SEBASTIAN GORKA: DEFEATING JIHAD: THE WINNABLE WAR
STUDY GUIDE, 2017

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PROLOGUE: ONE MAN AND HIS CHOICES

Outline

A. PAUL GORKA (1-11)
   1. America’s Role in the World
   2. Budapest
      a. Takeover by the new totalitarian ideology of communism
   3. Violations of the Yalta Stipulations
      a. Paul’s resistance
   4. Architectural Student
      a. Soviet occupation
   5. Small Circle of Christian Students
      a. Internships at strategic state enterprises
   6. Intelligence Gathering
      a. Nationalization of key hubs of industry
   7. Contact with MI6
   8. Coded Reports
      a. Courier kidnapped
   9. Kim Philby
      a. Cambridge Spy Ring
   10. Arrest and Torture
   11. Guardian Angel
   12. Geza Gorka
      a. Ceramics
   13. Patrons
      a. Admiral Horthy
   14. Intervention
   15. Original Secret Files
   16. Prison Sentence
   17. Solitary Confinement
   18. Release into the General Population of Political Prisoners
   19. Education
   21. Cost of Communism
      a. Failure to meet production targets
   22. “Concessions”
      a. More and better fraud
   23. “Ten Tons a Day Quota
   24. Outside Contact
   25. Family Background
      a. Vojvodas = members of the Polish aristocracy
      b. Augustus
      c. Paul’s new appreciation for the working class
   26. Destruction of the Country’s Intellectual Capacity
      a. Ideological purge
   27. Loss of Architects, Engineers, and Other Professionals
28. Surviving Members of the Bourgeoisie Were in Prison
29. Imprisoned Enemies of the State Were Press-Ganged into Saving the Economy
30. Prisoner-Draftsman
31. George: Former Leader of the YMCA

B. HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (11-15)
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2. Silent Vigil, October 23, 1956
3. Hungarian State Radio Station
   a. Tricolor flag of free Hungary
4. Workers of Csepel Island
5. List of Demands
6. Street Battles
   a. Infantry-skills classes
7. Captured Tank Stormed the National Prison
8. Revolutionary Cabinet
   a. Negotiations at the Yugoslav embassy
9. Revolution Betrayed
   a. Moscow deployed tanks and troops
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12. Susan and Elizabeth
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14. Austrian Refugee Camp
15. England

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2. Price of the “Workers’ Paradise”
3. Immigration to America
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5. Ideological Seeds of Tyranny
   a. Men who make themselves arbiters of truth and guarantors of salvation
      1) State as object of worship (fascism) and racial purity (Nazism)
      2) Class conflict is the engine of history (communism)
   b. Totalitarian control (enslavement) by a self-appointed elite for the “greater good”
6. Third Reich
   a. Adolf Hitler: Embodiment of the state
   b. Lost sight of reality
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   a. Otherwise, the policy of mutually assured destruction would not have worked
8. Idea of Nuclear War Became Unconscionable
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   a. The religion of Islam and Allah used to justify mass murder
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   a. Our enemy fights not for earthly reasons but for a transcendent reality
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MI6 Kim Philby vojvodes
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   6. Lack of a Threat Doctrine Analysis of the Post-9/11 World

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   4. Not So at the Outset of the Cold War
   5. Fundamental Purpose of the United States
   6. Existential Threat to the United States
      a. NSC-68 details
   7. A New Totalitarian Enemy Committed to A "Them or Us" View
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George Kennan NSC-68 Paul Nitze
Carl von Clausewitz Sun Tsu

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   4. Whom Do You Trust to Fight This Fight If We Don’t?
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   7. Increase in Domestic Plots and Attacks
   8. ISIS
   9. Politics and Ideology

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   3. Realities Were Pushed Aside
   4. Bush 41’s Decision Not to Decapitate the Iraqi Regime
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   3. Intelligence About Chemical Weapons
   4. Flagrant Violations of the Ceasefire Agreement
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   6. Dispelling Erroneous Conventional Wisdom
   7. Mutual and Tactical “Back-Scratching” Between Iraq and Al Qaeda
   8. Saddam Hussein’s Stalinist Dictatorship
      a. He did not wish to die a shaheed (martyr)
      b. Limits to his cooperation with Al Qaeda
   9. Jihadist Ideal of Death in the Way of Jihad
   10. Saddam Hussein Would Not Have Provided WMD’s to Al Qaeda
   11. America Goes to War
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1. Fewer Allies
   a. NATO left out of the picture
   b. Paul Bremer
   c. Monumental mission creep
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2. Cultural and Historical Obstacles
3. Decades of Brutal Stalinist Dictatorship Had Frayed the Fabric of Society
   a. Minority Sunnis were favored
   b. Tikrit
   a. Loss of jobs for the elites
5. Allies Had Not Excluded All Card-Carrying Nazis
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   b. Punishment of the most guilty
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      1) Rise of ISIS

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   c. Azzam’s assassination
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3. New Type of Jihadi
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6. Abu Musab al Zarqawi
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   a. Osama’s safe houses
3. Anwar al Awlaki
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   b. Pressure cooker as an antipersonnel mine
   c. Tsarnaev brothers
4. Targeted Killings by UAVs (Drones)
5. Kinetic Options
6. The Simple Math of Extremism
7. Obama Administration Theory about Terrorism
   a. Need to solve “root grievances”
8. Terrorism Is the Violent Expression of Ideology
   a. “Propaganda of the deed” [19C Russian terrorist term]
9. Doctrine Since 2009 That Religion Has Nothing to Do with the Terrorist Threat
   a. Islam must not be seen as connected to terrorism
   b. Euphemism: Violent extremism
10. Ideological Preferences Infect the Function of National Security
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    b. System of censoring and monitoring
11. Obama Administration’s Fantasyland
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      a. Ignorance 15 years after 9/11
   2. Mohammed
      a. Revelation from Gabriel
      b. Mecca: Caravan crossroads
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      b. Jews
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   5. Christianity Seen as a Confidence Trick
   6. Koran Verses Dictated to Family and Friends
      a. Collected after Mohammed’s death
   7. His Ostracism
      a. Hijra
   8. Medina
   9. Return
      a. Convert or die
      b. Peace verses
      c. War verses
   10. New Theocratic Empire
      a. Caliphate [caliphs were Muhammad’s successors as leaders of the congregation]
   11. Jihad
      a. Internal striving
      b. Literal warfares: Holy war
   12. Four Varieties of Jihad Activity
      a. Greater jihad of the heart
      b. Jihads of the mind and tongue
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   13. Its Use as a Rallying Cry

B. THE SEVEN SWORDS OF JIHAD (60-68)
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      a. Jihad used to justify the expansion of Islam
   2. Ridda: War Against Apostasy
      a. Abu Bakr
   3. Redefinition
      a. Eclipse of Abbasid caliphate
      b. Ibn Taymiyya
      c. Right to revolt against “false” Muslim leaders
      d. Sharia [“the way”]
         1) Based on the Koran and the Hadith [the authoritative sayings of
Mohammed’s companions]

f. Fighting the Tartars
   1) Fitna

g. Takfir [takfir]

Anticolonial Struggle

a. Arrival of the European powers
b. Mohammed ibn Abd al Wahhab
   1) Abd al Qadir’s resistance in Algeria
c. Housecleaning: Call to spiritual revival and purification
d. Shah Waliullah Dehlawi
   1) Dawa
   2) Purging Islam of jahiliyyah

Countering Western Influence

a. Abul A’la Mawdudi
   1) Principles of Ibn Taymiyya
b. Jamaat e Islami
   1) Politicization of Islam
   2) Establishment of Pakistan
c. Universality of Islam
d. Sayyid Qutb
e. Near enemy and the far enemy
   1) Milestones
f. Invasion of Afghanistan
   1) Arab mujahedeen

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a. Abdullah Azzam
b. Fatwa: Defense of the Muslim Lands
c. Punishment for refusal to fight
d. Covert American support
e. Osama bin Laden
f. Al Qaeda

Direct Targeting of Civilians

a. Focus on the far enemy
b. Osama bin Laden’s historical significance

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALIPHATE: THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM (68-73)

1. Empire Waxed and Waned as Its Capital Moved
   a. Physical and political embodiment of Islamic power
2. West Was Ascendant in the 19C
   a. Recapture of formerly Christian areas
3. Industrialized War, 20C
   a. Rump caliphate
   b. Ottoman’s bad bet
   c. Dismemberment
4. Ataturk
   a. Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)
   b. Turkey
   c. Last caliph deposed, 1924
5. Concerted Efforts to Restore the Caliphate
   a. Muslim Brotherhood
   b. Terrorism assassination and subversion
6. Evolution of Jihad
   a. Global surge of guerrilla activities
7. Al Qaeda
   a. Osama bin Laden
      1) Redefinition of jihad
8. Offshoot Organizations
9. 9/11
   a. New master of a new jihad
   b. Conversion of jihad into a universal ideology
10. Osama’s Success
    a. Due in part to poor strategic decisions by Bush and Obama
    b. And of the stultifying effects of colonialism and the Cold War
11. Al Qaeda Eclipsed by a New Player
    a. ISIS
    b. Return of the caliphate
12. Submission to the Will of Allah

D. CONTRAST WITH CHRISTIANITY (73-76)
  1. Origins and Legacies of the Two Faiths Are Completely Different
  2. Islam Was Forged in Battle
     a. Theocratic state
  3. No Distinction Between the Political and the Religious
     a. Unitary whole
  4. Separation of Church and State
     a. St. Paul
     b. Koran is deemed the source of all law and sovereignty is a quality of God
  5. Key to Understanding Why the Control of Territory Shapes Islamic Thought
  6. Islam Insists That God Is Unitary
     a. Tawhid
     b. Shahada
     c. Umma
     d. Central theme: Oneness above all
  7. Importance of the Arabian Peninsula
     a. Mecca
     b. Medina
  8. Jerusalem
     a. Isra: Night Journey
     b. Dome of the Rock
  9. al-Haram ash-Sharif

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  2. Absence of a Jewish State Before 1948
  3. Zionism Achieved Critical Mass After the Holocaust
     a. Theodor Herzl
     b. Nakba
  4. Jerusalem and Palestine as dar al Islam
  5. Psychological Impact
     a. Humiliating defeats of Arab coalitions
  6. Jihadi Logic
     a. Islam has lost its way
     b. Near Enemy
  7. PLO
     a. Judged apostate
  8. Question of Sacred Territory Is Little More Than an Advertising Gimmick

Review

Mohammed            hijra            Medina
jihad                Abu Bakr         Sharia
fatwa                takfirism        Abd al-Wahhab
Shah Waliullah Dehlawi dawa            jahiliyyah
Sayyid Qutb          Al Qaeda         bin Laden’s historical significance
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   1. Globalization of Modern Jihad
   2. Islamic Republic
      a. Ayatollah Khomeini
      b. Storming the U.S. embassy
   3. Mullahs of Tehran
   4. Theocratic Caliphate
   5. Demonstration Effect: U.S. Vulnerability
   6. Seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca
      a. Mahdi
      b. Takfirism
   7. Yaroslav Trofimov
      a. The Siege of Mecca
      b. Role of key members of the ulama
   8. New Compact [with the Wahhabi Clerics]
      a. Global propagation of Islamist ideology [through building new mosques all over the world]
   9. Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan
   10. Ideas of Global Jihad Were Forged in Afghanistan
      a. Abdullah Azzam
   11. “Afghan Arabs” Transformed a Local Conflict into a Global Movement for Islamic Jihad
      a. Azzam’s new ideas
      b. bin Laden’s bankroll

B. ABDULLAH AZZAM: THE SCHOLAR MARTYR (86-92)
   1. Muslim Brotherhood
      a. Hassan al Banna
      b. Sayyid Qutb
   2. Fatwa
      a. Defense of the Muslim Lands
   3. Epigraph Justifying Violent Jihad
   4. “Martyrs: The Building Blocks of Nations”
   5. Personal Obligation of Every Muslim to Jihad
   6. Broad Scholarly Support
      a. Approval of the ulama
      b. It extended beyond the Arab mujahideen
   7. Crucial Role of Ideologues in the Battle
      a. Martyrs and scholars
   8. Belief in the Righteousness of the Cause
   9. Assassination
   10. Impeccable Clerical Credentials
a. Doctorate in *fiqh*, Al Azhar

11. Flawless Logic
   a. Holy war to repel *kuffar* invaders of *dar al Islam*

12. Absent a Caliphate Jihad Was Democratized

C. **OSAMA BIN LADEN** (92-96)
   1. Father
   2. Reaction to the Siege and the Invasion
      a. Radicalization
   3. Conduit for External Funding
   4. Covert Support by the United States
   5. Kremlin Retreat
   6. Death of MAK’s Azzam
      a. Al Qaeda
   7. Victory of the Warriors of Allah
      a. Broadening of jihad horizons
   8. **Saddam Hussein**: leader of Iraq
      a. Invasion of Kuwait
      b. Threat to Saudi Arabia
   9. Bin Laden’s Meeting with King Fahd
      a. Deployment of Western troops
      b. Fatwa
      c. Stationing of infidel troops had been *haram*
   10. Al Qaeda’s New Target
   11. Bin Laden’s Fatwa

**Review**

Grand Mosque of Mecca Yaroslav Trofimov *ulema*
Saudi compact Mohammed ibn Abd al Wahhab *dar al Islam*
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   1. **Sayyid Qutb**
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      b. *Jahiliyyah*
   2. Violent Purification of the World
      a. Islam as a revolutionary party
      b. Mandate to re-create the caliphate
   3. Marxist Terminology
   4. Qutb’s Execution
   5. Abu Bakr al Baghdadi and the Tsarnaev Brothers
   6. Fundamental Analysis
   7. True Muslim

C. **ZAWAHIRI: ONE SUPERPOWER DOWN, ONE TO GO** (100-04)
   1. **Ayman al Zawahiri**
      a. Physician from a prominent Cairo family
2. Egyptian Islamic Jihad
3. MAK
   a. Puritanical Wahhabi ideology
   b. Al Qaeda
4. Move into Enemy Territory
5. Shortsightedness of the Early Jihadist Groups
   a. How this was changed
6. Three al Qaeda Fronts
7. Recruitment in the 1990s
   a. Bin Laden video and audio messages
8. Clandestine Terrorist Cells in the West
   a. Early attacks
9. 9/11
   a. Focus on bin Laden obscured the role of Zawahiri
10. Knights under the Prophet’s Banner
11. Islam Must Rejuvenate Itself
12. Inevitability of Victory
   a. Caravan of jihad

D. GENERAL MALIK: WAR AGAINST THE SOUL OF THE INFIDEL (104-07)
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2. Carl von Clausewitz
   a. War as the extension of policy
3. Malik: War Has One Purpose
   a. To realize Allah’s sovereignty on earth
4. West’s Strategic Analysis: Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield
   a. Identification of key vulnerabilities or centers of gravity
   b. Malik’s only target: The soul of the enemy
5. Malik: The Most Effective Weapon in War Is Terror
   a. Enemy’s belief system must be totally destroyed
6. Zia ul Haq
7. Objective: Restoration of the Caliphate

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   a. Falls Church mosque
2. Recruitment of Young Americans
3. Maj. Nidal Hasan
4. Dzhokhar Tsarnaev
5. Rewards of a Shaheed
6. Message to the American People
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Sayyid Qutb Ayman al Zawahiri S. K. Malik
Zia ul Haq Anwar al Awlaki

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      a. Global jihadi movement
      1) Most dangerous irregular warfare organization ever

B1. THE ISLAMIC STATE: THE WORLD’S FIRST TRANS-REGIONAL INSURGENCY
   1. Al Qaeda Attached Itself to Existing Insurgencies
      a. ISIS is different
   2. ISIS Recruits Come from Over 100 Nations
      a. 75,000 fighters
      b. 6,000 have Western passports
   3. Successful Recruiting Has Enabled ISIS to Capture Territory in Syria, Iraq, and Libya
   4. Dozens of Groups from All Over the World Have Pledged Fealty (Bayat) to the New Caliph
      a. Boko Haram “[Fake (Western) Education Forbidden]”

B2. THE ISLAMIC STATE: THE RICHEST JIHADIST GROUP EVER
   1. Major **Sources of Funding**
      a. Criminal activities and illicit oil sales
      b. GDP
   2. Raids on the Iraqi National Bank
   3. Al Qaeda’s Expenditures on 9/11

B3. A DEADLY COMBINATION: BELIEF IN ARMAGEDDON AND SOCIAL MEDIA EXPERTISE
   1. What’s in a Name?
      a. ISIS
      b. ISIL
   2. Islamic State (IS)
   3. Al Qaeda in Iraq
      a. Abu Musab al Zarqawi
      b. **Abu Bakr al Baghdadi**
   4. Al Shaam
   5. Islam’s Well-Developed **Eschatology**
      a. Christian Eschatology of Armageddon
      b. Al Shaam
   6. Abu Bakr al Baghdadi’s Message
   7. Centuries-Old Eschatology Leveraged in Combination with New Propaganda Platforms
   8. Use of the Latest Social Media
      a. **Dabiq**
      b. **Inspire**
   9. Decapitation Videos
      a. Masterly works of psychological warfare
   10. Professional Quality

B4. THE EMPIRE IS BACK: ISIS SUCCEEDS WHERE ALL OTHERS HAVE FAILED
   1. Significance of the Reestablishment of the Caliphate
   2. Atatürk’s Dissolution of the
      a. Anger
      b. Objective: Theocratic state with the Koran as the constitution
      c. Restoration in 2014
   3. Historic Victory
   4. Russia, China, Iran
   5. Direct Existential Threat
   6. Threat to America
7. Plots That Have Been Intercepted
   a. Arrests
8. Significance of Baghdadi’s Accomplishment

C. HOW TO DESTROY THE NEW TOTALITARIANS (122-26)
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   a. What is the role of America?
2. George Kennan
   a. Long telegram: Summary
3. Parallel with ISIS in 2013
   a. Takfiri jihad
   b. Another form of global totalitarianism
4. Similarities Between Al Qaeda, IS, and the USSR
   a. Vision of global caliphate
5. Coexistence Rejected
6. Revolutionary Vanguard
7. Similarities
8. Differences
   a. Religion
   b. Not tied to one state

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2. Paul Nitze and NSC-68
   a. Four options
3. Strategic Options Are Essentially the Same Today

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2. Why We Must Go to War
   a. Fundamental purpose
3. Three Fronts

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1. Political Correctness
2. Influence by Malevolent Actors
3. We Are Not at War with Islam
4. Two Objectives of a Strategic-Level Propaganda Campaign
   a. Speak openly and truthfully about the enemy
      1) Delegitimizing jihadist propaganda
   b. Strengthen position of allies and partners

E2. TAKE A STEP BACK: HELP OTHERS FIGHT THEIR OWN WARS
1. Folly of Nation Building
   a. What works: Foreign internal defense
2. Trainers and Advisors
3. Special Operations

E3. WINNING THE WAR AT HOME: EDUCATION AND HUMAN INTELLIGENCE
1. Deadliest Year at Home: 2015
2. No Such Thing As "Lone Wolf" Terrorism
3. Ideas of the Enemy Must Be Delegitimized
4. Nationwide Program of Education and Training
5. NYPD Model
6. Identification and Penetration of Jihadi Networks

Review

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<td>Paul Nitze</td>
<td>Sun Tsu</td>
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nation building

AFTERWORD

Outline

A. WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP DEFEAT THE GLOBAL JIHADISTS? (135-40)
   1. Be an Educator
   2. This Book Is a Primer
   3. Lack of Fundamental Knowledge
   4. Refresher Course
      a. Read the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights
      1) What the jihadists wish to destroy
   5. What Separation of Church and State Means and Does Not Mean
      a. How politics has perverted the practice of national security
   6. Return to the Principles Enshrined in Our Founding Documents
      a. Nonnegotiable values of our Constitution
   7. The War Is Being Waged Here in America
   8. All of Us Are Potential Targets
   9. Concealed-Carry Permit
  10. Jihadists Prepare for Their Attacks
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B. OUTLINE OF A STRATEGY TO DEFEAT THE GLOBAL JIHADIST MOVEMENT (140-44)
B1. THE ZERO PHASE
   1. End Politically Motivated Censorship
   2. Resist Lobbying and Subversive Tactics by CAIR, et al.
      a. Holy Land Foundation trial
   3. Muslim Brotherhood
   4. Reappraisal of U.S. Policy toward Iran
   5. Concrete Measures

B2. DOMESTIC MEASURES

B3. INTERNATIONAL MEASURES
  1. Petraeus Manual

Review

What the jihadists wish to destroy  Petraeus Manual