STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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DEFEATING MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMISTS

BY

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ABSTRACT

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President Bush proclaimed America will win the war against terrorism. This war is further defined as a war against terrorists, specifically Militant Islamic Extremists. The September 11th terrorist attack elevated a new world-organizing ideology, Militant Islamic Extremism. The paper is limited to analyzing only the dominant capabilities of the Osama bin Laden – Al Queada brand of Militant Islamic Extremism. The focus is on determining the centrally dominant capability from which these terrorists derive their will-desire-ability to fight. The methodology sets the analysis in a national strategic context. An analysis model based on a wagon wheel is developed to effectively analyze dominant capabilities. Developing the analysis model involves a six-step process with appropriate driving questions. Actual model development begins with determining the enemy's desired end state, which is always shaped by ideological values. The first step in determining the enemy's end state is to translate a conflict between ideological values into a conflict between people – to define the war. A continuum of ideologies is described with the American ideology at one end, the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology at the opposite end, and the Central Muslim ideology in the middle. Dominant American values are freedom and equality. Dominant Central Muslim values are fairness and justice. The dominant Militant Islamic Extremist value is implementing Islam by force. "Moderate" Muslims are caught in the middle of this ideological conflict and the ideological continuum is adjusted to show their challenge. The analysis is conducted using the wagon wheel analysis model. The enemy's desired end state is the creation of a new Islamic, world-dominating, super-theocracy ruled by Islamic clerics and not bound by state boundaries. The enemy's method is international terrorism. The enemy's potential dominant capabilities are identified and the analysis model steps and questions are used to determine the dominant capabilities, and the centrally dominant capability. Dominant capabilities are Osama bin Laden, effective ideological propagation, recruiting, financing, sanctuary, Al Queada, and the terrorist training camps. Effective ideological propagation is the enemy's centrally dominant capability. Free nations must halt the effective propagation of Militant Islamic Extremism in order to defeat the terrorists it inspires.

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DEFEATING MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMISTS

> Our way of life, our very freedom, came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts... America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.
>
> — President Bush, 11 September 2001

A WAR AGAINST TERRORISTS

A new war, of unknown scope and duration, is taking shape to replace the old Cold War. War is typically thought of as the active armed conflict between nations, nations being the people of a territory united under a single government. The Cold War was a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union that never involved direct armed conflict between the two nations. The Soviet communist ideology was pitted against America's democratic ideology. Although military power played a significant role, each nation effectively used other elements of national power and avoided actual armed conflict. However one defines war, it is always an act of force to impose the will of one onto another.[1] Contemporary events mandate that war be clearly defined to fit the current world situation. A group of people who share a common ideology, but are not a geographic nation, has committed acts of war against America and the free-world. For the purpose of this paper, war is defined as a conflict between at least two groups of people who employ their elements of power against each other in order to achieve their desired ends.

The September 11th terrorist attack elevated a new world-organizing ideology, Militant Islamic Extremism. This militant form of Islamic fundamentalism is an ideological threat to world peace and freedom -- its proponents successfully inspire hate and implement international terrorism.[2] President Bush's proclamation of a war against terrorism does not adequately define whom we are at war with, nor does it distinguish whether this is violent war of military force, a cold war, or some combination. The President's declaration requires further development and clarification so that all elements of national power can be effectively employed to achieve the desired ends. In order to "win the war," the United States must adequately define who the enemy is; determine his ends, ways, and means; and then devise a national strategy to defeat him. The purpose of this paper is to show that free and civilized nations must halt the effective propagation of Militant Islamic Extremism in order to defeat the international terrorists it inspires.

This paper is limited to analyzing the dominant capabilities of the Osama bin Laden – Al Queada brand of Militant Islamic Extremism. Simply put, Militant Islamic Extremists are the enemy. The vast majority of Muslims are not the enemy. Muslims, who accept the radical

Islamic Extremist ideology and become militant enough to commit or support international terrorism, are the enemy. The focus is on determining the centrally dominant capability from which these terrorists derive their will-desire-ability to fight. It's acknowledged that other forms of Militant Extremism exist and may even pose a threat to national security, but the purpose of this paper is served by analyzing only the dominant capabilities of the Osama bin Laden -- Al Queada brand of Militant Islamic Extremism. Analysis of the United States' dominant capabilities is beyond the scope of this paper. Analysis remains at the national strategic level and does not delve into national military or theater strategy.

METHODOLOGY

National Strategic Context

> Know your enemy and know yourself... of supreme importance is to attack the enemy's strategy, next is to disrupt his alliances, then to attack his army.[3]
>
> — Sun Tzu

The analysis is set in a national strategic context in order to determine the enemy's dominant capabilities. National strategic objectives are the aims toward which national strategy is directed. They are derived from national goals and values and are where a nation's efforts and resources are applied. National strategy is the art and science of developing and employing a nation's military, diplomatic, economic, and informational powers in order to secure national strategic objectives.[4] A strategist determines national strategic objectives, develops national resources and provides guidance on how to employ them. National strategy's purpose is to integrate national strategic objectives, national policies, military concepts, and national resources. National strategy is a plan that integrates and synchronizes ends, ways, and means.[5]

The desired end state of any war is to defeat the enemy; to be victorious. Strategists must analyze the enemy's dominant capabilities in order to determine national objectives that lead to victory.[6] National objectives orient on defeating the enemy's dominant capabilities. A dominant capability is a strategic means that enables successful execution of strategy.[7] Analysis must visualize the manner in which these dominant capabilities are linked so that national power can be effectively employed to defeat the enemy. Ultimately, analysis seeks to determine the centrally dominant capability that all others are dependent upon.[8] The key to victory is to identify this

centrally dominant capability from which the enemy derives his will-desire-ability to fight, and then mass the effects of national power to destroy or neutralize it.[9] This may not always involve employing national power directly against the centrally dominant capability, but always includes applying various elements of power directly against the other dominant capabilities linked to it.

Analysis Model

It's useful to develop and employ a model to effectively analyze dominant capabilities. Consider a wagon wheel as a way to visualize how dominant capabilities are linked. Mechanically, there are three key parts to a wagon wheel: 1) the outer wheel contacts the ground and is the way the wagon is actually propelled towards the driver's desired destination; 2) the hub, at the center of the wheel, is the primary means that enables the wheel to move the wagon; and 3) the spokes are linked to both the outer wheel and the hub and are the means that translate power from the hub to the outer wheel. If the hub were destroyed or neutralized, the entire wheel would not operate and the wagon would go nowhere. Even if the hub is not directly destroyed, the wheel would still collapse if enough spokes are destroyed or damaged.

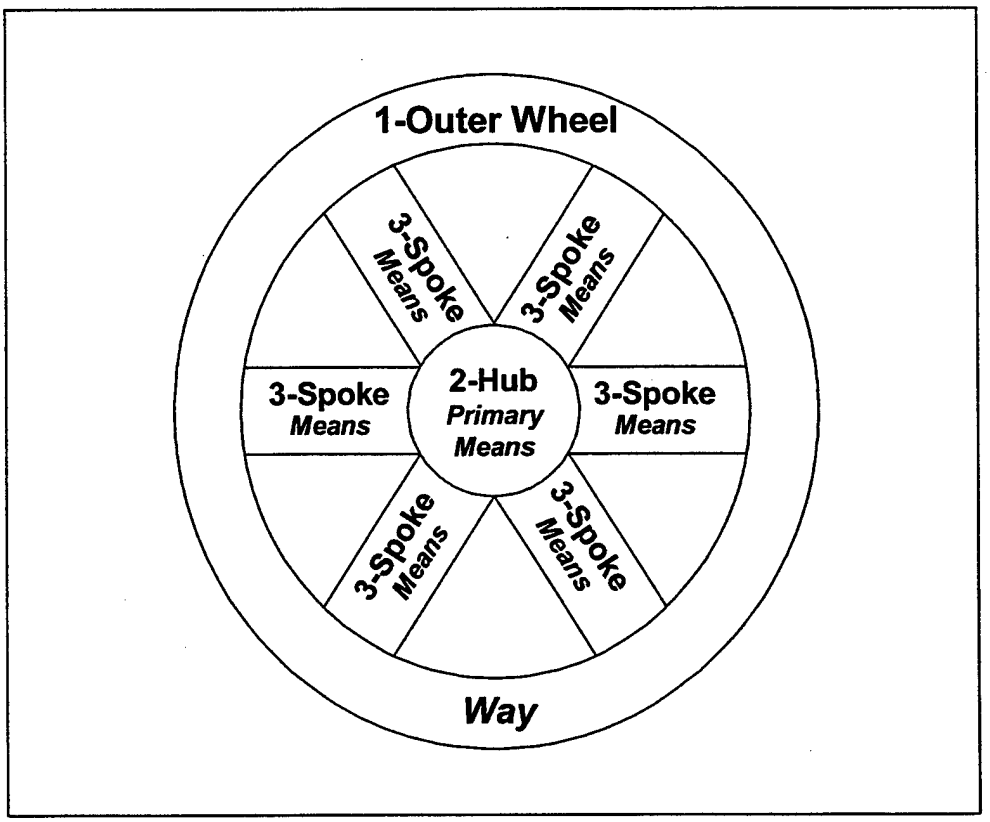

FIGURE 1. WAGON WHEEL

This wagon wheel must be transformed from a physical concept into an effective analysis tool that is useful in determining how to defeat an enemy. The outer wheel is the enemy's method by which he propels himself towards his desired ends. The hub is his centrally dominant capability that all other dominant capabilities are linked to and dependent upon. The spokes are the enemy's dominant capabilities that connect his method to his centrally dominant capability. The dominant capabilities (spokes) translate power from the centrally dominant capability (hub) and enable the enemy's method (outer wheel) to be effective. The centrally dominant capability is where the enemy generates and sustains his will-desire-ability to fight. The enemy could not execute his strategy if his centrally dominant capability is destroyed or neutralized. Even if it is not directly destroyed, his strategy would still fail if enough of the other dominant capabilities are destroyed or sufficiently damaged.

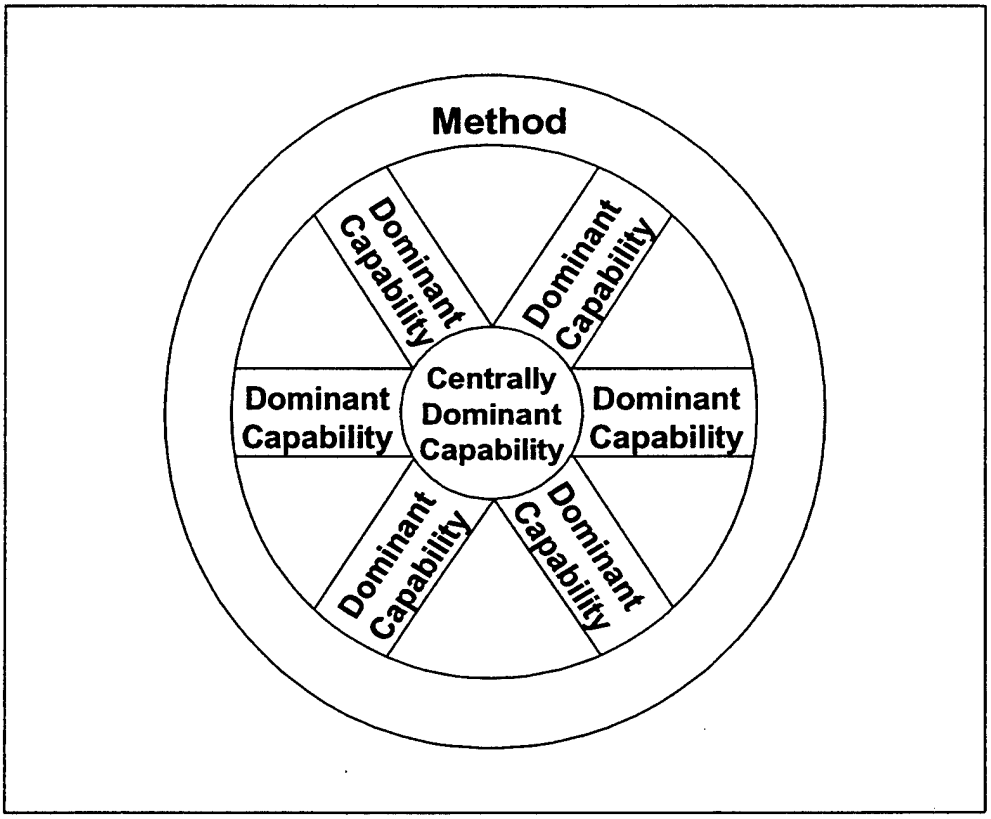

FIGURE 2. ANALYSIS MODEL

Developing the Analysis Model

The analysis model is a tool intended to illuminate the enemy's strategy so that an effective counter-strategy can be devised. To know the enemy's strategy, the strategist develops and employs the analysis model to understand how the enemy's ends, ways, and means are

integrated. Analysis is intended to remain at the national strategic level so that appropriate national objectives and effective guidance on how to apply the elements of national power can be devised. Dominant capabilities are "strategic" means. Developing the analysis model is a six-step process: identify the enemy's desired ends; identify the enemy's method -- the way he implements his strategy; identify any potential dominant capabilities; differentiate dominant [strategic] capabilities from tactical or operational capabilities; identify any potential centrally dominant capabilities; and determine the centrally dominant capability. This is the dominant capability from which the enemy derives his will-desire-ability to fight. From a practical standpoint, the questions below are used to develop the components of the analysis model.

1) What are the enemy's strategic goals and objectives?
These are his desired ends.

2) What is the way [tactic] the enemy advances himself towards his desired ends?
This is the enemy's method.

3) Devise a list of enemy capabilities. To each capability apply the question: Is this capability directly linked to the enemy's method?
If yes, this is a potential dominant capability.

4) Is this potential dominant capability enduring, or is it manifested only when the enemy is employing his actual method? ***If enduring, this is a dominant [strategic] capability.***

5) Is this dominant capability directly linked to all other dominant capabilities?
If yes, this is potentially the centrally dominant capability.

6) If this dominant capability is destroyed or neutralized, would the enemy no longer have the will-desire-ability to fight. ***If yes, this is the centrally dominant capability.***

FIGURE 3. DEVELOPING THE ANALYSIS MODEL

Developing the Analysis Model begins with determining the enemy's desired ends. Strategic ends are always shaped first by ideological values. The September 11th terrorist attack forced the United States and the entire free-world to take the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology into account in order to preserve world peace and freedom. The United States is at war with Militant Islamic Extremists; they are the enemy who must be defeated. Their ideological values must be put into strategic context, so that their strategic ends, ways, and means can be identified and analyzed in the model.

CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGICAL VALUES

The first step in determining the Militant Islamic Extremists' ends is to translate a conflict between ideological values into a conflict between people -- to define the war. There is a continuum of ideologies with respect to the current war against Militant Islamic Extremists. The American ideology of freedom and equality is on one end, and the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology of implementing Islam by force is at the opposite end. The Central Muslim ideology of justice and fairness is in the middle. Although American and Militant Islamic Extremist ideologies have nothing in common, each shares common ideological values and outlooks with the "Moderate" Muslims in the center.

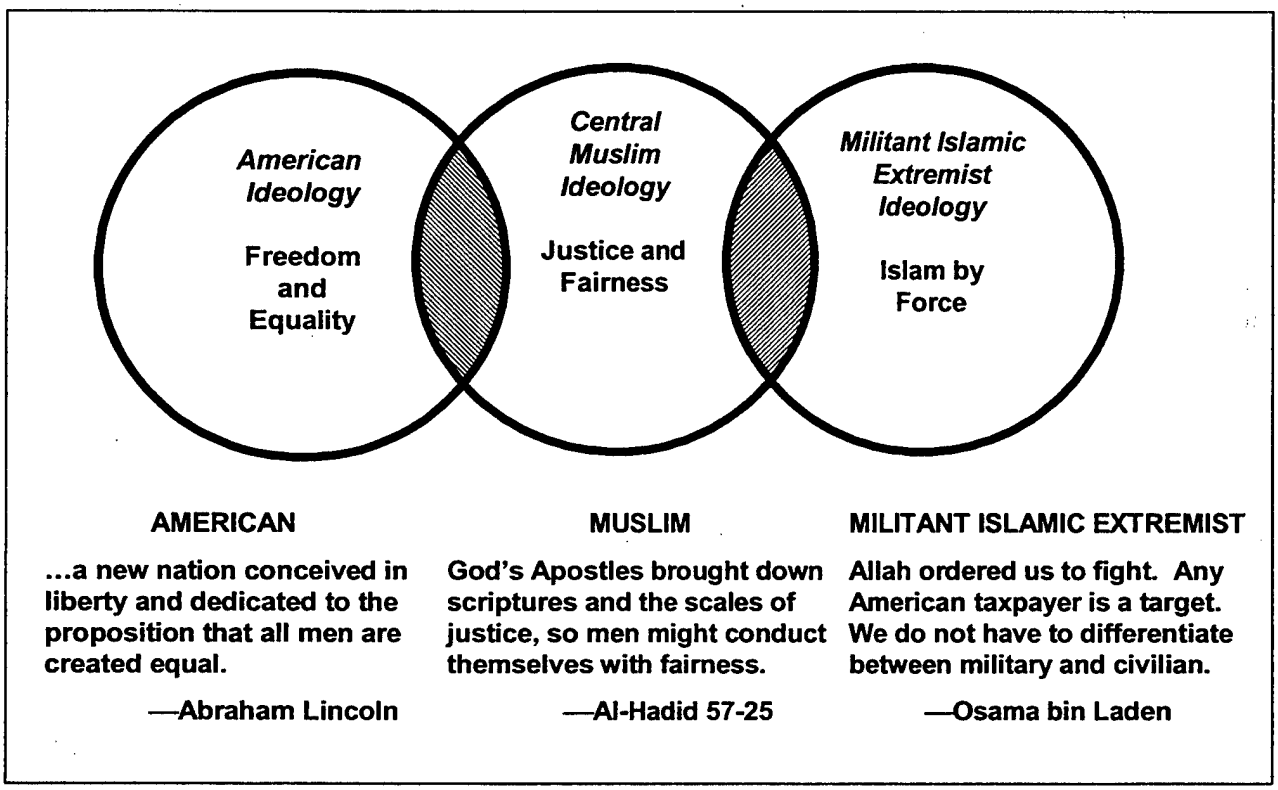

FIGURE 4. IDEOLOGICAL CONTINUUM

American Ideology

> ...All men are created equal... they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights... among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness... To secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.
>
> — Declaration of Independence, 1776

The dominant American values are freedom and equality. The 1776-era American colonists felt they were being treated unjustly by the British Crown. To top it off, the Crown did not allow them any equal representation in the decisions of government. The Crown's policies were denying them the very things they sought by immigrating to America. Europeans began immigrating to the American colonies about 500 years ago. These colonists came to America starting in the early 16th Century for a variety of reasons: to escape religious persecution; the injustices of the Crown; the Inquisition, the war and despair brought about by the reformation; or the corruption in the Church of the day. They sought a better life, liberty, freedom, and happiness. During their early years as British colonialists, Americans developed their own values that were greatly influenced by the reasons they left Europe. Americans began to openly express these values in 1776 when they declared their independence from Britain.

Americans came to value the separation of church and state, even though American personal values have always been rooted in Christianity. The basic Christian belief is that Jesus Christ is the son of God who became human, was crucified, died, rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, all in order to save humanity from sin. Americans believed much of the injustice in Europe existed because the church had secular power and this absolute power led those in authority to pervert Christian beliefs and values – absolute power corrupts absolutely. But the founding fathers still wove many of their personal Christian values into the instruments of government. The words "In God we Trust" are still minted on American coins today. It's ironic that the rebel-Americans valued "God-given" freedom and equality, when the institution of slavery was well established in America. After American independence was gained, Americans continued to develop their values in their instruments of government.

> We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.
>
> — Preamble to the United States Constitution, 1791

The United States Constitution remains the single document upon which the entire American ideological value system and government are based. Even today, members of the armed forces swear an oath of allegiance to the tenets of this document, rather than to any person in government. Work began on The Constitution in 1787. It was fully ratified by the duly elected representatives of the people in 1791. The basic Constitution is justly criticized as hypocritical, because it does not allow freedom and equality for all people – it allowed slavery

and denied equal rights to all races and genders. These ideological flaws in the Constitution were corrected as American history unfolded. Americans fought Americans in a bitter Civil War over the issue of slavery. The founding fathers designed the Constitution so that it could be amended in order to remain relevant and true. The First Amendment enumerated and guaranteed various freedoms. Over time, the Constitution proved flexible enough to grow out of its hypocrisy. Slavery was abolished in 1865 after a costly Civil War. Former slaves were guaranteed the right to vote in 1870, and women were given the right to vote in 1920.

1st Amendment, 1791: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceable to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

13th Amendment, 1865: Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, nor any place subject to their jurisdiction.

14th Amendment, 1870: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

19th Amendment, 1920: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

FIGURE 5. FREEDOM AND EQUALITY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

America truly is a new nation, when put within the context of world history. It is fair criticism however, that it should not have taken seventy-four years to abolish slavery and another five years to guarantee all former male slaves the right to vote. It's fair criticism that it should not have taken Americans 129 years to give women the right to vote. Even as people in national power sought to correct the hypocrisy in American values by amending the Constitution, much hypocrisy still remained into the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1963, a black man used his freedoms to speak and peaceably assemble to rally Americans and petition the Government for a redress of their grievances concerning American values. It's ironic that this descendant of slaves, exercising his Constitutional rights and freedoms, used the 1776-era American values to cause the states to eliminate state and local laws that were counter to documented American values.

> When the architects of our republic wrote the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness... We refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt...We have come to cash this check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed... all men are created equal.
>
> — Martin Luther King Jr., 1963

America is not a perfect society, as shown by its own history of domestic hypocrisy. But in the long run, Americans genuinely seek to be just and fair. America excised the hypocrisy in its instruments of government from the national-level down to state and local-levels. Some Americans still choose to harbor bigotry and hatred, but they are now prohibited by law from infringing on other people's rights to equality and freedom. Martin Luther King Jr. contributed as much to causing American values to be domestically realized as any Constitutional Amendment. Since the beginning of the American democracy, Americans have sought to guide their policies and actions by their core values of freedom and equality – political and economic freedom, respect for human rights, and the rule of law.[10] Today, Americans promote and protect freedom and equality not just in America, but in the world. America always shares a special bond with any and all pro-freedom nations.[11] President Bush reaffirmed these American values in his 2002 State of the Union address.

> America will lead by defending liberty and justice, because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture, but America will always stand firm for the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women, private property, free speech, equal justice and religious tolerance.
>
> — President Bush, 2002

Central Muslim Ideology

> True servants of the Merciful are those who walk humble on the earth and say: 'Peace' to the ignorant who accost them... they do not kill except for a just cause (man-slaughter is forbidden by Him).[12]
>
> — Al Furqan 25:61-68

The dominant Central Muslim values are fairness and justice. Muslim and Arabic cultures are closely intertwined and cannot be separated. Up until the seventh Century, Bedouin tribes in Arabia lived in fierce competition for basic necessities. Arabs developed a value system that cultivated a communal spirit essential for survival: courage in battle; patience and endurance in suffering; and absolute dedication to the tribe. The tribe came first, the individual second. An Arab was required to obey his chief, regardless of personal safety. Arabs dedicated themselves to the chivalrous duties of avenging wrongs committed against the tribe and protecting the tribe's more vulnerable members. To ensure tribal survival, the chief shared his wealth equally and avenged the death of any tribal member by killing a member of the murder's tribe. It was not necessary to punish the actual killer; any member of the enemy tribe was equivalent to another for such purposes. If the chief failed to retaliate, his tribe lost respect and other tribes would feel free to kill at will. This vendetta value was the ancient Arab form of justice that kept any one tribe from upsetting the balance of equality with other tribes.[13]

During this era in Arabia, political solutions tended to be religious in nature. Most Arabs believed in many different Gods and idolatry was common. The Islamic religion began in Arabia around the year 622. Islam is based on the belief that God revealed his final message to mankind to an Arab named Muhammad. Muhammad was born in 570 in Mecca to a family of the Quraysh tribe. Muhammad worked first as a merchant and gained a reputation for honesty. The Quraysh had become extremely successful in trade and made Mecca the most important settlement in Arabia. Their newly found wealth caused the old tribal values to be superseded by rampant capitalism. Individualism replaced the communal ideal and competition became the norm. Muhammad believed this new cult of self-sufficiency would mean the end of the tribe. He felt the Quraysh were on a dangerous course and needed an ideology to help them adjust to their new condition. [14]

Muhammad showed an interest in spiritual matters and spent a lot of time on retreat in the Cave of Hira near Mecca. In 610 Muhammad received his first revelation – a vision of the Archangel Gabriel told him he was to be a prophet. Greatly troubled by this event, Mohammad consulted his wife's Christian cousin. She proclaimed that he had received a revelation from the God of Moses, and was now God's divine envoy to the Arabs. Muhammad continued to receive these revelations over a twenty-three year period. Because he was illiterate, Mohammad recited aloud so other Arabs could commit the revelations to memory. Those who were literate wrote them down and compiled them. Twenty years after Mohammad's death in 632 the revelations were published in a book called the Koran. Considering the Arabic values of the day and the fact that Muhammad himself was a successful merchant, it's not surprising that the

dominant values expressed in the Koran are justice and fairness. God is just and fair, and he desires that people be just and fair. In practical terms, Islam means that Muslims have a duty to create a just, equitable society where the poor and vulnerable are treated decently. [15]

Al-Anbiya 21:45: God shall set up just scales on the Day of Resurrection, so that no man shall in the least be wronged. Actions as small as a grain of mustard seed shall be weighed out.

Al-Nisa 4:57-8: God commands when you pass judgment among men, to judge with fairness. Obey God and the Apostle and those in authority among you.

Al-An Am 6:152: Give just weight and full measure; we never charge a soul with more than it can bear. Speak for justice, even if it affects your own kinsman.

Al Isra 17:33: If a man is slain unjustly, his heir shall be entitled to satisfaction. But let him not carry his vengeance to excess, for his victim is sure to be assisted and avenged.

Al Isra 17:34: Give full measure, when you measure, and weigh with even scales. That is better and fairer in the end.

Al-Shura 42:38: Let evil be rewarded with evil. Those who seek to redress their wrongs incur no guilt. But great is the guilt of those who oppress their fellow men and conduct themselves with wickedness and injustice.

Al-Ma Idah 5:45: We decreed for them a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and a wound for a wound. But if a man charitably forbears from retaliation, his remission shall atone for him.

Al-Ma Idah 5:7: Do not allow your hatred for other men turn you away from justice. Deal justly; that will bring you closer to true piety.

Al-Nisa 4:92: It is unlawful for a believer to kill another believer...He that kills a believer by design shall burn in Hell forever.

FIGURE 6. KORANIC VERSES ON JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS

Mohammad believed he was putting the Word of God into Arabic. He along with many Arabs had already come to believe that Allah, the High God of the Ancient Arabian pantheon, was actually the same God already being worshiped by the Jews and Christians. Muhammad's rejection by the Jews was a great disappointment to him. After hearing the Jewish story of Abraham's elder son, Ishmael, Mohammad found a way to connect the new Arab faith with the piety of Arabic ancestors. He proclaimed Ishmael the father of the Arabs. This made Jews and Arabs cousins, since each descended from one of Abraham's sons. Mohammad brought the Arabs spirituality uniquely suited to their own traditions; he elevated their self esteem by giving them a spiritual identity; and he unlocked their secular potential such that they united and within

a hundred years established their own Islamic-Arabic empire. The Koran repeatedly stresses religious tolerance and no compulsory religion. It does not cancel out the messages and insights of Jewish and Christian prophets, but stresses the continuity of the religious experience of mankind. Because there is only one God, all rightly guided religions must derive from him alone. The Koran emphasizes the kinship between Muslims and the "People of the Book," as Jews and Christians are often referred to in the Koran.[16]

Al-Ankabut 29:46: Be courteous when you argue with the People of the Book, except with those among them who do evil. Say: 'We believe in that which has been revealed to us and was revealed to you. Our God and your God is one. To Him we submit'.

Al-Baqarah 2:62: Believers, Jews, Christians – whoever believes in God and the Last Day and does what is right – shall be rewarded by their Lord; they have nothing to fear or to regret.

Al-Ma Idah 5:65-70: If Christians and Jews accept the true faith and keep from evil, [God] will pardon them for their sins and admit them to heaven. If they observe the Torah and the Gospel and what has been revealed to them from their Lord, they shall enjoy abundance from above and from beneath.

FIGURE 7. KORANIC VERSES FAVORABLE TOWARDS CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Muhammad was not only a great religious leader, but a skilled political leader as well. The last thing the Arabs wanted was a foreign ideology, couched in alien languages and traditions. Mohammad established a close relationship between religion and politics that ensured a rapid spread of the faith that influenced the complete way of life in many countries.[17] At the time of Mohammad's revelations, there was a widespread feeling of spiritual inferiority among Arabs. Jews and Christians who came in contact with Arabs taunted them for being a barbarous people who had no revelation from God of their own. The Arabs resented Christians and Jews for taunting them, but respected them because God had revealed things to them. Yet, the Arabs remained fiercely independent and were determined not to come under the rule of the great powers of the day, which were using Judaism and Christianity for imperialistic purposes.[18] Today, the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology seeks to reawaken these ancient "Arabic" feelings and inspire Muslims to commit terrorist acts against Christians, Jews, Americans, and Westerners.

Militant Islamic Extremist Ideology

> Fight for the sake of God those that fight against you, but do not attack them first. Slay them wherever you find them... If they attack you put them to the sword...Fight against them until Islam reigns supreme.[19]
>
> — Al-Baqarah 2:190-194

The dominant Militant Islamic Extremist value is to implement global Islam by force. Beginning in the seventh century, the newly Islamic-Arabs conquered North Africa, Spain, the Middle East, Persia, and northern India and established Muslim rule. The Arabs conquered Jerusalem in the late eleventh century and forbade Christian pilgrimages to the city. European Christendom launched the Crusades, and for a century and a half attempted to reestablish Christians' right to make pilgrimages to the holy city. In the fourteenth century, the Islamic Ottoman Turks began a conquest that included the Middle East, the Balkans, North Africa, Constantinople, and even as far as Vienna. Although the Ottoman Empire began to decline in the eighteenth century, it did not end until the early twentieth century. An Islamic empire reigned in the Middle East, northern Africa, Persia, India and even into portions of Europe for about 1,300 years. During this era, Europe was under constant threat from Islam. Islam is the only civilization that has ever put the survival of Europe in doubt.[20] These historic facts are a source of great pride to most all Muslims, but especially to Militant Islamic Extremists. Osama bin Laden seeks to stir this historical Arabic and Muslim pride and rally Muslims to fight a holy war to defend Islam.

> We Muslims have a strong feeling that binds us together. We feel for our brothers in Palestine and Lebanon. When 60 Jews are killed in Palestine, all the world criticizes this action, while the deaths of 600,000 Iraqi children does not receive the same reaction. Killing those Iraqi children is a Crusade against Islam. We as Muslims do not like the Iraqi regime but we think that the Iraqi people are our brothers and we care about their future.[21]
>
> — Osama bin Laden

Militant Islamic Extremists who have launched themselves against the West truly believe they are waging the holy war to reverse a Christian tradition that began with the Crusades. They are furious at US support for Israel and what they see as an unfair double-standard in American treatment of Palestinians. They are outraged by the presence of Western troops in Saudi Arabia and the military and economic attacks on Iraq. Globalization in recent years is

enabling Militant Islamic Extremism to grow.[22] It's critical to understand that Militant Islamic Extremists can justify their ideology by isolating passages from the Koran and considering them out of context. These passages reflect a time when Muhammad was literally fighting for his life. Today's Militant Islamic Extremists transpose the meaning of these verses from Muhammad's time to current times.

Al-Baqarah 2:178: Believers, retaliation is decreed for you in bloodshed... In retaliation you have a safeguard for your lives; perchance you will guard yourself against evil.

An-Ma Idah 5:13: You will ever find Jews deceitful, except for a few of them.

An-Ma Idah 5:17: Unbelievers are those who declare: 'God is the Messiah, the son of Mary.'

An-Ma Idah 5:51: Believers, take neither the Jews nor the Christians for your friends. They are friends with one another. Whoever of you seeks their friendship shall become one of their number.

Al-Baqarah 2:191: Slay them wherever you find them. Drive them out of the places from which they drove you... if they attack you put them to the sword. Thus shall the unbelievers be rewarded.

Al-Fath 48:29: Muhammad is God's apostle. Those who follow him are ruthless to the unbelievers but merciful to one another.

Al-Imran 4:83-91: Rouse the faithful: perchance God will overthrow the might of the unbelievers. [The hypocrites] would have you disbelieve as they... If they neither offer you peace nor cease their hostilities against you, lay hold of them and kill them wherever you find them.

An-Anfal 8:12-16: I shall cast terror into the hearts of the infidels. Strike off their heads, strike off the very tips of their fingers.

Al-Fath 48:16: Say to the desert Arabs who stayed behind: 'You shall be called upon to fight a mighty nation, unless they embrace Islam. If you prove obedient, God will reward you well.

FIGURE 8. KORANIC PASSAGES SUPPORTING MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

Militant Islamic Extremists are Muslims who have a political and ideological platform for Muslim states, and for the world. They seek to restructure Islamic states, society, and culture with a sense of urgency and dedication to radical action. They believe most Muslim nations must be eradicated through insurrection and their societies re-educated. Their aim is to undermine the main foundations of these countries and destroy their national economic and financial systems. They want to provoke rulers to overreact and launch emergency laws and conduct mass arrests in the hope that the public, out of resentment, will turn to join the ranks of

Militant Islamic Extremist.[23] Most Muslim countries are non-democratic: monarchies, one-party systems, military regimes, personal dictatorships, or some combination of these. Most regimes are based on a limited family clan or tribal base and in some cases are highly dependent on foreign support. Many of these regimes are repressive, corrupt, and divorced from the needs and aspirations of their people. Increasingly, Militant Islamic Extremism is providing the only alternative to the depressed and downtrodden in these countries. This Islamic inspired religious opposition can operate within and behind a network of mosques, welfare organizations, foundations, and other Muslim institutions that governments cannot suppress.[24]

> Muslims should unite in the fight...they should pool all their resources and energy to fight the Americans and the Zionists and those with them... Any effort directed against America and the Jews yield positive and direct results... the ruler of Riyadh has sided with the Jews and Christians giving them free reign over the land of the two Holy Mosques. These are grave offenses that are grounds for expulsion from the faith. They shall all be wiped out.[25]
>
> — Osama bin Laden

Many Muslim nations know Militant Islamic terrorism first hand. Egyptian President Mubarak was the target of an unsuccessful Militant Islamic Extremist assassination attempt. His predecessor, Anwar Sadat, was not as lucky. The Saudi royal family has endured Osama bin Laden's charge of being unfit to oversee the holy places of Mecca and Medina.[26] In 1988 Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia said that the greatest threat to his country was the rise of Islamic fundamentalism among its youth.[27] The Militant Islamic Extremist ideology is particularly dangerous because it provides a religious justification for slaughtering not just unbelievers, but also Muslims who do not believe as they do. Militant Islamic Extremism is intensely undemocratic; to accept the authority of anyone but God, as interpreted by them, is blasphemy requiring death. Militant Islamic Extremism is Islamic fascism that deviates to the greatest degree from central Islamic values.[28] It's critical to note that even Osama bin Laden truly recognizes his method of international terrorism is counter to central Islamic values.

> Our retaliation is directed primarily against the soldiers only and against those standing by them. Our religion forbids us from killing innocent people such as women and children.[29]
>
> — Osama bin Laden

> The worst thieves and terrorists in the world are the Americans. Nothing could stop them except retaliation in kind. We do not have to differentiate between military or civilian... They are all targets.[30]
>
> — Osama bin Laden

"Moderate" Muslims in the Balance

The vast majority of the billion-plus Muslims on earth desire global harmony and reconciliation between different religions. Currently, Militant Islamic Extremists represent a relatively small number of total Muslims.[31] Many Muslims mistrust American actions and find it hard to defend American policies. Osama bin Laden does a credible job expressing what most Muslims have against the United States.[32] Most Muslims vehemently reject the terrorism Osama bin Laden inspires and even fear his aims. But a good majority of Muslims agree with many of the grievances Osama bin Laden articulates. Militant Islamic Extremism is only one component in a much more extensive revival of Islamic ideas, practices, and rhetoric within Muslim populations. This Islamic Resurgence is well established in most all Muslim countries; it is not an isolated phenomenon. The Islamic Resurgence is the latest phase in the adjustment of Islamic civilization to the West. The ultimate goal of the Islamic Resurgence is to modernize, but not necessarily to Westernize. It is an effort to find a "solution" based on Islamic ideology, not on Western ideology. It accepts modernity, rejects Western culture, and recommits to Islam as the guide to life in the modern world.[33]

Today, Muslims in massive numbers are turning toward Islam as a source of identity, meaning, stability, legitimacy, development, power, and hope; hope epitomized in the slogan "Islam is the solution." The Islamic Resurgence is both a product of modernization and an effort to come to grips with it. Its underlying causes are: urbanization, social mobilization, higher levels of literacy and education, intensified communication and media consumption, and expanded interaction with Western and other cultures. These developments undermine traditional village and clan ties and create alienation and identity crisis. Islamists seek to fulfill these psychological needs. The central spirit of the Islamic Resurgence is universal fundamental reform – it is not just about individual piety; it is not just intellectual and cultural, nor is it just political. It's all of these, a comprehensive reconstruction of society form top to bottom.[34]

This Islamic Resurgence cannot be ignored by intellectual and political leaders, whether they favor it or not. Today, every Muslim country is more Islamic, often to the extreme, than it was in 1980. Islamisists have developed Islamic social organizations and expanded Islamic influence in state schools. In effect, they brought into existence an Islamic civil society which parallels, surpasses, and often supplants existing secular institutions. In many Muslim countries, Islamists provide cradle-to-grave services for entire populations through an elaborate network of

schools, clinics, hospitals, and university-level institutions. Islamisist are mobile, modern-oriented younger people who can be categorized into one of three groups. The core element consists of students and intellectuals. The bulk of active Islamisist come from urban middle-class people. The third group is recent migrants to the cities. Crowded in decaying, primitive slums, these urban migrants are the beneficiaries of the social services provided by Islamist organizations.[35] Considering the Islamic Resurgence and the growing rejection of Western values in the Muslim world, a more accurate representation of the ideological conflict is depicted below.

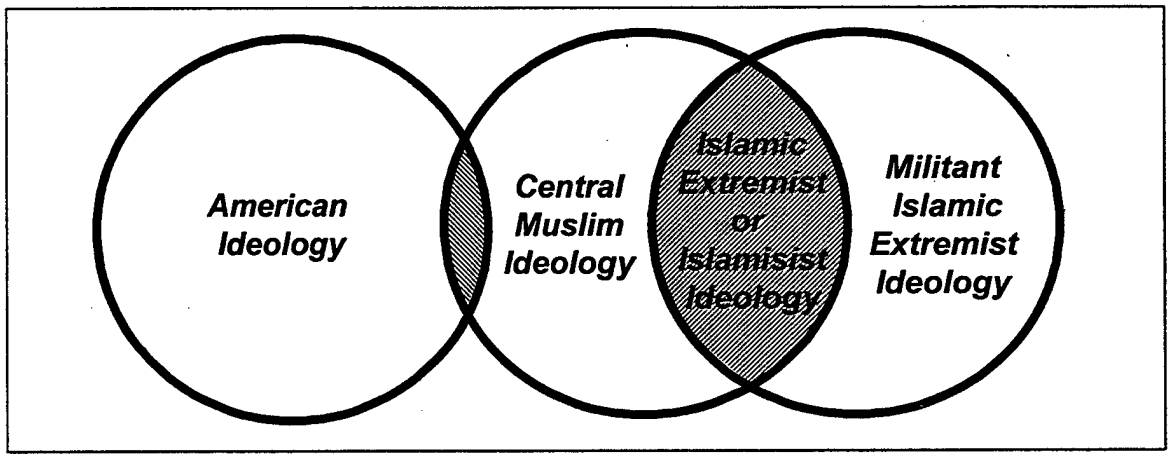

FIGURE 9. ADJUSTED IDEOLOGICAL CONTINUUM

The challenge to "Moderate" Muslims is the pervasive cultural, social, and political resurgence of Islam and the accompanying rejection of Western values and institutions. Muslim assertiveness stems from social mobilization and population growth. Population growth in Muslim countries, particularly the expansion of young people in crowded cities, creates breeding grounds for Islamisists and Militant Islamic Extremists. This demographic growth threatens Muslim governments and non-Muslim societies. Demographic experts assert that Muslim populations for the foreseeable future will be disproportionately young, overwhelmingly urban, and have at least a secondary education. The conditions are right for these youths to become recruits either for Islamist or Militant Islamic Extremists.[36]

ANALYSIS

The Enemy's Ends

Step 1) Identify the enemy's desired ends.

What are the enemy's strategic goals and objectives?

> Our primary mission is nothing but the furthering of Islam... We anticipate a black future for America. Instead of remaining United States it shall end up separated states and shall have to carry the bodies of its sons back in America.
>
> — Osama bin Laden

The ultimate Militant Islamic Extremist goal is create a new Islamic, world-dominating, super-theocracy ruled by Islamic clerics and not bound by state boundaries. Militant Islamic Extremists are not interested in conciliation. Osama bin Laden sets out his vision for the future in his book *America and the Third World War.* It calls for all Muslims to rise up in a holy war to destroy the United States. He inspires Islamic religious anger to punish, destroy, and maximize casualties. He espouses death to all non-believers and directs attacks to annihilate the West. Militant Islamic Extremists intend to make the twenty-first century the century of the Muslims. In order to accomplish their goal, Militant Islamic Extremists have the following strategic objectives:[37]

1. **Unite all Muslims behind the Militant Islamic Extremist cause.**
2. **Overthrow nearly all Muslim governments, especially Egypt and Saudi Arabia.**
3. **Drive Western influence from Islamic countries and abolish state boundaries.**
4. **Eject the US Armed Forces from Saudi Arabian soil.**
5. **Cause Militant Islamist Extremist government take-overs in Islamic countries.**
6. **End the existence of the United States as the United States.**
7. **Kill Americans and their allies, including civilians, anywhere in the world.**
8. **Plunder Americans' money wherever and whenever possible.**
9. **Kill Jews.**

FIGURE 10. MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMIST STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

The Enemy's Ways

Step 2) Identify the enemy's method – the way he implements his strategy.

What is the way [tactic] the enemy advances himself towards his desired ends?

> Terrorism can be commendable... terrorizing oppressors and criminals and thieves and robbers is necessary for the safety of people and for the protection of their property...we practice the commendable kind of terrorism for it is directed at the tyrants and the aggressors and the enemies of Allah.[38]
>
> — Osama bin Laden

Osama bin Laden knows terrorism can be successful. He helped beat the Soviets in Afghanistan and now he wants to attack the West. Bin Laden believes that if the United States is beheaded, the Arab kingdoms will wither away opening the door to creating a single Islamic super-state.[39] He assessed that the aggregate effect of his previous terrorist operations in Riyadh and Washington embarrassed both sides and caused a Saudi grassroots opposition movement to American presence. Islamist sources emphasize that Militant Islamic Extremist forces are ready and capable of implementing Osama bin Laden's call to arms. They note that military action, in the form of guerrilla warfare, insurgency, and terrorism does not require a huge cadre equal to the opposition's military. They believe it's possible to achieve their objectives with limited people.[40]

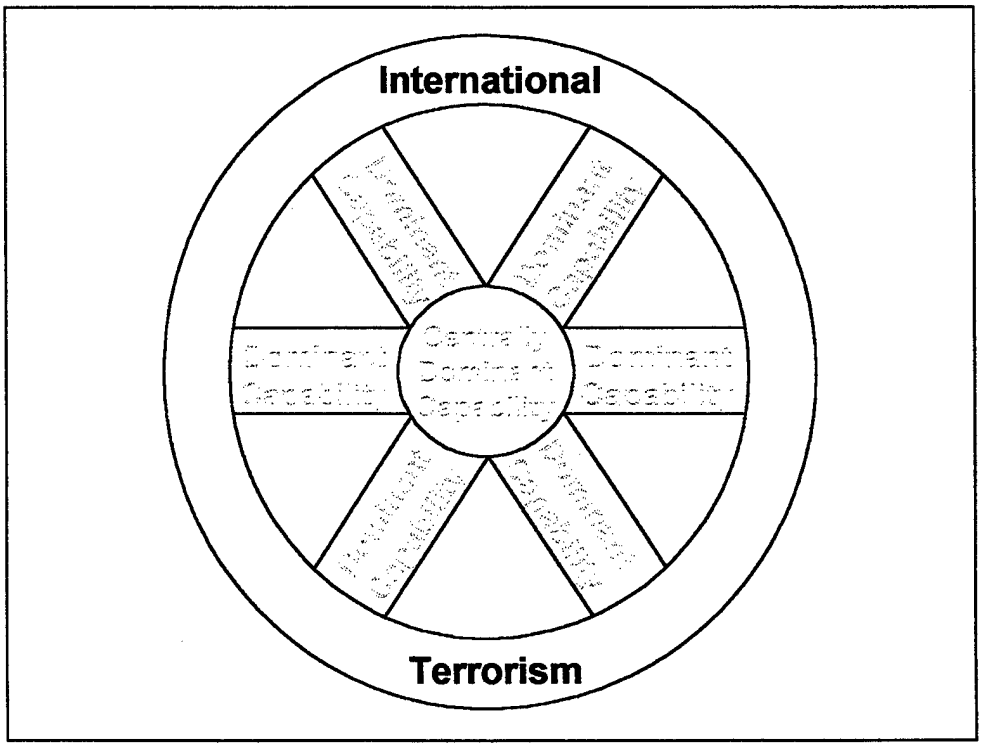

FIGURE 11. MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMIST METHOD

The Enemy's Potential Dominant Capabilities (Means)

Step 3) Identify the enemy's potential dominant capabilities.

> *Devise a list of enemy capabilities. To each capability apply the question: Is this capability directly linked to the enemy's method?*

A method to begin deriving the enemy's dominant capabilities is to start with their capability to execute the September 11th terrorist attack and then walk backwards identifying the linked capabilities that made the attack possible. Prior to executing the attack, the terrorists had the capability to plan, prepare, and conduct reconnaissance. The terrorists were trained in the art of terror in Al Queada's terrorist training camps. The terrorist organization Al Queda and the terrorist training camps themselves are each capabilities in their own rite. The capability that afforded sanctuary from interdiction during training, planning, and preparation was critical. The financing of Al Queada, the terrorist training camps, and actual terrorist acts is a significant capability. Their capability to recruit terrorists is enabled by their capability to effectively propagate their Militant Islamic Extremist ideology throughout the Muslim world. Osama bin Laden's leadership that inspired these terrorist to train and commit terrorist acts is a most significant capability.[41] A summary of the enemy's potential dominant capabilities is listed below.

1. **Osama Bin Laden – the leader**
2. **Effective Ideological propagation**
3. **Recruiting people into the terrorist ranks**
4. **Financing terrorism**
5. **Sanctuary for terrorists**
6. **Al Queada – the support base**
7. **Terrorist training camps**
8. **Planning and preparation for terrorist acts**
9. **Reconnaissance for terrorist acts**
10. **Execution of terrorist acts**

FIGURE 12. MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMIST POTENTIAL DOMINANT CAPABILITIES

The Enemy's Dominant Capabilities (Means)

Step 4) Differentiate dominant [strategic] capabilities from tactical or operational capabilities.

Is this potentially dominant capability enduring, or is it manifested only when the enemy is employing his actual method?

Intuitively, potential dominant capabilities 1 - 7 are enduring fixtures in the Militant Islamic Extremist establishment. They are dominant capabilities. Planning, preparation, reconnaissance, and actual execution of terrorist acts are directly linked to the enemy's method of international terrorism. But these capabilities only become apparent when an actual terrorist act is to be committed. They are not enduring; they are either tactical or operational level capabilities; they are not dominant [strategic] capabilities. A summary of the enemy's dominant capabilities is listed below.

1. **Osama Bin Laden – the leader**
2. **Effective Ideological propagation**
3. **Recruiting people into the terrorist ranks**
4. **Financing terrorism**
5. **Sanctuary for terrorists**
6. **Al Queada – the support base**
7. **Terrorist training camps**

FIGURE 13. MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMIST DOMINANT CAPABILITIES

The Enemy's Potential Centrally Dominant Capability (Means)

Step 5) Identify any potential centrally dominant capabilities.

Is this dominant capability directly linked to all other dominant capabilities?

1-Osama bin Laden. Osama bin Laden is the charismatic leader of Al Queada who has used his personal wealth to finance much of the Militant Islamic Extremist cause, including the training camps. He is also linked to numerous legal and illegal businesses which fund the cause. He dedicates his life to propagating the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology which centers on his declaration of relentless and uncompromising war on America. He has been elevated by many Islamist leaders to the status of Emir, even though he lacks formal religious training.

Historically, few Muslims lacking in formal Islamic education have been recognized as Emirs. Some Islamisist compare Osama bin Laden to Saladin, who defeated the Crusaders. Osama bin Laden's Emir Status enables him to inspire many disenchanted young Muslims to join his ranks. His very existence and success make him a great recruiting tool.[42]

So far, Osama bin Laden appears to be a potential centrally dominant capability. But, Militant Islamic Extremists will not be deterred if Osama bin Laden is killed or captured. Because of their indoctrination, they will still rally to fight against 'American imperialism' and the 'Great Satan'. They believe their task is simple: to attack and punish the West with bullets and bombs.[43] The Militant Islamic Extremist threat will not disappear when Osama bin Laden is killed or captured. There are plenty more Osama bin Laden's out there.[44] Osama bin Laden is not directly linked to sanctuary. If anything, the person of Osama bin Laden today prevents sanctuary for Militant Islamic Extremists. Osama bin Laden is ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because there is no direct link to sanctuary.

2-Effective Propagation of Ideology. Propagation is the widespread dissemination and promotion of the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology that serves to further the Militant Islamic Extremist cause. "Effective" propagation is a measure of the degree to which Muslims are inspired to sympathize with, support, or actually implement the tactic of international terror. Terrorism itself is fundamentally a very bloody form of propaganda. Militant Islamic Extremist propaganda is well financed and is being effectively fought on multiple global fronts -- satellite television, schools, social service organizations, mosques, the Internet, videocassettes, opinion polls and sermons. Effective propagation serves to bring in funds and recruits. Osama bin Laden is a master propagandist, from his delivery to his carefully constructed image as a suffering saint and ascetic warrior.[45] Osama bin Laden made ideological training an integral part of the curriculum in his Al Queada training camps.[46] Most Muslim governments are cautious in helping the United States, because the propagation of Militant Islamic Extremism has been effective on public opinion in their countries. Although some governments may be prevented from providing the terrorists sanctuary, many Muslim supporters and sympathizers will always be able to provide it.[47] Since the effective propagation of the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology is directly linked to all the other dominant capabilities it is a potential centrally dominant capability.

3-Recruiting. It's already established that recruiting is linked to Osama bin Laden and effective ideological propagation. Clearly, a certain amount of financing is required to recruit and Al Queada most likely has a part. One could either argue that recruiting is directly linked to the training camps or that there is a hand-off with no direct link. Although recruiting is probably

more effective where there is sanctuary, it is not required. Recruiting is ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because there is no direct link to sanctuary.

4-Financing. It's already established that financing is linked to recruiting, Osama bin Laden, and effective ideological propagation. Clearly the training camps require funds and one of Al Queada's chief functions is financing. One could argue that sanctuary could mean that funds are somehow protected. But this argument does not really hold water when considering today's global financial networks. Militant Islamic Extremist cannot really buy sanctuary, at least not at a strategic level. Financing is ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because there is no direct link to sanctuary.

5-Sanctuary. Sanctuary's direct link to effective ideological propagation is already established. Sanctuary is a function of allowing Militant Islamic Extremists a place of refuge and protection. Sanctuary ranges from governments like Iraq, Iran, and north Korea; to the quasi-alliances like the one between Al Queada and the Taliban; to private organizations or individuals. Current coalition operations in Afghanistan effectively de-linked Al Queda and the training camps from strategic sanctuary, at least in Afghanistan. Whether Militant Islamic Extremists find other similar sanctuary remains to be seen. It's possible they could go underground with more covert and decentralized sanctuary. Sanctuary is ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because, except for a direct link to effective ideological propagation, there are no direct links to any other dominant capabilities. This may make sanctuary a strategic vulnerability.

6-Al Queada. It's established that Al Queada is directly linked to Osama bin Laden, effective ideological propagation, the training camps, and financing. It's also implicit that Al Queda is directly linked to the training camps. Although Al Queada has been dealt a severe blow by de-linking it from sanctuary in Afghanistan, it is robust and pervasive enough of an organization to adapt to other modes of operations. Coalition operations have virtually made Al Queada and sanctuary mutually exclusive, except perhaps in the "axis-of-evil" nations. Al Queada will simply develop other means within which to operate. As such, it can be argued that Al Queada may be indirectly linked to sanctuary, but not directly linked. Al Queada is ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because there is no direct link to sanctuary.

7-Training Camps. It's established that this final dominant capability is directly linked to Al Queada, financing, recruiting, effective ideological propagation, and Osama bin Laden. Although the destruction of the Afghanistan training camps significantly reduced the enemy's capability to train recruits, the enemy can still develop other training programs and areas. Like Al Queada, it can be argued that the training camps may be indirectly linked to sanctuary, but

not directly linked. The training camps are ruled out as a potential centrally dominant capability because there is no direct link to sanctuary.

The Enemy's Centrally Dominant Capability (Primary Means)

Step 6) Determine the centrally dominant capabilities.

> *If this dominant capability is destroyed or neutralized, would the enemy no longer have the will [or desire] to fight?*

Effective ideological propagation is the only dominant capability linked to all other dominant capabilities. Today, many young Muslims who hear Osama bin Laden's message are buying into it. If they cannot [or do not] hear or read the message, they cannot develop the will-desire-ability to fight. If they hear or read a more effectively propagated non-militant message, they will not develop the will-desire-ability to fight. The enemy would no longer have the will-desire-ability to fight, if their dominant capability of effective ideological propagation was destroyed or neutralized. Effective ideological propagation is the enemy's centrally dominant capability.

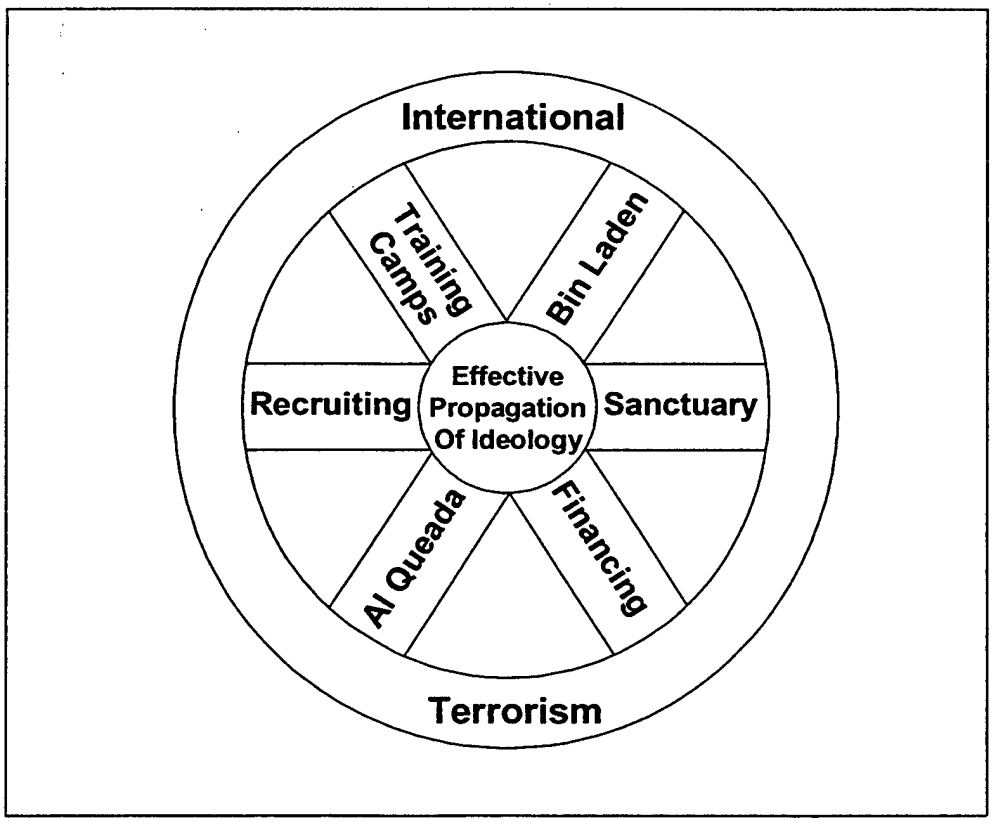

FIGURE 14. MILITANT ISLAMIC EXTREMIST CENTRALLY DOMINANT CAPABILITY

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

President Bush proclaimed America would win the war against terrorism. This war was further defined as a war against terrorists, specifically Militant Islamic Extremists. The September 11th terrorist attack elevated a new world-organizing ideology, Militant Islamic Extremism. The paper was limited to analyzing only the dominant capabilities of the Osama bin Laden – Al Queada brand of Militant Islamic Extremism. The focus was on determining the centrally dominant capability from which these terrorists derive their will to fight. Analysis remained at the national strategic level.

The methodology set the analysis in a national strategic context. An analysis model based on a wagon wheel was developed to effectively analyze dominant capabilities. The wagon wheel was transformed from a physical concept into an effective analysis tool. Developing the analysis model involved a six-step process with appropriate driving questions. Actual model development began with determining the enemy's desired end state, which is always shaped first by ideological values.

The first step in determining the enemy's end state was to translate a conflict between ideological values into a conflict between people – to define the war. A continuum of ideologies was described with the American ideology at one end, the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology at the opposite end, and the Central Muslim ideology in the middle. Dominant American values were freedom and equality. Dominant Central Muslim values were fairness and justice. The dominant Militant Islamic Extremist value was implementing Islam by force. It was shown that "Moderate" Muslims were caught in the middle of this ideological conflict and the ideological continuum was adjusted to show their challenge.

The analysis was conducted using the wagon wheel analysis model. The enemy's desired end state was described as the creation of a new Islamic, world-dominating, super-theocracy ruled by Islamic clerics and not bound by state boundaries. The enemy's method, or the way he implements his strategy, was international terrorism. The enemy's potential dominant capabilities were identified and the model steps and questions were used to determine the dominant capabilities and the centrally dominant capability. Dominant capabilities were Osama bin Laden, effective ideological propagation, recruiting, financing, sanctuary, Al Queada, and the terrorist training camps. Effective ideological propagation was determined to be the enemy's centrally dominant capability.

Conclusions

"Moderate" Muslims are in the balance in the current ideological conflict between America and Militant Islamic Extremists. The current state of the ideological relationship between America and "Moderate" Muslims is a strategic vulnerability. Militant Islamic Extremists have worked diligently to develop their ideological relationship with "Moderate" Muslims and have created a strategic strength.

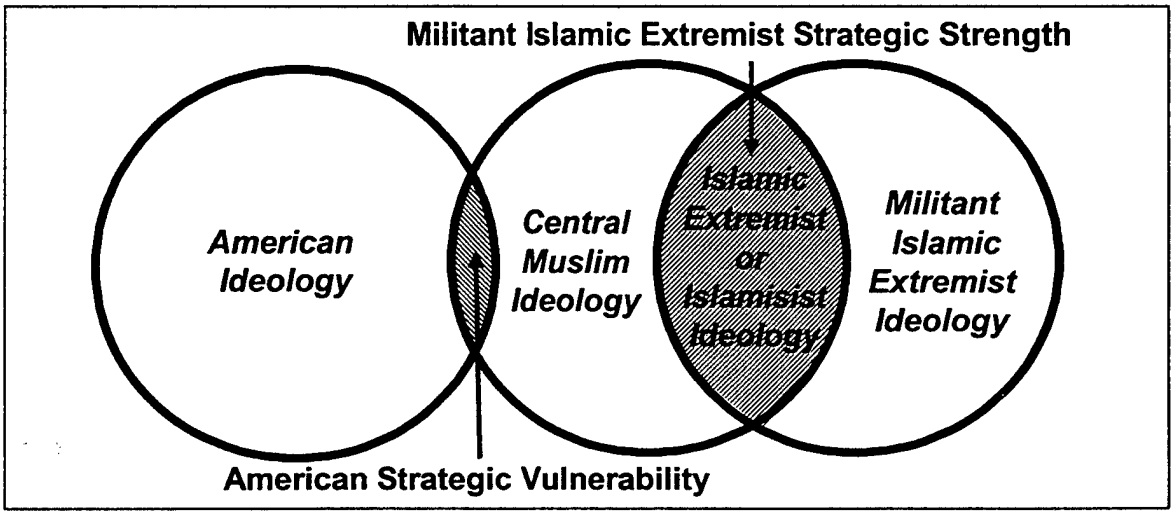

FIGURE 15. CURRENT STATE OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

There are two possible future world conditions as both America and Militant Islamic Extremists apply their elements of power to achieve their desired ends. America's desired end state is to defeat Militant Islamic Extremists and foster a healthy ideological relationship with "Moderate" Muslims based on common values. Militant Islamic Extremists intend to defeat the American ideology, subsume all Muslim nations, and create a globally dominant Militant Islamic Extremist super-state under Islamic fascist rule. Militant Islamic Extremists generate and sustain their will-desire-ability to fight from their capability to effectively propagate their Militant Islamic Extremist ideology in the Muslim world. The key to an American victory, is to mass the effects of national power to destroy or neutralize the enemy's centrally dominant capability of effective ideological propagation. Free and civilized nations must halt the effective propagation of Militant Islamic Extremism in order to defeat the international terrorists it inspires.

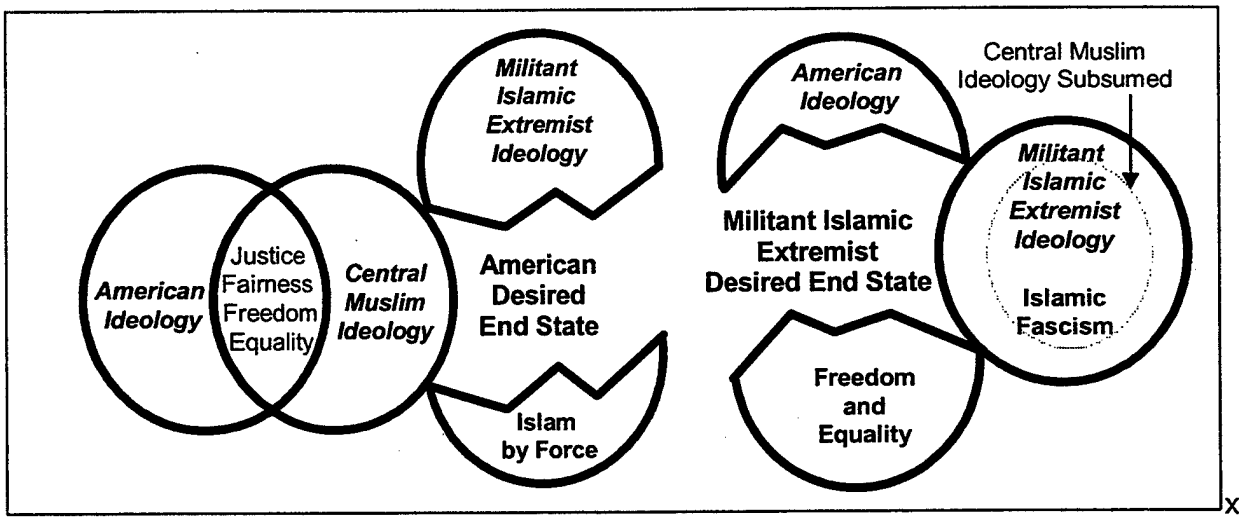

FIGURE 16. TWO POSSIBLE FUTURE WORLD CONDITIONS

Recommendations

The results of this analysis serve as a starting point to develop national strategic objectives and to formulate guidance on how to employ the elements of national power. Strategic guidance serves to integrate the national Military (M), Diplomatic (D), Informational (I), and Economic (E) elements of power to accomplish strategic aims. National objectives should focus on destroying or neutralizing the enemy's dominant capabilities, particularly the centrally dominant capability. At any time, one element of power should have the lead against each specific objective. Care must be taken not to allow power applied to one objective to have a negative effect on another objective, particularly the centrally dominant capability. American strategy should seek to reverse the current state of the ideological conflict by improving America's ideological relationship with "Moderate" Muslims, while reducing the ideological hold Militant Islamic Extremists have on "Moderate" Muslims. It is appropriate to apply direct military power to certain strategic objectives, as is currently happening. But, if Militant Islamic Extremists are to be defeated, a central component of America's strategic campaign must be to cause "Moderate" Muslims to reject the Militant Islamic Extremist ideology and to accept the commonality between American and Central Muslim ideologies. Without question, this is an extremely difficult and complex concept to even contemplate, let alone to plan for and execute. No doubt it would be a long-term undertaking that would employ all the elements of national power. The diagram below seeks to apply the analysis model developed in this paper to begin formulating a national strategy to defeat Militant Islamic Extremists.

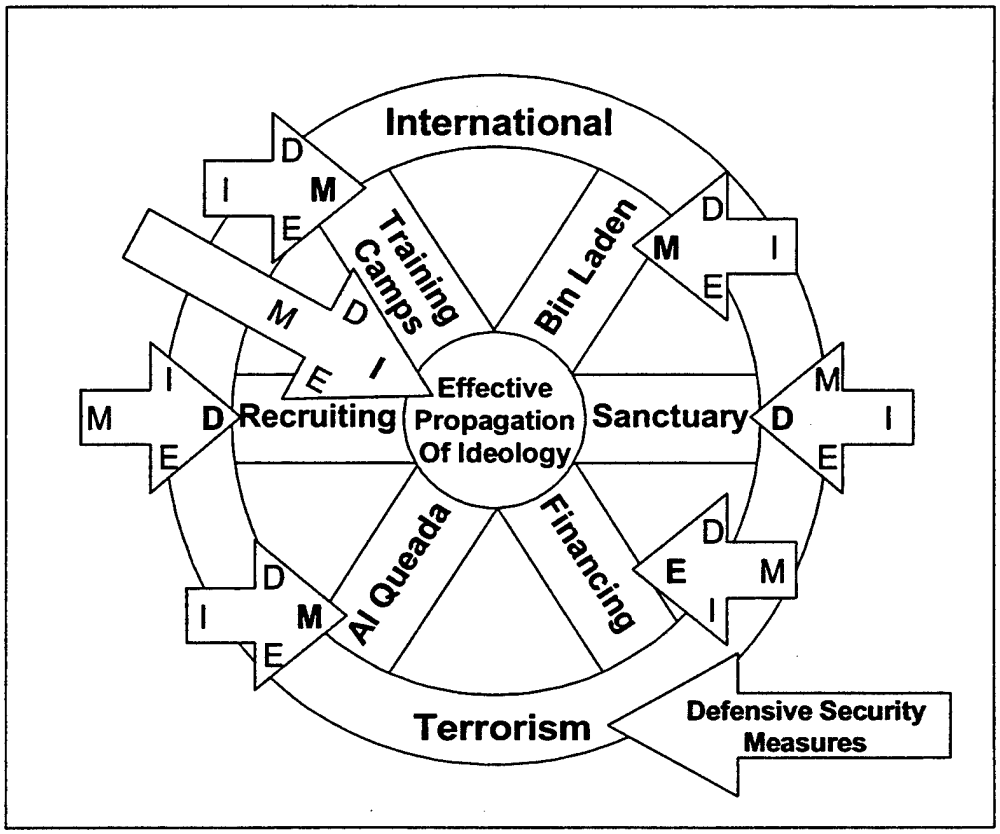

FIGURE 17. USING THE ANALYSIS MODEL TO DEVELOP NATIONAL STRATEGY

WORD COUNT = 8,112

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[40] Bodansky, 192-3.

[41] Jim Sikes. Colonel, U.S. Army, interview by author, October 2001, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[42] Bodansky, 185.

[43] Reeve, 4.

[44] Ibid., 262.

[45] Michael Dobbs, "Words and Image Dominate the Other War," Washington Post, 11 October 2001, 8.

[46] Michael Elliot, "Hate Club," Time, 12 November 2001, 58.

[47] "The Arab Paradox, "Washington Post, 11 October 2001, 32.

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