

## Lecture 8

### **Why study ideologies in politics?**

- Structure political understand, set goals, shape political systems, and act as a form of social cement
- Ideologies themselves seek to understand, interpret, explain, and evaluate the social world
- Have power to unify groups or classes around a set of beliefs and values
- Ideologies themselves are systems of ideas with their own histories (those who don't learn history can't understand content, doesn't understand how things are repeated)

### **What is the origin and development of ideologies?**

- French revolution ex.
- Destutt de Tracy (1795)
  - Coined the word "ideology" = science of ideas: the study of the origin of our ideas and their laws of operation \*understanding why people are the way they are
  - Aim: to improve the rationality of public discourse for progress and truth
  - Sees ideas as systematic
  - Study ideologies you find the right ideas that allow people to progress in society
  - Challenges the French revolution and the old monarchical system
- EARLY 1800'S: napoleon supports a return to an alliance with the catholic church and tradition
  - Ideology becomes a dirty word; you shouldn't question \*he wants the focus on power
- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
  - Critical perspective on ideology
  - The ruling ideas of every age are the ideas of the ruling class

### **What do Marx and Engels' say about ideologies?**

- Ruling illusions that conceal exploitative social relations and provide a rationale for class oppression
- False consciousness: makes the status quo seem natural

### **What is a definition of ideology?**

- Set of ideas
- Provides the basis for organized political action
- Aimed at preserving, modifying, or overthrowing the existing system of power

### **What are the three parts to any ideology?**

1. A worldview of the existing order
1. A vision of the future good society and,
1. An explanation of how political change can and should happen

### **What do ideologies describe?**

- What is (political, social category, tells us what is most important)
- Explain why it is (ex. why are institutions put together this way?)
- Propose what should be
- Provide a program of action

### **What are classical ideologies**

- Come from French revolution (ancien regime)
- Some classical ideologies:
  - liberalism,
  - conservatism,
  - social, fascism
  - Emphasize economics, interests, and social class

### **What are new ideologies**

- Feminism
- Ecologism
- Religious fundamentalism
- Multiculturalism
- New ideologies stress culture, identity, and individual self-definition
- Group interests shown

### **Classifications**

- Authoritarian
- Communism
- Neoliberalism

- Anarchism

### How do ideologies fit on the left and right spectrum?

- Left to right
- Referring to 3 types of disagreement

### How do ideologies fit on left and right spectrum?

*Values:* Left: liberty, equality, community

Right: order (function, organization), authority, hierarchy

*Human nature:* Left: optimistic, social progress, changeable world and humans (welfare, expanded education, encouragement of social progression)

Right: pessimism (overestimating what people are capable of), skeptical of change (doesn't mean improvement), "fixed"

*State Intervention:* Left: necessitated, economic regulation

Right: suspicious (things often go wrong with intervention), deregulated markets

### Change

- Important to some, not so much to others

### Multiple dimensions

- Economic: left and right
- Social: progressive and conservative
- Constitutional: reformist and status quo (a third dimension in Canada)

### What is liberalism

#### What is common? Barry's 6 features

What is common for liberalism?

- Aim to promote individual liberty
- Value liberty
- But disagree about the nature of liberty

Barry's 6 features

1. Religious tolerance
2. Freedom of the press (print what they feel)
3. Abolition of servile social status (born into your status)

Barry's 3 features of liberalism

- No religious dogma can reasonably be held with certainty
- Every doctrine should be open to critical scrutiny
- Fundamental equality of all human beings: inequality is an artifact

### Medieval Europe

- Religious conformity
- Catholicism
- Pope determines what we believe
- Feudalism: wealth (up) power (down)
- Ascribed status
- Political absolutism (monarchy) power of king unquestionable
- Changing the medieval order
  - Questioning religious conformity
  - Rejecting ascribed status favor: 1. achieved status, 2. equal opportunity
  - Overthrowing absolute monarchy
- Protestant reformation
  - Luther against corruption and priestly authority
  - Unintentionally paves the way for religious pluralism and eventually toleration
  - Luther and John Calvin: nonresistance to political authority
  - Later Calvinists: right to overthrow rulers who do not tolerate free exercise of their religion

### Revolutions

- England 1688 (out James 2 and Catholicism)
  - Constitutional monarchy
  - Freedom of worship for dissenters
- America 1776
  - No taxation without representation
  - All men are created equal

- Legitimate government protects our natural rights
- France 1789
  - The rights of man and the citizen
  - Equal opportunity
  - Constitutional government
  - Religious toleration

#### Central themes of liberalism

- Individualism
- Freedom
- Reason
- Justice
- Toleration

#### Individualism

- Primacy of the individual
- Immanuel Kant: enlightenment, morality, freedom, dignity (1724-1804); great theorist because he said: “treat humans never merely as means but always at the same time as ends in themselves”
- Individuals should not be used instrumentally

#### Freedom

- Mill’s harm principle
- Negative freedom: from; freedom FROM certain things; move forward; state should not interfere in our path; minimal levels; freedom from state
- Positive freedom: to; give us opportunities to realize our freedom; need state
- 3 part concept
  - a. free from B
  - B can be a political structure, social rule, racism, etc. Anything that keeps us from becoming C; obstruction
  - C can be the best person, everything works out

#### Reason

- The enlightenment and progress
- Against paternalism
- Promoting discussion and argument

#### Justice

- Moral equality
- Equal citizenship
- Equal opportunity

### Lecture 9

#### **WHAT IS LIBERALISM?**

##### Toleration

- Secularism (state itself doesn’t have a religion) ex. England is not because it is Anglican
- Pluralism: different groups of people
- Toleration and autonomy (two types of liberalism)

##### **What makes a liberal state?**

- Governed by the rule of law (laws matter; what separates us from each other; cover everyone)
- State as a social contract
- John Locke on political authority and the state (consent and right to vote and participate)

##### **What is constitutionalism?**

- Constitutionalism, bill of rights, rule of law, prevention of tyranny by majority
- Majority is still limited in what it can do > rule of law, evidence, etc.
- Separation of powers: executive, legislative, and judicial
- Other ways to check power: cabinet, parliament, bicameralism, federalism

##### **Classical liberalism: common themes**

- Predominantly self-interested individuals
- Negative freedom (absence of formal restraints)
- The state as a necessary evil (necessary for societal function)

- Positive view of civil society as a realm of freedom (understanding of our nature but also think we can beneficially use our freedom)
- Maximization of freedom as a good thing

## Sources of classical liberalism

### 1. Natural rights

- What natural rights are; need to be protected
- John Locke and Thomas Jefferson \*key theorists in this\*
- Three minimal functions of the state: property and public order (police, protection from attack), defense (foreign attackers), contract enforcement (state has right to administer justice)
  - State should defend us, defend us from other people and people who may destroy our property. Contract enforcement should be emphasized. Role of the state to administer justice

### 2. Utilitarianism

- What utilitarianism is (Bentham)
- What maximizes our happiness is to be left alone to do what you want to do, being forced doesn't make us happy.
- Most happy without state control

### 3. Economic liberalism

- Against mercantilism (engaging in imperialism and colonialism; state has too much money that makes it do bad things)
  - Mercantilism: we work for the state, we are property because everything belongs to the state
- Important to seek economic liberty (able to produce and engage economically; minimize impact of state)
- Ideas of Adam Smith
  - Smith on capitalism
    - 1776: smith's wealth of nations
    - Professor of moral philosophy
    - Competition is fair and efficient (creates best possible product)
    - Invisible hand: from self-interest to the public good
      - Provides efficiency
    - Free trade benefits everyone (less limits)
    - Benefits the worst off → capitalism; people had opportunity to build themselves a life
    - Promotes international peace
      - If you trade with other countries, you don't want to hurt them and are less likely to go to war with them
    - Capitalism conducive to order, good government, liberty, and security
    - Fosters self-reliance
  - Smith on government's role
    - Defend country against attack
    - Protect property rights and maintain order
    - Provide public education and the infrastructure needed to do business
    - We have ethical obligation to each other
  - Smith on distributive justice
    - Smith opposed trade barriers, but supports taxation to benefit the poor
    - Rejects prevailing views of the poor
    - Thinks the poor are dignified, industrious, equally capable, are entitled to their fair share of goods

### 4. Social Darwinism

#### Herbert spencer

- Those who adapt will survive
- Spencer's world view
  - Social evolution (only so many ways in which someone can do well; people need to be weeded out)
  - Absolute property rights
  - Ineffectiveness and corruption of welfare programs
- Survival of the fittest
- Spencer on distributive justice:
  - Why no state aid to the poor
    - They are unfit to survive
      - The state is just delaying their death

- Society is too complex to be controlled in the way governments want
  - Violate property rights for programs that will fail anyway
- Shouldn't override property rights (don't take land away from people to assist the poor)

### Modern liberalism: key ideas

- Individuality (John Stuart Mill)
- Positive freedom
- Social liberalism (part of a group; real connections)
- Economic management

### T.H Green

#### ON welfare liberalism

- Government is not merely a necessary evil, it can be positive
- State is important because it can advance individual liberty by promoting equal opportunities for all
  - Educations, subsidies for school

#### ON freedom:

- *Two concepts of freedom*
  - Negative freedom: absence of restraint
  - Positive freedom: actual ability to do something worth doing (Green's view); maximizing our potential
- *Main obstacles to freedom:* Poverty, Ignorance, Prejudice, Sickness
- Government can promote freedom through poor relief, public schools and hospitals, and regulation of working conditions

#### Social Liberalism and economic management

- Welfare state crucial
- Important to have rights: civil, political, social, and economic
- John Rawls on liberal justice
- John Maynard Keynes

### Conservatism

- Key ideas
- Authoritarian conservatism
- Libertarian conservation
- New right

#### Key ideas: desire to conserve

- Response to social, political, and economic change
- Edmund burke against the French revolution of 1789
- 1800s: conservatives react to industrialization, liberalism, and socialism

#### Key idea: tradition

- Support for existing institutions and practices
- Suspicious of radical change
- Skepticism about political knowledge; skeptical that we can figure out how to improve our lives

#### Key idea: human imperfection

- We are imperfect and not changeable by social engineering
- Psychologically independent
- Morally imperfect
- Intellectually limited

#### Key idea: organic society

- Society: living organism
- Society is prior to, and more than, the individual
- Do not tamper with the social fabric
- Society = sacred intergenerational covenant; make sure society works and everything is taken care of

### Lecture 10

### CORE SOCIALIST THEMES

- Community
  - Social creatures engaging in collective effort for the common good
- Cooperation
  - Against competition (not inherent we aren't born competitive)
- Significance of socioeconomic class (limits, structures, controls)

- Common Ownership
  - Against private property and capitalism
- Social equality as a demand of justice (e.g. equality vs equity 3 boys and a fence photo)

## EARLY SOCIALISM

Thomas More (1478-1535)

- Suggest we have to fight against poverty & inequality
- Abolish money & private property
- No more price, greed or envy
- Conflict and inequality are unnatural

Saint-Simon

- Class-based historical stages
  - E.g. hunters & gatherers peasants farmers factory workers
  - Eventually this will give way to socialism
- Belief based economic systems
  - Property rights, rule of law, etc. all work for capitalism
- Replace capitalist inefficiency (poverty, exploitation) with expert planning and organizational hierarchy (rationalization)

Fourier

- Evils of commercial society
- Utopian socialist ideal:
  - Stateless
  - Free cooperation
  - The common good
- Socialism can change human nature

Robert Owen

- Human nature is malleable
- Capitalism rewards greed and selfishness
  - Instead of this, Owen argues we should produce cooperatively for the public

## KARL MARX

### 1. Religion

- Hegel
  - History as the development of spirit
  - We as human beings are playing out what God has planned for us
  - God comes to self-awareness in history
- Feuerbach
  - We create God in our own image
  - God is a reflection of who WE think God is
  - We alienate our human capacities for knowledge, power and goodness
- Religion is created in response to poverty and suffering
- “Religion is the opium of the people”
  - Produces euphoria (“buzz”)
  - Becomes a painkiller
  - Can render you incapable of flourishing

### 2. Alienation

- Human essence detached from human existence
- Creative producers whose work is punishing, degraded, commodified
- Workers’ lives are subject to alien forces
- Four Kinds of Alienation
  - from the product
  - in productive activity
  - from our species-being
  - from other human beings

### 3. History

- History is...
  - Class struggle

- Growth of human productive power ('productive forces' tend to develop)
- Our production methods develop within economic structures
- Economic structures have characteristic 'relations of production'
- Society is like a three – level building:
  - Bottom: Forces of production (Level of development of productive forces)
  - Middle: Relations of production (Explains the nature of the economic structure)
  - Top: Legal & political superstructure (Economic structure determines the legal & political Superstructure)
- 4. Exploitation
  - Exploitation: extraction of surplus labour
  - Distinction between labour & labour-power
  - Capitalist profit = surplus value created by workers
- 5. Class Struggle
  - History = class struggle
  - Capitalism = bourgeoisie (capitalists) vs proletarians (workers)
  - Concrete conflicts of interest relation to the means of production
    - Future communist society = classless
  - State = created/ exists to deal with conflicts of interest generated by coercive surplus extraction
    - Under communism, the state will wither away

#### Marx's 2 Accounts of the State

1. The state as a committee for managing the common interests the bourgeoisie (based on 19 th century British politics)
2. The state is an independent actor (based on the 19th century French and German politics)

#### Marx on Revolution

- Revolution is likely in states that fail to integrate their excluded classes
- Bismarck's strategy: buy off the working class and maintain a loyal army (welfare state)
- Universal suffrage could lead to the election of a socialism government

### **ENGELS' OBJECTIONS TO CAPITALISM**

#### Objection to Capitalism

- Destructive trade cycle
  - Booms & busts hurt people; there's no reason for us to have crises
- Large # of unproductive people
  - "Superfluous middlemen"
  - We should get rid of the people who aren't directly involved in betterment of society
  - Hayek's objection to this
    - He saw them as heroes who move goods to where they are demanded
    - We need entrepreneurs (who respond to demand), distribution workers, etc.
- Capitalist markets generate unjust inequalities
  - But how much inequality is unjust?

### **SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

#### Bernstein

- Evolutionary socialist: no need for revolution
- Revisionist: update and revise Marx's claim
- Morality: freedom, respect, and a peaceful movement for change

#### Social Democracy

- Politics: socialist parties can achieve social reforms
- Economics: working class standard of living improved

#### Fabian Socialism in Britain (1884)

- Parliamentary path to socialism
  - Can only come about by electing more of the socialist candidates
- National efficiency and social justice
- Nationalization and social welfare

### **Lecture 11**

#### **Fascism**

*Why should we care?*

- “Fascism was the major political innovation of the 20th century, and the source of much of its pain.” - Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*

### *Historical Origins*

- Ancient Rome → ‘Fasces’: symbol of social unity under political leadership
  - people are “sticks” and the state ties them together, makes them a bundle of sticks and the leader + military is the “axe”

### *Modern Origins*

- Early 20th century in Italy
- Milan, spring 1919: violence, murder
  - Hayward: attack on socialism and the rule of law - in the name of the nation

### *Background Ideas*

- Counter-enlightenment
- Nationalism - when you serve the nation, you are doing good. it is a moral position
- Elitism - there are certain people who MUST lead
- Irrationalism - people need to believe in something, they need hope and optimism

### *Features of Fascism*

- Totalitarian - Report on neighbours, report ideas against government, everyone lives at the whim of the leader
- Reactionary
- Cult of leadership
- Mass mobilization through monopolistic political party
- Destroy intermediate organizations (trade unions)
- Abolition of privacy (surveillance)
- Rule of law replaced by arbitrary violence (leader)

### *Mussolini's Fascism*

- National unity
- Liberalism - no, obedience - yes
- Celebration of war and violence
- Individual sacrifice and state worship

### *Hitler's Nazism*

→ 2 explanations for Hitler's rise to power

1. Economic - Germany was in an economic dilemma and Hitler found someone to blame
2. Charismatic - people liked Hitler, he was a good speaker
  - Resentment about the end of WWI
  - German people must defeat Jews, Communists, and Liberals who promote ideas of universal brotherhood
  - Need a strong, dominant leader
  - Nationalism
  - Lebensraum (living space) - Germans in other parts of the world need to be brought back, we need living space
  - Social Darwinism - the weak will be killed, weeded out, the goal was to remove the weak
  - Racism and anti-Semitism

### *Paxton: Key Themes*

- Sense of crisis needing radical solution
- Subordination of individuals to the group
- One's group is a victim whose enemies must be attacked
- Fear of liberalism, class conflict, and other alien forces
- Promote community integration by violence if necessary
- Need for authority by natural leaders embodying group's destiny
- Superiority of leader's instincts over abstract and universal reason
- Celebration of violence and will when devoted to the group's success
- Right of the chosen people to dominate others without restraint

### *Marx on Revolution*

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### *Engels' Objections to Capitalism*

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- Hayek saw them as heroes who move goods to where they are demanded.
- Capitalist market generates unjust inequalities: but how much inequality is unjust?

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#### *Social Democracy*

- Politics: socialist parties can achieve social reforms
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#### *Fabian Socialism in Britain (1844)*

- Parliamentary path to socialism
- National efficiency and social justice
- Nationalization and social welfare

### **Feminism**

#### *Core Ideas: Gender*

- Gender is not sex, sex is physical
- Social construction of what is masculine and feminine
  - Usually imposed by society
  - May be chosen by individuals
  - Limited options as masculine or feminine, extra limitations for those not fitting into these categories

#### *Core Ideas: Patriarchy*

- Eliminating subordination of women
- Against Patriarchy: system of rule by men giving them power over in politics, economics, society, etc.

#### *Core Ideas: Personal Is Political*

- Traditional view: politics is public; family and personal relations are private
  - Public man - dominates the state, education and the economy
  - Private women - restricted to home and family
- Feminist view: personal is the political (Carol Hanisch)
  - Constructed public/private divide
  - Empowerment of women needed = political action and changes

#### *Core Ideas: Justice*

- Equality/difference/equity
  - Liberals seek equality: everyone treated the same as individuals, before the law, opportunities
  - Conservatives seek maintaining differences as essential to society: family, mother, etc.
  - Radical and Socialists seek liberation: seek fairness in power relationships: society and economics and political structures, etc. barriers removed

## **Lecture 12**

### **Feminism**

#### *Wollstonecraft's Feminism*

- A vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792)
- Enlightenment commitment to reason and equality
- Women and men are equals in possessing the capacity to reason
- Women oppressed by social institutions, including education
  - They took courses that made them better wives and mothers
- Differences between men and women are artificial, not natural
  - God didn't intend them, society constructed the limitations and prevents them from pursuing higher education.
- Changing the institutions will end inequality

#### *Liberal Feminism*

- Overcome overt discrimination
- Change laws and institutions
  - Other things can hold them back but make sure it wasn't the law that did this
- Goal: equalize opportunities for women and men
  - Whatever standards you **do** have, make sure they are the same for *everyone*. Not separate standards, just the same

### *Socialist Feminism*

- Patriarchy → capitalism: systems of inequality artificially created
- Pink-collar jobs = women or “the feminine”
  - Jobs where women are the primary workers
  - Makes it okay to pay women less
  - When women start working those jobs, they become worthless
- Feminization of labour: more women = lower wages and conditions + push men out
- Double burden/day: home + work
  - They work in the workforce but also work at home, for free
- Teachers are paid so much more now than before because someone started adding men to the workforce and pushed women out

### *Radical Feminism*

- Start from women’s experiences to analyze and rebuild politics
- Overcome sexist attitudes and beliefs → women also internalize harmful attitudes and false beliefs
- Emphasize women’s differences
  - Against: patriarchy's artifice
  - For: empowerment, choice, equity
- Overthrow patriarchy:
  - Male bias in the debate over rules and setting up society
  - Women had no role in creating
  - Empower women: institutions and local and family and individually.

### *Feminism: New Paths*

- Recognize diversity of women’s experience and political impact
- Sexual (LGBTQ+)
- Racial and ethnic and disabled (indigenous and anti-racism and anti-ableism)
- Geographical (post-colonial)
- Men’s liberation (masculinity studies)
- Intersectional feminism

### **Green**

#### *Ecology as Ideology*

- Beyond left and right
- Greens vs the mainstream
- Greens reject anthropocentrism - idea that human interests are overriding moral importance and we can use nature for our own ends
- Action on environment = most important

#### *An Ecological Ethic*

- An interconnected natural system
- Respect for all life
- Enormous power to do good or harm to the planet, so we have a great responsibility
  - No other creature has more power in this than us
- Stewardship: protect, preserve and sustain nature

#### *The Gaia Hypothesis*

- British scientist Lovelock
- Earth and its creatures = single, self-regulating system that is one organism: a single, huge, living being (Gaia)
- The interconnectedness and interdependence of all parts of the earth’s ecology

#### *Deep vs. Shallow Ecology*

- Deep:
  - All forms of life have intrinsic value
  - No living thing’s value depends on their usefulness to humans
  - Radical change in consciousness
- Shallow:
  - Aims to promote environmental goals as a means to serving human needs, especially economy
  - Institutional change in states and markets
- Do we need to change our minds (deep) or change to the world (shallow)?

#### *Collective Action Problems*

- Private and public goods: clean air is a public good that cannot be divided and distributed

- Environmental collective action requires cooperation → everyone has an incentive to free ride
- Tragedy of the commons: we need to enforce collective solutions to avoid destroying common resources
- Political engagement: enforce solutions to collective action problems

## **Multiculturalism**

*Citizenship* → Common set of rights and duties for all citizens

- Civil rights
  - Not to be prevented from joining a union, not being randomly picked up by the police
- Political rights
  - To run for office, to vote
- Socio Economic rights
  - Equal pay, education
- Gradual expansion of the class of citizens
  - Went from white, property-owning Protestant men to working class men, Catholics, Jews, women, blacks, and others

*Multiculturalism*

- Cultural diversity of modern societies
- Challenging the idea of the normal citizen
- Rejection of
  - Exclusion: keeping non-White minorities out
  - Assimilation: forcing compliance with majority norms and practices (food restrictions and dressing)
  - Marginalization: forcing Indigenous peoples onto reserves or to give up traditional way of life
  - Silencing: institutionalizing the disabled; criminalizing homosexuals
- Seeks:
  - More inclusive understanding of citizenship
    - From the coercion and paternalism to consent and autonomy.
  - Recognize a plurality of identities
    - Integration rather than assimilation
  - Accommodate differences

*Politics of Recognition*

- Three approaches to social advancement
  - Republicanism: equal legal and political rights
  - Redistribution: social rights and equal opportunity
  - Recognition: endorsing cultural difference
- Three types of minority rights
  - Self government rights for national minorities and Indigenous peoples: as a response to majority nation-building
  - Polyethnic rights for ethnic groups and religious minorities: exemptions and public funding
  - Special representation rights in public positions

*Arguments Against Multiculturalism*

- Ghettoization: retreat into ethnic enclaves
- Emphasizes citizens' differences rather than commonalities
- Danger of internal restrictions: violating the rights of individual members of minority cultures

*Arguments for Multiculturalism*

- Provides external protections from the dominant culture for ethnocultural minorities
- Freedom for individuals within groups, equality between groups
- Can create reliable commitment to the welfare state, therefore no ghettoization
- Integration on fair terms: inclusion of all as equals

## **Radical Political Islamism**

- Religion is politics; politics bounded by religion
- Fundamentalist society following Holy Book
- Anti-modern
- Militant/violent
- Religion: islam → one of the three great Abrahamic religions, along with Judaism and Christianity
- Ideology: radical political islamism → fundamentalism political ideology

*History of External Threats to RPI*

- Crusades (1095-1300 AD)

- European imperialism
- State of Israel
- Western ideas of “modernity”

*Record of US/West in Muslim-majority Countries*

- Covert intervention
- Military attack
- Support corrupt regimes
- Occupying Muslim Holy lands

*Whose Ideas inform RPI*

- Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966)
  - Muslim Counter-Enlightenment
  - Appalled by America
  - Joins Muslim brotherhood
  - Executed in Egypt by government as a terrorist because he developed a following
- Jahiliyya (darkness or ignorance)
  - False consciousness
    - They think that being part of the West will make them better off but they’re wrong because of racism (they will be treated as black people)
  - Offensive holy war
- Problem: Western decadence
  - Qutb argues:
    - Resisting western influence will not work, we need to establish an islamic state (we need to have a state where Islam is primary and the perimeter for law).

*Against the Corrupt West*

- Attacking corrupt Muslims (intellectuals, governments)
- Attacking U.S. power (military, internally)
- Educating boys, not girls
- Bearing witness (Shahadah)

*RPI: Fracture*

- Al Qaeda: terrorist attacks
- ISIS: Islamic State