codes of law established under Ghengis Kahn, not Sharia
- Issued Fatwa = Violence permitted against apostate political rulers
- Taymiyyah—one of the most influential on modern Islamist movement
- Become more devout = return to dominance and flourishing
- OR modernize, liberalize as per the West...?

# ISLAM – POLITICAL ISLAM - ISLAMISM



## Revolutionary Hypothesis?

If what, then what?



## Islamist Narrative – Key Sentiments (Qutb)

“Throughout every period of human history the call toward God has had one nature. Its purpose is 'Islam', which means to bring human beings into submission to God, to free them from servitude to other human beings so that they may devote themselves to the One True God, to deliver them from the clutches of human lordship and man-made laws, value systems and traditions...” 45

“No political system or material power should put hindrances in the way of preaching Islam...If someone does this, then it is the duty of Islam to fight him until either he is killed or until he declares his submission.” 57

“[O]bedience to laws and judgments is a sort of worship, and anyone who does this is considered out of this religion. It is taking some men as lords over others, while this religion has come to annihilate such practices, and it declares that all the people of the earth should become free of servitude to anyone other than God.” 60

“Before a Muslim steps into the battlefield, he has already fought a great battle within himself against Satan--against his own desires and ambitions, his personal interests and inclinations, the interests of his family and of his nation...against every obstacle which comes into the way of worshipping God and the implementation of the Divine authority on earth.” 71

# Islamist Narrative – Key Sentiments (Qutb)

““Only Islam has the distinction of basing the fundamental binding relationship in its society on belief; and on the basis of this belief, black and white and red and yellow, Arabs and Greeks, Persians and Africans, and all nations which inhabit the earth become one community.” 96

“Conditions change, the Muslim loses his physical power and is conquered, yet the consciousness does not depart from him that he is the most superior. If he remains a Believer, he looks upon his conqueror from a superior position. He remains certain that this is a temporary condition which will pass away and that faith will turn the tide from which there is no escape. Even if death is his portion, he will never bow his head. Death comes to all, but for him there is martyrdom. He will proceed to the Garden, while his conquerors go to the Fire.” 145

And it is life from God for the martyrs: "Do not consider those as dead who were killed in the way of God; they are living and find sustenance from their Sustainer. They enjoy what God has given them from His bounty, and are glad for those who are left behind (on earth) and have not reached there yet, that they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve. They are jubilant at the favor from God and His bounty; indeed, God does not destroy the reward of the Believers". (3:169-171) 153

“Christendom [tries] to deceive us by distorting history and saying that the Crusades were a form of imperialism. The truth of the matter is that the latter-day imperialism is but a mask for the crusading spirit, since it is not possible for it to appear in its true form, as it was possible in the Middle Ages.” 160

# Resonance/Durable Nature of Ideological Narrative (AQAM)

Issue	Context
Rapid spread of Islam in 7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> centuries and ensuing period of dominance / flourishing (especially relative to Europe)	<i>Confirmation of Islam's truth and universality, Mohammed as final prophet, Koran as final word of God</i>
Late 1700s/early 1800s: Western commercial expansion in Muslim world followed by widespread colonization in 1800s, imperialism post-WWI	<i>Relative poverty and powerlessness of Muslim lands today is the fault of the West; God has allowed this only because Muslims have not remained pure / devout enough</i>
West has dominated / flourished relative to the rest of the world, especially the Muslim world—in particular the U.S. post-WWII, then following the fall of the Soviet Union	<i>West's political, military, and economic "progress" is soulless flourishing; its efforts globally are an attack on true Islam reminiscent of the Crusades ("Crusaderism"); Muslims actually defeated the Soviet Union; return to devoutness will restore dominance/flourishing</i>
Islamists engage in kidnapping, public violence, suicide terrorism, deliberate targeting of non-combatants; they actively seek WMDs and will use them	<i>The ummah faces a state of "supreme emergency," any and all means of warfare are just (West's persecution of Muslims is worse than murder); suicide bombings are deemed martyrdom (not suicide as prohibited in Koran), "combatant" is redefined</i>
Islamists kill fellow Muslims; promise heavenly rewards for "martyrs" and their family members	<i>"Allah will know his own" (good Muslims killed receive early passage to heaven; bad Muslims rightly go to hell); rewards promised in the afterlife are powerful motivation but not falsifiable</i>
Broad U.S. efforts to promote democratic institutions, free enterprise, freedom of individual conscience and political participation	<i>Western governments are illegitimate, presence in Muslim lands is offense against Islam; obedience to man-made laws and judgments is a form of worship; perpetrators are polytheists who must submit to God's law (Sharia) or be fought</i>

# Critical Distinctions b/w The West and the Ummah

- Sovereignty / social contract
- Legitimacy
- Institutions
- Subjects v. Citizens
- Islamist script: Thank you for liberating us from the tyrannical dictator Saddam Hussein....

# Islamist Influenced Insurgency

1. Insurgency is fairly public at the local level. Civilians have important information about the who/what/where of insurgent activity.
2. Civilians who show some support to the insurgency (or refrain from denouncing the insurgency) do not necessarily favor the insurgents.
3. The key to actionable intelligence in Iraq is civilian denunciation. How do we achieve/inspire this denunciation?
4. Are *inducements* the key to civilian denunciation (infrastructure improvement, local projects, quality of life improvement)? OR is the key to denunciation found in having the proper amount of *coverage and control* (the proper amount of security to protect civilians from insurgent retaliation)? This is an amount of coverage we still have never had in Iraq.

# Islamist Influenced Insurgency

5. Some insurgent groups/forces can be accommodated by the political process (that is, there are groups that can be inspired to choose civic peace over violence—given the right political settlement, inducements, or a combination of both).

6. But, some groups cannot be accommodated by any political settlement or inducements not in keeping with their political and/or religious goals. The script of Islam-ism (the “irreconcilable wing of Islam”) encourages followers to resist the un-Islamic politics and tempting inducements of the West. The Islamist script warns of Western intervention and allure through democratization and quality of life improvements. The trials and poverty so common in Muslim lands are considered the fault of the West, and this has only occurred because Muslims over time have not been devout enough. In this “script,” inducements and infrastructure improvement efforts might actually inspire some to pick up arms against the U.S.

# Islamist Influenced Insurgency

7. These irreconcilable groups may need only to maintain rupture to defeat U.S. efforts in Iraq, in due time. In rupture, where the third-party institutions (effective police and judicial, etc.) are not established, the *victims* of insurgent attacks (coalition and Iraqi Civil Security forces) and the *punisher* of those attacks are *the same party*. This inspires a cycle of violence and vengeance, away from the rule of law. Whereas, for example, with the British and IRA in Northern Ireland, the third-party institutions remained, and the cycle of vengeance away from rule of law and associated societal instability did not materialize. However, the French in Algeria is an example of where the vengeance cycle did occur.

8. So, the question is, can the U.S. establish these third-party institutions needed to break the victim-punisher link while a state of rupture persists? Can these institutions be established while police stations are bombed, lawyers kidnapped or gunned down, noncombatants targeted? At the same time, can the U.S. somehow get the actionable intelligence it needs to make real gains on the insurgency (especially when the coverage and control is arguably inadequate)? OR will the insurgents simply maintain rupture, targeting whoever is easiest to strike toward that end, knowing every day the liberal democracies (U.S. and U.K. in particular) are getting closer to demanding their troops return home? AND will the insurgents surge to erase any U.S. gains once the U.S. leaves Iraq no matter what the circumstances of U.S. withdrawal?

# Islamist Influenced Insurgency

9. All of this points to what may be the only real course of action remaining—keep the political process moving and find the needed coverage and control to inspire civilian denunciation through *Iraqi force coverage*, not U.S. forces (U.S. force increases would, at this point, provide more resonance to the Islamist script. Plus, we don't have the troop surplus need to sustain such an increase). This is, of course, what we are now actively advocating. But, can the Iraqi forces' allegiance be trusted? Are they really trained and capable of the task, especially after the U.S. departs?

10. In the meantime, as the U.S. races to establish security (near monopoly on the use of force) and third party institutions before U.S. popular support runs out, and as the insurgents continue to ignore, violate, even exploit the rules of war to maintain rupture, the U.S. forces will grow increasingly frustrated and fatigued—thereby increasing the likelihood of violations of the rules of war (which we have seen can be devastating in such an ideological struggle for claims to hold the moral high ground). Again, the French in Algeria are an example of violating the rules of war (torture, killing POWs, especially at Algiers) to make gains that essentially made acceptance by the local population impossible and exacerbated demands from the French public to return home.

# Islamist Influenced Insurgency

11. Islamists, and moderate Muslims alike—are often wary (to say the least) of “Western” style democracy and liberalism. The idea that “unbelievers” (jahiliyyah—the ignorant) would occupy Muslim soil (a place so revered as Baghdad in Muslim history) to help guide them toward political legitimacy and human flourishing is humiliating. However, there is a strain of political thought within Islam spanning hundreds of years, but gaining ground in the last 30 years, aptly termed “liberal Islam” that claims Mohammed’s guidance and Sharia Law not only permit pluralism and tolerance in Islam, but they *promote* it. This hinges, in part, on the concepts of “shura” or *consulting* (with the people) before making policy decisions and institutions (that are, of course, not directly in conflict with Sharia) and *ijtihad* (room for judgment in Islamic law). The crucial aspect of this possible “bridge” between the West and Muslims is that *this liberal Islam pre-dates the West’s embrace of Lockean liberalism from the 17th century. It means this type of liberalization is their own, not an imitation of the West’s Christian-cultural based reformation.*

12. Maybe, just maybe, if the U.S. can keep the political process going amidst rupture, and keep gaining ground on the insurgents while restoring civic peace and improving infrastructure, while staying on the moral high ground in terms of rules-of-war, while also emphasizing through moderate Muslim leaders the legitimacy of liberalism (and the fledgling Iraqi Constitution) within Islam (a divinely-based liberalism that is rooted in Islamic religion and history, not the West) perhaps “success” is not unreasonable after all.

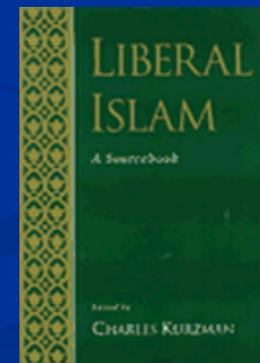
# Kurzman's *Liberal Islam*

- The way ahead?

- “I use the term ‘liberal’ to refer to basic themes in the history of liberalism, such as democracy, freedom of thought, social equality, and human progress. The term "liberal" has a variety of meanings, to be sure, and its reputation in much of the Islamic world has been tainted by its hypocritical introduction under colonialism. Thus these links, and the *Liberal Islam* anthology itself, include some authors and activists who may not consider themselves ‘liberal,’ though they deal seriously with liberal themes.”

- Can this be politically legitimate?

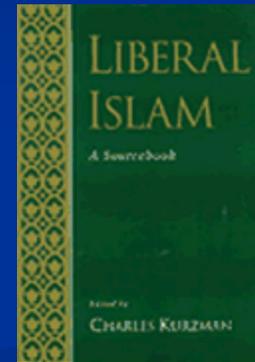
- Diversity in perspective 18ml/tr



# Kurzman's *Liberal Islam*

- Authors and Themes

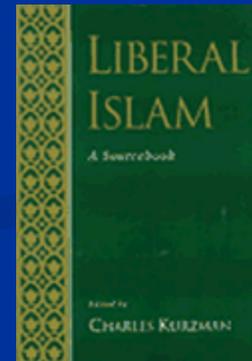
- Against Theocracy
- Democracy
- Rights of Women
- Right of Non-Muslims
- Freedom of Thought
- Progress



- Also modernists Afghani, Abduh, Ridha...?

# Kurzman's *Liberal Islam*

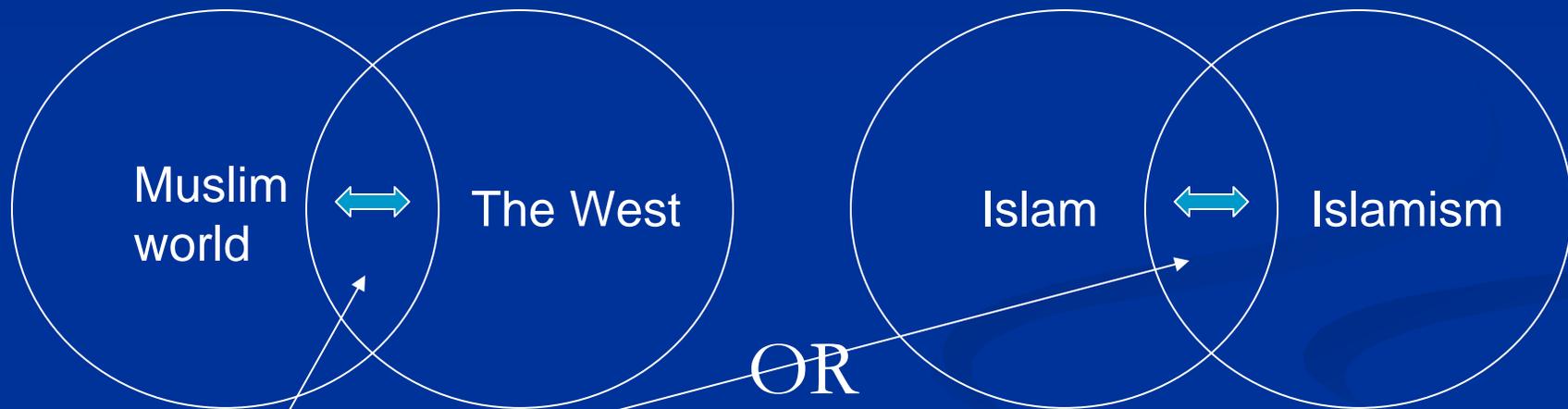
- Sharia Law (Sharia defined 50bl)
  - Liberal Sharia
  - Silent Sharia
  - Interpreted Sharia
- Shura – Consultation
- Ijtihad - Interpretation



## Liberalization Hypothesis?

If what, then what? (justice, legitimacy, flourishing)

# The Way Ahead? Social Science Timeline? Nuance in Politics and Culture?

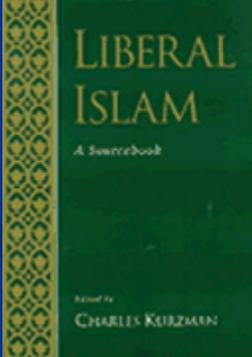


Political and Ideological common ground

- INTERACTION**
- Political
  - Economic
  - Military
  - Cultural
  - Technological



**GLOBALIZATION**



# The Way Ahead: The Study of Terrorism

## *Implications for the Education of Military Officers*

(According to GEN Downing and GEN McCaffrey)

**Officers must have a total grasp of the struggle, not just the terrorist acts**

**Why is terrorism being used as a tactic?**

**What are the political goals? Part of an insurgency?**

**What are the political, social, economic, cultural, information dimensions of the conflict as well as the security and military aspects.**

**How do these interrelate?**

**Training on tactics, techniques, and procedures can be developed but not until the leaders have the background**

