

IS DEMOCRATIZATION A SOUND STRATEGY FOR COMBATING FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM?

BY

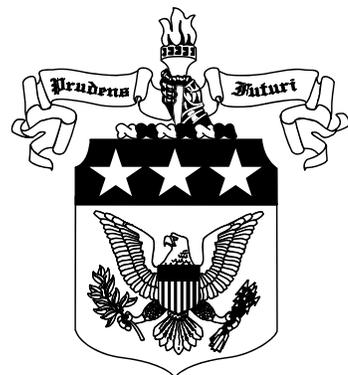
COLONEL ANTHONY J. JOHNSON
United States Marine Corps

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:

Approved for Public Release.
Distribution is Unlimited.

USAWC CLASS OF 2008

This SRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.



U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA 17013-5050

Report Documentation Page

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.

1. REPORT DATE 15 MAR 2008		2. REPORT TYPE Strategy Research Project		3. DATES COVERED 00-00-2007 to 00-00-2008	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Is Democratization a Sound Strategy for Combating Fundamentalist Islam?				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Anthony Johnson				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College ,122 Forbes Ave.,Carlisle,PA,17013-5220				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT See attached					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			
unclassified	unclassified	unclassified	Same as Report (SAR)	24	

The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle State Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**IS DEMOCRATIZATION A SOUND STRATEGY FOR COMBATING
FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM?**

by

Colonel Anthony J. Johnson
United States Marine Corps

Colonel Dale Eikmeier
Project Adviser

This SRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Colonel Anthony J. Johnson

TITLE: Is Democratization A Sound Strategy For Combating Fundamentalist Islam?

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 03 March 2008 WORD COUNT: 5,163 PAGES: 24

KEY TERMS: Human Rights in Islam, Universal Human Rights

CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Since the events of 9/11, America again views itself in a conflict of values similar to the Cold War, which witnessed the triumph of freedom and democracy over the threats of fascism and communism. The United States' current National Security Strategy (NSS) prepossess to counter the growth of radical Islam through the promotion of human rights and freedom by the process of democratization throughout the world. This paper examines the premise that "universal human rights", as the basis for democracy, is compatible with Islamic culture and is therefore a sound strategy for combating the spread of "Islamic fundamentalism" within the Muslim world. This strategy presupposes that there is a universal set of Human Rights that are acceptable and transferable to all peoples. In order for democratization to succeed the concept of individual human rights must exist. Plainly stated, the NSS presumes first, that Islam is the peaceful religion that can embrace democracy but has been influenced by extremists, and if given the opportunity Muslim people will choose freedom over tyranny. Are these presuppositions true or simply a Western culture heuristic? The

question of universal human rights and its compatibility to Islamic culture becomes critical to the democratization strategy.

IS DEMOCRATIZATION A SOUND STRATEGY FOR COMBATING FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM?

Extending the reach of freedom is a mission that unites democracies around the world. Some say that ending tyranny means 'imposing our values' on people who do not share them, or that people live in parts of the world where freedom cannot take hold. That is refuted by the fact that every time people are given a choice, they choose freedom. History shows that ultimately freedom conquers fear. And given a chance, freedom will conquer fear in every nation on earth.

—George W. Bush, second inaugural address.

Introduction

The United States' current strategy is to counter the growth of radical Islam (also known as Islamic fundamentalism) through the promotion of human rights and freedom by the process of democratization throughout the world. Is this a sound strategy for combating radical Islam? This paper examines the premise that "universal human rights", as the basis for democracy, is compatible with Islamic culture and is therefore a sound strategy for combating the spread of "Islamic fundamentalism" within the Muslim world.

Since the events of 9/11, America again views itself in a conflict of values similar to the Cold War, where we witnessed the triumph of freedom and democracy over fascism and communism. The National Security Strategy (NSS) describes the current conflict as a struggle against a new totalitarian ideology called "Fundamentalist" or "Radical Islam" that has perverted a peaceful and proud religion¹. It describes radical Islam's content as different from the ideologies of fascism or communism, but sees its means and ends as similar: intolerance, murder, terror, enslavement and repression.²

The NSS focuses on combating this new ideology by extending freedom and democracy to the oppressed people of the Islamic world. The NSS strategy is founded

upon two pillars. The first is the promotion of freedom, justice and human dignity throughout the world. The strategy states that free governments are accountable to their people. They should pursue economic and political programs that benefit their citizens. The second pillar is for the United States to lead a growing community of democratic states to confront the many challenges facing the world.³

This strategy presupposes that there is a universal set of Human Rights that are acceptable and transferable to all peoples. That “the desire for freedom lives in every human heart and the imperative of human dignity transcends all nations and cultures.”⁴ The NSS advocates democratization as the mechanism to achieve these universal rights. For democratization to succeed the concept of individual human rights must exist. Plainly stated, the NSS presumes that Islam can embrace democracy but has been influenced by extremists, and if given the opportunity; Muslim people will choose freedom and adopt the Western concept of Human Rights. Are these presuppositions true or simply a Western culture heuristic? The question of universal human rights and its compatibility to Islamic culture becomes critical to the democratization strategy. If compatible then the democratization strategy could work. If it is not compatible then democratization may be the wrong strategy.

Clearly our Western concept of “universal human rights” is not universal. There are significant and arguably irreconcilable differences between what the Western liberal tradition espouses and advocates as human rights and what the Islamic world accept as human rights. This inconsistency of world view of human rights also carries over to democratization. The United States desires stable, secular democracies in the liberal fashion to be established in predominantly Muslim countries, yet there is no historic,

cultural or religious basis for this type of government in the Muslim world and those countries who have achieved this form of government such as Turkey, Indonesia, and arguably Pakistan face many internal struggles to maintain their stability. This divergent world view has significant implications as the United States and the Western world attempts to counter the spread of Islamic fundamentalism by forwarding an agenda of freedom and democracy.

Universal Human Rights

What is meant by universal human rights? From the American perspective, the concept of universal human rights is best captured in the nation's founding documents, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"⁵

These documents represent a culminating point of Western culture's political and social thoughts. They are based on a belief in "natural rights" that are inherent in the nature of mankind and not contingent on human actions or beliefs. "Natural rights" form the intellectual foundation for the Western concept of human rights and are derived from the concept of "natural law". Natural law is an ethical theory that has its origins in ancient Greek philosophy, but was expanded by the Judeo Christian world view by the works of Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine of Hippo. Aquinas asserts that there is a natural order or law whose existence and content has been set by God and therefore has universal validity and will supersedes any law made by man⁶.

During the Seventeenth Century Thomas Hobbes expanded and modified the theological definition of Natural law. Hobbes argued that it is human nature to seek one's own good and man will act in his own interest at the expense of other people. Since it is unavoidable for human beings to follow this nature, it becomes a right for them to do so (to seek after their own good). Yet, if every man were only seeking after his own good chaos would ensue as individuals would steal, kill, or enslave others in order to prosper. Hobbes reasoned that this world of chaos created by unlimited rights would be highly undesirable, and would cause life to be poor, nasty, brutish, and short⁷. To avoid this it would be in man's best interest to be governed. That is to give up part of their natural rights or freedoms for the protection (security) of other rights. It was therefore beneficial and necessary to govern the behavior of man in order to protect the natural rights of one man from infringement by another. His theory for man's need for the social protection of natural rights set the stage for the next step in Western culture's thinking about government, the "social contract".

The concept of "social contract" is best described in the political writings of John Locke and Jacques Rousseau. Jacques Rousseau first coined the phrase in his most important contribution to Western culture, *The Social Contract*, where he outlined the basis for a legitimate political order. First published in 1762, it became one of the most influential works of political philosophy of its time. The book begins "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains: Those who believe themselves the master of others cease not to be even greater slaves than the people they govern."⁸ Rousseau accepts Hobbes' view of the state of nature as primitive, nasty, and brutish, which necessitates of cooperation to overcome. Human beings altered the state of nature by establishing a

social order or government for mutual benefits. As society developed, the division of labor and acquisition of property required that men adopt institutions of government. Rousseau believed that within a developed society, man is prone to be in competition with his fellow men, while at the same time becoming dependent on them. According to Rousseau, by joining together through the social contract and abandoning their claims of natural right, individuals can both preserve themselves and remain free⁹.

John Locke addresses natural law from a different perspective and builds on the writings of Aquinas and Hobbes. He spoke in the language of natural law, the content of this law was by and large protective of natural rights, and it was this language that later liberal thinkers preferred (Thomas Jefferson in particular). He reinterprets Hobbes' explanation of natural law by asserting that life, liberty, and property are all human rights that must be protected¹⁰. For Locke, human nature has the "law of nature" to govern and temper it. He believed in the restraining abilities of human reason. He asserted that human reason teaches "that no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions"; and that breaches of this law of nature may be punished by government¹¹.

His view is that the role of government is the protection of life, health, liberty and possessions. This view is partly deduced from the influence of Christian theology that all men are made in God's image and are the possessions of the creator. Where Hobbes viewed the role of government as limiting natural rights or freedoms, Locke believed that the role of Government was to protect and safeguard natural rights. Locke asserts that if the government went against the natural law and failed to protect "life, liberty, and property," people have the right and could justifiably overthrow the existing

government and create a new one. Locke's thoughts and writings exercised a profound influence on the philosophy of liberalism. His arguments concerning liberty and the social contract, later influenced the written works of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and other Founding Fathers of the United States.

Liberalism has its origins in the "Enlightenment" that occurred in seventeenth century Europe. It is a Western concept that was exported to other parts of the world and cultures.

It arose during the warfare that followed the Protestant Reformation and counters the Absolute Monarchy's Divine Right of Kings and the religious intolerance (by both Catholic and Protestant) that attempted to impose its views on others by force. Its goal was to establish a secular state in which religious differences would be tolerated and natural rights would be protected. The Liberalism philosophy emphasizes individual rights and equality of opportunity. Liberalism itself has two intertwined branches, one being political and the other economic. Economic liberalism supported political liberalism by advocating free markets, free trade, and capitalism as the mechanism to individual and national prosperity. These branches are distinct, but when taken together capture the spirit of the development.¹²

Liberalism greatly influenced the political minds behind the American and French revolutions and set the foundation for the government that resulted. It drew on the theory of the "social contract", "natural rights" and the natural right of the people to overthrow their leaders, should those leaders betray their natural rights. Both the American Revolution and the French Revolution would add "democracy" to the list of values which liberal thought promoted. The idea, that the people were sovereign, and

capable of making all necessary laws and enforcing them, went beyond the conceptions of the Enlightenment. Instead of merely asserting the rights of individuals within the state, all of the state's powers were derived from the nature of man (natural law), given by God (supernatural law), or by contract ("the just consent of the governed".) and provides the basis for the western concept of universal human rights.

In the last half of the Twentieth century it is this ideal of political liberalism that provides the underpinnings for democratic societies and advocates universal human rights. Although liberalism takes on many political forms across the world, every form contains a system of core principles which includes; extensive freedom of thought and speech, limitations on the power of governments, the rule of law, the free exchange of ideas, a market or mixed economy, and a transparent system of government. All forms also support some variant of the form of government known as democracy, with open and fair elections, civil rights and jurisprudence based on rule of law.

From an international civil society perspective the United Nations (UN) has attempted to codify the Western liberal concept of human rights in to a set of universal human rights through UN resolutions and proclamations. The most cited is, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (abbreviated UDHR) which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 and in theory established the international standard.

The UDHR contains 30 articles which outline the view of the General Assembly on human rights that it believes must be guaranteed to all people. It states in the preamble that the document is in "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom,

justice and peace in the world...”¹³ The human rights included are extensive and consistent with the rights exposed by all Western democratic societies. These rights include such beliefs as all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; that every person has the right to life, liberty and property, and security of their person. It asserts freedom of speech, religion, assemble and association. It denounces slavery and servitude, and it extends the rule of law and equal protections under law for to all people regardless of gender, race, nationality or religion.

It also addresses issues like freedom of movement, equal access to public service, rights to an education and workers rights. It advocates democratic government and rule of law by stating that every human being (regardless of ethnicity or gender) has a right to take part in the government of their country through freely chosen representatives. It asserts that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government and that this will be expressed in periodic and genuine free elections.

The UDHR also advances the role of women in society and makes no distinction between genders. It extends the right of education, work, and property to all persons. Perhaps most interesting is it seeks to protect the rights of women in marriage. Article 16 states; Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. Further it states “Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses¹⁴” The UDHR ends by calling for all member states to “strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both

among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.”¹⁵

Islamic Concept of Human Rights

How do these concepts of universal human rights correspond to the concept of human rights in the Muslim world? A natural starting point would be to see how the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been received by Islamic member states. Beginning in the late 1970s many prominent Muslim countries began criticizing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for its perceived failure to take into account the cultural and religious context of non-Western countries. In 1981 during the 36th session of the U.N. General Assembly, the delegations from Iran claimed that the UDHR was "a secular understanding of the Judeo-Christian tradition", which could not be implemented by Muslims without trespassing on Islamic law. If a choice had to be made between the divine law of Islam and adherence to the UDHR Iran would choose Islamic law.¹⁶ As a response to the UDHR the 54 member nations of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) sponsored a symposium on human rights and produced the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI). The Declaration was adopted at the OIC’s 19th Conference of Foreign Ministers in Cairo on 5 August 1990¹⁷.

The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam and the UDHR appear to be similar on first reading, but closer examination reveals they differ substantially. The fundamental difference is hugely significant in understating any divergence in the universality of human rights. The CDHRI affirms Islamic *Sharia* as the sole source of human rights. It states that “*sharia* is thus the only source of reference for the

explanation or clarification of the declaration.¹⁸ It asserts also that the CDHRI has primacy over all other universal agreements treaties or laws, including the International Bill of Rights (UDHR included) and all other international covenants.¹⁹

Since the early 1990s members of the OIC have sustained a concerted effort to advance acceptance of the CDHRI. During the Jubilee Commemoration of the UDHR on 17 March 1998 Iran's foreign minister, Kamal Kharazi addressed the U.N. commission and called for revision of the UDHR document in order to enrich it by incorporating Islamic beliefs.²⁰ During March 2002, Ahmad Al Mufti presented the first paper to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights with the conclusion that "Islam adds new positive dimensions to human rights since unlike international institutions; it attributes them to the divine source, thereby adding new moral motivation for complying with them"²¹.

What then are Islamic Human Rights, as stated in the CDHRI, and how do they differ from the UDHR? To begin, the UDHR is a secular document reflecting Western-style norms of human rights, democracy and sound governance. In the preamble there is no mention of religion. All religions and cultures are assumed to be equal. All of humanity is asked to work together to promote "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms"²².

In CDHRI the tone is completely different. The Cairo Declaration boldly asserts the superiority of Islam by referring to the Islamic *Ummah* (body of believers) as the "best nation" and describes the *Ummah* as having a historic role to play in guiding "a humanity confused by competing trends and ideologies and to provide solutions to the chronic problems of this materialistic civilization."²³ The preamble also affirms

“freedoms and rights to a dignified life in accordance with the Islamic *Shariah*” There is no implication that other cultures or religions are equal. Rather, the rest of humanity is described as confused and in need of guidance. From the beginning the CDHRI appears to divide the world into either Muslims or infidel.

Article 1, in part states: All human beings are from one family whose members are united by submission to God and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the grounds of race, color, language, sex, religious belief, political affiliation, social status or other considerations.²⁴ But this assertion contradicts the preamble that states that “freedoms and rights to a dignified life in accordance with the Islamic *Shariah*” because *Shariah* itself discriminates between individuals based on gender, status and religious beliefs. Also the preamble makes it clear that Muslims are held to be higher in position to God than infidels.

Article 2, highlights some significant differences in beliefs. It forbids bodily harm or the taking of life unless for a *Shariah* prescribed reason.²⁵ But blasphemy against the Prophet is a prescribed reason under *Shariah* and punishable by death. There is no right of free expression or speech. A good example is the fatwa issued by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Supreme Leader of Iran against Salman Rushdie, condemning him to death for his book, *The Satanic Verses*. Article 9 places the duty on the state to give Islamic education to the people as a right²⁶. No other religion is granted this status. It also charges the state with providing people with a secular education, so long as it does not conflict with Islam. Thus all learning must convey the Islamic world-view. In practice children must be taught that the early wars of Arab expansion were in

accordance with God's wishes and benevolence to spread Islam. The years before the Arab invasions are seen as periods of darkness, no matter how great the concurred civilization.

Article 10, states, "Islam is the religion of unspoiled nature; it prohibits the exercise of any form of compulsion on man or exploitation of his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or to atheism."²⁷ According to this article, Islam is the truth; a Muslim must be truly ignorant to want to convert to another religion. Therefore, Muslims are not allowed to convert to other religions and it is a violation of Shariah to do so or to encourage a Muslim to do so. The penalty of apostasy, according to Shariah, is death. Conversely the CDHRI provides no such protection for non-Muslims being forcibly converted to Islam and no provisions to protect him or her from her own ignorance or poverty. Article 10 is in direct contradiction to Article 18 of the UDHR.

Article 19a states: "All individuals are equal before the law, without distinction between rulers and ruled."²⁸ This Article makes reference to rulers and the ruled but makes no reference between man and woman. According to Shariah, a woman's testimony in court is worth that of half a man's. At no point does the CDHRI extend equal rights before the law to women. It does not address equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution as does the UDHR article 16²⁹. It also does not address the issue of consent for marriage as does article 12 of the UDHR rather it leaves this issue entirely to Shariah which advocates arranged marriages of girls as early as 13 years old.

After reviewing both the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human rights and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam there is no doubt that the Western concept of

universal human rights and the Muslim concept of Human rights are very different. Where the Western concept has its origin in the Natural Law and has been shaped by Christianity, The Renaissance, The Protestant Reformation, The Enlightenment and the American and French revolutions; the Muslim concept of Human rights has its own origin and influences.

Cultural Background of Islamic Human Rights

The pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula was an ungoverned land bounded to the north by the Byzantine Empire centered in Constantinople (modern day Turkey), and the Sasanian Empire of Persia to the east (modern Iran).³⁰ In order to secure favorable trade routes and resources, both empires frequently waged war against each other as well as with the surrounding neighbors along the Arabian Peninsula. Mecca was at the crossroads of these lucrative regional trade routes and was home to many religions; Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and numerous pagan cults that demanded human sacrifices.³¹ Individuals were free to live their lives in any manner they saw fit; they even enjoyed the freedom to choose and frequently change their deities.³²

Muhammad was born around 570 AD into the Hashim clan, of the Quraysh tribe that dominated Mecca. Around 610, Muhammad began to receive revelations from God through the angel Gabriel. These revelations eventually became the content of Islamic scripture contained in the *Quran*.³³ For Muslims, this scripture is the final word of God and the foundation of all Islam. Muhammad's Divine mission was to create an egalitarian society and bring peace to Arabia through submission to Islam.³⁴ He was able to bring order and peace to Mecca through subduing its various tribes by military force, and then forcing the inhabitants to submit to the will of God.

During his life, Muhammad was the sole leader of this fledgling religion and emerging empire. All decisions, whether spiritual or earthly, were referred to him. Upon his death in 632, his followers were at a loss as to replace their leader. Muhammad's father-in-law, Abu Bakr, was select to be the first caliph, (*khalifa* is the Arab term for successor).³⁵ Under Abu Bakr's leadership Muslims were able to bring the entire Arabian Peninsula under their control.³⁶ Abu Bakr was succeeded by Umar ibn al-Khattab, as the second caliph. Controversy arose over the behavior of third caliph, Uthman ibn Affan who was perceived as unjust in his decisions and was assassinated in 656.³⁷ Ali ibn Abi Talib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, was then selected to be the fourth caliph. This decision greatly divided the community and led to the first Islamic Civil War. The followers of Ali were known as *shait Ali* in Arabic, or more commonly as the Shia or Shiites. The remainder and majority of the believers became known as Sunnis, meaning "followers of (the Prophet's) customs."³⁸ Both groups accepted the position of caliph as the leader of the faith.

The office of caliphate embodied the combined power of both church and state as it acquired and administrated new lands brought under Muslim control. The reign of the Arab caliphs lasted until 1258, when the Mongols captured Baghdad and executed the last Abbasid caliph.³⁹ Afterwards, the caliphate was contested by numerous competing groups, and the caliph was never able to create the unified and egalitarian society that Muhammad had envisioned. The last formal caliphate ended with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1924. Many Islamic fundamentalist seek the reestablishment of the caliphate as a means of uniting all Muslims under the divine law of *Sharia*.

Islamic jurisprudence is based almost entirely on the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. The *Quran* contains many rules for the behavior expected of Muslims, but is not all inclusive. There are many matters, both religious and practical, where no specific *Quranic* rules were given. To address this, Muslims believe that they can look at the life, or *Sunnah* of Muhammad and his companions for guidance and as role model for what to imitate and what to avoid. The *Hadith* is the collection of oral traditions relating to the words and deeds of the Prophet. *Hadith* collections are regarded as important tools for determining the *Sunnah*, or Muslim way of life. Muslim scholars also used this process to know how Muhammad or his companions interpret the revelations which Muhammad received. For the vast majority of devout Muslims, authentic *Hadith* are also a source of religious inspiration.⁴⁰

Sharia is the body of Islamic law which is derived from the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. *Sharia* is the legal framework within which the public and some private aspects of life are regulated for those living under legal systems based on Muslim principles of jurisprudence and for Muslims living outside the domain. *Sharia* deals with many aspects of day-to-day life, including politics, economics, banking, business, contracts, family, sexuality, hygiene, and social issues. Unlike in Western tradition, there is no strictly static codified set of laws of *sharia*. *Sharia* is more of a system of devising laws, based on the *Quran*, *Hadith* and centuries of debate, interpretation and precedent.

Theologically, Islam is a religion of deeds and works as demonstrated by the five pillars of Islam which are: the *Shahada* or the profession of faith; the *al-salat* which requires believers to pray five times each day; the *al-zakah*, which is to pay the yearly tithe; the *Siyam Ramadan*, which is to observing the fast of Ramadan; and the *Al-hajj*,

which requires all believers who possess the means to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴¹ The very word Islam means submission to God. It is not a religion of salvation through grace and faith, as is Christianity. According to Islam, man is neither good nor bad, but will be judged by God based on his actions (deeds) on the Day of Judgment. Muslims also see the destiny of each man being actively guided by the divine will of God. This divine will governs all political, economic, social and personal actions in the material universe. To the Muslim world view, it is not religion that is the “opium of the people” but rather human arrogance of ego which deludes mankind into believing that it has authority to affect events in the world.⁴²

Islam considers itself as the manifestation of the final unaltered word of God and the one true religion of the entire world. Karen Armstrong in her book *Islam* describes how Muslims look to the Quran as providing guidance for a historical mission. That a Muslim’s chief duty was and is to create a just community in which all members were/are treated with respect in accordance with *Sharia* law.⁴³ This quest for justice is as fundamental to Islam as freedom and liberty are to America, but the term justice is defined but what is “just” according to *Sharia*. Muslims believe Islam is predestined to be the one true religion of the world because God told Muhammad this was so⁴⁴. It is the sacred duty of all Muslims to spread this true religion to the rest of the world.⁴⁵ To many Muslims, religion and government cannot be separated because governmental authority is derived from and linked to God.⁴⁶

This world view differs fundamentally from the Western liberalism concept of separation of church and state. In *A Secular Faith*, historian Darryl Hart follows the development of Western culture and how it was influenced by Christianity. He notes

that Christianity separated itself from the state and that the legitimacy of the state was not dependant on its linkage to the church. Hart asserts that Christianity as a religion separated what the Judaism of the Old Testament had bound together (religion and government)⁴⁷. The secular state has no calling on spiritual matters, or authority in religious matters, and no capacity to establish God's kingdom on earth. Government's legitimacy as an institution, does not hinge on its being consecrated by the church (reference to the social contract). Harts asserts that, in its "classic formulations", Christianity has very little to say about politics or the ordering of society⁴⁸. Its fundamental teachings have demonstrably had "implications for politics" but it offers no blueprint for government. The basic teachings of Christianity are useless for resolving political disputes, thus significantly reducing, if not eliminating, the dilemma of how to relate Christianity and politics. This Separation of church and state helps maintain the integrity of both church and state by allowing each of them to fulfill their purpose without transgressing or co-opting the other.⁴⁹

Conclusion

Is the National Security Strategy wrong to focus so strongly on combating fundamentalist Islam by extending freedom and democracy to the peoples of the Islamic world? Yes, because Islam in its current interpretations has great difficulty accepting our concepts of "freedom and democracy" and by making it our center piece, we cause further damage to our position by reinforcing the suspicion and fear that already exists.

Current Islamic culture (Sharia) is not compatible with Western Liberalism. In order for our current strategy to succeed, Muslims would need to accept a more moderate interpretation of the *Sunnah* and *Hadith*. There are moderate voices in the

Islamic world that are advocating this, but the United States is in no position to enter this debate. Islamic culture and Western culture have incompatible definitions of human rights and accepted freedoms. Any resulting democracy based on Islamic culture, rather than Western liberalism would still be oppressive by Western standards. Therefore doggedly pursuing democratization in the Islamic world will probably not produce the results President Bush stated in his inaugural address. i.e freedom for everyone, not just the Ummah. His goal is only possible if there is a growing rejection of the Sharia. Absent this rejection another strategy is required.

Endnotes

¹ NSS, March 2006, pg. 1

² NSS, March 2006, pg. 1

³ President G. W. Bush introduction to NSS, March 2006

⁴ NSS, March 2006, pg. 3

⁵ *Declaration of Independence*, United States of America, Adopted in Congress 4 July 1776, Available from the United States National Archives at: <http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/declaration.html>, accessed on 19 Nov 07

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, , *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), pg. 250-251

⁷ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan Part I* . Gateway Edition, Henry Regnery Comp, Chicago, Illinois, USA, 1956. pg. 111-113

⁸ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Translated by Charles Frankel, Hafner Publishing CO, New York, New York, 1947. pg. 5-8

⁹ Ibid. pg.15

¹⁰ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Introduction and notes by Peter Laslett. The New American Library, New York and Toronto.1960. pg. 81-84

¹¹ Ibid .

¹² Russell Hardin, *Liberalism Constitutionalism and democracy*, Oxford University Press 1999. pg. 41-45

¹³ United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) full text. <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>; accessed on 27 Nov 2007

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ David G. Littman, "Human Rights and Human Wrongs," Article based on authors testimony before U.S. Congressional Human-rights caucus (Frb. 8, 2002) and a lecture at Georgetown University (Oct. 22, 2002); available from <http://www.dhimmitude.org>

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Article 24, *The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam*; Adopted and Issued at the Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Cairo. 5 August 1990. Available from <http://www.religlaw.org/interdocs/docs/cairohrislam1990.htm>; accessed 19 Dec 07

¹⁹ David G. Littman, "Islaim Grows Stronger at the United Nations", *Middle East Quarterly*, Sep. 1999, pgs 59-64

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ David G. Littman, "Human Rights and Human Wrongs," Article based on authors testimony before U.S. Congressional Human-rights caucus (Frb. 8, 2002) and a lecture at Georgetown University (Oct. 22, 2002); available from <http://www.dhimmitude.org>; accessed 28 Nov 2007

²² United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) full text. <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>; accessed on 27 Nov 2007

²³ *The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam*; Adopted and Issued at the Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Cairo. 5 August 1990. Available from <http://www.religlaw.org/interdocs/docs/cairohrislam1990.htm>; accessed 19 Dec 07

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) full text. <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>; accessed on 27 Nov 2007

³⁰ John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford History of Islam*, New York: Oxford Press, 1999, p. 1.

³¹ Ibid. pg. 4

³² Ibid. pg.4

³³ Ibid. pg. 6

³⁴ Ibid. pg. 7

³⁵ Ibid. pg. 11

³⁶ Ibid. pg. 11

³⁷ Ibid. pg. 15

³⁸ Ibid. pg. 17

³⁹ Ibid. pg. 60

⁴⁰ Ibid. pg. 76-90

⁴¹ Ibid. pg 74-87

⁴² Ibid. pg. 70-71

⁴³ Keren Armstrong. *Islam, a short history*, Modern Library Chronicles Book, The Modern Library: New York, 2000, pg. xii

⁴⁴ Ibid. pg 67

⁴⁵ Ibid. pg. 81-82

⁴⁶ Mohamed Ibrahim Khalil, *Islam and the Challenges of Modernity*, Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Washington: Winter 2004. Vol 5, Iss1 Pg. 97-105.

⁴⁷ Richard m. Gamble, *City on a hill: Caesar's or God's?* from: *Ordained Servant*, Jan 2008, Available from <http://www.opc.org>, accessed on 1 Jan 08

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.