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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
2. Surviving Members of the Bourgeoisie Were in Prison
3. Imprisoned Enemies of the State Were Press-Ganged into Saving the Economy
4. Prisoner-Draftsman
5. George: Former Leader of the YMCA

B. HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (11-15)
1. Ten Days
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
11. Shoot-To-Kill List
12. Susan and Elizabeth
13. Escape
14. Austrian Refugee Camp
15. England

C. A NEW TOTALITARIANISM (15-19)
1. Child of the Cold War
2. Price of the “Workers’ Paradise”
3. Immigration to America
4. Soul Made ion the Image of God: Building Block of Judeo-Christian Civilization
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
7. Brutality of the Soviet System Was Not Built on Blind Fanaticism
   a. Otherwise, the policy of mutually assured destruction would not have worked
8. Idea of Nuclear War Became Unconscionable
9. Today’s Hybrid Totalitarianism
   a. The religion of Islam and Allah used to justify mass murder
   b. Global Jihadism: Al Qaeda, ISIS, Hizbollah
10. Allah Is at the Center of the Ideology: Not a State of Impersonal Force
    a. Our enemy fights not for earthly reasons but for a transcendent reality
11. Absolutist “Them or Us” Attitude
12. Freedom Is Fragile
13. Every Generation Must Remain Vigilant
14. The Totalitarians Are Back
15. Their Defeat Should Be Built on the Secret Plan America Used to Defeat
    Communism
16. Barbary Wars
17. Need for a Strategy
Review

MI6        Kim Philby        vojvodes
Hungarian Revolution        Marshal Tito        ideological seeds of tyranny
hybrid totalitarianism        global jihadism        center of the ideology

INTRODUCTION

Outline

A. ENEMY THREAT DOCTRINE ANALYSIS (21-23)
   1. George Kennan
   2. Joseph Stalin
   3. “Sources of Soviet Conduct”
   4. Containment Policy
      a. NSC-68
   5. Long Telegram
   6. Lack of a Threat Doctrine Analysis of the Post-9/11 World

B. FROM COMMUNISM TO JIHAD (23-25)
   1. Far-Ranging and Sophisticated Cold War Strategy
   2. Similarities Between the Threats
   3. Objectives of Our Enemies
   4. Jihadist Organizations
   5. Mr. X
   6. Truman Doctrine: Assistance
      a. NATO

C. THE SECRET PLAN TO DEFEAT THE SOVIETS (25-26)
   1. Paul Nitze
   3. NSC-68
   4. Endemic Conflict
   5. Design of the Communist Masters
      a. Subversion and destruction

D. WHAT IT TOOK TO WIN THEN, WHAT IT TAKES TO WIN NOW (26-29)
   1. Carl von Clausewitz
   2. Sun Tsu
      a. Recipe for ultimate victory
   3. Loss of Initial Clarity Following 9/11
   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
   8. Need for a New Long Telegram
   9. Need to Diagnose the Failures of Our Response to 9/11

Review

George Kennan        NSC-68        Paul Nitze
Carl von Clausewitz        Sun Tsu

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A. AMERICA AS THE ARSENAL OF LIBERTY (31-33)
   1. We Are a Nation at War
   2. Nation Founded on an Idea: Liberty of the Individual
   3. National Identities
   4. America’s Opposition to Power by Decree
      a. Will of the people
   5. American Values
   6. Nazis and Marxists
   7. Roles of the United States in Stopping Them
      a. What It Took in Each Case
   8. Global Jihad: New Hybrid Totalitarianism

B. ONLY AMERICA (33-36)
   1. 9/11
   2. Attack on U.S. Soil
      a. ISIS
   3. America’s Strategic Response Is Failing
   4. Whom Do You Trust to Fight This Fight If We Don’t?
   5. Vladimir Putin
   6. Argument Against Using Large-Scale Military Operations
   7. Increase in Domestic Plots and Attacks
   8. ISIS
   9. Politics and Ideology

C. NAMING THE ENEMY (36-37)
   1. Declaration of a Global War on Terror
      a. Why it is not
      b. We focused on a specific threat group: Jihadists
   2. Sensitivities
      a. Distortion of reality
   3. Taliban Government Deposed

D. MISSION CREEP (38-39)
   1. Masterly Example of Unconventional Warfare
      a. Use of local friendly forces
      b. Then the mission mutated
   2. Nation Building in Afghanistan
      a. Similar grandiose and foreign plans had been foiled for centuries
   3. Realities Were Pushed Aside
   4. Bush 41’s Decision Not to Decapitate the Iraqi Regime
   5. Fears About WMDs

E. THE LESSONS OF IRAQ (39-43)
   1. Three Points
   2. Saddam Hussein
   3. Intelligence About Chemical Weapons
   4. Flagrant Violations of the Ceasefire Agreement
   5. Question of Whether He Was an Imminent Threat
   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
F. DEMOCRATIC FAILURE IN IRAQ (48-53)
1. Fewer Allies
   a. NATO left out of the picture
   b. Paul Bremer
   c. Monumental mission creep
      1) Nation building
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
   a. Nuremberg Trials
   b. Punishment of the most guilty
   c. Punishment of all Baath Party members proved to be a time bomb
      1) Rise of ISIS
G. AL QAEDA IN IRAQ (46-48)
1. Afghanistan: Birthplace of Modern Jihadism
2. Abdullah Azzam
   a. MAK
   b. Osama bin Laden
   c. Azzam’s assassination
   d. Al Qaeda
3. New Type of Jihadi
4. Post-Iraq Invasion Insurgency
   a. Car bombs and IEDs
5. Role of Former Baathists
6. Abu Musab al Zarqawi
7. Surge
H. NEW PRESIDENT, NEW MISTAKES (48-53)
1. Barack Obama
2. Al Qaeda Evolved into a Global Terror Network
   a. Osama’s safe houses
3. Anwar al Awlaki
   a. Inspire
   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
    a. Anonymous review board
    b. System of censoring and monitoring
11. Obama Administration’s Fantasyland
12. Jihad Is in the Ascendancy
13. Need for America to Rise from Its Slumber
CHAPTER TWO: THE STORY OF JIHAD

Outline

A. BIRTH OF ISLAM (55-60)
   1. Geography Is Destiny
      a. Ignorance 15 years after 9/11
   2. Mohammed
      a. Revelation from Gabriel
      b. Mecca: Caravan crossroads
   3. Different Message
      a. Allah
      b. Jews
   4. Jesus
      a. Doppelgänger
   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
      c. Jihad by the sword
   13. Its Use as a Rallying Cry

B. THE SEVEN SWORDS OF JIHAD (60-68)
   1. Empire Building
      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

e. Ibn Taymiyya’s fatwa
f. Fighting the Tartars
   1) Fitna
g. Takfirism [takfir]

4. 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

5. 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

6. Guerrilla Warfare
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

7. Direct Targeting of Civilians
a. Focus on the far enemy
b. Osama bin Laden’s historical significance

C. 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

E. PALESTINE AND JIHAD (76-79)
1. Deeper Story
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      takfirisim  Abd al-Wahhab
Shah Waliullah Dehlawi  dawa  jahiliyyah
Sayyid Qutb  Al Qaeda  bin Laden’s historical significance
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Outline

A. TURNING POINT (81-86)
   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 ulema
   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 ulema
      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
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
global propagation of Islamist ideology except on Saudi soil  Saddam Hussein

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ENEMY MASTERMINDS: THE GRAND STRATEGISTS OF MODERN JIHAD

Outline

A. KEY JIHADI THINKERS AND WRITERS (97-98)
   1. Important Strategic Texts

B. MILESTONES: ALL MUST FIGHT FOR THE CALIPHATE (98-100)
   1. Sayyid Qutb
      a. Visit to the United States [Greeley, Colorado]
      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
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Sayyid Qutb Ayman al Zawahiri S. K. Malik
Zia ul Haq Anwar al Awlaki

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A. THREAT TO AMERICA (111-12)
1. Year 2015
2. **Islamic State**: Juggernaut of Jihad
3. Need to Speak Truthfully

**B. WHO IS THE ENEMY? A “LONG TELEGRAM” FOR THE JIHADIS (112-122)**

1. Existential Threats
   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)
1. What Is to Be Done?
   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
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   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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1. Sun Tsu’s Cardinal Rule of War
2. Why We Must Go to War
   a. Fundamental purpose
3. Three Fronts
E1. DEPLOY THE TRUTH: YOU CANNOT WIN A WAR IF YOU CANNOT TALK HONESTLY ABOUT THE ENEMY
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

Islamic State  Boko Haram  sources of funding
Abu Bakr al Baghdadi  eschatology  caliphate
Paul Nitze  Sun Tsu  cardinal rule of war
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
  11. Need to Be Aware
      a. See something, say something

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