

About 60,000 words

IDEAS TO DIE FOR

Seizing the Jasmine Revolution to Move beyond the War on Terrorism

by

Lieutenant Colonel Pat Proctor

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## OVERVIEW

The United States has spent a decade trying to reshape the Muslim world by force. Attacked by a dangerous ideology that seeks to destroy Western civilization--salifist jihadism--America responded by sending its unmatched military to fight two wars halfway around the world. Yet, rather than destroy the threat and defeat this ideology, America has found itself embroiled in stubborn insurgencies that every day attract more young men from across the Islamic world to join the jihad against the West.

Meanwhile, young people across the Arab world, from Tunisia to Egypt, Libya to Bahrain, have stood up to reshape the Middle East themselves. This so-called Jasmine Revolution is sweeping away Western-backed despots, but its future is far from certain; it could be the opening act in the transformation of the Muslim world into a community of thriving democracies, a den of despotic regimes, a region of failed states, or a land of salifist theocracies. America must either rapidly pivot from a strategy of war to one of mass politics or remain a spectator as this opportunity slips away.

Pat Proctor is a US Army lieutenant colonel who has served on the frontlines of the media war in Iraq. In addition to spending two years studying the media war for the Army, Pat was a key player in developing the

communications strategy for General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker in Iraq in 2007. His is also an important voice in the security establishment of the West. His influential policy recommendations have been featured at international security conferences and in the pages of defense publications like the US Army War College's *Parameters* and the US Command and General Staff College's *Military Review*. It is this unique perspective that Pat brings to *Ideas to Die For: Seizing the Jasmine Revolution to Move beyond the War on Terrorism*.

America faces a strategic dilemma. Every battle it fights in the Middle East creates more terrorists and further radicalizes the Islamic World. Many authors have weighed in with suggested solutions to this problem. For instance, Thomas P.M. Barnett (*The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*) advocates reshaping the US military to better meet regional threats. James Jay Carafano and Paul Rosenzweig (*Winning the Long War: Lessons from the Cold War for Defeating Terrorism and Preserving Freedom*) advocate applying the Cold War era strategy of containment to the Middle East.

*Ideas to Die For* differs from these works in two important ways. First, it will be the only title to seriously address the opportunities and risks presented by the Jasmine Revolution. Second, it examines the War on Terrorism not as a military confrontation, but as the most difficult of all strategic challenges: the struggle to stop an idea in the information age. Viewing the War on Terrorism in this new light, Pat finds insights from the British worldwide antislavery campaign and concludes that treating the challenge of salifist jihadism as a "War on Terrorism" is doomed to failure. His solution--particularly explosive coming from an active duty military officer who has served two tours in Iraq--is that the US should stop fighting the War on Terrorism and instead, using media-enabled, mass-politics, seize

the opportunity of the Jasmine Revolution to defeat the salifist jihadism idea and reshape the Muslim world.

This book will appeal to foreign affairs and military enthusiasts and those interested in the media. Based on government occupational data and publicly available media-consumption statistics, the market for *Ideas to Die For* is at least 12 million people. The national media has been transfixed by the change sweeping the Middle East. The 24-hour cable news networks featured days of round-the-clock coverage of the revolution in Egypt. They have also heavily covered revolutions in Egypt and Bahrain. The War on Terrorism also continues to be a popular topic, especially for non-fiction books. In October 2010, Amazon's top 100 nonfiction books featured eight books on this topic.

#### TIMELINE FOR COMPLETION

Pat is hard at work on the manuscript for *Ideas to Die For* and has already completed four of its six chapters. The manuscript will be complete in May 2011.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lieutenant Colonel Pat Proctor (US Army) is an Iraq war veteran with 17 years of service in command and staff positions from Fort Hood, Texas to Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. In 2007, Pat worked at the senior military headquarters in Iraq, fighting on the frontlines of the media war. During his tour, Pat was drafted to work as part of a handpicked, 20-man team which included such luminaries as Ambassador Robert Ford (then-US Ambassador to Algeria and now Deputy Chief of Mission, Baghdad), Colonel H.R. McMasters (*Dereliction of Duty*), and Dr. Stephen Biddle (Council on Foreign Relations). This team was commissioned by General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker to create a new strategy for the war in Iraq. Pat worked with a State Department counterpart to write the vast majority of the strategic communication plan for the war. In 2009, Pat deployed as operations officer for Task Force Patriot (2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, 32<sup>nd</sup> Field Artillery), an artillery-turned-infantry battalion, to Salah ad Din province, Iraq in the heart of the Sunni Triangle. Between September 2009 and August 2010, Pat directed the planning and execution of 12 months of continuous combat operations as Task Force Patriot battled former regime loyalists and remnants of al Qaeda, all the while assuming an ever-expanding area with a growing number of Iraqis to protect.

Pat is an important voice in the Western security establishment. He has been invited to present his policy recommendations at a conference of the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies. His writings on current affairs and military history have appeared in the US Army War College journal, *Parameters*, the US Army Command and General Staff College journal, *Military Review*, and the world-renowned history journal, *The Historian*, and the consumer magazine, *Armchair General*. He has also written on military simulations for the journal, *Military Simulations & Training*. He is a co-author of the Cliffs Notes book, *ASVAB AFQT Cram Plan* (ISBN-13: 978-0470598894). Pat has also published articles in online magazines such as *Wargamer.com* and *StrategyPage.com*.

Pat has conducted multiple studies on the media dimension of the War on Terrorism for the US Army Command and General Staff College and the Center for Army Lessons Learned, including fieldwork in Iraq. He has consolidated his findings from these studies in his first book-length manuscript, *Media War: The Media-Enabled Insurgency in Iraq*. Because Pat is convinced that America must seize the opportunity of the Jasmine Revolution to move beyond the War on Terrorism, he is hard at work on his next book, *Ideas to Die For: Seizing the Jasmine Revolution to Move beyond the War on Terrorism*.

Pat holds a bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering from Purdue University. Pat has a masters of military arts in strategy from the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC). He also holds a masters of military arts in theater operations from the highly selective School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS). He is currently a doctoral student in security studies at Kansas State University.

In addition to writing, Pat is also a prolific computer wargame developer and is very well known in the wargaming community. Shrapnel Games, Inc. publishes his six modern combat titles, but he does most of the marketing for these games himself. His marketing efforts have even drawn the

attention of the defense industry; several of his titles have been licensed by corporations such as Lockheed Martin Aeronautics, Boeing, and Teknowledge for use in their own professional-grade simulations.

Finally, Pat is an occasional marathoner and borderline fitness fanatic. He lives in Manhattan, Kansas, near both Kansas State University and historic Fort Riley, with his wife, Aree, and their two children.



#### MARKETING PLAN

Pat Proctor has embarked on a one-man crusade to change the way America views warfare, media, and the War on Terrorism. His unique perspective on this topic and his breadth of experience in actually planning and fighting the media war have convinced him that change is essential if the United States is going to reshape the Muslim world. Pat sees *Ideas to Die For* not just as a commercial venture, but as an extension of his oath as a soldier to defend the United States, so he is absolutely dedicated to making sure that it reaches the widest possible audience.

First, Pat is willing to "put his money where his mouth is." Pat will match a publisher's out-of-pocket, consumer promotion budget up to one-third of his advance. However, Pat is also going to actively market *Ideas to Die For* himself.

#### NATIONAL MEDIA

Throughout his military career, Pat has amassed a number of contacts in the national news media that he will be leveraging in order to market *Ideas to Die For*. During the author's work in media studies for the US Army, he met and talked with a number of nationally recognized journalists, including the

late John McWethy (ABC News), Steve Kamarrow (*Associated Press*), and Jane Araf (NBC). During his time in Iraq, Pat also met with syndicated columnists and writers such as Bing West (*No True Glory*) and Max Boot (*Savage Wars of Peace*). Over the course of his military career, Pat has met countless reporters from publications both large and small. Pat will use all of these contacts to secure reviews and interviews for *Ideas to Die For* as it nears publication.

It is a grim but predictable trend that, as the US completes its withdrawal from Iraq in December 2011, insurgents will increase the level of violence in order to influence the American and Iraqi political process. The media have closely followed past surges in violence. There will also be increased coverage of the War on Terrorism as the tenth anniversary, 11 September 2011, approaches. Pat is a recognized authority in the field of military affairs and the media. He has been quoted in the past as an expert in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, *Stars and Stripes*, and many other publications. As *Ideas to Die For* nears completion, Pat will use this expert status to generate opportunities for interviews and on-air comment about these significant milestones in the War on Terrorism.

#### THE WARGAMING MARKET

Pat will also leverage his standing in the wargaming community to market this book. This community is a great platform from which to market *Ideas to Die For*; it is a nexus of security professionals and military retirees, historians, and enthusiasts, all of whom buy and read books about war and history. The author has successfully marketed his computer wargames in this community for over a decade. As a result, his name is very well known and he has established himself not only as a great game developer, but also as an absolute authority on national security policy and military affairs.

The author maintains a Website for his commercial wargaming company ([www.prosimco.com](http://www.prosimco.com)) that is very well known in this community. In addition to information about his games, it also offers free game demos and multiplayer gaming support which draws between 30,000 and 50,000 hits per month. Pat has already expanded this Website to promote his work as a writer ([www.prosimco.com/writing](http://www.prosimco.com/writing)). Pat also hosts a blog, *Media Warfare* ([mediawarfare.blogspot.com](http://mediawarfare.blogspot.com)), where he reviews books and posts articles about the War on Terrorism. He has also established a FaceBook page (<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Pat-Proctor/14992636843>) and MySpace presence ([www.myspace.com/patproctor](http://www.myspace.com/patproctor)) that allow readers to interact with him, ask questions, and provide comment about his work.

Pat has written numerous articles for print and online magazines, such as *Armchair General* and *Wargamer.com*, that cater to the wargaming community. The author has also had his wargames reviewed and provided interviews in these and other magazines for years. As a result, Pat knows many of the writers for electronic gaming, wargaming, and simulation industry magazines. He will use these established contacts to garner reviews and interviews for *Ideas to Die For*. Pat will also submit a series of articles to these magazines on topics related to *Ideas to Die For* before and after publication.

Over more than a decade of marketing to the wargaming community, pat has amassed contact information for over two thousand wargamers, service members, and defense and commercial gaming industry professionals. Pat also maintains an e-mail list for each of his games. Pat will use all of these tools to publicize *Ideas to Die For*. Pat will also promote *Ideas to Die For* by leveraging his frequent blog entries and forum posts on popular wargaming Websites in this community.

Not all of Pat's marketing efforts in the wargaming community will be behind the keyboard. Pat has twice appeared at the Origins Game Convention in

Columbus, Ohio. He will return to promote *Ideas to Die For* after its publication.

#### THE ACADEMIC MARKET

Pat is currently a doctoral student in security studies at Kansas State University. This university has a strong relationship with the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC), where Pat completed two masters degree programs. His relationship with these two schools gives him the inside track toward getting *Ideas to Die For* included in courses at these institutions, as well as at the US Army War College. In addition to his contacts with professors and department heads at these schools, Pat has also been featured in the journals for these institutions, including *Parameters* and *Military Review*. These articles, along with others he has published in journals like *The Historian*, have established Pat as an authority on the military and the media and expanded his platform in this market. As a result Pat is recognized as an important voice in the security studies discipline; he has been asked to present his work at gatherings such as the international conference of the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies. He will use this platform to solicit reviews and interviews for *Ideas to Die For* as it nears publication.

#### THE MILITARY MARKET

There is a great deal of interest in the topics discussed in this book across the military. Pat is a lifetime member of both the Association of the United States Army and the US Army Field Artillery Association and will leverage these memberships with the associations' magazines, *Army* and the *Fires Bulletin*, in order to secure reviews and interviews for *Ideas to Die For*. Pat will also secure reviews of *Ideas to Die For* in other prominent military journals.

## REGIONAL PROMOTION

Finally, Pat will work throughout the Midwest to promote *Ideas to Die For*. He has attended the Midwest Literary Conference (Fall, Aurora, Illinois) in the past and will seek to appear as a speaker at that conference after *Ideas to Die For* is published. There are also a number of other literary conferences in the Midwest, including the New Letters Writers Conference (Summer, Kansas City, Missouri) and the Nebraska Summer Writer's Conference (Summer, Lincoln, Nebraska), at which Pat will seek to appear as a speaker. Pat will also canvass Kansas City radio stations for reviews and interviews and solicit area bookstores for readings and book signings. During his annual trip back to Fort Wayne, Indiana to visit family for the holidays, Pat will seek opportunities to do readings, radio and newspaper interviews, and book signings in Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Detroit, and Cleveland as well.

## MARKET ANALYSIS

The total market for *Ideas to Die For: Seizing the Jasmine Revolution to Move beyond the War on Terrorism* is at least 12 million people. This book will appeal to anyone who wishes to better understand the changes sweeping over the Middle East or the War on Terrorism. However, this book has a crossover appeal that other books on these topics lack--it will appeal to those interested in the media. While it has obvious practical application for foreign policy, security, and media professionals, it is written for the lay audience.

At least 10 million Americans are intensely interested in security issues in general and the War on Terrorism in particular. In a March 2010 *USA Today*/Gallup poll, 40 percent of Americans rated Terrorism and 32 percent rated Afghanistan as "extremely important" issues. This is reflected in America's media consumption habits. A rerun of the documentary *9/11* on CBS and the docu-drama *The Path to 9/11* on ABC together netted over 12.6 million viewers on 11 September 2006. Many of these people buy books and publications about the war. The perpetual *New York Times* bestseller *Three Cups of Tea: One Man's Mission to Promote Peace...One School at a Time* (Greg Mortenson and David Oliver Relin), is just the most recent in a nearly unbroken string of

bestsellers about Iraq, Afghanistan, or the War on Terrorism since 11 September 2001.

The military audience for *Ideas to Die For*--including active, reserve, recently separated, and retired service members--is 4.5 million people. This audience grows by 338,000 every year. This population is overwhelmingly male, middle class, and politically conservative with particularly strong negative feelings about the media (perceptions *Ideas to Die For* will challenge in an engaging way). The average age for service members is about 30, and virtually all are high school graduates. Most have at least some college. According to the Government Accounting Office, 20% have at least a bachelor's degree.

*Ideas to Die For* is also a book about media and warfare. Americans continue to be fascinated by the role the media plays in war. For instance, the Barry Levinson movie, *Wag the Dog* made \$43 million in theaters and \$20 million in video sales, despite costing only \$15 million to make. This audience also buys books about the media and warfare; *In an Instant*, Bob Woodruff's book about his work as an ABC News journalist in Iraq, was a *New York Times* #1 bestseller.

#### SPECIAL MARKETING OPPORTUNITIES

As a book written by an active duty service member, *Ideas to Die For* will almost certainly be a featured publication at the more than 3,500 post, base, and naval exchanges on military installations worldwide (including in Iraq and Afghanistan).

*Ideas to Die For* posits that the War on Terrorism cannot be won militarily. This idea--especially controversial coming from a soldier with two tours in Iraq--will make it a "must read" title for military professionals and required reading at military educational institutions such as the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC) and in civilian security studies, international relations, and military history programs. The

fact that the author is a recent attendee of CGSC and a doctoral student at Kansas State University (which maintains a close relationship with CGSC) makes this even more likely. Around 8,000 students pass through senior military schools each year. Kansas State University enrolls over 20,000 students each year. Each of these institutions also maintains a sizable library which will almost certainly be interested in bulk orders.

The wargaming community is a small but important market for *Ideas to Die For* because it is a nexus of military professionals, enthusiasts, and historians. *Armchair General*, a magazine catering to this community, has a circulation of over 120,000. The author is also a computer wargame developer. His publisher, Shrapnel Games, as well as other Internet-based game publishers, will be very interested in selling *Ideas to Die For*. Many online wargaming magazines also maintain Internet store fronts and will wish to sell *Ideas to Die For* as well.



## COMPETING WORKS

*Ideas to Die For* will hold a unique position in the current market; it will be the only serious work to directly address the wave of revolution--what the media has dubbed the Jasmine Revolution--sweeping over the Muslim world. But it is also a book about how to "win" the War on Terrorism. The vast majority of books about the War on Terrorism focus on either Iraq or Afghanistan and are snapshots in time and space, examining one battle, one unit, one place, or one individual. Three prominent titles discuss grand strategy for the broader War on Terrorism:

- *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, David Kilcullen (Oxford Press, 2009, 384 pages, \$27.95, *Washington Post* bestseller) examines the War on Terror as it is being waged by insurgents across the world, from North Africa to Thailand. Kilcullen concludes that the United States and the West should approach these "small wars" with much more nuance and understanding.
- *The Grand Jihad: How Islam and the Left Sabotage America*, Andrew C. McCarthy (Encounter Books, 2010, 464 pages, \$19.30, #2 in the

Amazon Top 100 nonfiction bestsellers in June 2010) frames the War on Terrorism as a struggle to preserve American institutions against the threat of Islamism, assisted--sometimes wittingly--by the forces of multi-cultural liberalism. The book is extremely critical of what it claims is the Obama administration's appeasement of radical Islam.

- *Counterinsurgency*, David Kilcullen (Oxford University, 2010, multiple editions, 272 pages, \$15.95, *Washington Post* Bestseller in 2009) is a collection of works on fighting the War on Terrorism at the tactical level. Its final chapter describes al Qaeda and the "takfiri" movement as a global insurgency against the West.

These books frame the War on Terrorism as a war, an American political struggle, or a Islamic fundamentalist insurgency. *Ideas to Die For* differs from these titles; it contends that this war is, in fact, a struggle for the mind of Islam.

*Ideas to Die For* is also a book about the global media in the War on Terrorism. This expands its market to include those interested in the media in the post-9/11 world. To date, writers on this topic have focused on the coverage before and during the invasion of Iraq. Two prominent books look beyond Iraq and contend that American media negligence made it complicit in drawing America into an ill-conceived war:

- *The Pen and the Sword: Press, War, and Terror in the 21st Century*, Calvin F. Exoo, ed. (Sage, 2010, 256 pages, \$35.95) argues that the commercialism and the growth of conservative news outlets drove America into ever-expanding wars.
- *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina*, W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven

Livingston (University Of Chicago Press, 2007, 278 pages, \$22.50) contends that the press has lost its independence from the government and this is compromising objective coverage of events. *Ideas to Die For* differs from these titles, first, in that it focuses on how the media affects public opinion, rather than the quality of media coverage. Second, *Ideas to Die For* examines the way the media influences the Islamic World, rather than the Western world. This book also differs from other titles in that the author's investigation does not end with the news media; he also explores the ways entertainment media can change "hearts and minds" in the Middle East and beyond. Finally, *Ideas to Die For* is written from Pat's unique perspective as a key player in formulating the media and information strategy for the war in Iraq, a perspective unattainable by a non-military author.

BOOK OUTLINE

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FORMAT AND LENGTH

*Ideas to Die For* will consist of acknowledgements, six chapters, and endnotes. It will also include 3 line drawings. The total length of the manuscript will be about 200 pages and 60,000 words.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

**Chapter One: The Age of Popular War**

Carl von Clausewitz, nearly two decades after the final defeat of Napoleon, wrote that war was "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our

will.... The true aim of war," he wrote, was to render an enemy powerless. This definition was forged in the furnace of the Napoleonic Wars, but it ignores an entire class of warfare. What if the enemy you face is not a sovereign or even a regime, but an entire populace? How do you compel every man, woman, and child in a population to do your will? This is the question the British faced in the American Colonies in the 1770s, the French faced in Spain from 1807-1814, and the French again faced in Algeria and Indochina after World War II. In fact, it is the question America faced in the closing days of World War II, as it approached the Japanese mainland; America's solution in that instance was the atomic bomb.

- The War on Terrorism and the Jasmine Revolution
- What is popular war?
- State war versus popular war
- The imperatives of popular war
- Ideas: the engine of popular war
- The rest of this book...

## **Chapter 2: The Long Humiliation**

For the vast majority of Americans, the War on Terrorism began on 11 September 2001. The more informed American might hazard that the war began with the bombing of the *USS Cole*, American embassies in Africa, or even Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia. A few observers might even draw a line from the current war to the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983. However, when one views the War on Terrorism as a war of ideas, one must see all of these events as the latest in a long chain of retaliations against perpetual humiliation. In the eyes of the Muslim world, in particular the Arab world, Salifist Jihadism is a response to a series of Western affronts that began with Napoleon's defeat of the Mamalukes in Egypt in 1798.

- The Islamic caliphate and the long stagnation
- Strategic shock: Napoleon in Egypt
- Western subjugation and anti-colonialism in the Middle East
- The battle for the Muslim mind

### **Chapter 3: Rejecting Modernity: Salifist Jihadism**

Sayyid Qutb returned from America convinced that a return to strict observance of Islam, Salifism, was not enough. What would change if the spirit was freed but the body remained enslaved? In addition to observing the individual strictures of the Quran, Qutb insisted that Muslims must also observe the social and political strictures. This was political Salifism: imposing the strictures of the Quran not just on the individual, but on the political structures of the Islamic World. This new movement immediately brought Qutb and his Muslim Brotherhood into conflict with the secular government of Egypt.

- The birth of political salifism--the Muslim Brothers.
- The defeat of the great Satan in Afghanistan
- The building blocks of salifist jihadism
  - Suicide terror
  - Political salifism
  - Jihad organization

### **Chapter 4: The War on Terrorism**

"They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the twentieth century," the President told a a joint session of Congress. "By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions--by abandoning every value except the will to power--they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it

ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies." America's course was set. This was not a war of ideas, a struggle for the mind of Islam; this was a war of annihilation. Just as Britain had done over two hundred years earlier, America sent its vast military might across an ocean to compel an entire people to reject an idea.

- The response to terrorism in the West
  - Law enforcement and air strikes
  - War on Terrorism
- The victory-atrocity cycle
- Smart bombs vs. ideas
- The Jasmine Revolution

#### **Chapter 5: Ending Industrialized Suffering**

It is difficult for people today to comprehend that it is not slavery but the *absence* of slavery that is a historical aberration. For the vast majority of recorded human history, and probably for many millennia before, slavery was an integral part of human society. It was slave labor that hoisted stones to the top of the Egyptian pyramids and the Tower of Babel. The toil of slaves fed and clothed the ancient Athenians that gave birth to democracy. Slave labor made Rome the most powerful empire on Earth. Slavery is inextricably woven into the stories of the Islamic Caliphate, the Mongol Empire, the birth of the New World, and the rise of the British Empire.

- The West African slave trade
- The slavery idea
- Antislavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth century
- Ideas vs. ideas

**Chapter 6: The Media Battlespace, Jasmine Revolution, and War of Ideas**

The media battlespace is the global, interconnected, telecommunications architecture of the modern world. It is the collective result of the Internet, satellite television, and all of the other means that provide worldwide news, entertainment, and communication. It is Fox News. It is Al-Jazeera. It is Reuters. It is John Stewart's *The Daily Show*. It is every way that human beings are informed about events in their world in the information age. In the twenty-first century, the media battlespace is the battlefield on which a war of ideas takes place.

- The media battlespace
- Salifist jihadism and the media battlespace
- A war of ideas in the information age
- Salfist jihadism and the Muslim World
- The West and the media battlespace
- Seizing the Jasmine Revolution



## CHAPTER 1

## THE AGE OF POPULAR WAR

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the United States faces a new kind of threat, a threat that defies the overwhelming military might that has made the United States the world's sole remaining superpower. This threat began as an idea, *salifism*, the yearning of a people to return to a mythical "golden age" of Islam. This idea in turn inspired a holy war, a *jihād*, against the West.<sup>1</sup> Salifist jihadism was first the foundation a global terrorist network that launched a wave of terrorist violence culminating in the attacks in New York and Washington DC on 11 September 2001. When the United States responded with overwhelming military force against the heart of this network in Afghanistan, salifist jihadism metastasized into an even more difficult problem, a global movement<sup>2</sup> that initiated an even worse wave of terrorist violence across Europe and the Muslim World.

Only days after the 11 September attacks, in a speech before a joint session of Congress, President George W. Bush declared a "global war on terror."<sup>3</sup> But, no matter how hard it tries, the United States can never kill

its way to victory in this war. There is no government to force to capitulate. Moreover, the population that must be compelled to abandon salifist jihadism is so vast and spread over such a large area that the task is beyond both the United States' capacity and its will. In short, this threat defies war as a solution. The US needs an alternative way to persuade the Muslim world to reject the salifist jihadism idea.

Sweeping changes across the Middle East that had nothing to do with the War on Terrorism have presented the West with this alternative. On 17 December 2011, a young street vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi, desperate to change a political system that had trapped him in poverty and oppression, set himself on fire in the streets of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia. His death mobilized the country's youth and ignited a revolution that toppled President Zine el Abidine bin Ali's 23-year-old regime.<sup>4</sup> The unrest quickly spread. The world watched, captivated, for 18 days as a million Egyptians poured into Tahrir Square and other locations across the country, stubbornly resisting threats and violence until, in February 2011, they finally toppled the 30-year-old regime of President Hosni Mubarak.<sup>5</sup> This tectonic shift--the overthrow of the political order of the most populace country in the Arab world--generated a tsunami that washed over the Middle East. Protestors poured into the streets of Algeria, Libya, Bahrain, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, and many other Muslim countries. Even countries as far away as China and Venezuela felt the aftershocks. This wave of change has presented an appealing opportunity to reshape the Muslim world, but the United States seemed impotent to seize this opportunity to finally defeat salifist jihadism and create a future of liberty and prosperity in the Middle East.

Time is short, but it is not too late to seize this opportunity. To do so, the United States must move beyond the War on Terrorism and embrace a new approach. Luckily, the history of the West provides a template for action. At the same time Great Britain was waging a war to extinguish liberty in

America, the embers of a different liberation idea were smoldering in Great Britain itself. These embers ignited into a global antislavery movement that ultimately succeeded in defeating the slavery idea and ending slavery, a practice that had persisted since before the beginning of human history. And they did it without firing a shot.

How could a million unarmed Egyptians topple a brutal military regime? How could a movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth century defeat a pervasive, mainstream idea with no military force at all? The answers to these questions lie in a fundamental change in the nature of society and warfare that began to take shape three centuries ago, in the Age of Enlightenment.

#### THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

It was in this new age that philosophers across Europe, applying the tools of scientific inquiry to questions of human society, began re-envisioning the world. The conversations these philosophers were having were not esoteric debates. In the Netherlands and Great Britain, democracy slowly began to reemerge from its millennia-long slumber. In America, the founding fathers asserted John Locke's "natural rights" to life, liberty, and property when they drafted the Declaration of Independence.<sup>6</sup> The Enlightenment was reshaping the role of the individual in society and the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and slowly, inexorably eroding the old institutions on which Western societies were based.

No such reordering, however, was taking place in France. The growing middle class in France still struggled under the yoke of an absolute monarch and an arbitrary nobility. They had little personal freedom and even less political power. As their ranks swelled, pressure began to build for change, but the French monarch resisted. The more the king resisted, the more explosive public sentiment became. At the eleventh hour, King Louis XVI tried

to enact minor reforms, but matters rapidly spiraled out of his control. First, a series of riots in Paris culminated in the storming of the Bastille in July 1789. Next, the Marquis de Lafayette, with help from Thomas Jefferson, drafted the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Then the French began beheading their nobles.<sup>7</sup> The French Revolution had begun.

If, as the French people were asserting, leaders ruled by consent of the governed rather than by divine right, then the days of absolute monarchy were numbered. The execution of King Louis XVI finally moved the stunned kings Europe to action. They formed a succession of coalitions to crush the French Revolution and restore the French monarchy. Yet, the more violently the great powers of Europe assailed France, the harder the French people resisted. The very nature of war had changed. For the first time, war was not simply a matter between princes, waged rationally, coldly. France had mobilized its entire population and was fielding armies on a scale that would have been unimaginable in any other age. Because they were volunteers, fighting for their rights, the French army could forage for supplies and was no longer limited by the supply bases or draconian discipline that had previously limited the size of Western armies. Because it was a war of national survival, France could mobilize its entire population and equip its vast army with cannons and muskets far faster than other European powers. When a brilliant new leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, finally harnessed this power, France subjugated Europe and ended the war in a series of stunning victories.<sup>8</sup> The age of popular war had arrived.

How had an army of amateurs, led by a man who had been only an artillery captain a few years earlier, trounced the combined might of Europe? Especially shocking was the culminating campaign that finally silenced the great powers of Europe, the defeat of the Prussian army. This highly professional military, led so ably by Frederick the Great only a century before, had been the envy of Europe. Napoleon had humiliated them in a

lightning campaign that lasted less than three weeks. In 1806 Napoleon's 160,000 defeated the quarter-million-man Prussian army, killing 25,000 and leading another 150,000 back to France in chains.<sup>9</sup>

Napoleon's dominance of Europe was short-lived, a victim of his own ambition and the very changes he had wrought on his neighbors. Grueling insurgencies in Naples and Spain prevented Napoleon from consolidating his gains. When Russia defied Napoleon's trade embargo--his "continental system"--France gathered a massive coalition army and marched on Moscow. Napoleon was successful in taking the capital, yet victory eluded him. With winter and hunger pressing in, Napoleon began the long, humiliating march back to France, hounded at every step by the Russians. Of the 600,000 who marched into Russia in June 1812, only 93,000 returned in December.<sup>10</sup> With the French Army bled white by the Spanish "ulcer" and the Russian debacle, Napoleon's enemies finally saw their opportunity to strike. In a series of battles culminating at Waterloo in 1815, the armies of Europe, reshaped in the Napoleonic image, forced Napoleon first to briefly abdicate and then finally to abandon his throne.<sup>11</sup>

#### ON POPULAR WAR

Since Napoleon's first dramatic victories, military theorists had all been asking the same question: How did he do it? Writers like Swiss émigré to France, Antoine Henri Jomini, immediately turned to the tools of the Enlightenment, rationalism and scientific method, to find answers. Even Napoleon himself wrote maxims for the successful prosecution of warfare. But the most fascinating, enigmatic work of military theory to come out of Napoleonic Wars was unquestionably *On War*, written by Carl von Clausewitz.

Carl von Clausewitz was an eyewitness to the dawn of popular war. As a young aide-de-camp to German Prince August, Carl von Clausewitz was one of the 150,000 Prussian prisoners led back to France in 1806 after the battle of

Jena-Auerstädt. He spent a year in captivity in France before returning to Prussia. After a few years helping to modernize the Prussian army, the humiliation of his country's alliance with France became more than he could bear. Following many other Prussian officers, he travelled to Russia to join the czar as he prepared to challenge Napoleon. Clausewitz served in the Russian army, fighting the French during Napoleon's ill-fated Russian campaign. After Napoleon's grueling retreat from Russia, Clausewitz rejoined the Prussian army for the Waterloo campaign that finally ended Napoleon's rule.<sup>12</sup>

After the war, Clausewitz was promoted to major general and made director of the *Kriegsakademie* in Prussia. From here, he too began to record his reflections on the revolution in warfare he had witnessed in his lifetime. At first, he wrote histories: the battles of Frederick the Great, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic wars. However, as he wrote these histories, he also labored on a much more ambitious work.<sup>13</sup>

*Vom Krieg* (*On War*) was Clausewitz' attempt to understand war itself. Like other military theorists of the age, Clausewitz was asking why Napoleon had been so successful. However, unlike any of his contemporaries, Clausewitz was also asking why Napoleon was unsuccessful. Why had Napoleon failed in Russia? He assembled the largest Army in the history of Europe and captured his enemy's capital, yet Napoleon couldn't force Russia to capitulate. Why did France have so much difficulty with the insurgencies in Spain and Naples? In both countries, the sovereigns were vanquished, yet the people continued to resist.

However, Clausewitz began *On War* with an even more fundamental question: what is war? The question might seem trite. It did to Jomini. In his work, *The Art of War*, Jomini didn't even bother to ask the question, let alone answer it. But Clausewitz didn't want to know how to fight a war; he wanted to *understand* war, especially the phenomenon of popular war that had

emerged in his lifetime. War, Clausewitz wrote, must be understood as "an object suspended between three magnets," a "paradoxical trinity." Wars had always been governed by reason, "the business of government." Likewise, war had always been "the realm of probability and chance," the realm of "the commander and the army." Now, however, in this new age, war was also governed by passion, which was "inherent in the people."<sup>14</sup> For the first time, the people, mobilized by ideas, exerted as powerful an influence on wars as did the governments that started them or the generals that waged them.

But Clausewitz did not stop here. Most are familiar with Clausewitz' oft-quoted maxim, "War is merely the continuation of [politics] by other means." However, this is only a corollary to a more profound point. What is war? Clausewitz answered, "War is...an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, in the age of popular war where--as in Russia, Spain, and Naples--the people could continue the war even after their governments were driven out or destroyed, the "enemy" was not just the opposing sovereign. The enemy was also the people of the enemy nation. Thus, in this new age, war was the violent prosecution of both traditional politics between sovereigns and mass politics between nations.

In his quest to understand war, Clausewitz had inadvertently discovered that the dawn of popular war was, in fact, the dawn of mass politics. For the first time, the people had real political power and ideas were the source of that power. People mobilized by powerful ideas were an unstoppable political force. In the context of war, where governments and generals had once dominated, the introduction of the people, empowered by ideas, was a recipe for tragedy.

The terrible truth of Clausewitz' insight became more evident with each war that followed. Each time the great powers clashed, the numbers and carnage became evermore vast. The Crimean War, the American Civil War, the Wars of German Unification, World War I, and World War II--each war was more

cataclysmic than the last. Populations animated by ideas--nationalism, liberty, civil justice, or racial supremacy--were perpetrating violence on an unspeakable scale. By the middle of the twentieth century, when Germany invaded Russia, the Russians mobilized an unbelievable 36 million people.<sup>16</sup> Even in the Pacific, where the numbers were relatively small, 2.2 million American servicemen, mobilized by the idea of defending democracy, joined 5.6 million allies in a clash against six million Japanese, mobilized by the idea of militant racial supremacy. The Allies killed 2.5 million Japanese combatants and three-quarters of a million more civilians.<sup>17</sup> Yet, even after this unbelievable carnage, it still took two atomic bombs and the death of over 100,000 more Japanese to compel them to surrender.<sup>18</sup> The level of violence required to compel a population to abandon an idea had become incomprehensible.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United States is engaged in a "War on Terrorism" to defeat salifist jihadism. If this is a war, in the sense Carl von Clausewitz understood it nearly two hundred years ago, then it is "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."<sup>19</sup> But who is the enemy? What country and what populace must the United States compel in the War on Terrorism? According to a recent Gallup poll, seven percent of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims, or 91 million people, saw the attacks of 11 September 2001 as "completely" justified.<sup>20</sup> By way of comparison, the population of World War II Japan was only 70 million people.<sup>21</sup> It is doubtful the United States could muster anything approaching the eight million men the Allies required to defeat Japan in World War II, let alone summon the will to use nuclear weapons. Even if the nation could muster the men or the will, whom would it attack? The Arab World alone comprises 25 countries across Africa and Asia and over 200 million Muslims; this is less than one fifth of the whole Muslim World, with representation in nearly every country on Earth, including the countries of the West.<sup>22</sup> According to a Pew



Research Center Poll, between seven and 15 percent of British Muslims (as many as 240,000) and as many as seven percent of American Muslims (about 80,000) think that either the 11 September attacks or suicide bombing in general is justified.<sup>23</sup> Whom should the United States attack?

The United States cannot hope to defeat salifist jihadism through violence. What the United States needs is a different way to compel a population. Luckily, such a way already exists. The Chinese communist revolutionary, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung once wrote a very useful corollary to Clausewitz most famous maxim on the nature of war. He wrote, "Politics is war without [violence]."<sup>24</sup> In other words, if one is engaged in compelling a population without violence, one is not engaged in war, but rather mass politics. But how does one nation wage mass politics against another? For that matter, how does one nation wage mass politics against many?

This book is, first, an attempt to answer the question of why is violence such an inefficient tool for compelling a population. To answer this question, this book will take a fresh look at the War on Terrorism. Why has the vast American military failed to defeat salifist jihadism? Is it already too late to change course?

Ultimately, however, the purpose of this book is not just to understand the problem, but also to find a solution. The rest of this book is dedicated to developing a method for the United States to wage mass politics in the Islamic World to defeat the salifist jihadism idea. To build this new approach, this book will next examine the British antislavery movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. How did this movement, in a single century, defeat the slavery idea, a pervasive, international idea that buttressed a practice that had existed since the beginning of human society?

Finally, using the insights from reframing of the War on Terrorism and examining the British antislavery movement, this book will reexamine the

Jasmine Revolution and chart a course for the United States to seize this opportunity to defeat salifist jihadiism and reshape the Muslim World.

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<sup>1</sup> Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 219-221.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University, 2006), 280-289.

<sup>3</sup> Tony Karon, "Bush Claims the Mantle of World Leader," *Time*, 21 September 2001, <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,175885,00.html>, accessed 16 August 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Agence France-Presse, "'He brought fire to the Arab world': Tunisia protest icon's mother shares her son with the world," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 2011, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/he-brought-fire-to-the-arab-world-tunisia-protest-icons-mother-shares-her-son-with-the-world-20110305-1biny.html>, accessed 5 March 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Jackie Northam, "Mubarak's Fall Spurs Calls To Rethink U.S. Policy," *Morning Edition*, NPR, 15 February 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/02/15/133763952/mubaraks-fall-spurs-calls-for-u-s-policy-rethink>, accessed 5 March 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Alfred W. Blumrosen and Ruth G. Blumrosen, *Slave Nation: How Slavery United the Colonies & Sparked the American Revolution*, (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2005), 125-127.

<sup>7</sup> Jay Wink, *The Great Upheaval: America and the Birth of the Modern World, 1788-1800* (New York: Harper, 2007), 108-148, 227-273; Philip G. Dwyer and Peter McPhee, eds., *The French Revolution and Napoleon: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 18-20.

<sup>8</sup> Robert M. Epstein, *Napoleon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 1-32.

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<sup>9</sup> Robert Asprey, *The Reign of Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 20-33.

<sup>10</sup> John A. Lynn, "Nations in Arms, 1763-1815," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare: The Triumph of the West*, Geoffrey Parker, ed. (New York: Cambridge University, 1995), 204.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Asprey, *The Reign of Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 291-401.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Paret, "The Genesis of *On War*," in *On War*, Carl von Clausewitz, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1976), 3-25.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Paret, "The Genesis of *On War*," in *On War*, Carl von Clausewitz, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1976), 75.

<sup>14</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1976), 89.

<sup>15</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1976), 75, 87.

<sup>16</sup> Matthew Cooper, *The German Army*, (Chelsea, MI: Scarborough, 1978), 1984.

<sup>17</sup> Werner Gruhl, *Imperial Japan's World War Two, 1931-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2007), 62.

<sup>18</sup> Williamson A. Murray, "The World at War, 1941-1945," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare: The Triumph of the West*, Geoffrey Parker, ed. (New York: Cambridge University, 1995), 339.

<sup>19</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1976), 75.

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<sup>20</sup> Joel C. Rosenberg, *Inside the Revolution: How the Followers of Jihad, Jefferson & Jesus Are Battling to Dominate the Middle East and Transform the World* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 2009), 143-152.

<sup>21</sup> David Horner, *The Second World War (I): The Pacific* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 20.

<sup>22</sup> Sayyed Hussein Nasr, "Islam," in *Our Religions*, ed. Arvind Sharma (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 435-440.

<sup>23</sup> Joel C. Rosenberg, *Inside the Revolution: How the Followers of Jihad, Jefferson & Jesus Are Battling to Dominate the Middle East and Transform the World* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 2009), 143-152.

<sup>24</sup> Mao Tse-Tung, "War and Politics," in *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume II* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1965), 153.