# "Freedom and Jihad:" The Middle East and Europe

Tom G. Palmer Senior Fellow Cato Institute A Presentation to the Reason Foundation Conference Amsterdam, 2006

The Lamp of Liberty: An Initiative of the Jack Byrne Project on Middle East Liberty



# Some Problems of the Middle East

- Rentier States: Oil and Foreign Aid
  - Low Development of the Private Sector
  - States Financed Through Resource Rents
    - Taxation Effect (the State Is Not Dependent on a Wide Base of Taxpayers)
    - Spending Effect (Patronage)
    - Group Formation Effect (Groups Require Permission to Form and are State-Dominated When Formed)
    - Repression Effect (Ability to pay for "security" services)

## Some More Problems

- Statism
- Protectionism
- Bureaucracy
- The "Choice" Between Violent Authoritarian Nationalist or Dynastic Rulers or Violent Islamist Movements
- Intellectual Isolation

# Where We Can Have an Impact



By breaking the intellectual isolation and providing an Alternative to the Ideologies of Intolerance, Statism, Socialism, Nationalism, and Violence that Plague the Middle East and Threaten the Wider World

### How Isolated is the Arab World?

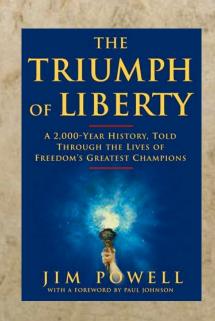


"The number of books translated in the Arab world is one fifth of the number translated in Greece. The aggregate total of translated books from the Al-Ma'moon era to the present day amounts to 10,000 books - equivalent to what Spain translates in a single year. This disparity was revealed in the first half of the 1980s when the average number of books translated per I million people in the Arab world during the 5-year period was 4.4 (less than one book for every million Arabs), while in Hungary it was 519, and in Spain 920."

# Which is Likely to Have the Longer-Term Impact?



OR



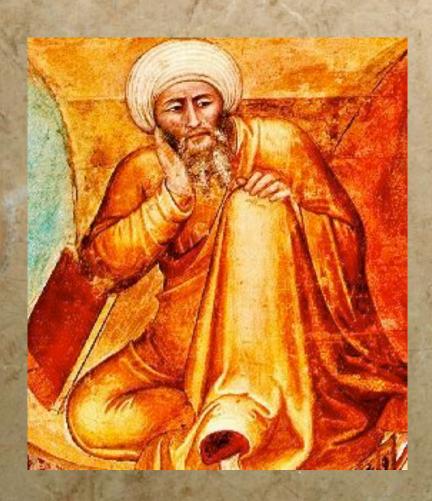
How Can We Have an Impact?

# Creating a Middle Eastern Narrative of Freedom



The first written word for liberty -- "ama-gi" -- from a tablet from the ancient city of Lagash, Telloh in contemporary Iraq

## Resurrecting an Islamic Narrative of Liberty



- Ibn Rushd (1126-1198, Latin: Averroes) an important predecessor of the theory of rights
  - Ibn Rushd argued in his essay on justice and jihad that all are entitled to life, to liberty, and to property and forfeit those rights by using force in an unjust cause.

### Giving A Forum to Contemporary Arabic and Muslim Liberals



Zainab al-Suwaij



Fadi Haddadin



Rola Dashti



Shafeeq Ghabra

# Breaking Monopolies on Ideas and Information



Arabic Free Blogging Site Friendsof Democracy.net

- INFORMATION
   COMMUNICATIONS
   TECHNOLOGY USE IN
   THE ARAB WORLD
   HAS DOUBLED IN THE
   LAST YEAR
  - -SALEM KHAMIS AL-SHAIR,
    DIRECTOR, E-SERVICES AT DUBAI
    E-GOVERNMENT
  - Use of the Internet Has Increased 55%
     OVER THE SAME PERIOD
  - THOUSANDS OF BLOGS
     HAVE BEEN CREATED
     IN THE PAST TWO
     YEARS

## The Lamp of Liberty: Freedom's Presence on the Arab World



- www.misbahalhurriyya.org
- www.lampofliberty.org
  - An Initiative of the Cato Institute's Jack Byrne Project on Middle East Liberty

# An Online Library of Freedom



- Classics of Liberty
- Policies of Liberty
- Short Commentaries
- Books Online
- Lighthouse of Liberty
- Streaming Video
- Essay Contests
- More....

# Classics:

Frederic bastiat, Voltaire, Adam Smith, Ibn Khaldun







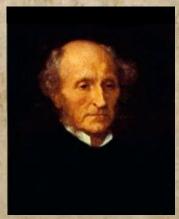


## Classics:

John Locke, John Stuart Mill, James Madison, J.-B. Say





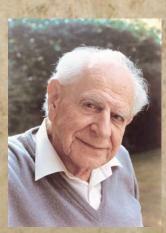




#### 20th Century Giants of Freedom: Ludwig von Mises, Karl Popper, F. A. Hayek, Rose Wilder Lane



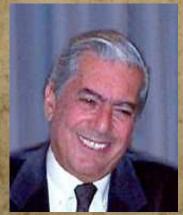






#### Contemporary Voices for Freedom: Milton Friedman, William Easterly, Raja Kamal, Mario Vargas Llosa









## Online Video



- Full Version of Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose"
   TV Series Now Online for Video Streaming
  - More to come....

## Understanding Institutions: Constitutions and Legal Systems,





- Bi-Lingual English-Arabic Edition of America's Founding Documents Available in a Pocket Edition
  - They Will Be Posted with Constitutions of Japan, Germany, South Korea, Belgium, Canada, Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and Others, as well as Essays on Constitutionalism, Constitutional Economics, Public Choice, Etc.

# English-Language Books for University Libraries





- Thousands of Classics of Liberty Have Been Sent to Libraries
  - Mises, Rand, Hayek, North, Montesquieu, Smith, Coase, Acton, Epstein, Friedman, Kirzner, Hume, Madison, Jefferson, Norberg, Popper, Nozick, Sowell, Buchanan, Boaz, Barrow, Vargas Llosa, Zakaria...and many, many more....

# Op-Eds in Arabic Newspapers on Philosophy, Economics, Public Policy, and Controversies in the Arab World

"Rights Responsi bilities," by David Boaz

#### الحقوق والمسؤوليات

#### لاذا لا جدى المساعدات؟ (2/1)

"Why

Foreign Aid Doesn't Work," by William Easterly

"The Blazing the Path to Democracy and Economic Developmen t," by Tom G. Palmer

#### القضاء المصرى ينير الطريق إلى الديمقراطية

#### معنى التنافس

"The Meaning Competition," by F. A. Hayek

Each Article Carries the URL for The "Lamp of Liberty"





# Active Online Promotion and Advertising



Al Bawaba



#### Al Jazeera





Al Ghad





# An Active Promotional Campaign

- On-line banner ads
- Work with Arab
   Bloggers
- "Free media" coverage
- Sms and "phone video" campaigns
- Brochures
- Seminars
- Lecture Tours



### Introducing the Ideas of Freedom: Lectures, Seminars, and Meetings









# Teaching About Liberty



Fadi Haddadin and Johan Norberg answer questions



Tom G. Palmer speaking on Principles of Individual Rights

- Cairo, August 15-20,
   2006: The first Lamp of Liberty Conference for
   40 Middle Eastern
   Journalists and
   Bloggers
  - Participants Attended from throughout the Middle East

#### Books, Original and in Translation

- A series of interviews on "Voices of Arabic Liberalism" is in production
  - The interviews will be available online in audio and in transcript and available as book
- A Series of "Primers" on Important Topics
- A Series of Illustrated Novels on Free Speech, Free Trade, etc.

- Books ready for publication include:
  - In Defense of Global Capitalism, J. Norberg
  - Libertarianism: A Primer, D. Boaz
  - Liberalism, L. v. Mises
  - The Economic Way of Thinking,
     P. heyne, et al
  - The Road to Serfdom, F. A.
     Hayek
  - Economic Policies, L. v. Mises
  - The Law and Selected Essays,
     F. Bastiat
  - Common Sense Economics, by J. Gwartney, R. Stroup, D. Lee
- Books Being Translated Include:
  - On Liberty, J. S. Mill
  - The Constitution of Liberty, F.
     A. Hayek
  - Selected Essays of F. A. Hayek
  - Much More....

## Publications of the Jack Byrne Project Appear in Four Languages

- Arabic (spoken throughout the Arabic world and beyond)
- Kurdísh (spoken in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Etc.)
- Farsi/Persian (Spoken in Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, etc.)
- Azerí (spoken in Azerbaíjan and Iran)

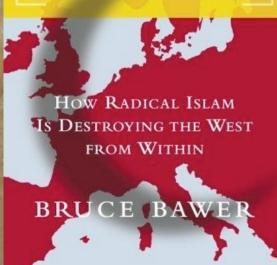
## The People of the Middle East Will Benefit from a Greater Understanding of Liberty



....But What About Europe?

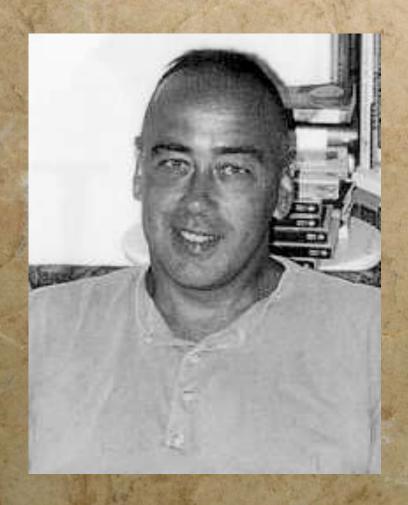
# Some Have Raised Alarms About Islam in Europe

WHILE EUROPE SLEPT



- Radical Political Islamists Are
   Actively Working to Recruit
   Among Europe's Growing Muslim
   Minority
- Many European Elites Have Preemptively Surrendered
  - They Lack the Concepts and the Courage to Defend Freedom
  - They See Themselves as Morally Inferior to their Enemies

European Welfare States Bear Part of the Responsibility....



■"Europeans ... will allow immigrants into their country; they'll pay high taxes so that their government can dole out (forever, if necessary) rent support, child benefits, and so forth; and they'll refer to these newcomers piously as 'our fellow countrymen.' But they won't really think of them as being Norwegian or Dutch. And something deep inside of them rebels mightily against the idea of immigrants living among them as respected, fully equal professionals." -- Bruce Bawer

Treatment of Muslims as a Foreign Minority Has Made the Situation Worse





"[Western governments] should avoid any sort of religious engineering, but play on the diversity of Islamic religious revivalism by making room for Islam and treating it on an equal footing with other religions. In fact, the management of Islam should be delinked from the issue of immigration and multiculturalism. Islam should be treated merely as a religion, and not as the expression of ethnic minority groups." -- Olivier Roy

# Is It True that "Islam Is the Problem?"

- It is presumptuous to tell others what their religion means
  - Don't confuse Islam with Wahhabism or Salafism
  - Remember that not too long ago many said that Catholicism was incompatible with liberalism, citing the examples of Spain, Italy, Portugal, Latin America

- If the Religion is "the Problem," It is Also the Solution.
  - It's not enough to complain about the silence of moderate Muslims; if we're serious about combatting terrorism in the name of Islam, we have to give our moderate and liberal friends real support.

### What to Do? Recommendations to My European Friends

- Change European Labor Regulations and Substitute Freedom to Work for State Entitlements
- Promote an Ideology of Freedom, not Multi-Culti Relativism
- Actively Support Liberal Muslim Organizations in Europe, as I support the American Islamic Congress (www.aicongress.org) in the US



building tolerance at home and abroad