

October 2012

## Charles Hill: Trial of a Thousand Years: World Order and Islamism Study Guide, 2012

Steven A. Samson

*Liberty University*, [ssamson@liberty.edu](mailto:ssamson@liberty.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov\\_fac\\_pubs](https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov_fac_pubs)



Part of the [Other Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#), [Political Science Commons](#), and the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Samson, Steven A., "Charles Hill: Trial of a Thousand Years: World Order and Islamism Study Guide, 2012" (2012). *Faculty Publications and Presentations*. 403.  
[https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov\\_fac\\_pubs/403](https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov_fac_pubs/403)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Helms School of Government at Scholars Crossing. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications and Presentations by an authorized administrator of Scholars Crossing. For more information, please contact [scholarlycommunications@liberty.edu](mailto:scholarlycommunications@liberty.edu).

# CHARLES HILL: TRIAL OF A THOUSAND YEARS: WORLD ORDER AND ISLAMISM STUDY GUIDE, 2012 Steven Alan Samson

## PROLOGUE BY FOUAD AJAMI

### Outline

- A. HOOVER INSTITUTION (ix-xii)
  - 1. Cold War
  - 2. Islamism
  - 3. Islamic Emirate
    - a. **Pursuit of the caliphate**
  - 4. Crossroads Civilization
  - 5. War of Ideas
    - a. **Three layers of danger**
      - 1) Failed states
      - 2) Revolutionary states
      - 3) Enabler regimes
    - b. Greatest strategic challenge
  - 6. Scholarship on Contemporary Islam
    - a. Second generation assessment
    - b. Need to engage Arabs and Muslims in the contest of ideas
    - c. Need for primers
    - d. Need to be unsparing in depicting the travails of modern Islam
- B. GREAT DEBATE ABOUT THE PLACE OF THE STATE IN THE MODERN WORLD (xii-xv)
  - 1. G. W. F. Hegel: State as an Instrument of God
  - 2. **Sayyid Qutb: Muslim Has No Nationality**
  - 3. **Treaty of Westphalia Made the State**
  - 4. Muslim States Are Seeking Admission
  - 5. War of Islamism against the **Nation-State System**
  - 6. Islamism Is Only the Latest Challenge
    - a. French Revolution
      - 1) **Edmund Burke's** view of revolutionary France as **state and sect**
    - b. Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany
  - 7. Mighty Muslim States of the Past
    - a. Ottoman power faltered
    - b. Fall of the caliphate, 1924
  - 8. Order of States
    - a. Intellectual vigilance and poise
  - 9. The Islamist Sect Theories

### Review

Pursuit of the caliphate  
Treaty of Westphalia

three layers of danger  
nation-state system

Sayyid Qutb  
Edmund Burke: France as state and sect

## PROLOGUE

## Outline

- A. ON A SHIP TO OMAN (3-6)
  - 1. Tomb of **Job**
    - a. Islamic Job
    - b. Judeo-Christian Job
  - 2. **Oswald Spengler**
    - a. Magian (ancient Mesopotamian) idea of Grace vs. Faustian (Western) idea of Contrition
    - b. **Pseudomorphosis**
      - 1) Suppression of a culture by an alien power so that it cannot develop its self-consciousness, giving rise to a hate that grows to be monstrous
    - c. **Great Awakening of Peoples** [Karl Jaspers called it the Axial Age but believed it started earlier]
      - 1) Alexander the Great laid down a thin sheet of Classical civilization [Hellenism] that spread to Turkestan and India [cf. Vishal Mangalwadi]
      - 2) Characteristically Magian elements were squeezed into alien forms and distorted by the logic of a classical civilization [a reverse flow from the East also occurs with the rise of Stoicism, Manichaeism, Gnosticism]
      - 3) Classical religion consisted of local cults; the creed of Magian religion knew no early frontier (universal in scope) but was not allowed its natural, unbounded space [*i.e.*, it was coiled like a spring or a serpent]
    - d. The rise of Islam and its swift successes is the emancipation of Magian mankind
    - e. Job becomes Ayoub
- B. ON THE TRAIN TO THE ARMY-NAVY GAME (6-7)
  - 1. Henry Kissinger and Elmo Zumwalt
    - a. Kissinger spoke about America's decline and his task of securing the best deal we could get in our weakening condition [cf. convergence theory]
    - b. Kissinger's master's thesis was on Spengler and "The Meaning of History"
    - c. Spengler's declinism has also affected the Arab-Islamic world by a conviction that the Arab world will cast off the Western yoke and retrieve its usurped role of world-historical leadership [cf. Nietzsche's return of the repressed]

## Review

two conceptions of Job  
pseudomorphosis

Oswald Spengler  
Great Awakening of Peoples

Magian vs. Faustian ideals  
Western declinism

# CHAPTER ONE: TWO WORLD ORDERS

## Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (9-10)
  - 1. **Tel al-Amarna**, 1887
    - a. Akhenaten
    - b. Amarnaic
    - c. Common practices
  - 2. Pre-modern China
    - a. **Spring and Autumn Period** [introduction of the *Ba*]
    - b. Tribute system

3. Christendom
  - a. Universal system
  - b. Founding of Constantinople, 330 AD [Second Rome]
  - c. Coronation of **Otto I**, 962 [Holy Roman Empire]
4. Caliphate
  - a. Death of the Prophet Muhammad, 632 AD
- B. CHRISTENDOM AND CALIPHATE
  1. Two World Systems
    - a. Innocent III
  2. Holy Roman Empire
    - a. **Charlemagne** [Western Roman Emperor]
      - 1) Reader of St. Augustine's *The City of God*
    - b. Dante's *De Monarchia*
      - 1) Separation of church and state
    - c. Distinction between spiritual and temporal authority: Pope is the vicar of God
  3. Caliphate
    - a. Office extracted from the Hadith
    - b. Duty of subject is to obey
    - c. Submission to **sharia**
- C. DUALITY OR UNITY?
  1. Dualism
  2. **Western "Schizophrenia"** [cf. Oswald Spengler's "Faustian" culture]
    - a. Sayyid Qutb
    - b. Judaic binary classifications
    - c. Plato's Socratic dialogue
    - d. Aristotle's modes
  3. Raphael's "School of Athens:" Duality of Plato [one finger pointed upward] and Aristotle [fingers spread forward on an earthly plane]
  4. Augustine: City of God vs. City of Man
  5. Thomas Aquinas: Synthesis of Plato and Aristotle
  6. **Islamic Purist Monotheism**
    - a. Uniate focus
    - b. Early flourishing
    - c. Aristotle
    - d. Astonishing early achievements
  7. Possible Causes of Its Decline
    - a. Loss of territorial control
    - b. Decadence
    - c. **al-Ghazali** [Algazel]
      - 1) Proof of Islam
    - d. Algazel as the anti-Aquinas
  8. Systematic Study of the Caliphate's Role
    - a. Qurayshi membership
    - b. Election by predecessor
  9. Closing of the Muslim Mind
  10. Christian Fear and Hatred of Islam
    - a. Dante: Muhammad as a sower of schism
  11. Francis of Assisi
  12. Crusades vs. Mongol Invasions
    - a. **Hulagu** sacks Baghdad, 1258
- D. "THE TURK" AND "ORIENTAL DESPOTISM"
  1. Arrival of the Turks
    - a. Osman
    - b. Murad I: Byzantine tribute exacted
    - c. Field of the Blackbirds (Kosovo), 1389

2. Manuel II Palaeologus
  3. 1453 **Fall of Constantinople**
  4. "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way" George Berkeley
    - a. "Transfer of empire and culture"
      - 1) But the second Rome fell more than 1100 years after it was built
      - 2) Culture (*studii*) conferred legitimacy
  5. Islam Identified with the Ottoman Empire
    - a. Muhammad as the Anti-Christ
    - b. From Murad II to Selim I
    - c. Turkish caliphate
      - 1) No more scholarly assertions that the caliph must be a Quayshi
  6. Topkapi Palace
    - a. **Plato's Republic** as a model
    - b. Lybyer on the **Janissary Corps**
    - c. Idea of an exotic, despotic, Eastern utopia
    - d. Others regimes modeled on a centralizing western ideology
  7. 16C Image of "The Red Apple"
    - a. Abbot of Otranto's apocalyptic vision
  8. Rumors of a Muslim Threat to Malta, 1565
    - a. Philip II
    - b. Argo: royal war galley
  9. Holy League, 1571
    - a. **Don John of Austria** and the **Battle of Lepanto**
    - b. G. K. Chesterton's "Lepanto"
    - c. Cervantes
    - d. Don Quixote
  10. No Follow-Up to the Victory
  11. Three Imperial Muslim Courts
    - a. **Sunni-Shia conflict**
    - b. Safavids in Persia
  12. **Oriental Despotism**
    - a. Venetian Empire
    - b. **Sublime Porte**
    - c. Fundamental incompatibility
    - d. Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*: West's rejection of oriental despotism
      - 1) **Rejection of polygamy, elevation of idea of womanhood**
- E. **THREE WORLD-HISTORICAL EVENTS**
1. Rise of Islam
    - a. Repudiation of Roman and Persian world orders
  2. Exploration of the Globe
    - a. Indian Ocean
    - b. Islamic world trading system
    - c. Portuguese forts along the littoral
    - d. The Amiriya
    - e. Seas seen as whole, the world as one
  3. International State System
- F. **TODAY'S PROBLEM**
1. Islam Has Become a Uniate, Unsuccessful, Partly-Adversarial Participant
  2. Global Renaissance
    - a. Complex cross-pollination
    - b. Circulation of people
  3. Images of Muslims Proliferated
  4. Paradox: Recognition of Mankind's Diversity
    - a. System designed to accommodate such diversity
  5. **Bartolomé de las Casas** vs. Juan Ginés de Sepulveda

- a. **Francisco de Vitoria** *On the Indies* and the University of Salamanca
- b. **Natural law argument**
- c. Precursor to beliefs in universal human rights

### Review

Tel al-Amarna	Spring and Autumn Period	Charlemagne
Western "schizophrenia"	al-Ghazali	Hulagu
Field of the Blackbirds	fall of Constantinople	Plato's <i>Republic</i>
Ottoman Ruling Institution	Don John of Austria	Battle of Lepanto
Sunni-Shia schism	oriental despotism	Sublime Porte
Montesquieu's <i>Spirit of Laws</i>	polygamy	ideal of womanhood
Bartolomé de las Casas	Francisco de Vitoria	natural law argument

## CHAPTER TWO: THE MODERN ORDERING TAKES SHAPE

### Outline

#### A. THIRTY YEARS WAR

- 1. Most Destructive of the Wars of Religion
- 2. Transition from Feudal to Modern Warfare
  - a. Grotius
  - b. Warring parties legitimate states
- 3. Doctrine of the Equality of States
- 4. Joining of Unity and Diversity

#### B. 1648

- 1. **Treaty of Westphalia**
- 2. Idea for World Order: Procedural Rather Than Substantive
- 3. Basic Elements
  - a. Religious arguments would not be brought to the bargaining table
  - b. State as the fundamental entity
  - c. Encouragement of norms, laws and understandings
    - 1) No divine source, only positive agreements
  - d. Process aimed at reducing the horrors of war
- 4. One Big Hedgehog Idea
  - a. State must abide by a few requirements
  - b. Who cannot be accommodated

#### C. THE ENLIGHTENMENT VIEWS THE PROPHET

- 1. How the Enlightenment Strengthened the System via **Immanuel Kant**
  - a. Rejection of superstition
    - 1) No more need for revelation
  - b. Government by consent of the governed
- 2. **Baron Montesquieu**
  - a. *Spirit of the Laws*
  - b. Dimitrie Cantemir
  - c. Edward Gibbon and Sir William Jones, the first of the great **Orientalists**
- 3. **Islamic Thought Became a Way to Criticize Christianity**
  - a. **Muhammad** as *eminence grise* [originally François Leclerc du Tremblay, who was Cardinal Richelieu's agent and confidante during the Thirty Years War]
    - 1) **Anti-clerical** touchstone: Muhammad portrayed by Enlightenment figures as an exemplar of liberty, tolerance, and social justice]
 

[NOTE: This strategy is still used to leverage the dismantling of the Christian foundations of the West. Roger Scruton calls it "the culture of repudiation]

- b. Voltaire's *volte face* [about face, reversal]
- c. Edward Gibbon
- 4. **Edward Gibbon: Islam Is Rooted in Reason**
  - a. Testimony to the unity of God
  - b. Islam as admirable counter-example to Christianity
- 5. **Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Coy Infatuation with Islam**
- 6. Mozart's Abduction from the Seraglio
- 7. Washington Irving
  - a. Tales of the Alhambra
  - b. Mahomet and his successors
  - c. Mohammad as a literary genius
  - d. Flight to Medina (hijab)
  - e. Loss of the caliphate of Cordoba, 1031
  - f. Admiration
  - g. Seemingly irresistible universal monotheistic system of world order
    - 1) Overreaching and decline
    - 2) Jesus
- 8. Herman Melville
- D. **THE SICK MAN OF EUROPE**
  - 1. Ottoman Empire
    - a. **Suleiman the Magnificent**
      - 1) Failure to take Vienna, 1529
    - b. **Two separate universes**
  - 2. Modern Overlay
    - a. Oswald Spengler's pseudomorphosis
  - 3. Elevation of the Peace of Westphalia
    - a. G. W. F. Hegel's the state is God's Divine Plan
  - 4. Factor in the Balance of Power
    - a. Ottoman accepted but refused to send embassies
  - 5. Ottoman Sway over Islam
    - a. Turcophobia recedes
  - 6. Principal Geostrategic Issue: Russia's Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire
    - a. Crimean War
  - 7. Dispute over Holy Places in Jerusalem, 1850
    - a. Russian troops in SE Europe
    - b. **Eastern Question**
    - c. Left unanswered by the Crimean War
  - 8. Russian Preparations for War with Ottoman Turkey
    - a. Object: control over the **Turkish Straits**
  - 9. **Treaty of Paris, 1856**
    - a. Empire made a provisional member of European society
    - b. Requirement: equality of all subjects
    - c. Sublime Porte moved to the new palace
  - 10. Preamble
    - a. Integrity of the Ottoman Empire guaranteed
  - 11. Turkish Religious Sway over Islam
    - a. Sultan as the vice regent of Allah
    - b. 1774 treaty between Catherine II (the Great) and Abdul Hamid I
      - 1) Catherine recognized as patroness over Orthodox Christians
    - c. Constitution of 1876: "Sick Man of Europe"
  - 12. **Treaty of Berlin, 1878**
    - a. Balkan independence under Ottoman suzerainty
      - 1) Muslim agitation over loss of part of Dar al-Islam
    - b. Sultan sends emissaries to the East
  - 13. **Young Turk Revolution, 1908: Abdul Hamid Deposed**

- a. Rival Abbasid caliphate in 16C Egypt
- b. Puppet Ottoman caliph
- 14. Accession of **Wilhelm II**
  - a. Visit to Constantinople
  - b. Lord Salisbury's proposal
  - c. Russian plan to seize Constantinople
  - d. Hajji Wilhelm
- 15. John Buchan's Greenmantle
- 16. WWI Alliance with Germany
  - a. **Jihad**
- 17. Hew Strachan

### Review

Treaty of Westphalia	Baron Montesquieu	Muhammad
Enlightenment anti-clericalism	Edward Gibbon	Suleiman the Magnificent
Eastern Question	Turkish Straits	Treaty of Paris
Treaty of Berlin	Young Turk Revolution	Wilhelm II
WWI <i>jihad</i>		

## CHAPTER THREE: THE WARS ON WORLD ORDER

### Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION
  - 1. **Every Major War Has Been an Attempt to Replace the Westphalia System**
- B. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC WARS
  - 1. **Edmund Burke**
    - a. **Overthrow of established order** and the resort to **terror**
    - b. **Napoleon Bonaparte**
  - 2. **G. W. F. Hegel**: Advent of Reason and Freedom
  - 3. Expeditionary Force to Egypt
    - a. Object: sever British link to India
    - b. **Napoleon as a sultan** [cf. Frederick II Hohenstaufen, 13C Holy Roman Emperor]
  - 4. Ottoman Sultan Declared *Jihad*
    - a. Mamluks under Murad Bey
      - 1) Napoleon sought to lead an Arab revolt against the Turks
    - b. Acre
    - c. Battle of the Nile
  - 5. Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign Was a Triumph in Cultural Affairs
    - a. **Rosetta Stone**
      - 1) **Jean-François Champollion**
    - b. **Watershed event**: first armed inroad of the modern West into the Middle East
  - 6. Napoleon Crowned Emperor of the French
    - a. Idealist philosopher **G. W. F. Hegel** and the Battle of Jena
    - b. **Emperor as the world soul**
    - c. Idea of the Great Man [English Hegelian, Thomas Carlyle, developed the great man theory of history]
    - d. Hegel's **end of history**: A marriage of two ideas
      - 1) **Jean-Jacques Rousseau's** revolutionary idea: All established government is illegitimate and unjust
      - 2) Napoleon's idea of a new, centralized state to create a **universal empire**
- C. THE TAIPING REBELLION, 1851-1866



1. Ch'ing Dynasty
  2. China: Self-absorbed and Self-sufficient
  3. Conflict Focused on Trade
    - a. **Mercantilism**: China and Europe pursued similar economic strategies
    - b. **Adam Smith's free trade**: China saw the inflow of British silver for tea as tribute, not something that required reciprocation
    - c. British East India Company's Opium trade: British merchants re-sold it in China, creating a high demand
    - d. **Opium War, 1839-1842**: British seized ports as far north as Shanghai
    - e. **Treaty of Nanking, 1842**: First of the unequal treaties in which China ceded five treaty ports to Britain and handed over Hong Kong
  4. **Taiping Rebellion**
    - a. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan
    - b. *T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo*
    - c. Attack on Shanghai
  5. Lord Elgin
    - a. Court's refusal to allow diplomats in Peking
    - b. Summer palace burned:
    - c. Britain had dragged China into the international system, but it was not *of it*
  6. **Boxer Rebellion of 1900**
    - a. Aimed at the diplomatic quarter: violent repudiation of the system
    - b. American-led Boxer Relief expedition
    - b. **Pivotal three-way conflict** between Imperial China, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and the British Empire on behalf of the international system
- D. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE UTAH WAR
1. Obligation to Conform to Civilized Norms
    - a. Issues of **slavery and polygamy**
  2. Slowly Expanding International Consensus on Norms
    - a. **Siam**
      - 1) Chulalongkorn (Rama IV) freed his subjects, 1868
  3. America's **Irrepressible Conflict**
    - a. Slavery regarded as uncivilized
  4. **U.S. Aloofness from International System** during early independence
    - a. No embassies
    - b. Ministers and legations
  5. Antebellum South
    - a. Tocqueville on slavery
    - b. Lewis Simpson
    - c. Centrality of slavery to the South's national identity
  6. Failure of the CSA to Secure Diplomatic Recognition
    - a. Britain recognized South only as a belligerent
  7. Mormon Polity
    - a. Militia
    - b. James Gordon Bennett
    - c. **Nauvoo polity**: **Joseph Smith** dispatched ambassadors to Europe
    - d. Republican Party platform, 1856: repudiation of polygamy and slavery
    - e. Utah War, 1857
    - f. Anti-bigamy legislation [*Reynolds v. United States*, 1878, outlawed polygamy and cited Francis Lieber's writings in support of the decision]
  8. Second Hague Conference [Lieber's Civil War code of military conduct was adopted]
- E. THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, 1870-1871
1. Lord Byron's United Nations
    - a. **Congress of Vienna**
      - 1) Perfect anti-revolutionary opportunity to refill the vessel of the Westphalian state **dynastic imperialism**

2. Consequences of This Attack on the Westphalian System by the Ruling Dynasties of the Continent
    - a. Precursor to the world wars
    - b. Communist revolution of “the masses”
  3. **Birth of Germany** in 1871
    - a. Germany emerged from the Thirty Years War as an agglomeration of small political entities
    - b. National unification of Germany as an **imperial state**
    - c. Bismarck seized the opportunity presented by the Spanish succession crisis to alarm France that it might revive the Holy Roman Empire as a Protestant realm
    - d. Background of Henry James’s novel, *The American*
  4. [Ems Dispatch]
    - a. Bismarck lured the French into a verbal trap
    - b. French mobilization for war
    - c. Unification by Bismarck and the army, rather than by the people under liberal leaders, using instruments that were the liberals’s source of strength
  5. New Movement Following the Battle of Solferino
    - a. **Henri Dunant**
      - 1) Professional military standards
    - b. **Francs-tireurs**: guerrilla (small war) fighters [Lieber also wrote on this subject]
    - c. Asymmetrical warfare involving “illegal combatants”
    - d. Upside-down character of the Islamist wars: Guerrilla fighters are now accorded much the same protection as professionals
  6. **Paris Commune** of 1871
    - a. Red flags everywhere
    - b. Birth of the Communist Internationale
    - c. Attack from both sides of the political spectrum
  7. Consequences of the War
    - a. Rise of united Germany
  8. Berlin to Baghdad Railway: Reached Ankara in 1892
- F. THE GREAT WAR
1. **T. E. Lawrence**
    - a. Arab Revolt: Began under false pretenses
    - b. Paris Peace Conference
    - c. **Sykes-Picot Agreement**
  2. Bolshevik Revolution
    - a. Denunciation of secret agreements
    - b. Broken promises
      - 1) Hussein-McMahon correspondence
      - 2) Balfour Declaration
  3. Ottoman Empire Disappeared from Maps
    - a. League of Nations **mandate system**
    - b. Middle East brought into the Westphalian system
  4. The **Reasons for War**
    - a. Preservation of the British Empire
    - b. Germans sought to break out of the world order
      - 1) Imposed by a Pax Britannica and France’s *mission civilisatrice*
      - 2) For Germany the war was about *Geist*, spirit: the life-giving principle of a superior culture
  5. Grinding Trench Warfare Ended Dreams
  6. Three New Ideas
    - a. Dysfunctional Middle East born of the ruined Ottoman Empire
    - b. Bolshevik Revolution to build “the New Socialist Order” led by “the international proletariat”
    - c. Admission of the United States to the club of Westphalian-style states

7. **Woodrow Wilson**
    - a. Colonel Edward House
    - b. Fourteen Points
  8. American Program for the **Revitalization of the Westphalian System**
    - a. A basis for rejecting imperialism
    - b. League of Nations
    - c. Right of self-determination
    - d. Enlisted democracy in the cause of world order
  9. Abdication of Wilhelm II
  10. Messianic Hope
  11. Versailles Treaty
    - a. Failure of Wilson's grand plan
    - b. His idealism became a beacon for **liberal internationalism**
  12. Decline of Imperialism
  13. Mehmet IV Deposed
    - a. New caliph was neither a Qurayshi nor bearer of the sword of Islam
  14. **Caliphate Abolished**
    - a. Indian intervention
  15. King Hussein of the Hijaz [keeper of the holy places at Mecca and Medina]
    - a. Egypt's and India's objection
      - 1) An Islamic Caliphate Congress was favored
    - b. Hussein's short-lived claim
  16. Intrigues and Stratagems
    - a. Sir Reginald Wingate originally broached the idea
    - b. Muhammad Mustafa al-Maraghi, chief *Qadi* of the Sudan, pressed a claim for Egypt's King Fuad
  17. Congress to Choose a Caliph
    - a. Support for Ibn Saud who had deposed Hussein and unified Arabia
    - b. al-Azhar declaration
    - c. Stalemate
  18. Two World Historical Consequences
    - a. League of Nations mandates filled the vacuum
    - b. Islamist war on world order
  19. Rise of Atavistic Imperialism to Challenge the World Order
- G. **WORLD WAR II: IMPERIAL JAPAN AND THE THIRD REICH**
1. Aggressors' Plans for the International System
    - a. Each had a well-defined world strategy intended to destroy and supplant the Westphalian state structure
  2. Japan
    - a. **East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere**
    - b. Meiji Restoration, 1868 [end of shogunate]
    - c. Japanese conformity to international requirements as early as 1899
    - d. Victory in Russo-Japanese War, 1904: Japan's arrival as a world power
    - e. Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905: Diplomatic sophistication in peacemaking
    - f. End of the Meiji Restoration, 1912
      - 1) Japan almost regarded itself as a different species of humanity by 1912 (Edwin Reischauer)
    - g. Installation of **Emperor Hirohito**, 1926, as chief Shinto priest, descendant of the sun goddess, and divine ruler of an eternal and immutable polity
  3. 1929 World Economic Crash
    - a. Emperor's command of the military
    - b. Ideology of **ko do**: Liberation of Japan from all the 'isms of the modern world
    - c. Holy war to rule all Asia
    - d. **Manchukuo**: Bid for recognition as a legitimate state
    - e. Rejection of the League

4. **Grand Strategy:** to Create a New Order of East Asia
    - a. Racial ideology: Japanese the superior race
    - b. Axis Treaty, 1936
    - c. Vision of a three sphere world order: Germany, Japan, United States
  5. **Hitler's Grand Strategy**
    - a. Crisis over Danzig
      - 1) Free city status
      - 2) Appeal to the Hague
      - 3) Oblique reference to Magna Carta: *nulla poena sine lege* [No punishment without a law], which is a subset of *nullum crimen, nulla poena sine praevia lege poenali* [No crime, no punishment without a previous legal penalty], which prohibits ex post facto laws.
        - a) Nazi version: *nulla crimen sine poena* [No crime without a punishment]
      - 4) Banishment of rule of law
      - 5) Reversion to barbarism: Sir Henry Maine's from status to contract (dramatized by Aeschylus's *Oresteia*) reverts again to status
      - 6) World Court's Decision in favor of Danzig
      - 7) Hitler's demand for Danzig led to the German invasion of Poland
  6. Atavistic Nazi Ideology
    - a. Millenarian [Chiliastic ]
    - b. Paranoid
    - c. Apocalyptic and Eschatological: Prevalence of the word "final"
    - d. History's climactic Third Status [cf. Joachimite heresy]
  7. Purpose of the Nazi Party
    - a. Lure the working class away from international communism
  8. Nazi Germany Was Not a State
    - a. It was the organic community [*Kultur*] of the master race [bee hive or anthill]
    - b. *Raumpolitiker*
    - c. Kleinstatten Gerumpel
    - d. *Lebensraum*
    - e. Vision of the **Heerführer Europas**
    - f. End of the Westphalia system
  9. **Hajj Amin al-Husseini**
    - a. Grand Mufti of Jerusalem
    - b. Ba'ath movement
    - c. Rommel's drive into Egypt
    - d. Meeting with Hitler, 1941
  10. Holocaust
    - a. Jews were never absent from Israel
    - b. 19C Pre-state **Yishuv**
  11. Reasons for the Modern State of Israel
    - a. Its founders were committed to the Westphalian system
    - b. Employed diplomacy and power to get international recognition
    - c. Israel accepted the requisite norms
    - d. Window of opportunity in 1948
  12. Destruction of Hitler's Grand Design
    - a. Al-Husseini was weak and ineffectual
    - b. But today's Arab media culture is drenched in Nazi-style anti-Semitism
  13. **Common Aims of Nazism and Islamism** [Jamie Glazov Extends This Analysis to Leftist Politics More Generally in *United in Hate*]
    - a. Eradicating Jews
    - b. New world order
- H. THE COLD WAR
1. Comintern

- a. Axis pact directed against it
  - b. Ideologically most comprehensive danger
  - c. Henry Kissinger: Nothing like the Soviet Union since the French Revolution
  - d. **Communist ideology** rejected every core principle of the Westphalian system
2. Dictates of Marxism-Leninism
    - a. State must be smashed
    - b. International law: tool of the capitalists
    - c. Western norms are invalid
    - d. **Fifth columns**
  3. Engagement with the State System
    - a. **Subversion**
    - b. Terrorist and guerrilla tactics
  4. Cold War International System
    - a. Crisis management
    - b. Adversarial alliance blocs
    - c. **Deterrence** doctrine based on **mutually assured destruction** [MAD]
    - d. Enhanced tactics
  5. Two levels of operation
    - a. Global strategic nuclear contest
    - b. Regional proxy wars
  6. Most Visible Focus: Arab-Israeli Conflict
  7. Diplomacy
    - a. Viscount Sir Stratford Canning
      - 1) First principle Ottoman diplomacy: **delay and respect based on strength**
  8. Soviet Exploitation of Arab Discontent with the State System
  9. **Gamal Abdel Nasser**
    - a. Colonel's revolt in Sana'a, 1962
    - b. Egyptian air strikes on Saudi border towns
    - c. Ellsworth Bunker's shuttle diplomacy
    - d. Agreement for a mutual withdrawal
  10. Henry Kissinger
    - a. Yo-yo express
    - b. Kissinger accomplishments
    - c. Syria: A die-hard enemy
  11. Camp David Accords
    - a. Catocin Mountain Park
    - b. **UN refusal to acknowledge the Egypt-Israel Treaty of Peace**
    - c. State legitimacy denounced
  12. Iran
    - a. Division of imperial Persia, 1907
    - b. Coup by Reza Khan (Pahlavi)
    - c. Naming of Iran (a cognate of Aryan)
    - d. Muhammad Reza Pahlavi
  13. Report by Martin Herz, 1964: Iran Is a Hollow Shell
    - a. SAVAK
    - b. Exile of Ayatollah Khomeini
    - c. Celebration in Persepolis
  14. Defense Assistance to Iran
    - a. **Nixon Doctrine**
    - b. Ardeshir Zahedi
    - c. Student demonstrations
  15. **Michel Foucault** on the 1978 Revolution
    - a. "First great revolution against the global system"
    - b. Rousseau and Marx

- c. Total revolution
  - d. General will
- I. THE INDIAN MUTINY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
1. Babur
    - a. Mughal Dynasty
    - b. Taj Mahal
  2. **East India Company**
    - a. Aurangzeb
    - b. Fragmentation of the realm
    - c. Persian foray, 1739
    - d. Battle of Plassey, 1757
      - 1) Robert Clive
  3. Warren Hastings
    - a. British India
    - b. Men on stilts
    - c. Missionaries
  4. Lord Canning
    - a. **Indian (Sepoy) Mutiny, 1857**
    - b. Multiple causes
      - 1) Loss of caste due to crossing the waters
      - 2) Enfield rifle: Cartridges rumored to be lubricated with animal fat
  5. Direct British rule
    - a. Victorian Empress of India, 1877
    - b. The Great Game
    - c. Intelligence analysis
    - d. Insurgency and counter-insurgency
  6. Religious Influence
    - a. Muslim quietism
      - 1) **Deobandi Movement**
    - b. Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College
    - c. **Hindutva**
    - d. Mahatma Gandhi's Hind Swaraj
    - e. Muhammad Ali Jinnah
  7. 1947 Partition of India
  8. Record of British India
    - a. Modern world order in the making
  9. Substance of Civic Virtue Is All-important
    - a. Legacy of the British Empire
    - b. **Nirad Chaudhuri**
    - c. Substantive ideals of open trade, open expression, and popular sovereignty

## Review

wars since Westphalia	Edmund Burke	Napoleon Bonaparte
Egyptian campaign	Champollion's Rosetta Stone	G. W. F. Hegel
emperor as the world soul	end of history idea	mercantilism vs. free trade
Opium War	Treaty of Nanking	Taiping Rebellion
Boxer Rebellion	slavery and polygamy	America's diplomatic aloofness
Congress of Vienna	birth of Germany	Paris Commune
T. E. Lawrence	Sykes-Picot Agreement	League of Nations mandate system
reasons for WWI	Woodrow Wilson	Fourteen Points
abdication of Wilhelm II	caliphate abolished	East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
<i>ko do</i>	Manchukuo	grand strategies: Japan, Germany
Hajj Amin al-Husseini	<i>Yishuv</i>	common aims of Nazism and Islamism
communist ideology	fifth columns	delay, respect based on strength

mutually assured destruction  
Michel Foucault  
Deobandi movement

Gamal Abdul Nasser  
East India Company  
Hindutva

Egypt-Israel Treaty of Peace  
India (Sepoy) Mutiny

## CHAPTER FOUR: AN ISLAMIST CHALLENGE TAKES SHAPE

### Outline

- A. 1979: IRANIAN REVOLUTION
  - 1. **Ayatollah Khomeini**
  - 2. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi
  - 3. **J.-J. Rousseau's *Social Contract***
    - a. Manual for revolutionary overthrow of establishments and creation of a "legitimate" society
    - b. Marginalization of government ministries and the military
      - 1) Supervision by commissars: ideologically-empowered keepers of the "will of the people," such as the Iranian Revolutionary Guard
      - 2) At the top: A Hegemon or führer
  - 4. New Political Philosophy
    - a. ***Velayat-e Faqih***
  - 5. Real Power: Theologically Legitimated
  - 6. 1979 Seizure of the American Embassy
    - a. Secret drive to acquire nuclear weapons
  - 7. Henry Kissinger vs. Henry Precht
- B. 1979: SAUDI ARABIA
  - 1. **Occupation of the Grand Mosque**
  - 2. Uprising Put Down
  - 3. Subsidization of Wahabi-Salafi Islamism
- C. 1979: PAKISTAN
  - 1. **Zia ul-Haq**
    - a. Execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - 2. Jinnah's Vision Abandoned
    - a. Islamist infiltration of security agencies
    - b. Used terrorists in Kashmir and Afghanistan
- D. 1979: AFGHANISTAN
  - 1. Soviet Seizure of Afghanistan
  - 2. Freedom Fighters
  - 3. Osama bin Laden
- E. 1979: EGYPT
  - 1. **Anwar Sadat**
  - 2. Egypt's Expulsion from the Arab League
- F. 1979: SADDAM'S IRAQ- BONFIRE OF THE PATHOLOGIES
  - 1. **Saddam Hussein**
    - a. 1979 **Ba'ath** (Arab Renaissance) **Party purge**
    - b. Amalgam of the Nazi and Communist parties
  - 2. Challenges to International Peace and Security
  - 3. Strategy of Having It Both Ways
    - a. Privileges and immunities shielded his actions
    - b. Violations of the laws and principles of the system
  - 4. Invasion of Iraq
    - a. High level of mutual slaughter
    - b. U.S. dual containment
    - c. 1987: re-flagging operation

5. Invasion of Kuwait, 1990
    - a. Province 19: Kuwait erased from the map
    - b. Desert Storm
  6. **Two Symbolic Acts** of Islamist Significance
    - a. King Hussein's claim to be Sharif of Mecca
    - b. Takbir added to the Iraqi flag
  7. Cease-Fire Plan
    - a. WMD's must be forsaken
    - b. Failure to cooperate meant that a state of war persisted
    - c. Initial cooperation followed by obstruction
  8. 1998 Clinton Threat
    - a. **Iraq Liberation Act**, 1998
  9. Security Council Res. 1205
    - a. Cease-fire terminated
    - b. Desert Fox
    - c. Impeachment Problems
  10. Inspections Stopped
    - a. CBW
    - b. Scott Ritter
    - c. Rogue state
- G. THE LOST DECADE OF THE 1990s
1. Post-Cold War Rebuilding
    - a. More toward democracy
  2. Deterioration of the International System
    - a. George H. W. Bush's new world order
      - 1) ***Pax universalis*** built on the Gulf War coalition model
    - b. Summit at the Security Council
    - c. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's authorization
  3. Clinton's Inaction
    - a. Focus on domestic agenda
  4. **Pattern of Repairing the System Was Broken**
    - a. Westphalia, Vienna, Versailles, and San Francisco followed precedent
  5. **State Failure**
    - a. Somalia
    - b. Humanitarian intervention
      - 1) Black Hawk Down
    - c. Afghanistan
  6. Humiliation of the United Nations by Security Council Members
    - a. Inaction and misuse of peacekeeping forces
    - b. Bosnia
      - 1) UN excluded from Dayton peacekeeping negotiations
    - c. Kosovo
  7. Assaults on International Law Took Place on Two Levels
    - a. **Poorly executed agreements**
      - 1) Oslo, Kyoto, START II, Dayton and Irish Agreement
    - b. International institutions untethered to signatories
      - 1) Ottawa process's anti-land mine treaty
  8. **Rome Statute**
    - a. International Criminal Court (ICC)
  9. **Sovereignty Denounced** as Organized Hypocrisy by Politicians and Intellectuals
    - a. Devolution vs. Hyper-volution
    - b. Deterioration of the Westphalian system
- H. THE ISLAMIST WAR ON WORLD ORDER, WELL UNDER WAY
1. Economist's Survey of Islam
  2. Roots of the 20C Phase of the Westphalian Confrontation in 1914



- a. Abolition of the caliphate, 1924
- b. Establishment of non-democratic states
- 3. Wave of Democratization Elsewhere
- 4. **Arab Human Development Report** of 2002
  - a. Denial of information and freedom of expression
  - b. Freedom deficit
- 5. Varieties of Arab Misrule
  - a. Pathologies have provided fertile ground for a revolutionary religious ideology
- 6. First Terrorist War: Black September in Jordan, 1970; Munich games, 1972; skyjackings
- 7. Stepping Up of Security Measures
- 8. Blindness to the Religious Dimension
  - a. **Westphalian credo**
  - b. Black September murders, 1973
    - 1) PLO regarded as an indispensable interlocutor in the “peace process”
  - c. Sadat assassination
- I. **SADDAM OVERTHROWN**
  - 1. George W. Bush
    - a. 17 Security Council resolutions
  - 2. Res. 1441
    - a. WMDs not accounted for
    - b. Hans Blix on non-compliance
  - 3. French Diplomacy Split NATO, the EU and the Security Council
    - a. France expected US forces to stay poised to strike
  - 4. **Foundation for American Action**
    - a. Duelfer Report
    - b. Oil-for-Food Program
    - c. Res. 678 and 187
    - d. Subsequent resolutions supported US policy
- J. **SADDAM’S STRATEGY**
  - 1. Saddam’s Classic Arab Dilemma
    - a. Cons: UN sanctions
    - b. Pros: deter Iran and prestige
  - 2. First Phase: Saddam Played It Both Ways
    - a. Initial cooperation
    - b. Subsequent defiance
    - c. Virtual programs maintained
  - 3. Second Phase
    - a. Pressures against the sanctions
  - 4. “Oil-for-Food” UN Program
    - a. Convoluted negotiations
    - b. Saddam’s manipulations to play the oil market
    - c. Weak argument
  - 5. Kickbacks
    - a. Palaces and weapons purchases
    - b. Oil contracts and payoffs meant opposition to military action
  - 6. Third Phase: Gaming of the Inspections
  - 7. Success of Saddam’s Strategy
    - a. US: rebuffed or retreated
    - b. Fear of his arsenal
    - c. Central potentate of the Middle East
    - d. Islamist persona
  - 8. Res. 1441
    - a. Unnecessary but advantageous for Operation Iraqi Freedom
    - b. Saddam’s miscalculation
  - 9. Integrity of the International System

- a. Huge stakes
- b. Failure not an option
- c. No criminal-in-chief should enjoy the shield of statehood
- 10. A Plan More Ambitious Than the Marshall Plan
- 11. **Fouad Ajami**
  - a. Terrorists come out of the pathologies of Arab life
  - b. Why it was important to take the war into the Arab world itself

### Review

Ayatollah Khomeini	J.-J.Rousseau's <i>Social Contract</i>	<i>Velayat-e Faqih</i>
occupation of the Grand Mosque	Zia ul-Haq	Anwar Sadat
Saddam Hussein	symbolic Islamist acts	Iraq Liberation Act
pattern of repairing the system	state failure	poorly executed agreements
Rome Statute	Arab Human Development Report	Westphalian credo
foundation for American actions	Saddam's strategy	Fouad Ajami

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION

### Outline

- A. THE ISLAMIST THREAT
  - 1. Fortunate Timing of 9/11
    - a. Further deterioration of the world order might have made defense more difficult
  - 2. Civil War in the Arab-Islamic World
    - a. **Westernizers**
    - b. **Rejectionists**
  - 3. **Islamist Doctrines** and Ideology
    - a. **State** defined as un-Islamic as opposed to the *umma*
      - 1) State supporters open to the charge of apostasy
    - b. Secular dimension of international relations is unacceptable
    - c. International law cannot accommodate sharia
    - d. **Democracy** seen as a violation of *sharia*
    - e. Human rights norms on rights of women are rejected
  - 4. Insurmountable Barrier
    - a. Rejection of division of temporal and spiritual realms
    - b. **Christian duality of powers** is anathema to the **unity** and wholeness of **Islam**
  - 5. Saudi Arabia Regarded as Un-Islamic and Apostate
- B. **FOUR PHENOMENA** THAT POSE THREATS TO WORLD ORDER
  - 1. Collapse of Governance in Some States
  - 2. Rise of Non-State Islamist Groups
    - a. Ideology and strategy of groups like **al-Qaeda**
  - 3. Governing Regimes of Several Arab States Became Enablers
    - a. Saudi Arabia
    - b. One-issue explanation narrative
    - c. Palestinian "right of return"
  - 4. Rise of "Rogue" Regimes
    - a. Dual role
    - b. World will welcome a "change of heart"
    - c. Manipulation of world oil market
    - d. Dictaploamacy
    - e. True revolutionary power
      - 1) Nothing can reassure it

- f. Enormous stakes
- C. **CENTERS OF GRAVITY**
  - 1. Carl von Clausewitz
  - 2. 2002 National Security Strategy
    - a. Need to transform the Greater Middle East
    - b. Bush administration did a poor job educating the public
  - 3. Weightiest Center of Gravity to Be Removed: Saddam's dictatorship
    - a. Linchpin and psychological kingpin of radical Arab scorn
  - 4. International System Needed to Be Shored Up
  - 5. 2004 State of the Union Address
    - a. Forward Strategy of Freedom
  - 6. **Bush Strategic Agenda**
    - a. Iran
    - b. Lebanon
    - c. Reform of Arab states
    - d. Two-state solution
  - 7. **Khaled Abou El-Fadl's *The Great Theft***
  - 8. Six Areas of Confrontation between Our Centers of Gravity
- D. **LEGAL**
  - 1. Terror-Using Combatants
    - a. Laws of war were designed for state-to-state conflict
      - 1) Not insurgent warfare
  - 2. Protections Provided by the Geneva Convention
    - a. Assumption: wars fought by professional states armies fielded by legitimate states
    - b. Reality is thus far insoluble
    - c. War criminals treated as ordinary criminals
    - d. Resulting confusion
- E. **MILITARY**
  - 1. **Carl von Clausewitz: We Must Understand What Kind of War We Are Fighting**
  - 2. Need to Reject the Upside Down Cultural Context
    - a. Object is to kill the enemy fighters
    - b. Islamists who "love death" are in limited supply
    - c. CT and COIN are the two options
    - d. The effect of deadlines
    - e. State-building
- F. **THE STATE**
  - 1. Most Major Modern Wars Have Been Ideologically Driven Assaults against the State System
    - a. The **Cold War** was the greatest such to date
    - b. EU experiment
    - c. Most important influence on Muslim politics is each country's state
  - 2. Islamist Rejection of the State
    - a. **Power of statelessness**
      - 1) Weapons of disruption and destruction
  - 3. Need to Support Moderate Muslim-Governed States
    - a. Procedural neutrality is not a threat to Islam
    - b. Hajj is an international system
  - 4. **Sharia State**
    - a. **Pluralism** is anathema to the Islamist state
      - 1) al Nizam al-Islami
  - 5. Ayatollah Khomeini and Khamenei
    - a. **Velayat-e Faqih**
    - b. Iranian center of gravity is gravely compromised
    - c. Rule of the jurisconsult seems destined to fail

6. Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
    - a. Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty
    - b. Absence of a state negotiator since 1988
    - c. Arab League
  7. Outlines of an Agreement
  8. Blundering Emphasis on the Settlement Issue
    - a. Need to focus on Iranian nuclear threat
    - b. **Obama's narrative shift**
    - b. Need to repair the damage
    - c. Enemies of the state will step up their efforts to disrupt progress toward peace
- G. WOMEN
1. Tocqueville on the American Attitude: Strength of the American Woman
  2. Status of Women in the Arab-Islamic World
    - a. Khaled Abou El Fadl on *fitna*
    - b. Man's honor
    - c. Honor killings and other crimes
  3. 2002 **Arab Human Development Report**
    - a. Problems: ignorance and denial of women's rights
  4. Some Signs of Reform
    - a. But the center of gravity still holds sway
  5. Evidence of Changing Attitudes
    - a. Lead taken by women in the Tehran protests
    - b. American sisterhood has not been powerful
  6. **George Shultz's "Classroom in the Kremlin" as a Model**
    - a. Soviet society fell back due to curtailed freedoms
    - b. Women's rights = universal rights
- H. DEMOCRACY
1. Tocqueville's Historical Analysis
  2. Woodrow Wilson's Action Plan
  3. Democracy is America's Center of Gravity
  4. Discrediting of Democracy by Autocratic Middle Eastern Regimes
  5. Democracy Equated with the Destruction of Sharia
  6. Bush's Pro-Democracy Efforts Also Brought Islamists to Power
    - a. "One man, one vote, one time"
    - b. Realist disparagement of democracy as unexportable
      - 1) National security strategy of 2010
      - 2) Anne Applebaum
  7. What Must Be Done
    - a. Explain that democracy has become an accepted addition to the state system
    - b. Legitimacy requires the free expression of the people's will
  8. Tocqueville's Assessment of Islam's Vulnerability
    - a. Islam is dogmatically and aggressively substantive
  9. Democracy and the Westphalian System Neither Require Nor Challenge Any Substantive Commitment
    - a. \*See below
    - b. Democracy: the only reliable instrument to provide legitimacy and achieve results
      - 1) It provides transparency
      - 2) It keeps open the flow of information
      - 3) Amartya Sen
      - 4) Friedrich Hayek
  10. America's Center of Gravity is in the Arab-Islamic World's Best Interests
  11. Test for Islam
    - a. [Contrast Richard John Neuhaus's Naked Public Square]
- I. NUCLEAR WEAPONS
1. **Doctrine of Collective Security**

- a. A flawed tool in practice
- 2. Iran's Stringing along of the International Community
  - a. Goal: produce missile-deliverable nuclear weapons
- 3. Implications of an Iranian Nuclear Arsenal
- 4. Nuclear-Free World Project
  - a. 1946 Acheson-Lilienthal Report
  - b. 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty
  - c. Halting Iran's nuclear program is a precondition
- 5. Multilateral Collective Security Effort
  - a. Use of diplomacy and sanctions
  - b. Iran's pushing the collective security system to its moment of truth
- 6. Collective Security Was Designed to Replace **Balance of Power**
  - a. WWI
- 7. Failure of the **Acheson-Lilienthal Plan**
- 8. **Iran's Collective Security Challenge** Is the Center of Gravity Now
- J. VALUES
  - 1. American Values Are Now Being Turned into Weapons against Us
  - 2. War in Afghanistan
    - a. Pessimistic mood
  - 3. Problem of Asymmetries
    - a. The Melians
    - b. Denunciation of the francs-tireurs
  - 4. US Led the 20C Effort to Close the Asymmetry Gap
    - a. **Gap-closing steps**
      - 1) Human rights
      - 2) Development assistance
      - 3) Military justice system
  - 5. Reverse Meanings of These Legal and Moral Restrictions
    - a. **Use as strategic tactics**
      - 1) Weaponized by insurgents
    - b. Terrorism became the centerpiece of a war on world order
  - 6. Ungoverned Spaces Have Become a King's X for Insurgents
    - a. Asymmetrical tactics
    - b. Insurgents' objects not to lose the war
- K. CONCLUSION
  - 1. Every Category in the Center of Gravity Section Is Marked by a Danger Asymmetry
    - a. Laws of war have been converted
  - 2. Most Horrendous Asymmetrical Threat
    - a. Potential use of a nuclear weapon from no known address
      - 1) Unreachable by strategies of deterrence
    - b. Danger of the transfer of nuclear weapons to surrogates
  - 3. Policies and Techniques that Are Used to Cope with This **Shift in the Balance of Asymmetries**
    - a. Deployment of lawyers
    - b. But the problem has not been effectively addressed
    - c. We have no answers to the strange paradigm shift
  - 4. America's Dilemma

## Review

westernizers  
 state vs. *umma*  
 unity of Islam  
 Arab state "enablers"  
 Bush strategic agenda

rejectionists  
 democracy vs. *sharia*  
 four threatening phenomena  
 Carl von Clausewitz  
 Khaled Abou El-Fadl on *fitna*

Islamist doctrines  
 Christian duality of powers  
 Al-Qaeda strategy  
 center of gravity  
 six areas of confrontation

laws of war	Geneva Convention protections	rejecting political correctness
Cold War as the greatest threat	<i>sharia</i> state	<i>Velayat e-Faqih</i>
Obama's narrative shift	AHDR	George P. Shultz
classroom in the Kremlin	Bush's pro-democracy efforts	transparency
doctrine of collective security	Acheson-Lilienthal Plan	closing the asymmetry gap

## CHAPTER SIX: IN THE MATTER OF GRAND STRATEGY

### Outline

- A. Modern International State System
  - 1. **Westphalian System** is itself a **Grand Strategy** and a Civilization
    - a. It is every civilization's other civilization
  - 2. Islamic Civilization Entered This System under Duress
    - a. Lack of success
    - b. Pre-compensation through rigid, radicalized responses
  - 3. Religion Relegated to the Margins
    - a. Return of the repressed
  - 4. Grand Strategy: Its Grounding in the Procedural
    - a. Occam's Razor
    - b. Resulting flexibility
    - c. Where the line must be drawn: fighting faiths
  - 5. Secularism and Islam
- B. WHETHER THE SYSTEM CAN ACCOMMODATE ISLAM
  - 1. An-Na'im: Positivistic State-Imposed Sharia Is Not True Law
  - 2. Ansary: Medina Policy
    - a. **Kitab**: covenant
  - 3. Mecca: Faith Adopted through Persuasion
  - 4. **Ali Abd al-Raziq**: No Injunction about a Political System
    - a. A strictly political temporal power annexes religion
  - 5. Parallel with Zia ul-Haq and Khomeini
  - 6. These Are Pragmatic Uses of Faith
    - a. L. Carl Brown
  - 7. Interdependence of Secularism and Religion
  - 8. **Alexis de Tocqueville**: Compatibility of Religion and Liberty
- C. ALI A. ALLAWI ON ISLAMIC VALUES
  - 1. Transcendental Element is Non-negotiable
  - 2. Secularism is a Trap
    - a. Reform is a recipe for self-destruction
  - 3. Islam Has Had No State on the World Stage
    - a. Islam rendered powerless
    - b. Demand for an Islamic State
    - c. Idea of a caliphate
  - 4. Only Two Possible Outcomes
    - a. Privatize Islam
    - b. Public manifestation of Islam in daily life
  - 5. Need for mutually respectful accommodation between Islam and the world
    - a. **al-Ghazali**
    - b. Duncan Black MacDonald
- D. RELIGION IN WORLD ORDER REVISITED
  - 1. Role of Religion in the Pre-Modern Age
  - 2. Modern World Has Defined Itself against Religion
  - 3. Modern Politics Began with Machiavelli, 1513

- a. Shock to religion
  - 1) **“Virtue”** emptied of classical and Christian meaning
- 4. Treaty of Westphalia
- 5. Immanuel Kant on Enlightenment
  - a. Man is leaving his self-imposed immaturity
- 6. French Revolution
  - a. **Jacques-Louis David’s *Death of Marat***
  - b. A modern *Pietà*: revolution substituted for religion
- 7. Contribution of the Globalizing Economy
  - a. Swift
- 8. **Max Weber’s Modernization Theory**
  - a. Nietzsche: Zenith of the modern assault on religion
- E. EFFECTS OF THIS DISPOSAL OF RELIGION ON PEOPLE’S LIVES
  - 1. **Jürgen Habermas**: Search for Equivalents
  - 2. “Legitimacy of the Modern Age” Argument
    - a. Karl Löwith vs. Hans Blumenberg
      - 1) Modernity is a religion
  - 3. **Martin Heidegger**
    - a. Return to the Pre-socratics
  - 4. Neo-Pragmatists and Neo-Utilitarians
    - a. Richard Rorty and Peter Singer
      - 1) Anti-foundationalism
      - 2) But they smuggled religious contraband
  - 5. Hannah Arendt : Europe as the New Faith
    - a. America as its evil adversary
  - 6. First Truly Religion-Driven War Since 1648
- F. FRUITS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT
  - 1. Some of History’s Worst Human and Environmental Horrors
    - a. Rationalist modernity failed to provide a moral basis for life and politics
      - 1) “Disenchantment”
    - b. Religion did not wither but grew more intense
  - 2. **Max Horkheimer** and Theodor Adorno
    - a. Effort to create an alternate modernity
    - b. Jürgen Habermas
  - 3. Claims That Procedures Are Derived from a Religious Source of Values
    - a. Hegel
      - 1) Biblical idea of the nations
    - b. Legal equality of states
      - 1) Devised from transcendental belief
  - 4. **Charles Taylor**
    - a. Modernity has brought forth its own spiritual content
  - 5. al-Ghazali and Anselm
  - 6. Two Versions of Job
  - 7. No Convergence of Disparate Religions
  - 8. Islam as Social Project
  - 9. Question Comes Down to Democracy

## Review

grand strategy  
al-Ghazali  
Max Weber  
Martin Heidegger

*kitab*  
virtue  
modernization theory  
Max Horkheimer

Ali Abd al-Rziq  
J.-L. David’s *Death of Marat*  
Jürgen Habermas  
Charles Taylor