

The image features four silhouetted figures of men standing against a bright, cloudy sky. The men are dressed in what appears to be military or militant attire. The man on the far left holds an assault rifle high in his right hand. The second man from the left also holds an assault rifle high. The third man, positioned slightly behind the others, has his right arm raised in a fist. The man on the far right also has his right arm raised in a fist. The overall mood is one of triumph or defiance. The text 'ISLAMISM AND THE WAR ON TERROR' is superimposed in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters across the middle of the image.

ISLAMISM AND THE WAR ON TERROR

A FEW THINGS

American policy in the Middle East was

... galvanized by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan [Carter Doctrine]

... militarized by the Iran-Iraq War [“Tanker War”]

... radicalized by the attacks of September, 2001 [“War on Terror”]

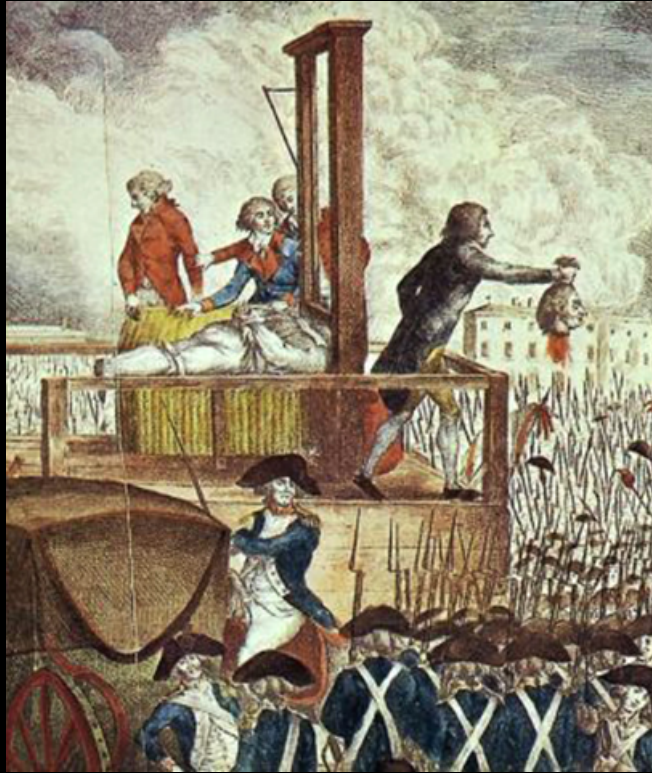
Before 2001, the threat of terrorism against the U.S. was part of the “rogue state” problem.

Better organization | Better weapons (WMD)

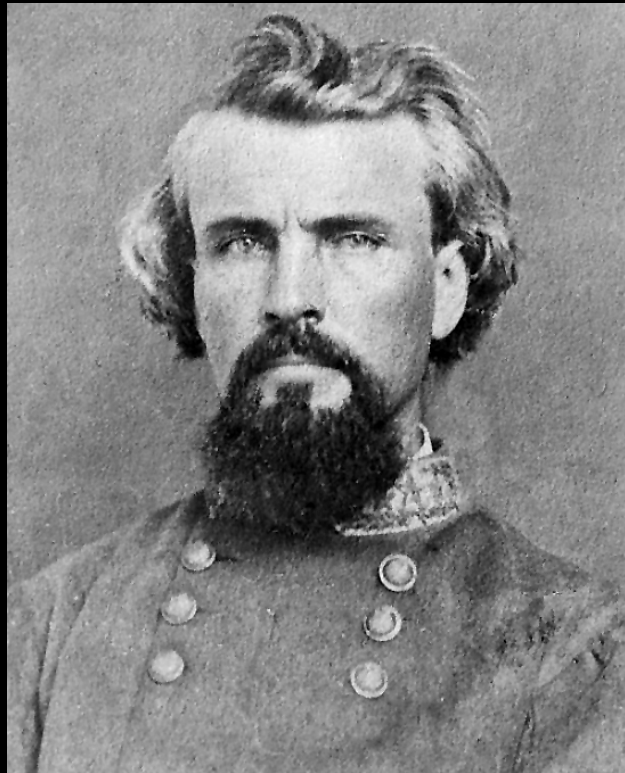
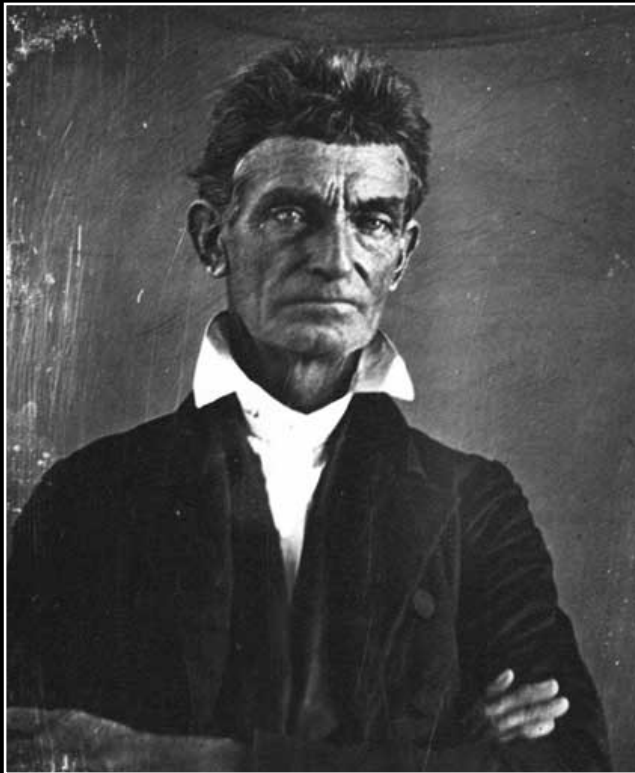
After 1991, regime change was *always* American policy in Iraq.

Time is not on our side. (President George W. Bush, State of the Union, 2002)

TERROR



TERRORIST



THE PURSUIT OF POLITICS

“Political violence”

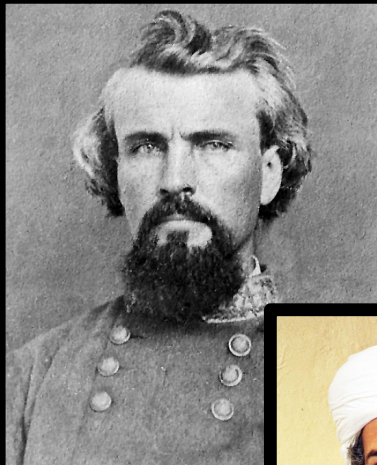
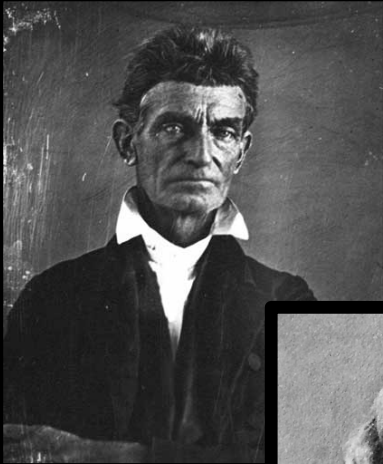
Massacre

Pogrom

Assassination (“targeted killing”)

Terrorism

Indiscriminate



THE PURSUIT OF POLITICS

“Political violence”

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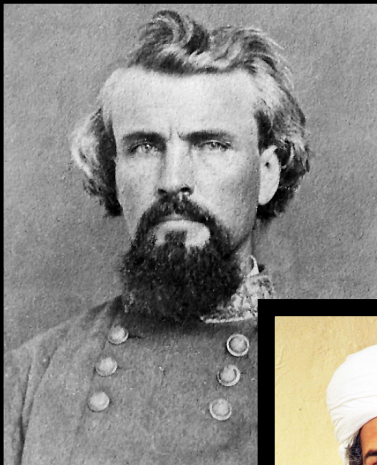
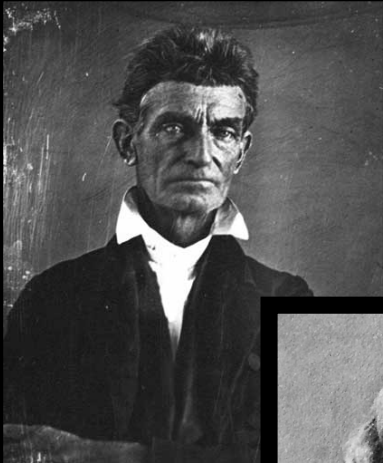
Indiscriminate

Non-normative [treacherous]

Exiguous means in pursuit of far-reaching ends

Highly leveraged in psychological terms

Strategic success is all about correct targeting



ISLAMISM

Saudi Arabia – Salafism (19c)

Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792)

Fundamentalists | Puritans | “Unitarians”

Egypt – The Muslim Brotherhood (1928)

Hassan al-Banna (d. 1949)

Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966)

Iran – *Vilayet-e Faqih* [“Rule of the Jurist”]

Ruhollah Khomeini (d. 1989)



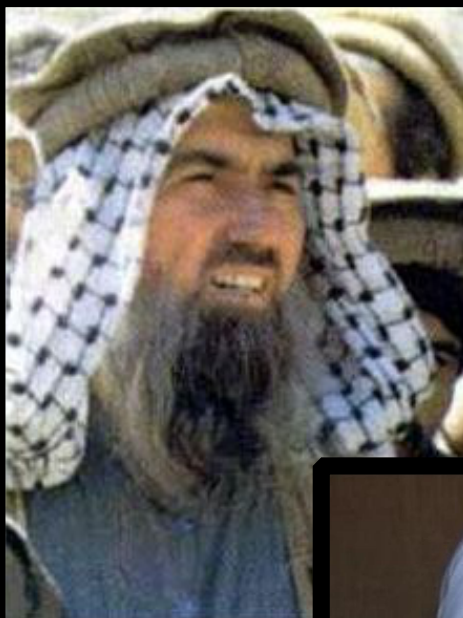
ISLAMISM

Dissatisfaction with the morally compromised nature of secular authority (and authoritarianism)

Disappointment at the failure of secular nationalism to mobilize anti-Western resistance

Aim is to seize control of the state as an instrument for the moral direction of society





Abdullah Azzam

AL-QAEDA

- 1984 Bureau of Services for Arab Mujahideen
- 1988 Al-Qaeda al-Askariya (“The Military Base”)
- 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait
Bin Laden urges local defense of Saudi Arabia
- 1992 Bin Laden moves to Sudan



Ayman al-Zawahiri

Bin Ladin agreed to help Turabi in an ongoing war against African Christian separatists in southern Sudan and also to do some road building. Turabi in return would let Bin Ladin use Sudan as a base for worldwide business operations and for preparations for jihad. (9/11 Commission Report)

AL-QAEDA



Hassan al-Turabi

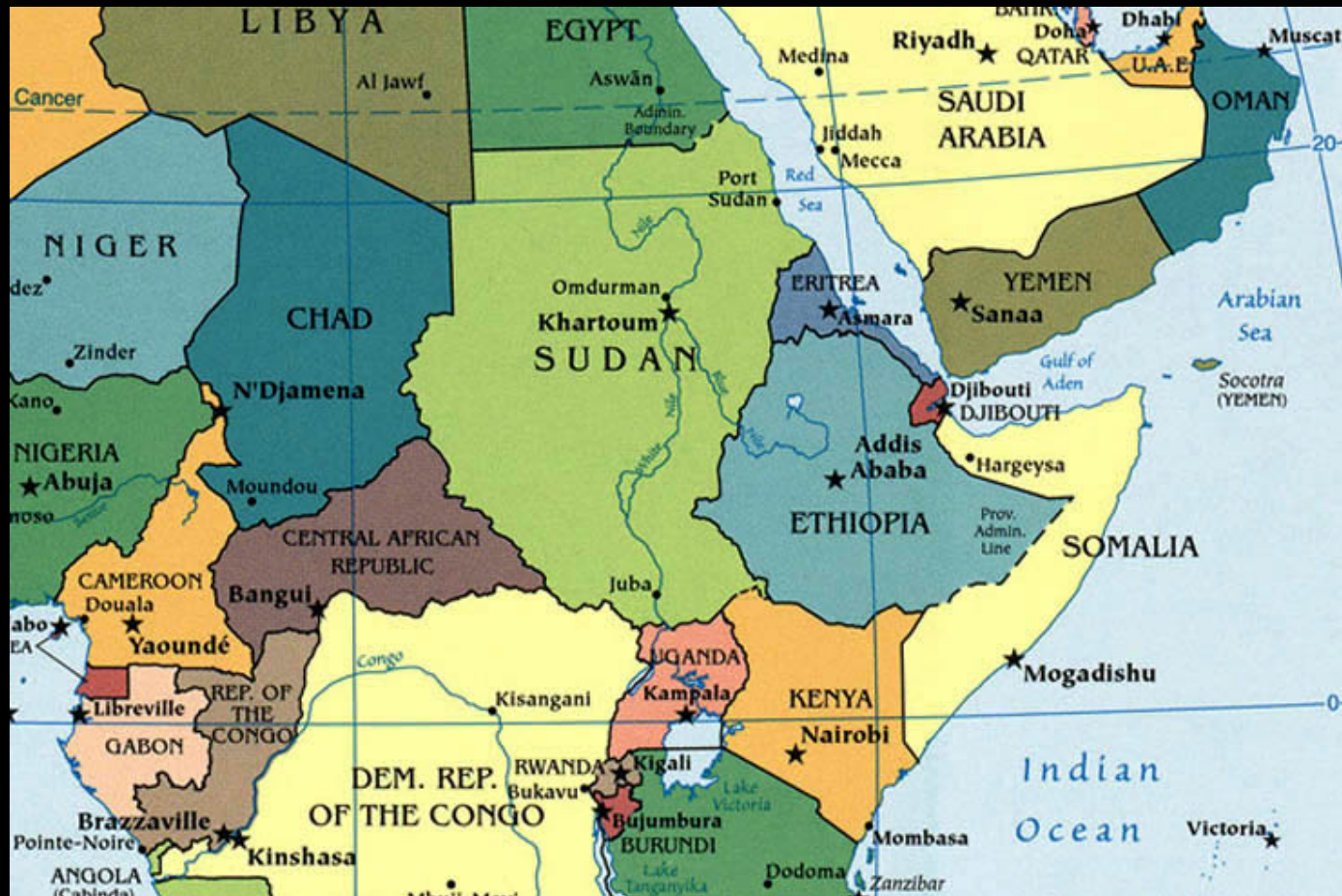


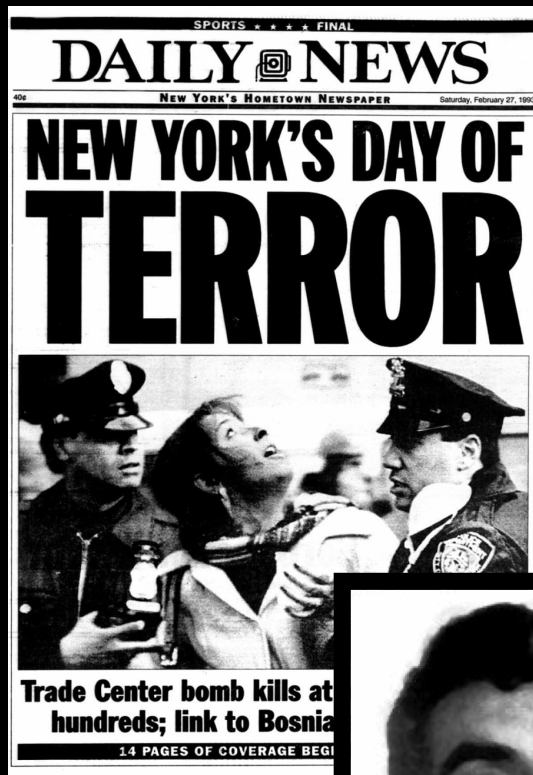
Bin Laden in Sudan

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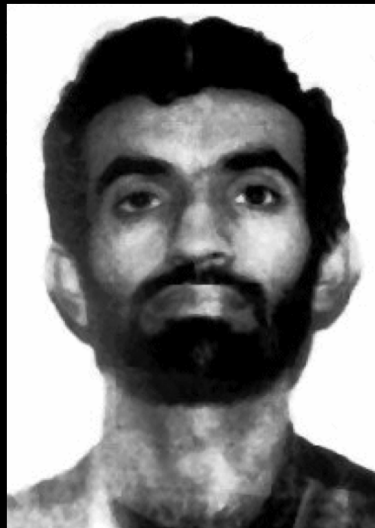
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EAST AFRICA



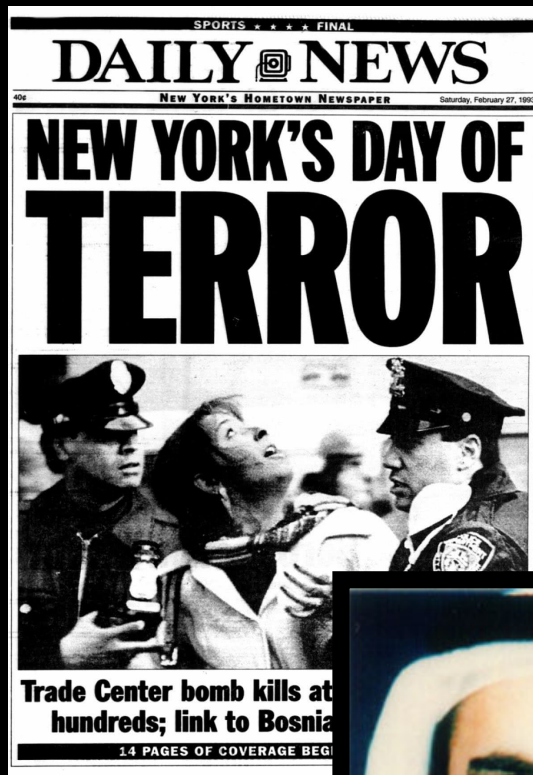


Ramzi Yousef



THE FAR ENEMY

- 1993 World Trade Center bombing (Feb)
- 1995 Manifesto accusing Saudis of being corrupt and in cahoots with the Crusaders (Aug)
Five Americans killed at Saudi training facility
- 1996 Khobar Towers bombing (June)
Fatwa Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places (Aug)



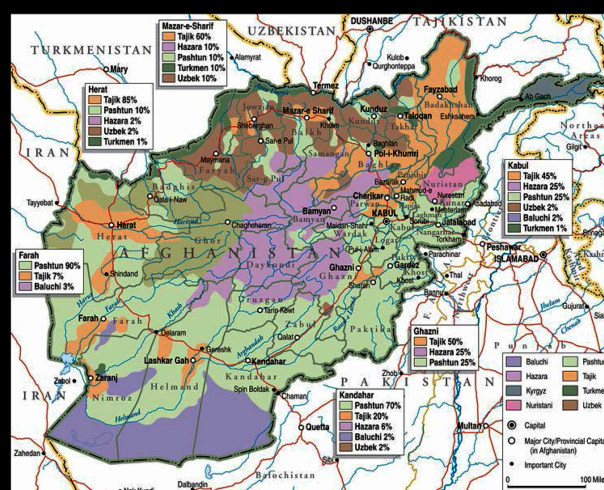
THE FAR ENEMY

- 1996 Bin Laden moves to Afghanistan
- 1997 Islamist opposition in Algeria crushed (at war since 1991)
Luxor Attack kills 58 tourists (+ 4 Egyptians)

Khalid Sheik
Mohammed



AFGHANISTAN





Nairobi, Kenya



Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

THE WAR ON TERROR

- 1984 Last American forces depart Lebanon
Stamp out the scourge of terrorism. (Reagan)
“Weinberger Doctrine” (Nov)
- 1991 First Gulf War
Oslo “Peace Process” begins
- 1996 *Terrorism is the enemy of our generation.* (Clinton)
- 1998 Bin Laden’s second *Fatwa*
East Africa bombings (Aug)
Cruise missile attacks against Afghanistan and Sudan (Aug)
Operation DESERT FOX (Dec)
- 2000 Attack on *USS Cole* in Yemen (Oct)

THE WAR ON TERROR



2001

Sept Rumsfeld requests war plan against Iraq (11th)
NSC resolves to focus on terrorism in general (12th)
Bush describes war on terror as “crusade” (12th)
Wolfowitz brief on state sponsors (13th)

Saudi Arabia | Pakistan

Tenet brief on Afghanistan as first step (15th)
Nov *Afghanistan is still just the beginning.* (26th)

2002

Jan State of the Union identifies “axis of evil” as the principal target of American policy

IRAQ

CASUS BELLI



1. Saddam Hussein's persistent refusal to cooperate with comply with UN resolutions and weapons inspections.
2. Saddam Hussein's attempts to kill the first President Bush.
3. Defeat a cruel, Hitlerian tyrant and reassert the rule of law among nations
4. Grand design to reshape the Middle East, including the removal of enemies of Israel.
5. Create a model of democratization and responsible government.
6. Seize the oil (also to cover the cost of reconstruction).

IRAQ

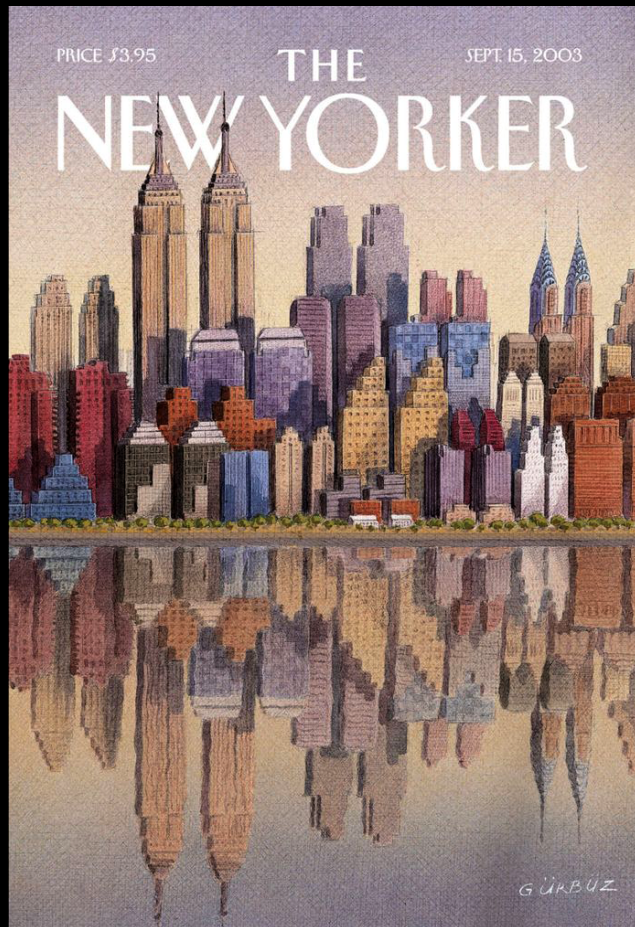
INVASION AND OCCUPATION



Our mission is clear in Iraq. Should we have to go in, our mission is very clear: disarmament.
(6 Mar 2003)

Our mission in Iraq is clear. We're hunting down the terrorists. We're helping the Iraqis build a free nation. We're advancing freedom in the broader Middle East ... and laying the foundation of peace.
(29 June 2005)

It's a new mission. Its goal is to help the Iraqis make progress toward reconciliation; to build a free nation that respects the rights of its people, and upholds the rule of law. (28 June 2007)



*There are two things that a democratic people
will always find very difficult, to begin a war
and to end it.*

Tocqueville, Democracy in America